M/R Dalla Costa

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

A MONTHLY INFORMATION SERVICE

vol.1 no.1 August-September 1975

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SUDb 26385

EDITORIAL

REALITY AND PERSPECTIVE

The social relationships that have characterized Caribbean society and held it in an unstable equilibrium for over a century have broken down beyond repair. The old colonial capitalist social relations between worker and manager, peasant and landlord, child and parent, man and woman, student and teacher, working-class and middle-class, membership and leadership, masses and state have gone. But no new social order has emerged to take the place of the old. The crisis that has gripped our society is not simply an economic crisis or a political crisis, but an all-encompassing social crisis that goes to the very foundations of the prevailing social order. Caribbean society, therefore, is in a period of turmoil and transition. The alternatives that face us are facism à la Balaguer in the Dominican Republic and Pinochet in Chile, left reformism a la Burnham in Guyana or social revolution that will establish a workers and farmers democracy as a transition to the Caribbean Socialist Society.

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The modern working class in the Caribbean, emerging in the mines and oilfields, on the docks and the estates, announced its independent political existence and power at the end of World War 1 with a mass rebellion. In the 1930's the workers (employed and unemployed) and peasants waged tremendous struggles against the local, colonial and imperialist ruling classes. This period of class struggle culminated in the independence movement and the Cuban Revolution - What the independence movement promised, the Cuban Revolution delivered and it opened the way to the Socialist Alternative.

.....

But in many territories of the Caribbean, particularly in the British Colonies, the workers and peasants struggles of the 1930's were effectively defeated by the mid-1950's. The demand for cheap unskilled labour as a consequence of the expansion of capital and the gigantic struggles of the white working-class, at first in Britain and then in France. Holland and North America, after World War II led to the largest migration of Caribbean Workers and peasants to the Metropolitan cities and industrial centres. The migrant labour force that left the Caribbean then was a defeated and frustrated labour force willing to accept unskilled labour and the miserable conditions of Europe and North America as a means to the building of a better life.

Capital, by its own logic of development, had transformed the objective base of struggle of the Caribbean workers and peasants from the isolation of the Caribbean to the arena of the whole of the western world.

With the virtual collapse of the Caribbean economy and the old social relations, the workers, peasants and students have entered a new phase of mass struggle. But the working-class is not an amorphous mass. In the general struggle, each sector of the class has been waging its own independent struggle and putting forward its own demands. In Europe and North America, the formerly defeated Caribbean immigrants are waging independent struggles both against the visible imperialist ruling class and within the working class.

The international connection of the mass struggles have been aptly demonstrated in this new phase of struggle. The Black Struggle in the United States in the sixties, precipitated a series of Black Power Groups in the Caribbean. A revolt at Sir George Williams University in Montreal sparked the beginning of the 1970 mass rebellion in Trinidad and Tobago. In turn the 1970 rebellion in Trinidad influenced the Black Struggle in Britain. Revolts in Martinique, Guadeloupe and Cayenne have ignited the Antilleans in France. Each base of struggle fires confidence, strength and serves as an example to each other base.

While the Caribbean ruling class and states are combining on a regional scale and are linking with the imperialists to co-ordinate reform and repression, the mass movements and left organizations remain relatively isolated. Regular, systematic communication between the movements is minimal and in many instances non-existent. Consequently, co-ordinated strategy, tactics and struggles remain an abstraction. It is this vacuum that Caribbean Dialogue seeks to fill. Sectarianism cannot be part of such a task. We intend to document and report the struggles of each section of the class as they occur, the social trends as they are expressed and in so doing give fuel to the fire of mass struggles for social power in the Caribbean and of the struggles of Caribbean Immigrant workers in the heart of imperialism. As Darcus Howe, editor of Race Today, London, England has said, by our position in modern Western Society we are poised to make a decisive intervention into the working-class struggle internationally, and, I may add, into the process of transformation of Western civilization as a whole. No other people from the underdeveloped world are placed in our position. We are in fact poised to make the international a concrete reality.

That is the reality and perspective with which Caribbean Dialogue begins.

– Franklyn Harvey

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

Caribbean Dialogue is a monthly information service published by the New Beginning Movement (NBM) and produced by the Toronto Chapter of NBM. It is distributed as a free service to groups and organizations in the Caribbean region.

Enquiries and information should be sent to:

Caribbean Dialogue
P. O. Box 442
Station 'J'
Toronto, Canada.

Comune di Padova
Biblioteche
Cod. Bibl. 01
RID PUV141224
INV 1060480

Other centres are located in:

England Race Today,
74 Shakespeare Road
London S. E. 24.

U. S. A. Caribbean Dialogue,
204 W 20th Street,
New York, N. Y. 10011

Caribbean
New Beginning Movement
2 St. Vincent Street,
Tunapuna,
Trinidad & Tobago.

The next issue of Caribbean Dialogue will appear in October

STERILIZATION OF working class women

A secret report entitled "Opportunities for Employment, Education and Training" commissioned by the Governor of Puerto Rico was recently exposed in the United States by a group of Puerto Ricans.

The authors of the report set out to find answers to the spiralling unemployment problem that is undermining U.S. colonial-imperialism and the rule of Puerto Rican middle classes.

After concluding that the option of job-creation by industrial growth cannot solve the unemployment curse, their recommendation is to "reduce the growth of the working sector" of the population. They intend to achieve this by forced migration of Puerto Rican workers to the U.S. and massive sterilization of Puerto Rican working-class women.

Just after World War II, a study showed that about 7% of Puerto Rican women over 15 were sterilized, and a 1965 Department of Health study stated that 34% of Puerto Rican women between the ages of 20 and 50 were sterilized.

The secret report states that about 1/3 of Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age outside the Capital, San Juan, are already sterilized.

It is necessary for women, particularly working-class women, and all sectors of the working-class and progressive organizations to fight this form of genocide perpetrated on the working class by the international and national ruling classes.

Sterilization is done - with or without the knowledge of females. A woman who gives birth to a child in a hospital or clinic find out later that she was sterilized. Pregnant working class women who want an abortion must first agree to be sterilized.

The imperialist bourgeoise and their local allies, unable to deal with the unemployed workers, have now decided to freeze the growth of the working class by attacking the working-class woman in her womb. In many underdeveloped countries, sterilization programs are seen as the solution to unemployment and poverty.

Source Third World Forum

JAMAICA

A major confrontation between the police and the army occurred in the Cross Roads area of Kingston, Jamaica when Police tried to arrest several soldiers for behaving in a "rowdy manner" in the State Theatre, The following night about fifty soldiers ambushed two policemen and Police reinforcements were summoned to the scene. During the past three years the police and the army have confronted each other on a number of occasions.

Early August marked the launching of the Jamaican Communist Party at a Public meeting in Kingston. A 14 member committee has been appointed as an interim executive until the first congress of the party is held on August 1, 1976. The Chairman is Mr. H. G. Sinclair and the first Secretary is Mr. Chris Lawrence who has been General Secretary of the Independent Trade Union Advisory Council and a member of the Workers League.

Antilleans in France

While our brothers and sisters are struggling at home, French-speaking Antillean immigrants are involved in the same kind of struggle in France.

Not being able to find work in the Antilles, the French-speaking Antillean is encouraged and organized by the French government to come to France. He comes here expecting to obtain some kind of trade and to lead a life better than what he left at home. But, inevitably, he finds that this is not so. He finds that in France, he is nothing less than a slave. He is employed to do those jobs that a white Frenchman would not do. He has to sell his labour for below minimum wages, and he lives in miserable conditions.

This question of immigration is a deliberate political move on the part of the French colonial power. France uses her Antillean colonies as a source of cheap labour. For more than ten years, the immigration of thousands of French-speaking Antilleans has been officially controlled by the French government.

The Antillean workers are brought to France to compete with French workers and to fill the man-power needs in certain sections of the French economy, notably in construction and the service sector. In fact, France uses the unskilled work-force from the Antilles to undertake those monotonous and repetitive jobs which the more qualified and skilled French workers refuse to perform.

Another reason for the encouragement of emigration from the Antilles to France by the French government was to prevent mass rebellion in the Antilles that would win independence from France. But, now that the Antillean workers are waging struggles at home and in France, the French colonial power is in trouble.

Guyana News Briefs

MILITARY BUDGET

The budget of the Guyana Defence Force (G. D. F.) has almost doubled between 1973 and 1974. In January 1973, $8.7 million (G) was budgeted for defense purposes. By July, 1973, (election time), the budget was increased to $12.4 million(G). In January 1974, the defense budget was $13.8 million (G). Further, earlier this year 60 soldiers were sent to Brazil for training. The only "defence" activities of the 607 in recent years have been the harrassment and brutalization of workers and farmers, and the control of the electoral process in every detail. It would appear that the PNC-State has sent its armed section to learn some Braziliam military tactics and to gain the support of the Brazilian Military State in preparation for the battle against the workers and farmers and the establishment of the PNC-Military State in "Socialist" garments.

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SECRET TREATY

The PNC-State signed a secret military pact with the U. S. in May, 1966 that gives the U. S. UNCONDITIONAL rights to use Timehri Reserve (The Guyana Airport is located there) as a contingency base until at least 1983 (Treaty No. TIAS/7238).

ASCRIA calls on all progressive organisations to protest this betrayal of Guyanese sovereignty by the Burnham Government. Send protest telegrams to Forbes Burnham, Prime Minister, Office of the Prime Minister, Georgetown, Guyana with a copy to Caribbean Dialogue.

POLITICAL COMEDY

The political elite in St. Vincent has produced another of its many political comedies around the 1974 elections.

Traditionally, there have been two political parties in St. Vincent - The St. Vincent Labour Party (SVLP) led by Milton Cato and the People's Progressive Party (PPP) led by Ebenezer Joshua. The pre-1974 election government was a coalition between the PPP and one independent , Son Mitchell, who was a former member of the SVLP. The coalition was formed as

JAMES MITCHELL

EBENEZER JOSHUA

MILTON CATO

both the SVLP and the PPP gained 6 seats each in the 1972 elections. Mitchell's price for joining with the PPP was the Premiership which Joshua gave him. Two years later in 1974, Joshua and his wife resigned from the government and the Mitchell government was thrown out of office as a result of a vote of no-confidence passed in the legislature. By this time however, the PPP was split into two factions - the Joshua faction and the Mitchell /Sylvester faction.

During the 1974 election campaign Joshua and Cato, arch-political rivals for almost twenty years appeared on the same political platform to defeat the "enemy" - the Mitchell/Sylvester faction of the PPP . Meanwhile, the two factions of the PPP were fighting each other in the courts. each claim-in to be the true PPP.

The election results showed that the SVLP won in all constituencies except three which were won by Mitchell, Joshua and his wife. Joshua of the PPP was made a cabinet Minister in an SVLP government, while Mrs. Joshua of the PPP announced that she would form the opposition. Consequently, both Mrs. Joshua and Mr. Mitchell were contending for the post of leader of the opposition. Whichever one got the political job would be the leader of the opposition consisting of one person.

The St. Vincent constitution states that the Governor must appoint the elected individual who commands a majority of the opposition members in the Legislature. But there were two members in opposition, both from different parties and, therefore, neither commanding the necessary majority.

The SVLP government eventually amended the constitution so that the opposition member with the longest service in parliament would become the leader of the opposition. So Mrs. Joshua got the job.

St. Vincent, therefore, has a government made up of the SVLP and the PPP, and a one-woman official opposition of the PPP. What a political comedy !

The St. Vincent political system has carried to the absurd the British Parliamentary system, transplanted to a society where the basis for its capitalist functioning does not exist.

Coming in the October issue of Caribbean Dialogue:
"Unemployment and the unemployed-the crisis of capitalism in the Caribbean."

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Dominican Republic lives under the stranglehold of U. S. imperialism. The imperialists dominate the economy through multinational corporations such as Falconbridge and the Gulf and Western conglomerate that are the major agents of exploitation. Falconbridge, the Canadian-based mining corporation, has investments amounting to $190 million and the U. S. based Gulf and Western, which has invested $200 million, controls the sugar industry, tourism and real estate.

Some of the consequences of the expansionist strategy by North American imperialists are reflected in the trade relationship between the U. S. A. and the Dominican Republic. The Dominican Republic is one of the most lucrative markets for the U. S. in the Caribbean and Central America. 53. 8% of the goods imported into the country comes from America and 66. 4% of exports (mainly raw materials) go to the U. S.

The Dominican Republic, like all of the Caribbean and Latin American states dominated by the U. S. bourgeoisie is plagued with widespread poverty, unemployment disease, malnutrition and illiteracy.

In 1972, the Central General de Trabajadores (CGT) was formed as an organized body of workers to combat government repression. Since its inception, this progressive body has continuously confronted the government and the corporations whose repressive measures are directed against the anti-imperialist struggles of the workers.

State legislation, such as Article 89 allows the government to detain an individual on the grounds that he conspired to engage in or encouraged workers' struggles and anti-imperialist activities by his or her writing. No proof is necessary under this Article to detain an individual indefinitely. Progressives such as Francisco Antonio Santos, Julito de Pena Vardez, Eugenio Perez Cepeda, David Orelio Espaillat and Rafael "Fafa" Taveras have either been exiled or imprisoned.

The year of the "recession", 1975 has seen an increase in the struggles of workers in construction, on the docks, on tobacco and cotton plantations, hospital, telephone and mine workers and students both at universities and high schools. With inflation rising rapidly (approx. 25%) and unemployment at a 25%level, workers are demanding wage increases, in the case of construction workers, for the first time in 10 years. The students have been protesting against the government's refusal to increase the university budget. During this struggle one student was killed and one hundred (100) arrested.

The Central Union of Workers (CGT) which represents the more radical and

(continued on page 28)

DEPORTATION OF IMMIGRANT WORKERS

1500 HAITIANS, MOSTLY WORKERS, ARE CURRENTLY LIVING IN FEAR, THREATENED WITH DEPORTATION BY THE CANADIAN IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES AND THE RCMP TO THE DUVALIER HELL-HOLE AND THE TON TON MACOUTES.

The Bahamian government recently decided to expel 4,000 Haitian immigrants. These workers have lost all their personal belongings and have been cruelly transported to Haitian shores.

200,000 Haitian sugar cane workers are victims today of brutal unrelenting persecution in the Dominican Republic. Some have been murdered at the order of owners of the sugar mills and plantations.

There are nearly 300,000 in the United States. In 1974, more than 700 fled to the U.S. in precarious boats. Some lost their lives in the treacherous passage. Others were jailed immediately. One of these, Turenne Deville, chose suicide rather than return to Haiti. He hanged himself in his cell.

The latest development in the oppression of exiled Haitians is in Canada. There, a Haitian exile colony of 15,000, 4000 of whom are labourers, has grown since 1971. Mostly uninformed, they came to Canada from a country which had no Canadian Immigration office. 1500 of the Haitians arrived since 30th November, 1972 from which time the Bryce MacKasey Law denied visitors the right to apply for landed resident status from within Canada. Others arrived after 15th August, 1973 and under the Robert Andras Law of that date are denied appeal against immigration department decisions. In any case, the Board of Appeals, by law, confirms all measures and decisions of the immigration officers. Nine out of ten appeals by Haitians to the Tribunal result in expulsion orders.

Over $\frac{1}{2}$ million Haitian peasants, unemployed workers and youth have been forced into exile because of the backwardness of the Haitian economy and brutal repression by the Duvalier dictatorship.

The deportation of Haitian exiles is likely to heighten the social and political conflicts in Haiti, but so long as international capital is given a free hand in disposing of superfluous labour in a period of crisis; so long as it is allowed to maintain divisions between the various sectors of the working class and continue to weild dominance over these sectors; so long also capital will rule. It is the task of all organizations that are working within the various sectors of the working class to continuously develop the social power of the class and so must defend the Haitian exiled workers and all migrant workers.

The Trinidad and Tobago parliament which is totally controlled by People's National Movement (PNM) passed a criminal law amendment bill earlier this year. This bill, which is referred to as the Anti-Sabotage Bill, prohibits marches and demonstrations by unions, political organizations, etc. The sugar workers, sugar farmers and oilfield workers organized under the banner of the United Labour Front (ULF) were refused permission to march in June and July.

WORKERS, FARMERS AND YOUTH VS GAIRY'S STATE

The workers, farmers and students of Grenada are once again confronting the Gairy regime in a mass but disconnected political rebellion.

During 1973 and January of 1974, the power of the Gairy regime was seriously challenged for the first time in 25 years by an all-class mass movement of workers, farmers, students, shopkeepers, doctors, lawyers, planters, merchants, etc. There were daily rallies and demonstrations that reached the phenomenal figure of 40,000 (over 1/3 of the total population) in late January 1974. Gairy unleashed the "Mongoose Gang" (the Grenadian version of the "Ton Ton Macoute") on the masses of the people. The Mongoose Gang was used as the principal violent arm of the Gairy regime (Gairy did not trust the police), and dozens of people were beaten and Rupert Bishop, father of Maurice Bishop, one of the leaders of the radical New Jewel Movement (NJM), was murdered in cold blood. The Mongoose Gang went so far as to loot the main supermarkets and department stores in the capital, St. George's.

THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE REBELLION

The mass movement that emerged seemed to have been a classical nationalist movement, but ironically it expressed itself in opposition to independence under the rule of the Gairy regime. "Under the rule of the Gairy regime" is the crucial qualification for the movement was not anti-independence. Rather its main focus was the overthrow of the Gairy regime and it instinctively utilized the current question of independence as the rallying issue.

The populist character of the mass rebellion produced two main political tendencies within the leadership of the movement - a reformist liberal tendency of doctors, lawyers, planters, merchants, trade union and religious

leaders, etc., that organized itself within the "Committee of 22" and the radical leadership of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) an organization that was formed in March 1973 with the declared purpose of seizing power and building a people's state on the basis of popular assemblies of the people. By mid-1974, months after formal independence, the "Committee of 22" had made peace with Gairy regime and the NJM began a process of nationwide organization and clarification of its strategy. A small faction of the original "Committee of 22" formed the United People's Party (UPP) supposedly

" As part of its 'land to the landless' scheme the Gairy regime seized estates, which was distributed to its supporters. "

to unite all opposition forces to dislodge the Gairy regime from power. In other words, the UPP saw the political problem as Eric Matthew Gairy and not the backward colonial organization of the economy and the stage.

Today, in mid-1975, having neutralized the classes involved in the "Committee of 22" the Gairy regime has now turned its attention to the elimination of the NJM.

The current political crisis was sparked by a series of events that occurred almost simultaneously.

WORKERS' OPPOSITION

The first major event was the mass opposition of workers to an attempt by Gairy to establish the dictatorship of his union over labour. Having faced militant political opposition from two powerful unions - the Seamen's Union and the Technical and Allied Workers' Union - that were hitherto politically subservient to the Gairy regime, Gairy set about to capture control of the Leadership of all unions in the country.

About 120 workers who are constructing a Cable and Wireless Microwave station near to the Grenada airport joined the Technical and Allied Workers' Union earlier this year. In an attempt to split that union, Gairy and the manager of Cable & Wireless called a meeting of the workers and, protected by the Defence and Police forces, Gairy told the workers that his union - the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers' Union (GMMWU) was the only legitimate union in the country. The workers soundly rejected Gairy and demanded to know what the GMMWU had done for workers and what Gairy did with all the union dues paid by other workers to the GMMWU. Faced with this unexpected opposition, Gairy resorted to abuse, claiming that he was responsible for "the shoes and panties that your parents are wearing today". Soon afterwards, Gairy and the Cable and Wireless capitalists attempted to bribe the workers by adding $1.00 to the weekly pay packet of the workers. Over 90% of the workers denounced the cheap attempt at Union bursting, returned the $1.00 and demanded that the company negotiate only with the Technical and Allied Workers' Union.

A second similar incident occurred on an estate in the parish of St. Mark's on the west coast of Grenada.

The Gairy regime has been acquiring a number of estates, small and

" The farmers have also called on the workers, particularly dock workers, for support in the struggle against Gairy State. "

large, throughout the country under the guise of "land for the landless". In most cases, the state has seized lands from the political opponents of the Gairy regime with some vague promise of compensation. The lands are then either divided into $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre lots and sold to supporters and sympathizers of the regime, or the state runs the estate

as a state-enterprise, reaping the crops without maintenance and, consequently, allowing the estate to become unproductive at which time the workers are forced onto the labour market as unemployed.

As part of its "land to the landless" scheme, the Gairy regime seized an estate belonging to the deceased P. G. Hostein in St. Mark's. The 70-odd agricultural workers revolted and refused to work. Eventually, about 11 workers returned to work and the state had to recruit a few other supporters of the party to reap the crops. The NJM intervened in the struggle, organized the workers in the newly-formed "General, Agricultural and Factory Workers Union (GAFU)", and began organizing estate workers in the rural areas. To date, GAFU has organized workers on five estates and the movement is spreading rapidly.

These two incidents may appear quite normal, but in the context of Grenada, it is the first time since 1950 that workers, particularly agricultural workers, have openly and publicly revolted against the labour leadership of Eric Gairy and have joined a radical union. Such action on the part of workers is not simply economistic; if it were, then the workers would have joined the GMMWU, for the leadership of GMMWU has political power. NJM had dared to venture into Gairy's stronghold. NJM, therefore, by challenging Gairy in the very heart of his political base was, in fact, declaring war on the political and labour rule of Gairy. It was this political challenge that forced the Gairy regime to begin the systematic destruction of NJM.

Three other events followed each other within a matter of days - the Newspaper Amendment Act; seizure of the Grenada nutmeg co-operative, and the signing of a warrant for the arrest of Eric Gairy.

RECENT EVENTS

In late June, the NJM sought to obtain a signed warrant for Gairy's arrest. The warrant resulted from the report of the Duffus Commission which was appointed by the former governor, Hilda Bynoe, to enquire into the events

and circumstances leading up to the mass rebellion of January 1974. The Commissioners charged Gairy with being "the cause of the riot due to his gross negligence and inciting deliberate violent confrontation , and having a grave disregard for public order and safety".

On June 27, three of Gairy's magistrates - Lloyd St. Louis, I. I. Duncan and Ernest John - refused to sign the warrant. But on July 5, a Justice of the Peace, F. Archibald, signed the warrant which was handed to the commissioner of police, J. Usen (Nigerian technical assistance to Grenada).

On July 4, the Grenada cabinet dissolved the executive board of the Grenada Co-operative Nutmeg Association (GCNA) and seized control of the Association. The Defence Force, popularly known as the "Green Beasts", was sent to "occupy" and "guard" all the Association's buildings, and the Barclay's bank account of the association was frozen. The Banana and Cocoa Co-operative Associations, both economically powerful with millions of dollars in reserve, had already been seized by the Gairy state. Gairy's propagandized reasons for seizing these associations is that they were not operating in the interest of the poor farmers, but were serving a few estate owners. If that was the case before (and to a certain extent it was), then it is more so since the Gairy state seized control, and the nutmeg farmers knew that very well.

The final act in the present scenario was the proclamation of the Newspaper Amendment Act in early July - that effectively bars all newspapers except those controlled by the Gairy regime and its supporters (see box on "Repression of written communication"). It is the combination of the above events that has precipitated the present political crisis in Grenada.

STATE REPRESSION

Immediately after F. Archibald signed the warrant for Gairy's arrest, the Grenada Cabinet revoked his commission of Justice of the Peace and began an investigation into "circumstances surrounding the signing of the warrant". Also, the police and defence force started a series of mass searches and beatings of NJM members and supporters. On Friday, July 18, 20 members of the "Green Beasts" unleashed a reign of terror on the people that were in the capital, St. George's.

" The power of the Gairy regime was seriously challenged for the first time in 25 years by an all-class movement. "

On that day, NJM members, having before announced publicly that they would disregard the Newspaper Act, were selling the New Jewel paper in St. George's. The "Green Beasts" threw tear-gas cannisters everywhere in the city and scores of innocent people were beaten. Kenrick Radix, a member of the Political Bureau of NJM, who was taking pictures of the terror campaign, was mercilessly beaten and received several wounds on his face and scalp. A shot from one of the "Green Beasts" barely missed his head. Similar confrontations have been taking place in various parts of the island and in a number of places, workers, farmers and youth have forcibly released persons arrested by the police and the "Green Beasts".

FARMERS RESISTANCE

Nutmeg farmers have also been

organizing to take back control of their co-operative and funds. Farmers' meetings have been held in various parts of the country and all farmers have decided to decrease production, to boycott the state-run co-operative by not selling their products and to boycott Barclays Bank which is collaborating with the Gairy regime by freezing the farmers' co-operative funds. Hundreds of farmers have withdrawn their deposits from Barclay's bank. At a mass farmers' meeting at Seamoon (near to the Grenada airport) on Sunday, July 20th, over 1000 farmers decided "to tighten the agricultural shutdown of Grenada, the banana boycott, and to stop selling cocoa and nutmegs". At Mt. Felix estate, owned by one L. A. Purcell (an ally of Gairy), and located on the west coast of the island, hundreds of banana and nutmeg trees have been destroyed. The farmers have also called on the workers, particularly the dock workers, for support in the struggle against the Gairy state.

ECONOMIC COLLAPSE

The measures taken by the Gairy state that directly precipitated the present struggle have to be viewed within the context of the economic mess in Grenada. With the virtual collapse of the agriculture on which the backward economy is based, with the decline of tourism to the extent where a number of hotels has closed down and others are operating at 25% occupancy, with unemployment estimated at over 60% of the labour force and with increase in prices of essential commodities running over 100% per annum, the Gairy regime faced a severe economic crisis that it has been unable to tackle.

The state, being totally bankrupt, has been unable to meet its monthly recurrent expenses. For example, the salaries of civil servants for the month of May were eventually paid on June 10, and only because of a charitable grant of $2 million (W.I.) from Nigeria. Commercial banks have refused to loan any further money to the state and all begging efforts on the part of the government to raise funds in the foreign financial market have failed.

In desperation, the Gairy regime applied to the World Bank for $50 million (US) for "agricultural diversification". As any sane observer would expect, the World Bank turned down the application, and stated that only the Nutmeg Co-operative met the economic criteria for a loan. Further, in a long-standing dispute between the GCNA and the government, an arbitration tribunal awarded the Nutmeg co-operative over $140,000 (W.I.) with interests at 5% from 1970 and the cost of lands seized by the Gairy regime in 1968. Besides, Grenada is the second largest producer of nutmegs in the world, and in 1974, the nutmeg industry earned $7.5 million. It is within this context that Gairy decided that the Nutmeg Co-operative is a necessary economic prize.

The workers (employed and unemployed), farmers, students, small shopkeepers and other oppressed sections of the Grenadian population are mobilizing on a mass scale to challenge the power of the Gairy regime. Within a few months, the concrete confrontation for state power could be a reality. The New Jewel Movement sees the present crisis as a new phase of the struggle and appeals for the fullest moral and material support from all freedom-loving people, especially Grenadians overseas.

Source: Reports from NJM and Caribbean Dialogue Research

A 'DREAD' SCENE

Never has repression been legalised in so facile a manner as it was with the passing of the 'Dread Act' in the Dominica House of Assembly last November. Since then jeeploads of Defence Force men bound for the hills in the execution of "Mission Dread Hunt" have become a familiar sight in Dominica. About two months ago, an alleged shoot-out between members of the Defence Force and 'Dreads' left one of the former and two of the latter killed.

The unemployed youth in the capital, Roseau, has been the target of police harrassment and persecution for many years. In the past few years, many unemployed youths left Roseau and went into the countryside (in the hills) where they engaged in subsistence agriculture. With the passing of the "Dread Act", some of the youth chose o return to Roseau instead of defying the law by remaining in the hills. A number of these youths were arrested and jailed under the Act with no organized resistance and defence.

In a recent incident in Mahaut, a village which is crammed on a narrow coast-line above an overhanging cliff and where the worst kind of poverty exists, five youth were each picked up separately after a bible service in one night - by a jeepload of Defence Force men for no other reason than that they were wearing "tams". They were taken to a lonely beach, beaten and forced into the sea amidst a hail of bullets.

The most recent and most dangerous development in the political tragicomedy was the proclamation of a limited 38 day amnesty for the Dreads. The Government has given the Dreads the assurance that if they surrender their guns and come down to Roseau from the hills they will be "rehabilitated".

The MND has been waging a major campaign against police brutality and political repression in a series of meetings all over the countryside. At these meetings, MND's proposal for a major demonstration highlighting the Dread Act, political repression and the "frame-up" of Desmond

(continued on page 37)

IN NOVEMBER, 1974, THE DOMINICAN GOVERNMENT PASSED THE "DREAD ACT" BELOW ARE EXCERPTS FROM THE ACT.

In this Act unless the context otherwise requires -

"Association" means any group or body of persons sharing common beliefs practices and ideologies who unite either temporarily or permanently to achieve a common unlawful objective:

Any member of an unlawful association who appears in public or elsewhere wearing any uniform, badge or mode of dress or other distinguishing mark or feature or manner of wearing their hair, shall be guilty of an offence, and shall be arrested without warrant by any member of the police force.

No proceedings either criminal or civil shall be brought or maintained against any person who kills or injures any member of an association or society designated unlawful, who shall be found at any time of day or night inside a dwelling house.

No proceedings either criminal or civil shall be brought against any member of the Police Force for any action taken in performance of his duties under this Act."

The only "society" named in the schedule of the Act as unlawful is "that society or association of persons commonly called - "THE DREADS".

bankruptcy and repression

Faced with an overdraft of over $21.7 million (more than half the annual budget), with foreign banks unwilling to grant further loans and Britain embarrassed by wasted grants, the Antiguan government surrendered all pretence of controlling the economy and handed over, in 1973, all public utilities - water, electricity, port and telephone services - to the American firm, Stanley's of Des Moines, Iowa.

The new imperialist company in its quest for a high rate of profit sought to "rationalize" production by retrenching a number of workers, and in the transaction between the State and the company nothing was said about financial benefits due to the workers. In response to this treacherous deal on the part of the Walters' Government, the workers revolted in a mass strike which spread to the Airport and sections of the Civil Service. The Walters' government, supposedly a labour government in that Walters heads the largest trade union in Antigua, immediately began a series of repressive acts. Local leaders among the workers were dismissed from their jobs; Civil Service employees were fired; and scabs were brought in from other Caribbean territories.

Two years later, in 1975, after allowing mis-management of the public utilities and the rape of Antiguan labour by Stanley's, the Antiguan government has been forced to terminate Stanley's contract. And not one official comment acknowledging the waste has been made.

The Antiguan Premier has been engaging in expensive and unproductive overtures and jaunts to Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Mexico, Germany, Britain and the U.S. in search of "financial friends". No one has offered salvation.

Unable to organize and develop the economy even along capitalist lines, with more than half the labour force unemployed and with corruption rampant in every official institution of the society, the Walters government have turned to official and unofficial state repression to curb dissent and protest. The government has passed a Public Order Act, a Newspaper Act, a Labour Code etc. and it has armed the Royal Police and Secret Police with SLR's and S.M.G's and tear gas.

In June this year, the home of Tim Hector, Chairman of the Afro-Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM), the only organized challenge to the local ruling class, was bombed with Molotov Cocktails by persons "unknown".

The ACLM has laid the blame for the attack on Antigua's ruling elite. No statement has been forthcoming from the government concerning the attack.

Hector was in the U.S. at the time of the attack, attending the Second International Conference on Workers Self-Management. His wife, Arah, two children and a friend were asleep in the house when the bomb attack was made. No one has yet been charged with the offence.

(continued on page 38)

ATTACK ON THE MASS MEDIA

The Political management of the English-speaking Caribbean has launched a two-pronged attack on dissent in the media. The first attack was to gain control of the means of mass communication (newspapers, radio and T. V.) and to purge the media of dissenting individuals.

The second attack which is now in full force is to completely suppress the radical newspapers published by left organizations.

In Antigua, the Walters government has passed legislation that requires publishers to deposit $10, 000 (W. I.) in order to publish any legal newspaper.

Burnham's "Co-operative Socialist" government of Guyana, having made it financially impossible to publish newspapers, has also taken control of the importation of newsprint. The Guyanese state seized the bulk copies of a newspaper printed in Trinidad for W. P. A., the Working Peoples Alliance, a combination of four left organizations. This purge was also extended to the Radio, with the firing in the last year of two of Guyana's leading journalists, Ricky Singh and Ulric Mentus.

A similar purge is presently underway in Trinidad and Tobago. Recently Mr. Jimmy Bain, head of the State-owned Radio Station, hinted that the Williams government is considering legislation to control the mass media. Earlier the government banned the voices and pictures of the three leaders of the United Labour Front (George Weekes, Basdeo Panday and Raffique Shah) from the state-owned media.

This purge and suppression of the media has reached the height of absurdity in Grenada. "Radio-Grenada" is completely controlled by the Gairy Regime and only the voices of Gairy and other government officials can be heard on Radio - Grenada. Recently Gairy following the Antigua example, passed legislation intended to suppress the weekly newspaper of the New Jewel Movement. In essence this act states that no one can publish a newspaper within the state unless he obtains a license from the Registrar, and pay every year a license fee of five hundred dollars. He must also deposit with the Accountant General a sum of $20, 000 in cash.

In Dominica, the Government has also circulated a set guidelines for the operation of the state-owned "Radio-Dominica". The basis of these state that all programmes must be pre-recorded and vetted by the Senior Assistant Secretary of Broadcasting and Information Officer designated by Cabinet for that purpose And that Radio-Dominica should extend its energies to non-controversial programmes.

Through control of the mass media the ruling-classes are free to propagandize their views and beliefs and to falsify information as they see fit. It is information and ideas which the workers, farmers and students need as a weapon in their struggle for power that are being suppressed. In effect this attack on the media is an attack on the working-class and the peasantry.

Castro Reports Dozens of CIA Murder Attempts

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro said July 10 that he knew of plans for dozens—perhaps as many as forty or sixty—attempts against his life by counterrevolutionary groups controlled by the Central Intelligence Agency.

In 1961, he said, an attempt was made to poison him with a chocolate milk shake.

The Black Community in Britain

an introduction

Report by Darcus Howe, editor of Race Today.

Two million black immigrant workers, concentrated in the productive and service sectors of the British economy and socialised in educational institutions, constitute a key social and political force in modern British society.

They arrived in Britain in the mid 1950's from the Caribbean, India and Pakistan. They were the workers and peasants whose rebellion spawned the nationalist movements which eventually wrecked the British empire. Demoralised and defeated by the failure of the nationalist leadership to effect any fundamental change in their home territories, they flocked to Britain, there to fill the unskilled positions in the expanding post second world war British economy. They took those jobs that white workers refused to do mainly in the engineering industry, chemicals, textiles, catering, transport and the health service. The new immigrants worked long hours with low rates of pay thereby facilitating an enormous increase in capital accumulation on which Britain has survived until today.

This last addition to the British workforce was not accompanied by any corresponding increase in social and welfare services. As a consequence, poor housing and overburdened educational facilities characterised the immigrant condition.

In 20 years, a powerless and demoralised workforce, through its own independent self activity and rebellion, stands on the verge of making a serious and overt intervention into the political development of British society. The defensive strength of the

indigenous white working class in Britain has also served to strengthen the independent struggles of black workers.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

This process(from a position of almost total powerlessness to one of considerable social power is punctuated by a series of strikes and community struggles, the latter around the issues of housing, education and police brutality.

Almost at once black workers sought to tackle the conditions under which they were forced to work. They could see that white workers worked less and were paid more and this they attributed to the fact that white workers vere organised into trade unions. The endency in the early sixties was therefore centered around a movement for organisation into Trade Unions. This movement was spearheaded by a wide range of community organizations which were developing in almost every black community; organisations which were linked under the Indian Workers Association, the Pakistani Federation and the West Indian Standing Conference.

IMMIGRANT STRUGGLES AND CLASS COMPOSITION

The first recorded strike action to assume significant proportions took place in 1965 at Woolf's Rubber Factory in South London where 90% of unskilled labour was performed by Sikhs. Low rates of pay demanded that the workers performed massive overtime duties and in the all immigrant shops foremen were paid by workers in return for overtime. In the attack on the abitrary power of the foremen one worker was sacked and the entire work force came out on strike. The Union refused to back the strike and the united power of management and the union defeated the workers after six weeks.

However certain characteristics of the immigrant community began to emerge, ones that were to form an unusually powerful base for the future struggles. Firstly immigrants were recruited into factories from particular villages in India and Pakistan and among West Indians it was quite the norm to find that incoming immigrants would come from the same rural and urban areas in the Caribbean to join their friends and relatives in a particular factory. This meant that the workforce was linked by ties of friendship, religious ties and in some cases an entire family worked at the same institution.

Secondly the new immigrants lived in the same streets, the same houses, participated in mass social activities thereby adding to the socialisation process of modern labour an intensive social cohesion. It is from this powerful base that the black section of the British working class launched its struggles.

" Black workers sought to tackle the conditions under which they were forced to work. "

Invariably they took on both Management and the Trade Union leadership. The content of the struggles centred around the fact that they worked longer hours than whites for less pay. These conditions were negotiated by the Trade Union leadership whose role often appeared to be the perpetuation and enforcement of the wage differential between skilled and unskilled. Whites were skilled and blacks unskilled when in fact both do the same job.

In the last 10 years managements up and down the country have been

plagued by a series of strikes which provoked one national newspaper to describe the movement as follows: "Industrial unrest, physical violence and a bitter rift between Trade Unions and black workers are some of the problems facing the Committee for Industrial Relations".

The strike movement reached its highest point in May 1974 when 1,100 East African Asians walked out the multi national Imperial Typewriter factory. A whole range of grievances emerged which could be summarised as follows:

(1) They worked more and were paid less than white workers
(2) Whites enjoyed more privileges than the black workers.
(3) While blacks were in the majority in the factory, representation at shop stewards' level was exclusively white.

For 13 weeks they fought both union and management. Their homes in the community were transformed into bases from which the battle was fought. Family ties, close relationships between workers who once lived in communities in Uganda and Kenya sustained the strikers who were paid no strike benefits. A national and international mobilisation executed by the Race Today Collective who produce the monthly journal Race Today eventually dragged a settlement out of management. All this was conducted in the full glare of national publicity. The strike undoubtedly added to the confidence and power of the entire black community.

BLACK YOUTH AND COMMUNITY STRUGGLES

Side by side with these struggles at the place of work there developed a general movement against bad housing, chaotic educational facilities and police brutality. The last of which (police brutality) is a consequence of a new dimension introduced within the black community.

In the last 10 years there has been a massive introduction of second generation immigrants on to the labour market. Amont the young West Indians particularly there is an overwhelming refusal to do the jobs their parents were originally forced to accept. This refusal takes two forms. Firstly, there are those who change jobs from one week to the next always in rebellion against the directives of foremen. Secondly, there are those who do not work at all. They roam the streets in numbers of 15-20, and are concentrated in hostels and by the hundreds in youth clubs. Their hostility to the established order knows no bounds and they share this sentiment with young workers. This open rebellion against capitalist discipline has resulted in frequent clashes with the police giving rise to organisations whose major platform has been the struggle against police brutality. In the last 5 years there have been three major political trials arising out of such incidents, The Trial of the Metro Four, The Mangrove Nine and the Cricklewood 12.

" The workers and peasants whose rebellion spawned the nationalist movements which eventually wrecked The British Empire. "

The youth rebellion has penetrated into the heart of the educational system. By the practice of streaming in British schools, most young blacks are placed in the lower streams and know their destiny on the labour market from the age of 10, unskilled shit work. Strengthened by the rebellion of the school leavers, those who are at school consequently disrupt classes, play truant and fight teachers. Their actions have not only exposed the nature of school-

(continued on page 38)

Decree on Role of 'People's Committees'

[The following document was issued July 8 as an appendix to the official communiqué of the assembly of the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement), a body of 240 military men. It was reportedly prepared by the Gabinetes de Dinamização (Political Education Departments) of the three branches of the armed forces and by Copcon (Comando Operacional do Continente—Mainland Portugal Command, the armed forces special political security division).

[The communiqué noted that the assembly had approved the document "in general as a consistent and viable plan for building a socialist society in Portugal." The assembly called on the Revolutionary Council, the supreme body of fifty officers of the armed forces, to "move with urgency to issue revolutionary legislation recognizing the unitary grass-roots bodies and according them the support they need from the MFA to establish a base, become active, and develop."

[The assembly voted that "such legislation must recognize the independent and nonpartisan character of these people's organizations and the need for their fusing progressively with the local and regional administration."

[The translation of the text of the document, published in the July 9 issue of *Jornal Novo*, is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The alliance between the people and the MFA has remained a constant reality of the revolutionary process up to now. The April 25 liberation, carried forward by a series of positions of the MFA and the progressive political parties and by political and economic measures put into practice, has made it possible to maintain a sufficient level of cohesion between the people and the MFA. Nonetheless, maintaining and consolidating the alliance between the people and the MFA involves primarily satisfying the deepest aspirations of the exploited classes. In this respect, it is urgent to continue the work begun on April 25, 1974. It is in the context of a Cultural Revolution, through the exercise of both civilian and military potential in the material, human, and technical fields that the people will be decisively mobilized for the Revolution.

Practice has begun to demonstrate the truth of this statement, which is obvious anyway. The essential prerequisite for consolidating this alliance lies in developing and creating the conditions for maintaining and consolidating the dual locomotive of the Portuguese revolutionary process [i.e., people-MFA].

Furthermore, in order to mobilize the people behind the Revolution, the working masses must be assured conditions for participating actively, through forms of people's organization, in democratic, independent, and united practice.

It becomes necessary to draw concretely on this fundamental reality, the alliance between the people and the MFA, by promoting it and supporting it in order to defend and give dynamism to the Revolution in progress.

Defending the Revolution and lending it dynamism in the present phase involves achieving the following tasks:

a. Promoting revolutionary involvement of the masses, that is, creating and promoting united groups with the perspective of their taking root as real organs of people's power.

b. Defending the Revolution from the attacks of the reactionary forces by giving the masses a profound understanding of the requisites of the process and the need for creating defensive bodies.

c. Winning the economic battle. Since production is not sufficient to meet the overall needs of the country, great exertion is called for from the working masses. It is essential, therefore, to win the economic battle and overcome the low level of development of the productive forces, to extend and advance workers control, to widen the scope of the state sector, and to promote the accumulation necessary for our economic independence.

In order to assure the achievement of the above points, attention will have to be given to the following measures:

1. On the Domestic Front

a. Creating and promoting a broad state sector reflecting the control of the national economy by a Democratic State, which will replace a private economy dominated by monopoly capital that paralyzes the development of production.

b. Replacing an agrarian structure with deep feudal roots by another that will permit accelerated progress, an objective clearly defined in the Agrarian Reform, the implementation of which must be rigorously controlled by the organized rural working masses.

c. Purging and decentralizing the state apparatus with a view to building a new state apparatus on a popular base so that, through effective coordination, the potential for initiatives by the local people's bodies will be promoted. For this purpose, these local bodies will have broad freedom in decision making and capacity for response in the area of finances, which will put the product of the nation's labor effectively in the service of the working masses.

d. Encouraging and supporting forms of workers "control" over the means of production.

e. Defining an overall economic policy, taking account of the most important sectors for development.

f. Defining an economic policy in each of these key sectors.

2. On the Foreign Front

a. Assuring the continuation of the decolonization process in Africa to its final consequences. In a clear-sighted and dispassionate historic perspective, the independent future of Portugal will have to be based on fraternal relations with our ex-colonies in the political, social, and economic areas.

b. Avoiding any kind of ideological, political, or economic domination of the Portuguese revolutionary process. Guaranteeing the maintenance of cordial relations with all peoples on the globe. Consolidating an economic power that will guarantee

national independence.

There is no intention *either to ignore the parties* dedicated to building socialism *or to militarize the people.*

The intention is to create a form of mass organization that at the present moment, and in a correct class-struggle perspective, can unite the workers and mobilize them to carry out the concrete tasks of defending the Revolution that were described previously.

It is clear that a Revolution must be *defended through consolidating the gains achieved,* through *organization, vigilance, work, discipline,* and *authority,* and through a *real advance* in the organic growth of the power of the *working masses.*

This organization of the masses, by its formation and practice, will promote the unity of the working masses. It will establish conditions enabling those political parties interested in building socialism to find ways of cooperating and mutual understanding that will lead to a combining of their efforts to achieve the proper consolidation of the political vanguard of the revolutionary process.

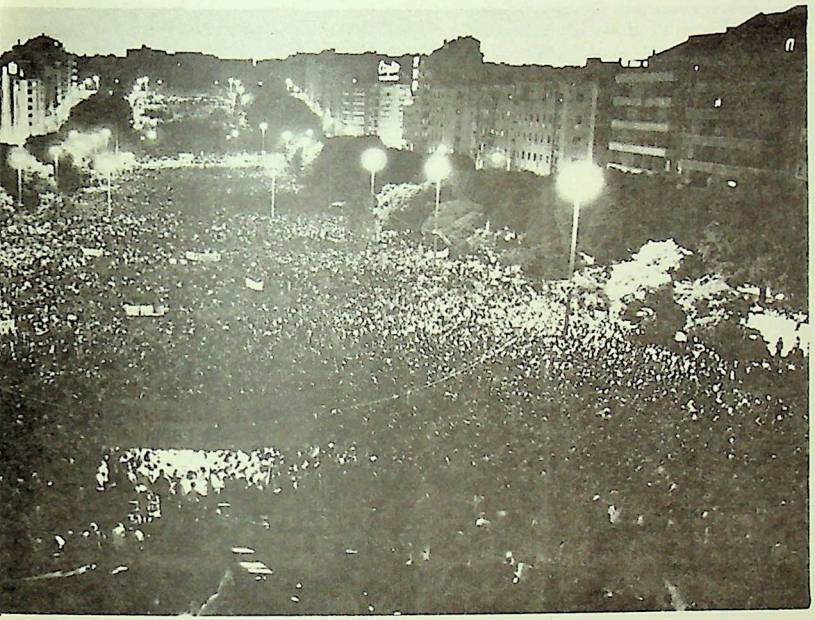
These objectives involve carrying out the Program of Political Action issued by the Revolutionary Council for united action by the Provisional Government, for a news policy at the service of the revolutionary process, and for the practice of exemplary unity, austerity and discipline by the MFA. The latter point embraces the revolutionary exercise of criticism and self-criticism within the MFA.

In view of the above points, the following structure for the alliance between the people and the MFA is suggested:

2.1 Explanation of Structure

2.1.1—The structure of the alliance between the people and the MFA will have three fundamental lines: the MFA, the people's organizations, and the government.

In this transitional phase, the state apparatus will be purged and progressively replaced, with its powers (administrative and financial) being decentralized, thus permitting local initiative, under the "control," supervision, and gradual assumption of power by the people's bodies.



2.1.2—The Tenants Committees, Workers Committees, and other grass-roots people's organizations will form People's Assemblies on a local, parish, or other level as may be determined.

2.1.3—These Local Assemblies will form Municipal Assemblies and so on to the National People's Assembly.

2.1.4—Direct participation by the MFA will begin in the Municipal and Regional Assemblies. The bodies involved will be the ADUs in the municipalities and districts, and ADRs in the regions, and the AMFA [Assembleia do Movimento das Forças Armadas] at the national level. The ADUs are the unit assemblies of the army, navy, air force, and security forces.

2.1.5—The Revolutionary Council is the supreme organ of national sovereignty.

2.1.6—The People's Assemblies will be supported by the MFA and organs of the state apparatus, which will exercise "control" over them in the aspects of public administration in which they participate.

2.2 Launching the People's Organizations

2.2.1—In the first phase, the ADUs will encourage the formation of Tenants Committees and Workers Committees where they do not exist through educational and informational sessions.

In localities where such structures already exist, there will also be educational and informational sessions on the real objectives of the MFA.

Subsequently, in contact with these grass-roots organizations, the experience of their activity will be collected and the lessons will be drawn and offered as a means of improving procedures and achieving more correct results.

After an evaluation by the MFA, these organizations will be recognized.

2.2.2—In a second phase, before long, the formation of Local and Municipal People's Assemblies will be encouraged.

2.2.3—In a third phase, in the coming period, the formation of District People's Assemblies will be encouraged.

2.2.4—In a fourth phase, more distant, the formation of Regional People's Assemblies will be encouraged.

2.2.5—The National People's Assembly, the supreme organ of people's participation, will be the final and faraway stage of this structuring process.

3. Statutory Norms

3.1 General Principles

The type of people's organization proposed is based fundamentally on the Workers Committees and Tenants Committees. Also considered are Village Councils, Cooperatives, Leagues of Small and Middle Farmers, Collectives, and other grass-roots people's associations.

Structures launched under various initiatives must link up with defined grass-roots organizations, Tenants Committees [TCs] and Workers Committees [WCs], which will broaden their composition in order to absorb and discipline attempts to consolidate and guarantee the revolutionary process in conformity with the tasks of grass-roots organizations mentioned in point 3.2.2.

In conclusion, the TCs and WCs, as well as other grass-roots organizations, will take

up the tasks of defending the Revolution.

The present statutory norms respect those already existing in the various organizations, which should be broadened to include the objectives defined here.

3.2 Guiding Principles of People's Organization

3.2.1 Objective

The fundamental and final objective is to build a socialist society defined in the Revolutionary Council's Plan of Political Action.

Since this objective can only be achieved in the context of unity, all levels of people's organization must be unitary.

This concept of unity is defined in the following way:

- Independence from all parties.
- Democratic representativeness based on sections of the population or units of production.
- Association to resolve concrete problems.

The achievement of this objective can best be guaranteed by the MFA, a movement standing above parties, accompanying this process and encouraging it by supporting it, coordinating it, and recognizing those organizations that by their activity merit recognition.

3.2.2 Tasks of the Grass-Roots Organizations

Besides performing their specific functions, the Workers Committees, Tenants Committees, etc., must contribute in the following fields in accordance with their character:

- Political work through educating and informing sections of workers or the population.
- Social action in the areas of health, popular education, and sports, promoting literacy, housing and city services, transport, etc.
- Economic action through economic struggle, "control" over the means of production in the nationalized and private sectors, supply and prices, etc.
- Vigilance, by defending plants and urban areas through mounting watch in various shifts, through exercising "control" over the entry of persons, channeling information to the competent official bodies, etc.

This activity in specific cases (at strategic points in the economy), through the initiative of the MFA itself or under its "control" and supervision, can become converted into tasks of self-defense.

- Strengthening the alliance between the people and the MFA must be a constant activity of these organizations.

3.2.3 Tasks of the People's Assemblies

The People's Assemblies will have the following essential missions:

- Transmitting the aspirations, opinions, and demands of the people to the proper decision-making levels.
- Taking part in local, regional, and national planning through the competent bodies, acting as the representatives of the people.
- Monitoring the activity of the administrative bodies and their capacity and speed in responding to the needs of the people.
- Joining with the local organs of people's power to form a people's tribunal for adjudicating noncriminal cases.

3.3 Formative Process

3.3.1—The leadership of the people's organizations will be elected in plenary sessions by a hand vote.

3.3.2—In grass-roots organizations, the members elected are subject to recall by a plenary session of the same kind as the one that elected them.

3.3.3—In the People's Assemblies the members elected are subject to recall by the assemblies themselves.

3.4 Composition

3.4.1—Of the grass-roots organizations (TCs, WCs, etc.).

Their present composition will be broadened to meet the tasks set.

3.4.2—Of the Local People's Assemblies.

- Delegates of the grass-roots organizations.
- Delegates of the local authorities.

3.4.3—Of the Municipal People's Assemblies.

- Delegates of the military Unit Assemblies.
- Delegates of the Local People's Assemblies.
- Delegates of the local authorities and government bodies.

3.4.4—Of the District People's Assemblies.

- Delgates of the military Unit Assemblies, including the commander of the unit.
- Delegates of the local authorities and governmental bodies.
- Delgates of the trade-union organizations.

3.4.5—Of the Regional People's Assemblies.

- Delgates of the military Regional Assembly (including the commander of the military region).
- Delegates of the District People's Assemblies.
- Delegates of the local authorities and governmental bodies.
- Delgates of the trade-union organs.

3.4.6—Of the National People's Assembly.

- To be defined.

3.5 Functioning

3.5.1—Decisions in all these bodies will be taken by hand vote.

3.5.2—The representatives of the local authorities, government bodies (regional planning boards, IRA, etc.), and delegates of the trade-union bodies have equal right to voice, vote, and to introduce resolutions.

3.5.3—The decisions made in assemblies link all the structures together in carrying them out.

4. Final Dispositions

4.1—The present norms do not have a rigid character and their application will depend on specific local characteristics and conditions determined by the dynamism of the process.

4.2—The present document must be regarded as a guiding document for practical action by the military units and people's organizations. The structure corresponding to the present development of people's organizations goes as high as Local People's Assemblies.

This phase should be properly consolidated, since it is through the dynamic of the process itself that the viability of an advance to higher forms of organization will be confirmed. □

Honduran Troops Attack Peasant Demonstration

Five persons were killed, two wounded, and eighteen arrested as Honduran troops attacked a march of 12,000 peasants demanding land reform and the release of twenty-two peasant leaders arrested in May. The march on the capital began June 24. Organizers predicted the march would swell to 40,000 by the time it reached Tegucigalpa. One government source said the demonstrators would be stopped before they reached the capital.

The above article was taken from Intercontinental Press. July 21 1975. We think that the proposals are relevant to the Caribbean struggle.

MASS DEMOCRACY IN PRACTICE

A historic political event has been in progress in Cuba over the last three to four months. Nowhere in the modern world has there been such a mass democratic exercise involving millions of workers, farmers, students, housewives, etc., as that being practiced in Cuba around the draft constitution.

After 16 years of the revolutionary process in Cuba, the Communist Party, in preparation for its first congress, has published for organized mass debate the first draft of a constitution for the Cuban Republic.

METHOD

The constitution was drafted by a Preparatory Commission consisting of government representatives, party members, a number of jurists and delegates from the mass organizations. The party leadership did not simply sit around a table and one day announce a new constitution; judges, lawyers, and social scientists were not appointed to draft a constitution for party-parliamentary approval with a tinge of people's participation that in reality means participation of the middle-classes. In the very drafting of the constitution, representatives of mass organizations of workers, farmers, housewives, students, etc., were directly involved.

The process from drafting to adoption of the new constitution was clearly and practically propagandized in Cuba prior to the publication of the first draft constitution so that all mass organizations and the entire population could make the necessary preparations for the mass democratic exercise.

● COMMITTEES FOR the Defense of the Revolution throughout the country are discussing the first draft of the Constitution with housewives, retired workers, students and members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior. The discussions will be wound up on June 10, as programmed by the national office of the CDRs.

The first draft was published and two months (May and June) of organised mass debate followed. The preparatory commission will now consider all criticisms and suggestions coming out of the mass debate and prepare a second draft which would be published and discussed in detail at the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba to be held in the next few months. The PartyCongress will adopt a proposed constitution that will be submitted to the people of Cuba for approval or rejection in a referendum during 1976.

ORGANIZED MASS DEBATE

The first draft of the constitution has been discussed in the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDR) that are organized on a village

and block basis throughout the country and that consist of all the people living in the particular CDR area (Area or Community Assembly) - workers, farmers, students, housewives, intellectuals, soldiers, retired workers, etc.

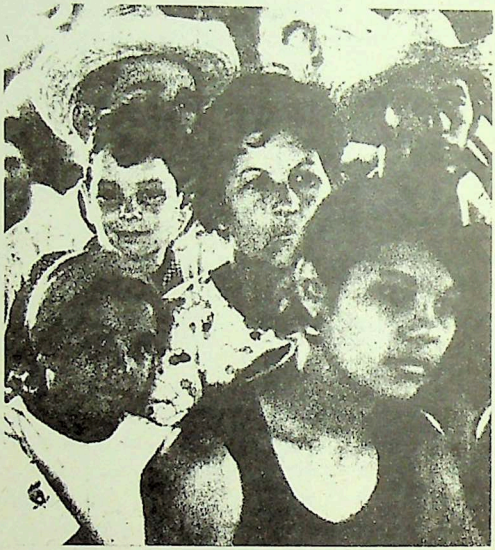
The Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) has also discussed the draft constitution. The FMC held about 15,000 local assembly meetings all over the country attended by over 90% of women in Cuba. Municipal and Regional Assemblies were also held, and in early June a national conference of the FMC was organized to bring together local criticisms and suggestions for submission to the Preparatory Commission. For example, in Pinar del Rio Province, the FMC held over 500 local assemblies with some 12,000 members participating; in Guanabacoa Province over 2,000 assemblies were held attended by over 75,000 members; and in Havana some 11,000 assemblies consisting of some 325,000 people discussed the draft constitution.

The National Association of Small Farmers held some 6,000 local farmers assemblies. As of the end of May, over 28,000 local workers' assemblies in factories and industries, on state and co-operative farms, in state institutions, etc., debated the constitution. It was expected that by the end of June 1.4 million workers and some 4 million Cubans in general would have discussed the draft constitution in organized mass assemblies.

A MASS PARLIAMENT

The Minister of Justice, Armando Torres Santrayll, in delivering the opening address at the first general assembly of the CDR's called to discuss the draft constitution, summed up the mass democratic process, when he said.... "the whole country has become a gigantic parliament; in fact, a gigantic constituent assembly."

Not a bourgeois parliament where party leaders carry on their verbal masturbations; neither a vulgar populist "People's Parliament" where protest leaders lecture the masses and call for a show of hands in support of some meaningless act; nor a constituent assembly of all classes represented by leaders of the old capitalist institutions. But mass parliament



and constituent assembly of workers, farmers, youth, etc., after revolutionary power has been taken and consolidated. A constitution for the socialist transition can only be in harmony with the revolutionary masses when it is developed in the very process of mass revolutionary struggle or after a period of revolutionary practice as in the case of Cuba.

(Caribbean Dialogue will continue to report on the process of framing the Cuban constitution and will analyze the constitution and the process in future issues.)

STRUGGLES
IN THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

Guyana is a co-operative Republic and Guyanese society is in the process of transformation to a socialist society. So says Prime Minister, Forbes Linden Burnham and other leaders of the ruling People's National Congress (PNC). But the workers and farmers of Guyana seem to think differently.

There has been a series of workers' strikes and seizures of estate lands, and new mass organizations of workers and farmers have been emerging that are challenging the social, economic and political organization of Guyanese society.

On the eve of the state-localization of DEMBA (the largest section of the bauxite industry) and just after localization, bauxite workers staged mass strikes on issues of wages, conditions of work and power to determine who must be fired and for what, and who must be promoted. Since localization, there has been a number of sectional wild-cat strikes of workers on questions that have little to do with immediate wages, but that relate to the social power of workers. Smaller strikes have also taken place in other sectors of the economy.

The most significant struggle of workers and farmers in the last few months has been in the sugar industry that represents the most backward and colonial sector of the economy.

SUGAR WORKERS STRIKE

During March and April this year, the entire sugar industry was crippled by a mass strike of East Indian workers. Two rival unions, the officially recognized union that supports the PNC government and the Guyana Agricultural Workers Union linked to the C. P. -type People's Progressive Party, joined together in an alliance to spearhead the sugar workers struggle. There were many issues involved in the strike and the two unions eventually split apart. But perhaps the most significant episode of that strike was the complete silence of the mass media (radio and daily papers, all controlled by the state). During the entire 7 week strike, not once did the radio or papers even mention that there was a strike in the sugar industry. Further, the PNC state sent soldiers of the Guyana Defense Force to harrass East Indian workers and force them back to work by means of threats against workers' families.

They agreed to fight for the unity of cane farmers as a class and fight for the interests of cane farmers.

During the sugar strike which started on March 3, the Cane Farmers as a body publicly declared support for the sugar workers and they decided not to reap their own cane and to boycott the estate owned and operated mills. Though both the sugar workers and most farmers are East Indians, this was the first time in almost quarter of a century that the sugar farmers came out in support of the sugar workers. The imperialist sugar company, in retaliation, sent agents to burn sugar farmers' cane in order to force the farmers to reap and sell their cane to the company's mill.

However, the most recent development in the workers' and farmers' struggle, is the emergence of independent action and organization on the part of sugar farmers.

WORKING PEOPLE'S ALLIANCES

At the end of 1972 and early 1973, ASCRIA (a radical Black organisation that was started by Eusi Kwayana and others) initiated a land occupation movement by both Black and East Indian sugar-cane peasants along the East Coast of Guyana. Hundreds of landless peasants and their families occupied lands owned by Booker's (a British-based imperialist company that owns most of the sugar lands in Guyana), formed village occupation committees and forced the PNC state to begin negotiations with Booker's for state acquisition of portions of estate lands.

In late 1974, four radical organizations ASCRIA, Working People's Vanguard Party, Ratoon and The Indian Political Revolutionary Associates joined together in the Working People's Alliance that set up a Workers and Farmers Advisory Service (WAFAS). On February 2nd this year, WAFAS invited sugar-cane farmers from Buxton and Annandale on the East Coast to a meeting to discuss the world sugar situation and the local grievances of sugar farmers. That meeting signalled the beginning of a new independent sugar farmers' organisation.

THE PLIGHT OF SUGAR-CANE FARMERS

Sugar-cane farmers in Guyana number about 3, 500 and produce about 10% of the harvested sugar-cane in Guyana (in Trinidad and Tobago, there are about 10, 000 sugar farmers producing just over 1/3 of the sugar crop). The Guyana sugar farmers have been traditionally divided along racial lines (those of African descent and East Indian descent). Two years ago, a PNC-sponsored union - Agricultural and Allied Workers' Union - began recruiting farmers, and dozens of farmers joined the union hoping that something would happen. The leadership of the Union, however, as is usual with traditional anti-worker union leadership, simply made grandiose promises to the farmers, and the leaders assured themselves that they had insulated the farmers from agitation and organisation against poverty, exploitation and powerlessness.

However, the continuing miserable conditions and exploitation of the sugar-cane farmers coupled with the news of farmers' struggles in Trinidad awakened the Guyanese farmers . Within one crop, the price of fertilizer increased from $17.00(G) per bag to $27.12(G) per bag. Farmers were paid $23.98(G) per ton for their cane while in Trinidad the farmers were demanding $50.00 per ton and the world market price was thousands of dollars per ton. It was in this situation and after doing the necessary research and preliminary work among the farmers that WAFAS called the February 2 meeting.

"The imperialist sugar company in retaliation, sent agents to burn sugar".

ACTION COMMITTEE FORMED

Both African and East Indian farmers, though not many, attended the meeting at which it was decided to unite the farmers as a class and fight for the interests of all cane-farmers regardless of which union or party the farmers belonged to. A Cane Farmers' Action Committee with district representatives was set up.

MASS ACTION

The Action Committee together with WAFAS began to mobilize farmers from other areas, and on March 3, they picketed the Ministry of Agriculture. The picket was highly organized with each district sending a certain number of farmers. Some 60 farmers were involved in the picketing (a high percentage of cane farmers are elderly people). The farmers demanded nothing less than $44. 20(G) per ton for the 1974 Autumn cane crop and control of the Sugar industry Special Fund to which the farmers calculated they had contributed over $3 million(G).

The Action Committee also held a Seminar on March 16 during which they discussed many burning questions around existing legislation and compared cost-sheets made out by volunteer farmers. They decided to produce out of their struggles and out of the discussions at the seminar a CANE FARMERS CHARTER, which will deal with immediate and long term solutions.

It is clear that the co-operative "Socialism" of Forbes Burnham and the PNC is being challenged by the workers and farmers with the Working People's Alliance providing a new type of leadership in the mass struggle that is rapidly emerging. Co-operative "Socialism", Burnham style, seems to be co-operation and expansion of the local Guyanese ruling class to maintain its class rule through the hegemony of the PNC-State and with the words and forms of socialism, but with the content of reformed capitalism - State-capitalism. The struggles of the sugar-cane workers, the developing struggle and organisation of the sugar-cane farmers and the emerging new forms of independent workers' organisation in the state-run bauxite industry herald a new phase of struggle for workers' and farmers' power.

MARTINIQUE

AN OVERVIEW

Source:

Reports by GRS and Caribbean Dialogue Research

Martinique, an island of about 440 square miles and with a population of just under 350, 000 people, is one of the three French colonies in the Caribbean area (the French ruling class prefers to call its colonies "departments of France"); the other two colonies being Guadeloupe and Cayenne or Guyane with populations of about 320, 000 and 50, 000 people and areas of 650 and 40, 000 square miles respectively.

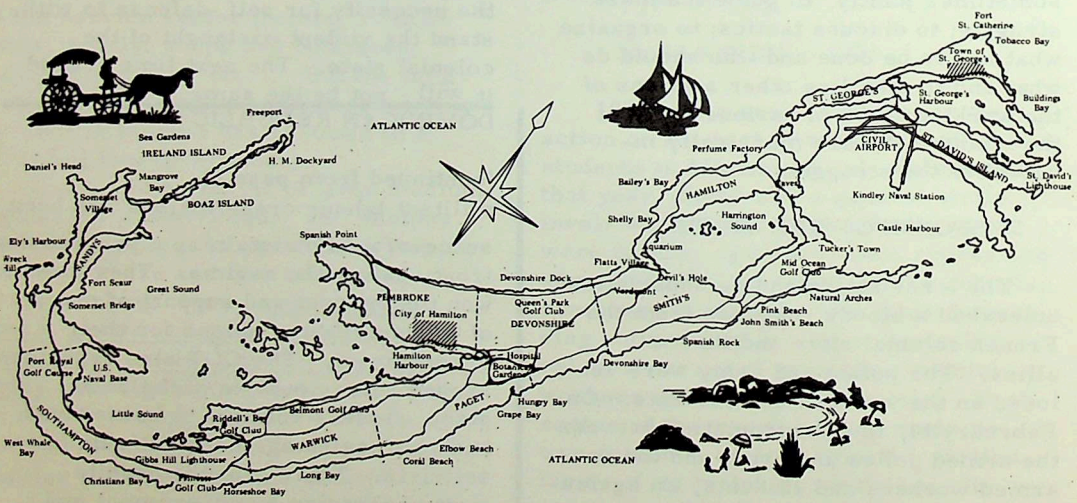
There is no semblance of self-government in the French colonies. Martinique, for example, has three representatives that sit in the French Parliament in Paris and the French colonial state rules through a Prefect in Martinique; very much the same as the colonial governor in the former English colonies. The colonial police and a section of the Frency army stationed in Martinique maintain "law", "order" and "colonial property". The large colonial civil bureaucracy in Martinique is artificially propped by the French colonial state for the agricultural and tourist economy is incapable of supporting the large colonial bureaucracy. The bourgeois political game in Martinique is simply a reflection of French politics. All the political tendencies in France exist in Martinique, and all the French political parties (right and left) have branches in Martinique. Unlike the English, the French ruling class has sought to integrate the colonies within the political

the last colonial bastion

Bermuda's population of approximately 60,000 is sixty-percent black and forty-percent white. By and large the whites dominate government, commerce, education and cultural affairs in Bermuda and they own the best lands and rent the rest, schools, businesses etc. These European descendants maintain close ties legally, culturally, constitutionally and militarily with their mother-country, Britain - though ties are also strong with Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

In terms of occupations - whites again dominate as bankers, lawyers, doctors, politicians, civil servants, judges, teachers, realtors, insurance men, accountants, owners of mass media, contractors, senior policemen, hoteliers etc. - relegating blacks mostly to jobs as taxi-drivers, waiters, chamber-maids, caddies, clerks, labourers, salesmen etc. About 10,000 of these whites are foreigners brought in by the white-controlled ruling party, the United Bermuda Party (U. B. P.) of merchants, bankers and hoteliers etc. to manage banks, hotels, businesses etc. - these foreigners vote in the national elections and three years before election are brought in in large numbers and strategically housed in areas where there are concentrations of blacks in order to break black political influence.

When one considers that Bermuda's labour force is approximately 30,000 workers strong - it is easy to see that 10,000 foreign workers create a large unemployment



MAP OF BERMUDA

situation for native Bermudians - a large percentage of these foreign workers are maitre d's, cooks, etc. and are imported by the U. B. P. Before the April 4, 1974 take-over in Portugal Bermuda imported Portuguese by the hundreds to tend to agricultural lands.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The Government's statistics office is prevented from publishing official figures on unemployment and inflation because the information might aggravate social tensions. Unemployment is not 1. 5 percent of the labour force as reported by Jim Woolridge to the I. L. O. in Geneva recently - the figure is between 10 - 12 percent of the existing labour force. If we excluded the 10, 000 foreign workers the percentage would be even higher for local workers. Of those employed in menial tourist-related jobs approximately 80 per cent are working 72 hours a week with low wages. Many qualified Bermudians, because the professional positions are occupied by largely unqualified Europeans (English, Canadian and Australian mainly), have to accept other occupations unsuited to their skills.

A FOREIGN ECONOMY

Bermudians pay no income tax. State revenue is obtained through tariffs - a system that passes all the disguised taxes onto the backs of the consumers - including the property tax which landlords pass on to the tenants. There is no welfare system or unemployment insurance scheme in Bermuda - pensions are still the privilege of those in the higher income bracket.

Bermuda's economy is totally dependent on tourism. Tourism has been fashioned into a mill-stone around the necks of the working population - tourism provides approximately 85% of Bermuda's income and is responsible for almost every other related occupation. Out of every dollar spent by the tourist in Bermuda about three cents trickles down to the worker who is obliged to spend this income on 'tourist inflated prices' for luxury items which take precedence over basic commodities. Bermuda has an inflation rate of approximately 23-25 percent.

The remaining 15 percent of Bermuda's economy is derived from the exempt companies and 'Off-shore funding' concerns - these businesses are foreign owned and controlled (about 3, 500 of them) and pay a nominal fee of approximately $200 a year to operate in a 'tax-haven environment'

" There are approximately 400 policemen in Bermuda - i. e. there is 1 policeman for every 150 Bermudians. "

The two major banks, The Bank of N. T. Butterfield and Bank of Bermuda, are largely owned and controlled by the local whites whose ancestors had accumulated large amounts of capital through boot-legging, piracy and dubious land deals. The other banks, the Provident Bank (now under threat of dissolution) is a subsidiary of Barclay's Bank and the National Bank is funded by local and foreign whites. These four banks enjoy a monopoly in Bermuda and recently their shareholders in parliament denied the entry of a fifth bank - Bermuda must be one of the most over-banked countries in the world but not without reason for these banks do not only serve the 60, 000 local population. Numerous transactions for exempt companies

operating throughout the world (including Southern Africa) create sufficient demand for their services.

THE BERMUDAN STATE

The higher posts in the Judiciary (Chief Justice, Puisne Judge etc.) are the exclusive preserve of the British; in effect, 98% of the higher echelons of Bermuda's judiciary are dominated by the British.

Such laws as 'wandering abroad' (in 22 sq. ml. Bermuda), failing to give a good account of yourself to a police officer, having no fixed abode, are still on the statute books and enforced - brothers do three to six months in prison for these so-called offences.

The Bermuda neo-colonial government is set up 'pillar and post' as almost a replica of Britain's unwieldy two-tier system - it has a lower House of Assembly and a legislative house. The Cabinet consists of 12 members and forms the executive functions of government. All of these bodies are subjected to the final decision of White-hall in London if necessary - the posts within these bodies are filled with merchants, bankers, lawyers, doctors, etc. The government makes the dubious claim of being self-governing; however, Britain maintains control over diplomatic affairs, police, army and external protection.

The higher echelons of Bermuda's civil service are filled by 75% British or 'Bermudian Status' individuals. The teachers are 70% British; the police are 80% British (higher percentages in the ranking positions); nursing 80% British; judiciary 80-90% British - higher ranks of Army 90% British in addition to a private reserve army of just over a hundred foreigners who work as accountants, insurance agents and other related 'personnel' jobs.

The army carries out, under the tutelage of their English commanders, spot checks and searches of civilian cars in order to adjust it to such eventualities in the future. Police arbitrarily enter people's houses making what they claim are searches for guns and/or drugs on warrants easily obtained from judges/magistrates.

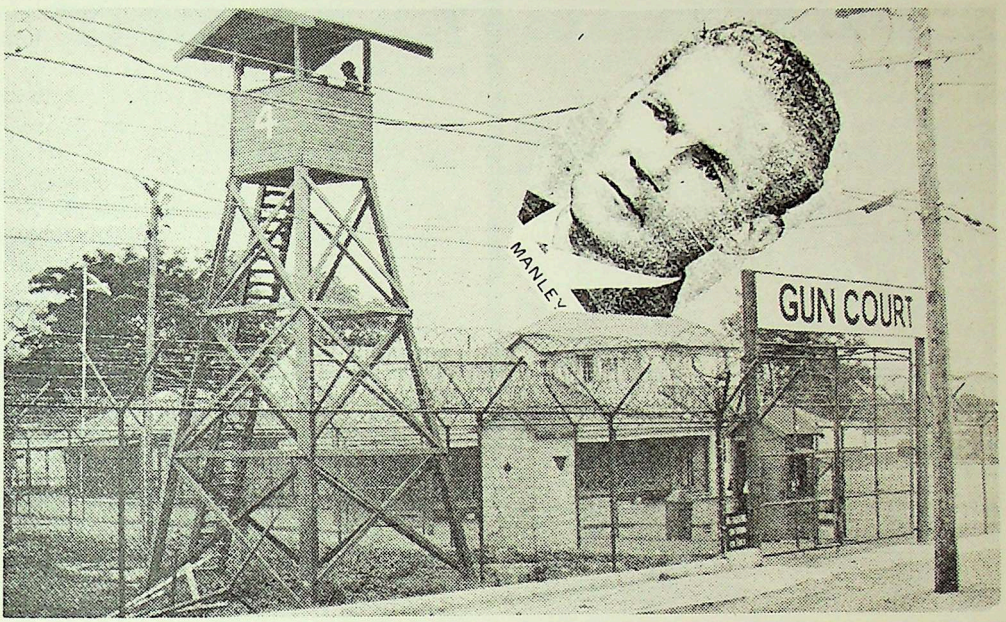
OPPOSITION FORCES

The opposition party, the Progressive Labour Party, is predominantly black liberal democratic types, who by and large make impassioned pleas for independence but without much indication as to how they will transform the country's economic and social system.

Another opposition force is the Black Beret Cadre who are a socialist group forced underground by the harassment of the reactionary government. Recently their members or early supporters have been held in conjunction with the recent assassinations of the Commissioner of Police and the Governor. It remains to be seen as to how this group will now function as a serious threat to the neo-colonial regime in Bermuda.

HAITI

The Haitian exile newspaper, "Haiti Observateur", based in New York has revealed that Haiti, with a police force of 14,000 and an army of 6,000 men, has the largest para-military force per capita population in the world.



MANLEY'S DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

During the past few months, the governing People's National Party (P. N. P) under the leadership of Michael Manley, has been waging a massive propaganda campaign in an attempt to win over the masses of Jamaicans to the "Democratic Socialist way."

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

The democratic socialist policy of the party states that (a) "the government is committed to the concept of a MIXED ECONOMY within the context of our democratic socialism"; (b) "foreign private capital is welcome in Jamaica and is assured of fair and consistent treatment provided that (i) so far as ownership is concerned it is willing to enter into partnership with local private interests, (ii) the private sector is a full integral partner in the National Economy, and (iii) it is the duty of the government to help to ensure efficient development of the private sector." There are few clearer definitions of democratic socialism than the above policy statement of the P. N. P.

IMPERIALIST CONTROL

Strategic sections of the economy continue to be dominated by imperialist capital. For example, imperialist corporate capital controls 100% of the mining (bauxite and alumina); 70% of sugar manufacturing; 75% of public utilities; 70% of steel and cement and 64% of financial investment

In 1974, the government responded to the workers' demand for full control of the bauxite industry by increasing

taxes on mined bauxite to $170 million, representing less than 10% of the industry's total sales of $1.8 billion in 1973. Statistics supplied in a government publication - Jamaica and Bauxite - show that the imperialist corporations enjoyed profits in 1974 ranging from 250% to 400% over that for 1973. Even after paying the increased taxes, one corporation showed increased profits of 450% for the first quarter of 1974 over the same period in 1973.

I. T. T., the most recent multinational to penetrate the Jamaican economy, has acquired the National Bakery and Hannah Bakery in Kingston; Blake's Bakery in Mandeville and Cornwall Bakeries in Montego Bay, and consequently has gained a monopoly on the baking industry in Jamaica. ITT also controls Key Homes and NCC Development Ltd. (contractors for luxury homes construction); Data Recording Services offering offshore services to the United States; National Packaging Corporation, producing plastic bags; Daily News, one of the two daily newspapers and Kingston Sheraton Hotel. The political comedy reached a crescendo when ITT, immediately after Manley declared democratic socialism as the PNP's answer to poverty and oppression in Jamaica, bought controlling interests in ALL the supermarkets in the capital city of Kingston.

> **"foreign private capital is welcome in Jamaica and is assured by fair and consistent treatment. . . . . "**

CHANGE - BUT NO CHANGE

The situation in the local sector of the economy is no better. A discussion paper prepared by the Department of Government (University of the West Indies) for a CADEC "Consultation on Power and Influence in Jamaica" states that less than 50 families dominate the local sector of the economy. Also, a recent study shows that about 15% of the population receive no less than 80% of total income.

The PNP's "democratic socialist" agricultural "revolution" can go no further than to attempt the development of a mass of small farmers in the countryside, and to establish agricultural co-operatives along the lines of Eduardo Frei's capitalist reforms in Chile and framed in the language of Nyerere. Of all the lands distributed by the state in Project Land Lease, 82% of the plots is under 5 acres and 55% of these is under 2 acres. While distributing "land to the landless" on the one hand, on the other the Manley government presents the small farmers with the LANDLORD AND TENANT ACT which states that "a landlord or his bailiff may break open by force premises occupied by a tenant and enter with the aid of a constable and seize any and all property of a tenant if a tenant is owing in rent."

During the election campaign of 1972, Manley's slogan was "Better must come" but the exploited masses having experienced two years of "hard times come" are beginning to take mass action to "make better times come". Workers have been staging wildcat strikes in a number of industries and public utilities, and revolting against their traditional trade union leadership controlled by the two major political parties in the country.

SEIZURE OF LANDS

But the most significant mass action has been carried out by the peasants and rural agricultural workers. About four months ago, youth, peasants and agricultural workers of Westmoreland, Portland and St. Mary in the western part of Jamaica began "capturing

THE MULTI-NATIONAL RAPE

The government of Trinidad and Tobago following the policy of industrialization by invitation has recently been engaged in negotiations with Estel N. V., for an iron and steel complex, and Tesoro for a petrochemical complex. The development of Tesoro is a significant example of how this strategy of modernization benefits overwhelmingly the imperialist company.

Tesoro, a Texas-based company, began its operation in 1964 and was unable to pay any dividends until 1971. In that year (1971) the company made $7.7 million (US) and by 1974 its profits had increased to $60.9 million (US). In that period, "the most important deal" made by Tesoro was its joint venture with the Trinidad and Tobago government in 1968. The formation of the Trinidad-Tesoro petroleum company gave the Trinidad and Tobago state 50.1% ownership. The capital outlay by Tesoro was $100,000 whilst loans amounting to $26 million were obtained with the state as guarantor of these loans.

The growth of Tesoro and its further expansion into Indonesia, Bolivia and Puerto Rico, were based on profits that accrued from its Trinidad operation.

In 1974 Trinidad-Tesoro increased its profits by 278% to $45 million (US) and its revenues increased by 268% to $150 million (US). Tesoro's earnings for 1974 had tripled to $121.8 million (US) on sales of $1.7 billion (US). In the first quarter of 1975, Tesoro's profit was $16.4 million (US). Presently, the Trinidad based operation forms 36% of the company's earnings.

The president of Tesoro recently stated in Fortune magazine that in the oil industry the most profitable areas for investment are Petrochemical, Refining and Marketing. The company's

WEST - HEAD OF TESORO

acquisition of 38% of the stocks of The Commonwealth Oil Refinery Co. Inc. N. Y., with principal operations in Puerto Rico is an indication of the trend Tesoro envisages for its continued expansion. The petrochemical operations of Commonwealth in Puerto Rico is one of the world's largest and has a book value of $584 million (US).

The planned joint venture with the Trinidad and Tobago government for a $1 billion petrochemical complex will further intensify Tesoro's involvement in the economy of the country and enhance the company's ability to continue its penetration into the international petroleum market.

Joint ventures such as Trinidad-Tesoro allows the imperialist corporation to transfer to the state the task of directly maintaining "labour peace" and disciplining the workers into subservience to capital, and forcing greater productivity. The imperialist corporation can then concentrate on the co-ordination and ex-

union activities and refusal to work overtime. Over 650 workers organized in the staff association began wearing red arm-bands and staged a mass "sick-out" in protest.

In December 1974 the Central Bank Staff Association organized a mass "sick-out" and the executive was charged for contravening the Industrial Relations Act (IRA) which states that bank workers are "non-workers" and, therefore, cannot take "industrial action". In early July the court found the workers guilty of violating the IRA, and immediately the management of the Central Bank suspended indefinitely the entire 9 members of the executive of the Staff Association on half pay.

The BWTU together with the staff associations immediately organized a petition campaign and workers at other banks went on a "go-slow" and wore red arm-bands in support of the Central Bank workers. Two of the demands of the workers are a cost of living allowance and changes in the IRA to allow Central Bank workers to represent themselves in the Industrial Court and to join the trade union of their choice.

The imperialist banks have been raping the capital accumulated in the country. Workers have revealed that profits are repatriated to Canada and England in many devious ways such as "inflated" management and inspectorate fees, allowances, claims of expenditure, depreciation, etc. In 1974, the officially released profits for Royal Bank of Canada were $4 million (US); Bank of Nova Scotia $2.4 million (US). In the upsurge of the bank workers' struggle, the BWTU has begun to organize office workers, insurance workers and other unorganized workers, particularly in the financial and administrative section of the working class, and it has called for the nationalization of all banks

The specific position of bank workers in the economy and in the society combined with the experience they are gaining in the struggle against the imperialist financial bourgeoisie and the state, places them within the vanguard of the financial and administrative sector of the working class, and gives them the potential to lead the struggle of that sector. But more than that, it is necessary for the bank workers to practically link their struggles to those of the other sectors of the working-class (and that includes the unemployed) and the farmers in a nation-wide class struggle for power; not power to political commanders, but power to the class itself

DOMINICA - continued from page 13

Trotter was continuously put forward. The proposed August 1 demonstration was refused permission on the grounds that it would lead to civil disorder and breaches of the peace. A public meeting on the morning of August 1, organised to replace the demonstration, was broken up by a riot squad in full regalia and the Movement's public address system was confiscated. The public meeting was a legal one, a fact that was noted by all those people in the crown who never "knew" that political repression existed in Dominica. The morning's events stimulated a massive turn-out at another MND public meeting that night, which was constantly disrupted by the police.

John realizes that the unemployed youth is the most potent political force which if linked to the employed workers, peasants, students and progressive intellectuals would be the death knell of colonial middle-class rule. The "Dread Act" is simply the legalization of an attempt to physically smash the urban and rural basis of the unemployed youth and the close links they began to establish with the peasantry.

BRITAIN - continued from page 18

ing under capitalism but have drawn into the arena of struggle on the education issue both black parents and teachers.

STATE RESPONSE

Today black communities throughout Britain are a beehive of political and social rebellion which has provoked a recomposition in certain areas of the British State. A Community Relations Commission , a government body, has been set up with branches in every black community, throughout the country staffed by blacks who have been co-opted from within the community. This massive mini government functions on the premise that the struggle between Capital and Labour is a struggle between friends which with a little understanding on both sides can be easily patched up. The C.R.C. in turn spawns an array of projects financed by government grants in which they attempt to mediate unending and merciless struggle being waged by black workers.

It is a testimony to the level of consciousness among the black section of the British working class, that not one single open struggle in recent years has sought recourse in these institutions.

ANTIGUA - continued from page 14

Even more recently, the home of Ricardo Mapp, Vice-President of the National Union Against Unemployment which was initiated by the ACLM, was gas-bombed.

The labour leader, Walters, who rode to the pinnacle of political power on the backs of the working people, is now striding the gutter of oblivion. But more than Walters is the Colonial-Capitalist organization of the economy and the State.

JAMAICA - continued from page 32

lands" of the big landowners. The state intervened immediately, condemned the "chaos and disorder" and dispatched police and soldiers to maintain "law", "order" and "Property". However, the "land capture" movement was spreading so rapidly and gaining such strength that the government was forced to announce that lands were being acquired in the area to begin co-ops.

The "land capture" movement was so threatening to the local ruling class that L. G. Newland, MP for East St. Thomas, called a meeting of estate owners to "come up with proposals to transfer some of their lands to the small people". He said that there was a serious trend developing whereby some persons were apparently demanding land by means of force. In some cases persons had actually captured several acres of land.

THE GUN COURT

Manley's response to the rising rebellion of the workers, farmers and youth has been the "Suppression of Crime and Gun Court Act". The act states that an individual can be detained indefinitely without trial if found with a gun (real or toy), or ammunition (live or spent), or if found in the company of anyone with a gun or ammunition. Scores of unemployed and employed workers are being detained without trial under this vicious and oppressive act.

The "democratic socialism" of Manley and the PNP is simply the political expression of the progressive wing of the Jamaican middle classes that are struggling for survival under the rebellious blows of the working people. Manley's contribution is that he has opened the question of socialism which the workers alone can and will realize.

The New Beginning Movement in collaboration with other Caribbean organisations and individuals, both in the Caribbean and abroad, have initiated Caribbean Dialogue as a monthly information service linking the struggles of workers, peasants and students in the Caribbean and Caribbean immigrant workers in the metropolitan centres.

Sectarianism has been the political plague of many left movements. Caribbean Dialogue begins and we intend to maintain it as a non-sectarian information service. We will be reporting on struggles and economic and political trends and we intend to undertake research that will contribute to the development of revolutionary clarity of the Caribbean working class movement and assist in the struggle for social power. Information and news received will be published as our limited space allows.

The contents in and format of this first issue of Caribbean Dialogue are neither fixed nor final. We have only initiated this information service. It is our intention that it can act as the beginning of an on-going link and concrete activity around which a Caribbean-wide revolutionary organisation or organisations will eventually emerge. In fact regional left groupings have begun to emerge that express certain political tendencies. We are therefore intervening in an emerging process. There are varied paths to the achievement of any particular objective. As a non-sectarian information service we are open to criticisms, ideas, suggestions and new proposals. The next issue of Caribbean Dialogue will be the October issue that will be off the press during the first week of November. The two month break between the first and second issues is to allow feed-back of criticisms and suggestions so that wherever necessary changes can be made.

We are confident that Caribbean Dialogue has the potential to be the single most concrete development in connecting the struggles of Caribbean workers, peasants and students and those of Caribbean immigrant workers in the heart of advanced capitalism.

Race Today

"For reportage of the racial situation in Britain, RACE TODAY is simply unequalled. The paper is lively, open and controversial. Every socialist should read it and use it." *Colin Barker, International Socialism Magazine.*

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GUYANA

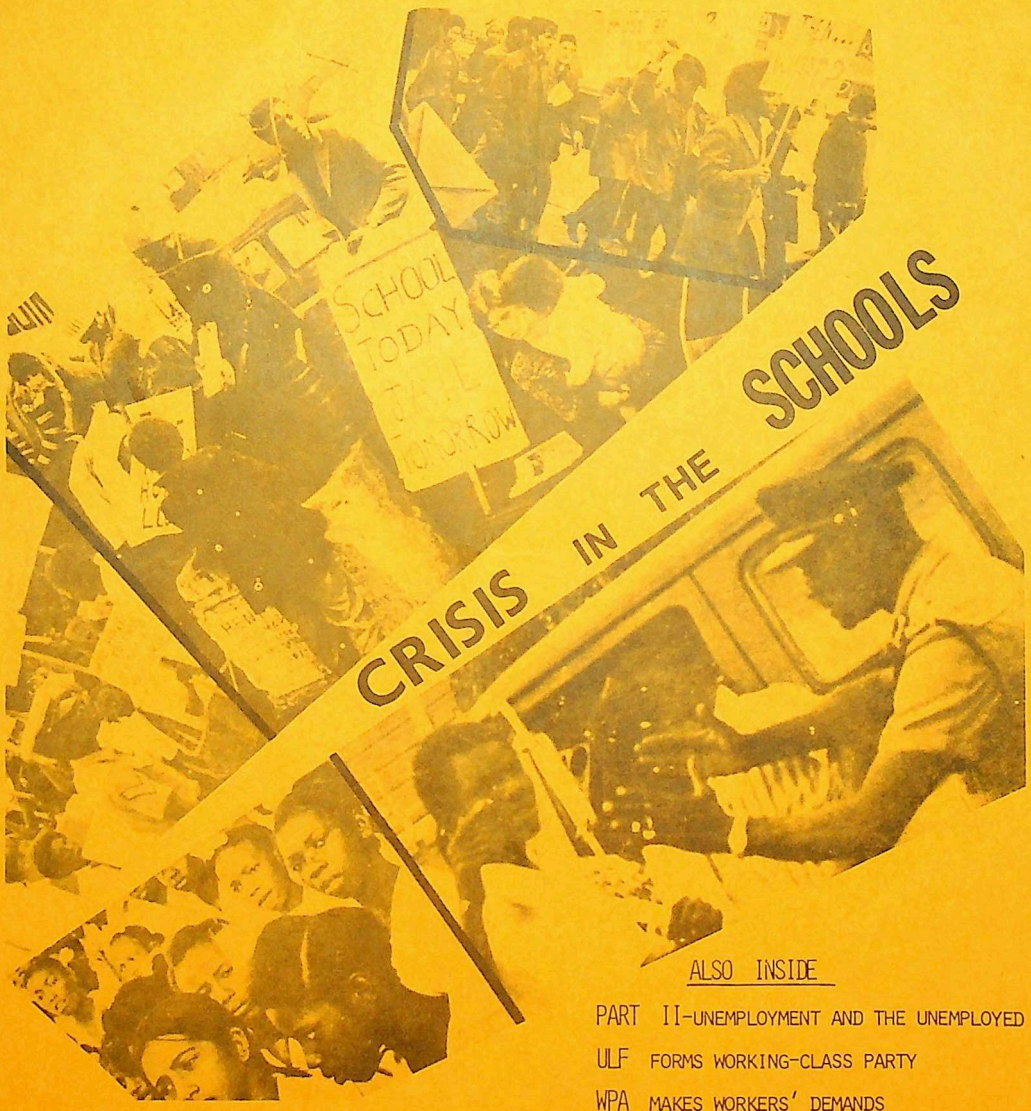
After two years of a political boycott of the (P. N. C) People's National Congress Government of Forbes Burnham, Dr Cheddi Jagan, leader of the Pro-Moscow People's Progressive Party (P. P. P.) announced at the 25th anniversary conference of the P. P. P. that his party will now support the Burnham government.

SCDb 26.385

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

A MONTHLY INFORMATION SERVICE

VOL.2 NO.1 JANUARY 1976



CRISIS IN THE SCHOOLS

ALSO INSIDE

PART II-UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE UNEMPLOYED

ULF FORMS WORKING-CLASS PARTY

WPA MAKES WORKERS' DEMANDS

Comune di Padova
Biblioteche
Cod. Bibl. 01
BID PUV1615226
INV 106048 1

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE is a Caribbean information service published by the New Beginning Movement in collaboration with the Race Today Collective and other groups, organisations and individuals in the Caribbean and in the metropolitan centres of North America and Europe. Caribbean Dialogue is produced by the Toronto chapter of the New Beginning Movement with the active assistance of other organisations and individuals.

Caribbean Dialogue is distributed as a free service to groups and organisations in the Caribbean. Individuals and institutions in the Caribbean and organisations, institutions and individuals in other countries can obtain copies by subscription or at a limited number of bookstores.

Subscription rates are given in the subscription order form printed elsewhere in this issue.

Subscription orders and requests for further information should be sent to one of the following centres:

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Race Today

Race Today is a revolutionary journal published by the Race Today Collective, a Black working-class organisation involved in the struggles of Black immigrant workers in Britain as an integral section of the British and International working-class.

Race Today reports and analyses workers struggles in India, the Caribbean, North America and Europe.

The Race Today Collective brings not only a new approach to Marxist interpretation of struggles in Capitalist society but also adds a new dimension to revolutionary journalism.

FOR MORE INFORMATION contact Caribbean Dialogue

RELEASE ON ANGOLA

The Afro-Caribbean Liberation Movement dispatched a cable to Prime Minister Fidel Castro applauding his participation in Angola. The cable which was sent today reads: "Afro-Caribbean Liberation Movement and many in Antigua applaud and congratulate you and people of Cuba for your support and participation in Angolan struggle. You and people have struck a mighty blow against apartheid and imperialism and therefore for world revolution."

Today the struggle in Angola is between FNLA and UNITA who want independence with foreign domination and MPLA who are for independence based on Peoples control of land and industry.

There can be no unity between the forces of reaction and the forces for liberation in Angola. For any attempt at unity means a compromise with imperialism and the agents of imperialism FNLA and UNITA. This false unity would deter the total liberation of the Angolan people from foreign domination and hinder the destruction of apartheid in Southern Africa.

The Afro-Caribbean Liberation Movement stands on the side of MPLA and recognise them as the true representatives of the Angolan people struggling to end foreign domination and to put in its place the re-organisation of production.

- ACLM, Antigua

SCHOOLING AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL

Despite all efforts by the state, the discipline, authority and relations which were accepted in schools for decades continue to disintegrate.

The functions of schooling in capitalist societies is to train different types of labour power to fit into the different levels of the hierarchy of capitalist organization - from professionals to technicians to the unemployed. Schools are therefore organized to produce (a) the quantity of labour required by the labour market and (b) disciplined labour with the ideology of acceptance of the organization of society and the position in the hierarchy of labour in which students eventually find themselves. Teachers are direct agents of capital and the state in imparting ideology and training, but, because they are workers nonetheless there exists a hierarchy above them to make sure they carry out their function. Parents are also drawn in to assist the process by doing at home what teachers and the bureaucracy do in schools - making sure that students are disciplined.

The organization and social relations within the school system reflect almost exactly the organization and social relations within capitalist commerce and industry, since schools are designed to serve as preparatory training grounds for future workers and for maintaining the social order. The school does this by shaping students' attitudes to authority. The hierarchy within the schools, the rules it requires adherence to, the patterns of behaviour it promotes and the streaming of students into different level programmes - all serve to establish the student in the role he/she has been designated to play in the society.

In periods of capitalist expansion there is a corresponding drive towards expansion of the school system to produce the manpower required. Not only are there more jobs available, but students, parents and teachers alike can see the opportunity for mobility in the system (as Marx says, in certain periods everyone is gripped with the capitalist craze). Once crises develop in the economy the concomitant reduction of expansion makes social mobility less and less attainable, and the unemployment rate rises. The conflict which then exists between the reality of daily life of the working class and the capitalist ideology imparted in the schools is expressed in the rebellion of youth in the classroom - in the refusal to learn, in the rejection of the teacher's authority. More and more, students prepare themselves for the lives they will actually have to lead outside the school- securing their means of survival by ripping off, gambling and hustling.

Parents, embroiled in struggles at work against cutbacks, inflation and relations of production, gain increased confidence and demand greater power in determining how the school system must be organized and what happens in the schools. Teachers, caught in the middle, increasingly resort to strikes to secure better working conditions and more money for the impossible task set for them, that is, disciplining a school population that is rebelling en mass.

Because schools in fact represent the largest concentration of workers-in-training in capitalist society, once rebellion starts there it is a tremendous base of struggle and of potential power of the youngest section of the working class, so to speak. Both the state and the ruling class realize the seriousness of the challenge posed to the status quo and expand the mechanisms for repression. Already in Britain, the U.S. and the Caribbean there is the open use of police in the schools and the threat of that in Canada.

Capital, realizing that the school system is no longer carrying out the function it was intended for, is seeking to reorganize it to perform the same function but in a different form - the multiplicity of "alternative" schools, "freer schools" etc. is one result. Since these aren't working either, it would not be surprising to see the dismantling of the school system as we know it in the relatively near future, and, just as with the development of capital there is greater division of labour, so too in the school system there will be further divisions within the organization of schools.

The crisis in the schools illustrates that with every reform of capitalist institutions comes sharper conflicts and struggle, and different sections of the class waging their independent struggles will find it more and more necessary to link together against the state, the most powerful institution of capitalist society.

ULF FORMS WORKING-CLASS PARTY

On January 3 and 4, the United Labour Front (U.L.F.) held its first convention at Paramount Building, headquarters of the Oilfield Workers' Trade Union, San Fernando and decided to form "a Party of the working-class--committed to the unity of the workers as a class and to the advancement of the particular interests of the workers."

The U.L.F. was formed in February, 1975 by the four radical and militant trade unions in Trinidad and Tobago - Oilfield Workers Trade Union (OWTU) led by George Weekes; All-Trinidad Estates and Factory Workers Trade Union (Sugar Workers Union) led by Basdeo Panday; Transport and Industrial Workers Union (TIWU) led by Joe Young and the Islandwide Cane Farmers Trade Union (ICFTU) led by Raffique Shah. The total membership of the four unions is estimated at 50,000 workers and farmers out of a national employed labour force of just over 300,000. Well over 80% of the U.L.F. membership is concentrated in the sugar and petroleum industries that are located in the central and southern regions of the country. At the U.L.F. inaugural rally in February, 1975 there were about 50,000 workers, farmers and students.

The membership of the U.L.F. is composed of approximately 60% East Indian sugar workers and farmers concentrated in the central and southern regions; 25% petroleum workers in the south and 15% transport manufacturing and commercial (trade) workers mainly in the north around Port-of-Spain. The main mass base of the U.L.F. is in the two big sectors of the productive economy - sugar and petroleum - and it also controls public transport and electricity.

The U.L.F was born in a period and as a result of intense class struggle in the sugar and petroleum industries and in the country as a whole. It was the class struggle and their former trade union and political relations that brought the leadership of the four unions together in the U.L.F.

The U.L.F convention of shop stewards and branch officers of the four unions was attended by 500 workers and farmers union delegates on the first day, and it is estimated that 1,500 workers and farmers attended the second day of the convention. The large attendance on the second day of the convention was due to the fact that sugar farmers of the ICFTU were prevented by police from staging a rally outside the TICFA House (Trinidad Islandwide Cane Farmers Association) where the annual convention of the rival cane farmers association, TICFA was being held.

The first day of the convention was devoted mainly to the presentation of reports, working papers and a draft policy and programme. The second day was devoted to open debate mainly on the question of a strategy for the parliamentary struggle in 1976. Three main positions were articulated at the convention:

(1) that the U.L.F would form a Workers' Party and fight the parliamentary struggle as an independent social force.

(2) that the U.L.F should form a workers' party and support or align with an existing political party

(3) that the U.L.F should <u>not</u> form a party but rather support or align with an existing political party.

George Weekes James Millette Basdeo Panday

At the end of the debate, positions (1) and (2) gained overwhelming support from the delegates present. The great majority of sugar workers and farmers delegates were in favour of position (1) while the majority of other delegates seem to favor position (2).

The high point of the convention was the passing of a resolution on the formation of a working-class party:

> "Whereas this assembly of shop stewards and branch officers of affiliaties of the United Labour Front recognise that there is no party of the working-class today in Trinidad and Tobago,
>
> "And whereas this assembly recognises the crying need and historical inevitability of workers as a class belonging and giving their allegiance to a party of their own creation,

"Be it resolved, that this United Labour Front, while not sacrificing the unity it represents, takes all necessary steps to bring into being with all due speed a party of the working-class, distinct in character, committed to the unity of the workers as a class and to the advancement of the particular interests of the workers and of the people of Trinago* generally."

*(Trinago is a shortened name for Trinidad and Tobago, apparently first used by George Weekes).

A nine-man steering committee was also appointed as the organized leadership executive of the U.L.F. to draft a final policy and programme to be presented to another convention beginning on February 1, 1976. The nine-man committee consists of: George Weekes; Basdeo Panday; Joe Young; Raffique Shah; James Millette, leader of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) and acting General-Secretary of ICFTU and university lecturer; Jacobs executive member of UNIP and university lecturer; Allan Alexander, lawyer and advisor to the OWTU; Lennox Pierre, solicitor and advisor to the OWTU and John Humphrey, architect. Each unit of the U.L.F is also to elect one representative to sit on the steering committee which would then be expanded to 13 members.

"The task of the union in 1976 is to hold the reins of the country and wrest political and economic control from the reactionary alliance that has oppressed us for so long". - O.W.T.U.

The great significance of the U.L.F is that (1) it is the first organized workers and farmers political movement to have emerged in Trinidad and Tobago since the Butler Movement (in the central and south) and the Negro Welfare Association under the leadership of Jim Barrat (in the north) in the 1930s; (2) it is the first political movement to attempt an organized alliance between East Indian and Black workers and farmers since the 1930s, an alliance that is the necessary pre-condition for workers and farmers power and the only basis upon which the unity of Blacks and East Indians could be achieved; (3) it controls the big sectors of the productive economy and consequently has great potential social and political power; and (4) of all the groups, organizations, parties etc in Trinidad and Tobago, it has the greatest potential in the present situation to mobilize and organize the masses of workers, farmers and students in a revolutionary movement to take STATE POWER and begin the socialist transformation of the society. Whether it will be able to do this depends on its ability to overcome its weaknesses and the emergence of a revolutionary leadership capable of building a revolutionary movement with a perspective, strategy, tactics and organization for the transference of power from the hands of the middle-classes and the imperialist ruling classes to those of the workers and farmers in their own independent popular mass organizations.

WORKERS REBELLION INCREASES

During the last three months of 1975, workers in Martinique waged a relentless struggle against the capitalist programme to burden them with the inflationary crisis.

- Construction workers went on strike against "slow down in the construction industry" and the attempt by contractors to retrench some 200 workers. About half of the 7000 workers in construction is presently unemployed due to cuts in spending by the French colonial state.
- The French colonial state announced that it was nationalizing Electric Generation, but workers were not being allowed any voice in the running and operation of the industry. Workers took strike action and demanded the same privileges as workers in France and called for a Commission composed of workers, consumers and state representatives to run Electricity Services. Workers meetings were held within the plant to discuss the strike and to formulate demands.
- In early December, commercial workers went on strike for a 20% increase in wages and better working conditions. Most stores and shops in Fort-de-France were closed by the workers. Groups of workers from the larger stores marched from store-to-store calling on other commercial workers to close down all local commerce in the capital.
- Social Workers went on a 3-day strike in November over the question of retrenchment and unionization in a Central Union (la Central Unique) - in Martinique many unions are organized on the basis of a department or section of an industry or institution. The Social Workers held three assemblies and declared almost unanimously that they wanted a Central Union of workers.

The developing situation in Martinique is heading towards another general strike, and consequently a political struggle of workers and students against the local and French colonial ruling class. It is the duty of all progressive and left organizations in the Caribbean and abroad to support the struggle of workers and students of Martinique, Guadeloupe and Cayenne against French colonial capitalism and the local ruling class.

SOURCE: Reports from GRS, Martinique

Special Issue

Look for our special double-issue (March-April) on the present political situation in Trinidad and Tobago.

WPA makes workers' demands

A recent issue of DAYCLEAN announces the launching of a short-term program of immediate demands to attack unemployment, underemployment, underpayment and general "neglect" of workers - including women workers, retired workers and unemployed workers.

Although the demands, as published, need clarification, they point out sharply how near to starvation level the workers live in a country headed by a "socialist" government.

The main demands are:

1. Wages and "benefits"

A. National Minimum Wage

(i) a national minimum wage "above starvation level," tied by escalator clause to the cost-of-living index

(ii) a minimum wage for all domestic workers

B. Pensions and Public Assistance Payments

(i) an increase in old age pensions from $13 (village) and $16 (town) to at least $26 and $32 respectively, pensions to be tied by escalator clause to the C-O-L index

(ii) payments of old age pensions to begin on retirement of workers and not, as at present, at age 65

(iii) exemption of old age pensioners from all local rates, taxes and house rents

(iv) doubling of public assistance payments

C. Unemployed workers

(i) an unemployment allowance to all unemployed workers over 16 and is based on the right of every citizen to work

(ii) payment of State unemployment benefits to all dismissed domestic workers

D. Other

(i) payment of wages to be made by cheque to defeat those employers who force workers to sign up for more than they receive

(ii) reduction in rates for travelling to work on State transport, to a level of not more than 24¢ a mile

(iii) trebling of National Insurance Service benefits of $100 for funerals

2. Sugar Workers, Cane Farmers, Other Farmers

(i) recognition of GAWU (the progressive, anti-gov't sugar workers union allied to the PPP);

(ii) increase in price per ton paid to cane farmers to the level paid to Trinidad cane farmers;

(iii) democratisation of the National Cane Farmers Committee;

(iv) an end to financial exploitation of house-loan borrowers - an end to the development deposit on sugar lands housing schemes;

(v) land to landless squatters, as demanded by the 1973 land rebellion;

(vi) the return of the lands to the sugar worker's co-op at Enterprise;

(vii) new marketing conditions for pig and paddy farmers - a realistic grading system;

(viii) the immediate performance of district drainage schemes to save farmers' crops from destruction. Compensation to farmers for damage by a) flooding and b) sugar estate aeroplane spraying.

3. Other

(i) free travel on State transport for students;

(ii) an end to profiteering by tampering with food - for example, the 30% cassava flour contained in white wheat flour;

(iii) a guaranteed minimum nutrition budget for children.

The WPA newsheet adds the following background information:

(i) In 1973 (election year), after 8 years of government, the ruling People's National Congress increased the government minimum wage

by 27% (while increasing the wages of government ministers by 100%-200%, plus allowances);

(ii) between 1965 and 1974 indirect taxes increased 133%;

(iii) between 1971 and 1974 the price of food increased 40%;

(iv) between 1973 and 1974 prices increased 18%;

(v) between 1965 and 1974, the real wage of government unskilled workers dropped from 120 to 106 index points, while in the same period, labour productivity rose from 104 to 124 index points.

These are government figures.

The Alliance proposed to join with workers in unions and other organizations in the struggle for these demands and adds:

"This fight is part of the class struggle of the working people and the unemployed against the policy of the new rulers. It is a struggle for simple things. A government which is against these things is not a friend of the working people. These are some of the first things any government must do, even if it is a conservative government."

It is clear that the list of demands announced by the WPA must be clarified, amended, added to, in the process of struggle for their achievement. But it is an important attempt to articulate in concrete minimal demands the growing discontent and struggle of various groups of workers. The struggle for these demands can heighten worker consciousness of the connection between the forms and methods of exploitation of each particular group. Within the reactionary unions, it can lead to the final exposure of the bankruptcy of any leadership that opposes a fight for such basic needs. It can lead to the increased organization of workers in their owrking places outside the factory and, in the long run, contribute to an increasingly organized participation of non-factory workers - including agricultural, women, retired and unemployed - in the overall class struggle of Guyana. No one who understands the process of capitalist underdevelopment, which does not tend to the growth of the industrial working class, can dismiss as secondary the necessity for the organization of the worker outside the factory.

Workers Challenge Leadership in CSA

The recent actions of the Dominican Civil Service Association executive give a clear illustration of the nature of the conflict that exists between union leadership and the rank and file membership. At a specially called general meeting the membership of the C.S.A. were asked to support a Resolution suspending Sections of the Constitution and Rules providing for the elections of the General Secretary and to empower the Executive to appoint a fit and proper person to "act" while the present General Secretary was away from the State on a 2-year training course.

Two members raised objections to the motion and questioned the legality of the Executive's actions and proposed a counter motion that would allow for a more democratic exercise of the memberships' rights. The two most important points questioned were (1) the legitimacy of a quorum of 30 people of a membership of about 2000 and (2) the legitimacy of suspending parts of the constitution to give executive members more privileges and power within the union.

The General Secretary in response ridiculed the counter motion and dismissed the members as "mere theorists flirting with fancy theories like democracy and opposing merely to make themselves heard and to show off their flair for public speaking". He further stated that democracy was unworkable in the C.S.A. . After playing on the apathy of the membership, the Executive was able to secure support for their motion.

The opposing members decided to make the issue public and submitted letters to the State's bi-weekly newspaper, the New Chronicle. The Editor of the New Chronicle, an aspiring young businessman rejected the letters on the grounds that they dealt with "petty internal union squabbles" and he did not want to get involved. The Educator, the ruling party's organ, published one letter in full. The member whose letter was published was suspended from the union and summoned to appear before a disciplinary body.'

The controversy sparked off a number of resignations by dissatisfied members and reinforced the feeling of powerlessness among apathetic members who are afraid to get involved. A petition was drawn up for the purpose of reinstating the suspended member and to encourage members to join the struggle for democracy in the union and greater power in the hands of the rank-and-file.

ST VINCENT

TEACHERS

National General Meeting

On Friday, November 14, 1975, yet another section of Caribbean workers was confronted by the police forces of the state. Caribbean Dialogue reports the teachers' struggle as documented by the St. Vincent Union of Teachers' (S.V.U.T.) publication Crisis in Education: The Teachers' Strike 1975 and from an exclusive interview with a member of the union executive.

The events which propelled the St. Vincent teachers and the state towards brutal confrontation on "Tear-gas Friday" were the revitalization of the St. Vincent Union of Teachers after its February 1975 election of a largely new executive, and the subsequent refusal by the government to improve working conditions and salaries.

Membership in the S.V.U.T. is largely drawn from the country's 1375 primary school teachers. Although, as a result of a stepped-up membership recruitment campaign by the new executive, secondary school teachers disbanded their association and joined the union. After the February elections also, steps were taken to transform the union into a workers' organization and to abolish the "private club" aspect it had long had. Initial efforts along those lines by the executive culminated in a mass national general meeting on July 7 which brought together for the first time hundreds of teachers from across the island. At that meeting teachers discussed the conditions in which they were forced to try to educate children, and the matter of $750 retroactive pay which had been promised to civil servants by the previous government - a promise upheld by the Labour Party during the campaign which preceded its return to power - and which had not yet been paid. Teachers further expressed their conviction that the high rate of inflation warranted a complete salary revision by the government.

The S.V.U.T. executive member interviewed by CD gave some details of the working conditions:

"Many buildings are deficient [in] furniture. Teachers walk long distances, arrive and don't have a chair to rest themselves during the day. Classes are overcrowded. It is not surprising, for example, to find a student teacher or a grade teacher in an infant section with up to 80 students..... It is not unusual to find, and we have seen it because we have been around, children sitting on concrete floors or lying on concrete floors .... Toilet facilities are absent. Where toilets had in fact existed you find an absence of water ... Roofs are unsealed, so you have the problem of rain and sun. We find we are very much at the mercy of the department. People are not notified in ample time and are transferred very wantonly".

Other issues discussed were the need for travelling allowances for teachers who live far from work and inadequate or non-existent school supplies. The executive was instructed to meet with the appropriate Ministers to direct their attention to these pressing problems.

Even before the union executive formally met the Minister of Education late in July to discuss the matters which related to school conditions, they were afforded a clear indication of his views on the role of the S.V.U.T. as a workers' organization. In mid-July the executive accompanied a team of Canadian teachers on a courtesy visit to the Minister, Mr. St. Clair Dacon, to outline a seminar series for professional development of teachers which was to be offered during the vacation period.

"When it came to the course on trade unionism, the Minister said 'Gentlemen, let me make it abundantly clear that this course must take low priority. I do not want my teachers wasting their time. I'd sooner have them doing things like math, science, etc.' ".

Indeed on August 5 at the opening of the seminar, the Chief Education Officer and the Minister of Education, (who by then had met the teachers to discuss their grievances and had made a few suggestions and a number of promises) in their addresses made clear their scorn for trade unionism, and exhorted the teachers to concentrate on productivity, to use unionism "constructively" and not "destructively". When the

THE SCHOOLS

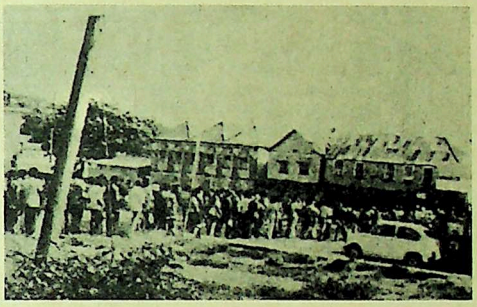
TRIKE

S.V.U.T. President, Mike Browne, countered some of these statements in his closing remarks and as well raised the issue of Canadian imperialism in the Caribbean, the Minister first demanded that that he restrict his remarks to the seminars and subsequently walked off the stage, instructing the teachers that there was to be no discussion of trade unionism. (The participating teachers decided in that case to withdraw from the entire course). This clear revelation of the anti working-class position of the Minister brought into the open the antagonisms which existed between the Ministry and the union.

Early in September when an interview was finally secured with the Premier/Minister of Finance, Mr. Cato, the issues of the $750 retroactive pay and revision of salaries were raised. The Premier outlined government's problems with even finding money for monthly salaries and advised the executive to drop their demands for retroactive pay since his priorities were set and "no power in heaven or hell can get me to change that". On the matter of salary revision he conceded that some interim arrangement was necessary while a current 18-month study of revision was underway. The meeting closed with assurances from the Premier that channels of communication with teachers would be kept open.

Later that month, the teachers' heightened awareness of the reluctance and obvious incapacity of government to deal with the country's problems was expressed in a "solidarity walk" around Kingstown in support of the hospital workers' struggle to expose the deterioration of health services in the country and to secure improved working conditions. The walk resulted in teachers being charged with taking part in an 'illegal procession'.

"We had another general meeting on September 20, two weeks after school began, and at that time there was tremendous militancy among the members, There was a certain amount of confidence built up and people wanted to flex their muscles as a collective ..... The leaders of the country had demonstrated a fair degree of arrogance, people were dissatisfied and these things were reflected at the meeting. It was decided to submit at this time a list of demands to government and to give them two weeks in which either to meet the demands or to enter into dialogue on the demands".



Up to that time no action had been taken by the Ministry of Education to change the working conditions of which teachers had complained. The demands were based on five areas of concern: (1) working conditions; (2) $750 retroactive pay; (3) salary revision; (4) repeal of the 1971 Public Service Act which, teachers felt, seriously trespassed on their rights as citizens; and (5) a collective agreement between union and government which acknowledged the union's right to negotiate for salaries.

The deadline date, October 8, arrived without any response from the Ministers. As a result the union decided to boycott statehood celebrations on October 24 for which elaborate official preparations were being made at a time when the government was saying it had no money. The government and the Labour Party organ the Star used the occasion to launch a vicious public attack on teachers. The union appealed to the Labour Commissioner to intervene and settle the dispute to avoid a strike. The inability of the Commissioner to execute this task was, on his own admission, due to his position as an employee of the Ministry of Labour , this lack of independence of his office making it nearly impossible for him to mediate between government and government workers.

In face of the bureaucracy's failure to take positive action the union membership was polled on November 1 on their willigness to take strike action. Over 85% voted yes. At the same time

the Minister of Education was on the air appealing to Labour Party members not to support the call to strike and calling on parents to send their children to school since according to him the strike was politically motivated by a clique of people. The government's main line of attack was that teachers were irresponsibly demanding pay increases at a time of economic crisis.

The strike started on November 3 with mass picketing of the Ministries.

"During the first week we picketed in town, we picketed a number of schools, we picketed the Ministry. People in the rural areas picketed the schools which were still open...."

It is significant to note that all schools in the island were affected. Some were completely closed and others operated on skeleton staff. In some cases, police were ordered to open schools in the morning and close them in the afternoon since there were no teachers. The high degree of mobilization of union members was reflected in the fact that by the second week of the strike there were about 900 teachers out. Since roughly 100 teachers are presently attending teachers' college, a good 75% of primary school teachers were involved in the strike.

"During the second week we continued (picketing) ... but by the middle of the second week teachers were beginning to show fatigue, and, I mean for future lives of action for anybody, there are things, lessons we must learn, because I don't think people were psychologically prepared for even a little protracted struggle, and they were beginning to show battle fatigue as early as the second week".

Meanwhile, Ministers continued to *personally* superintend strike-breaking activities by attempting to intimidate the families of teachers, threatening non-Vincentian teachers with deportation and carrying out in the media a malicious campaign to stir up public resentment for teachers. The Premier himself told a few teachers who attempted to convince him of the need for dialogue that the axe would fall heavily on the organizers of the strike and that disciplinary action would be taken against other teachers.

An attempt by about 50 teachers to meet with the Minister of Education on Thursday, November 13 led to their forcible ejection from the Ministry by police and the arrest of 31 teachers on the charge of trespassing. This gave authorities the opportunity to cancel a march planned by the union for the next day. The teachers, however, decided that it was more than ever important to proceed with the march to bring the issues more directly to the public.

The S.V.U.T. publication gives a vivid picture of what happened on "Tear-gas Friday".

"We assembled at the Grammar School playing field and proceeded in an orderly manner, being joined on our way to Bishop's College grounds by students, workers and unemployed expressing solidarity and urging us to stand up for our rights.

"Within twenty yards of Police Headquarters, we were stopped by a force of baton-toting policemen under Inspecter Lewis, backed up by the Riot Squad ready to do battle. We obeyed the order to stop, and stood locked arm in arm as the Inspector in an apparent fit of temporary insanity beat passing vehicles before ordering the arrest of 10 teachers.

"The arrests were followed by the brutal and indiscriminate use of tear-gas on teachers, children, bystanders and persons going about their normal business. School buses parked on the reclamation area were not spared. Screaming hysterical children had to be pulled out of their buses.

"The onslaught continued on Back Street where the Riot Squad had followed the dispersed crowd. Tear-gas bombs were fired into private yards and on the roofs of houses. Three school children had to be taken to hospital .... What started as an industrial dispute between government and the S.V.U.T. had escalated into a peoples' struggles against repression, especially after an Order by Cabinet banning all processions except funerals".

Arrested union members were kept in jail for three days, their right to bail within 24 hours being arbitrarily suspended by the forces of "law and order". The contradictions inherent in the appendage colonial state again were glaringly exposed to the masses of people. Here was a so-called "Labour" government using all its instruments of power to defeat the struggle of workers to transform their exploited situation.

The aftermath of Tear-gas Friday was that community and worker organizations in St. Vincent and other Caribbean territories urged the government to settle the dispute with no more victimization. Some groups offered their services as mediators. Government continued to stand pat, demanding an unconditional return to work by teachers before any dialogue would begin. The S.V.U.T., having the example of the hospital workers before them - nurses who took part in union action during the medical crisis still suspended on half-pay, others indiscriminately transferred to remote parts of the State, the loss of jobs by hospital attendants - felt that teachers could not return to work until dialogue had begun, until it was clear that teachers would not be victimized and

continued on page 24

CONFRONTATION

TRINIDAD

Today it is clear that the existing education "plan" or "lack of plan" has created nothing else but confusion, frustration and violence in the youth of the country.

People are being trained in isolation with little or no serious consideration of the direction and nature of the training and whether this training is in line with the present pattern and needs of overall social development. The plan automatically generates a massive bottle neck at the impressionable age of fifteen (15), so that every year thousands of these young children are thrown out on the streets with nowhere to go, no hope, without any skills or training for any kind of job. The shift arrangement central to the plan and aimed only at the physical accommodation of the rapidly increasing secondary school population has created havoc among this group of students. Curricula that were planned on the basis of a full day's work are now ram-crammed during just four (4) hours of the day, after which they are thrown out unsupervised with nothing constructive to do. There is no extra-curricula activities - no sport or other non-academic activities. The equally chaotic transportation problem has compounded this situation. Morning shift children are seen at weird hours of the morning battling their way to school and the evening shift at equally weird hours at night battling their way home. Needless to talk of the social implications of their plight. More than this, the physical conditions of the schools are deplorable. With leaking and overflowing toilets and the lack of basic facilities, the health and very life of the students are threatened daily.

The situation has generated a wave of open demonstration on the part of parents, students and teachers voicing their total dissatisfaction with the education system. More than that they, have moved over the past two (2)years or so, from a stage of frustrated acceptance, beyond protest to positive action.

TOFP (Teachers' Organisation For Fair Play), a group of young teachers organising themselves outside of the Teachers' Union, launched an attack on the Ministry of Education for compiling the syllabus without first consulting the teachers. They plan to study the syllabus for one(1) year at the practical level of the classroom "to ascertain whether this new syllabus is workable" to them; at the end of which time they intend to come up with a comprehensive report of their findings and recommendations. They also plan to organise classes to help teachers who are experiencing problems with their academic courses at Training College.

Recently in San Fernando a group of parents, all members of the Parent Teachers' Association of the San Francique Hindu School, violently confronted the principal and closed down the school claiming that their daughters were being molested at school. It is interesting to note the Principal's response from his hospital bed: he says he was the one responsible for starting the PTA, now the parents want to have their own way - they want "to run the school".

In Chaguanas at the Endeavour Hindu School, the teachers acting in consort with the parents, took over the school, cleaned and reopened it and re-started classes despite the fact that the Ministry of Education had officially closed the school following a report from the Public Health Inspector.

Throughout the year we have seen unprecendented mass demonstrations of placard bearing students outside the schools and through the streets of Port-of-Spain. Parents storming the Ministry of Education and together with students, boycotting schools, voicing their militancy against the bankruptcy of the Education system and demanding immediate action from the government.

The "true to form" reaction of the state has been three-fold:

1) Shifting the blame from themselves onto the people by pointing to the reaction of the masses to this bankruptcy as rebellious, destructive and one of the main reasons why the entire system isn't functioning as it should in the first place. So, while teachers are militating against the whole system of teacher-training, the thirteen (13)-man committee appointed to study all levels of curricula in the Education system, reports that nothing is wrong with Teachers' Colleges as they exist - "only with the attitudes to teaching".

2) Hastily attempting to accommodate and therefore negate the militancy of some of the demands. So we hear Williams in San Fernando expounding on the massive school maintenance program to be launched during the Xmas vacation utilizing project workers and involving the community in which the school is located. A Maintenance Management Group has been established. Further there is much talk of a greater role to be given to PTA's (Parent-Teachers' Associations) in school affairs - in the day-to-day management of schools. In this light, a Shift System committee has also been established to comprise religious denominations, Village Councils, Teachers' Associations, National Youth Council and Pan Trinbago. The PTA is also to take charge for the "overall formulation of requests for maintenance work and

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BLACK TEACHERS SPEAK

TEACHER: INNER CITY SCHOOL

The particular characteristics of children from working-class families are neither understood nor cared-to-be-understood by the majority of teachers because they are doing a job in which productivity does not affect their salary or promotion possibilities. The even greater language characteristics of working-class children, with special reference to West Indian working-class children, are viewed as a non-intelligent or low academic achievement problem and are therefore treated as such, thus depriving the children of developing to their full potential .

As a result of the lack of understanding or poor training on the part of the teachers, too many working class children are too quickly streamlined into Special Education classes from which they are seldom ever redeemed. In the case of the West Indian children, many of whom are not slow learners or mentally retarded the difficulties that are perceived as language difficulties are very similar to those of other Canadian children.

The Boards of Education attempted to deal with this problem by having the children attend Reading Withdrawal Programs and more recently, the West Indian children are being sent to English as a Second Language class, which was designed for immigrants whose mother tongue was not English. Since English is not the second language of the large majority of these kinds, the methods adopted would not necessarily be appropriate for these children who have been speaking English or some variation of it all their lives. (Speaking and writing English have been the emphasis of all school programs in the Commonwealth Caribbean, since the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level Examination is the prime objective of schooling, and English Language as one of the subjects on the ensuing certificate is a must for gaining even the most basic clerical job, or for continuing to any form of higher education).

The problem of language skills in Toronto is not restricted to immigrants or even West Indian immigrants. It is universal, as evidenced by the numerous recent complaints of educators at higher levels about the poor language skills their students possess. The problem is, that despite the advanced technique and modern methods of teaching, formal grammar is not being taught in the schools. The ability to analyze sentences, paraphrase them and construct them properly is a skill that can only be acquired through constant practice.

What is the difference between these groups of sentences, whether they are spoken or written?

Canadian child: Teacher, he gots my pencil.

West Indian: Teacher, he have my pencil. Make him give me it.

Canadian Child: Yous guys, are yous going to the park?

West Indian: All you going to the park?

The difference is that the sentences are all grammatically incorrect although the communicative aspect of language exists.

The psychological rationale that is commonly heard against correcting grammatical or spelling errors in creative writing is that it destroys the creative ability of the child. It has also been said that if teachers put too many red marks on a child's paper, the child may feel like a failure. This type of thinking has been stretched too far. A child may never realise that errors exist in his written or spoken work, if he is not corrected 'early o'clock'.
Let us come to grips with the facts and stop blaming cultural backgrounds or social class for some of the basic deficiencies in the educational system. Let us also begin to understand that cultural expressions of working-class children have nothing to do with their ability to cope with academic work.

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TEACHER: INNER CITY SCHOOL

"The goals of an educational system reflect the values held by the community".

"Values take on meaning for the individual when they are accepted as personal precepts".

"The setting of local objectives within the framework of the provincial aims should leave the principal and individual teacher the freedom to select and adopt the objective material and sequences that are likely to be the most profitable for the children".

These are quotations taken from Education in the Primary and Junior Division 1975 by the Minister of Education, Hon. Thomas L. Wells.

In theory, education today is at its Zeneth level. The goals, values and objectives as set down by the Ministry both in the afore mentioned book and "The Formative Years" are something short of Utopia for education. Few parents, adults or children could put forward a substantial argument against them.

Then why aren't we all ecstatic? Why aren't all our children progressing or even learning?

Could it be that the schools are not furnished with proper equipment? From paper to colour TV's, from caretakers to psychiatrists. Unlikely!

Could it be that the budget is inadequate? The gross expenditure in 1975 was $1,421.84 per child. Hardly!
Could it be that parents are unconcerned? About their own children? Absurd!
Could it be that teachers are not performing? Perhaps! Many are frustrated

Could it be the children? - But they are the ones for whom the school system is created in the first place. The children are our primary and greatest concern; yet the general, overall feeling is that they are being short changed. (i) They lack basic fundamental skills; (ii) they lack a sense of self-worth; (iii) they are not developing moral and aesthetic sensitivity necessary for a complete and responsible life; (iv) they lack the knowledge and attitude that they need for active participation in shaping the society. In other words they lack the four basics that the curriculum is designed to provide.
A solution most beneficial to our children; most profitable to the society and less frustrating to parents and teachers must be found soon. The solution to the problem lies not in the "attitude" of teachers; not in the "carelessness" of parents; nor in the "indiscipline" of students, but rather in the rigid military organization of the formal education system and the social inequalities in the society.

TEACHER: SUBURBAN SCHOOL

West Indian children become inhibited, fearful and psychologically defeated in a competitive education system in which they are a minority.

Consequently, West Indian students either drop out, attend trade schools assigned to them by the administration, or find a boring, low-paid job like their parents.

There is a general feeling of discontment among teachers and West Indian Immigrant parents about the performance of West Indian children in Toronto schools. Some educators here express the ability of West Indian children in such strong language as "culturally deprived" and "backward".

Why do many West Indian children fail "to make it" academically? There are many reasons. Ontario's Education system is geared to benefit specifically the ruling class of this society. West Indians are not part of this elite class. The parents of West Indian children are workers engaged in production in factories or in the service industries.

Another important reason for West Indian children's low academic performance at school is racism in the classroom. Lack of proper communication at school can lead to poor results. Some white children and white teachers have the notion that most West Indian children are "handicapped" educationally, that they are not as "cultured" as other children. There is not a free and open atmosphere in the learning situation at school.

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monitoring of these works". It is interesting to note that the committee has recently reported condemning the shift system as a most ridiculous and shortsighted plan and the main cause of the total chaos that exist in the Education System.

3) Frightening the militancy into submission with the use of the armed forces of the state. During the July Demonstration, teenage school children were confronted by armed police. This is not the first time we have seen such a display of readiness to use force against children. In late 1974, armed police were deployed to a school in San Juan where students were boycotting classes demanding the removal of the principal.

JAGAN TO VISIT TORONTO

Reports from the Association of Concerned Guyanese (Toronto) state that Dr. Cheddi Jagan, leader of the Peoples Progressive Party in Guyana, will visit Toronto during the first week of March on a speaking tour. Dates of his speaking engagements will be publicized soon.

FEATURE

IMMIGRANTS AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN TORONTO

-An Introduction

The following article prepared by staff of the Black Education Project and Caribbean Dialogue is an introductory analysis of the immigrant labour market and the crisis in schools in Toronto.

For West Indians and other Third World immigrants who have flocked to Canada since the 60's with a dream of "bettering themselves", the dream now frequently adopts a nightmarish quality Their children are dropping out of schools, the numbers of black youth in training schools, group homes and jails are growing daily as they lash back at a system which attempts to coerce them into accepting their place at the bottom.

Who are the immigrants, and how did they end up in a country which only a decade ago still clung to its "Keep Canada White" policy? The Federal government's 1975 Green Paper on Immigration, produced to encourage national debate on immigration and population policy prior to enacting more restrictive immigration legislation, delineates some of the answers.

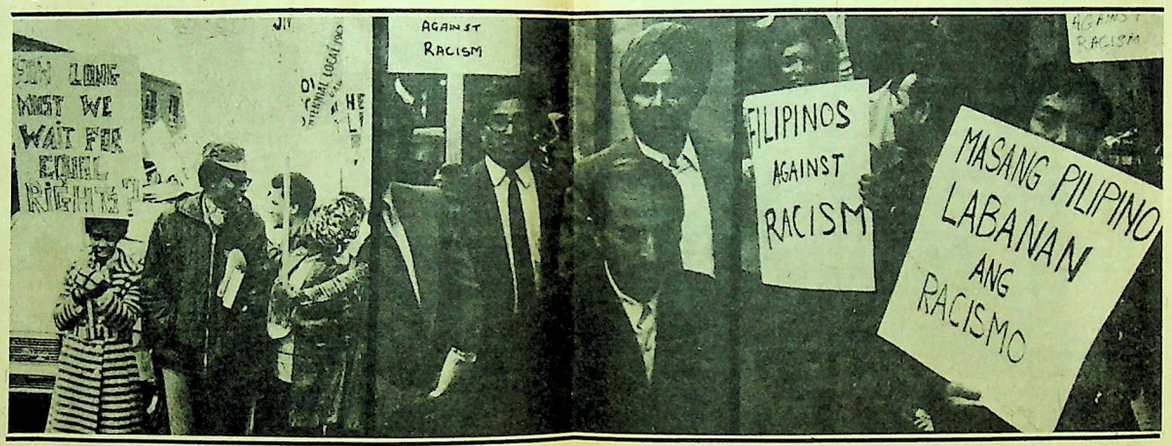
It establishes that Canada is a country of immigrants. A colony first of France then of Britain thousands of settlers came to this country to extract raw materials for the "mother countries". Confederation - the creation of the Dominion of Canada in 1867 - meant that the Canadian government rather than Britain controlled immigration. In the period after Confederation a great influx of immigrants, mostly farmers and agricultural workers, entered the country from Britain, the U.S. and, in lesser numbers from Northwestern Europe -the "preferred countries" of immigration. Already in that period Canada was forced to deviate from its "Keep Canada White" policy when the need for huge numbers of workers to build the Canadian Pacific Railroad sent agents to China as well as to Europe to recruit immigrant labour.

In the late 19th - early 20th century, the country was still greatly underpopulated and undeveloped. Besides recruiting from traditional sources (which continued to supply about 2/3 of Canadian immigrants), efforts were made to bring in people from eastern Europe who founded many new agricultural settlements in the west. The first World War interrupted the flood of immigrants (between 1895-1914 nearly three million immigrants had come to Canada) which did not return to substantial level until the late 20's. The depression slowed the flow to a trickle and it was not until after World War II that immigration again become an important tool of economic policy.

Unlike European countries, Canada did not have a large and ever present pool of poor and unemployed to be recruited to meet the growing demands of capitalist expansion. Whenever it needed to widen its population base, however, it favoured European stock, with Britain, the U.S. and Northwestern Europe classified as "most favoured".

POST-WAR IMMIGRANTS

After World War II it became increasingly important to bring in all kinds of labour - skilled and unskilled, professional and technical. Canada was still an underdeveloped country, its educational system not yet able to produce sufficiently skilled workers (manual or professional) to fill its needs. The impetus given to domestic industry by the war needed a growing market to sustain itself and immigration was an important tool in the process. Amendments were made in the "admissible classes" regulation to permit sponsorship of several more classes of relatives than had previously been allowed. The dislocation of Eastern European populations as a result of the war also led to a refugee programme and many thousands displaced persons were allowed into the country.



The sponsored category of immigrants, that is, relatives of landed immigrants, provided a good part of the urgently needed cheap, unskilled, docile labour required, particularly in primary industries, railroads and construction. The need for that kind of labour led to deliberate recruitment in the hitherto non-favoured countries of southern Europe: first Italy and Portugal, and eventually Greece. This recruitment had a multiplying effect, for once the workers were settled they brought in first their dependents then increasingly more distant relatives who could enter the work force and in turn sponsor their relatives. So that immigrants brought not only their own labour power but that of their children, etc., who were to help fill future needs of cheap labour and the continuing need to absorb greater production. While recruitment from southern Europe was undertaken, the preferred sources remained the countries which contributed the greatest number of immigrants up to the 50's - Britain, the U.S., Germany and the Netherlands.

By 1960 it was obvious that Canada needed to systematically train its indigenous population to help fill the jobs created by the new technologies (developed in response to Sputnik) and by the expanding service industries. Immigration of skilled labour was down. Thousands of high school graduates found their training almost valueless on the labour market. Unemployment had risen from 3.4% in 1956 to 7% in 1960. Money began to pour into educational institutions to create that vast network that exists today from vocational schools to universities. In 1968 the Department of Manpower and Immigration was created for the expressed purpose of both matching the internal labour force to jobs through retraining and placement, and to more thoroughly match immigration to the job market. The new immigration regulations of 1967/68 were promulgated as a step in this direction.

The changes introduced a new "universal" method of screening prospective immigrants: the point system, propagandized as the means to eliminate the discrimination inherent in the previous system. An independent immigrant applying from his/her home country had to achieve 50 points awarded for level of education, possession of skills needed on the labour market, age, and the individual's ability to adjust to Canadian society (judgement of the latter being left to the examining officer's discretion) to be accepted. The category of "nominated" immigrant was introduced, tied to the point system. The nominated immigrant also had to get 50 points, but about 30 of these were obtained by having a close relative in Canada who could ensure that the nominated candidate would not become a charge on the state during the first 5 years of residence. The sponsored category, not subject to the point system, remained covering dependent children, spouses and parents under 60, sisters and brothers under 18 (in special circumstances). Another aspect of the new regulations was that visitors to Canada could apply from within for immigrant status and an appeal process was instituted for those denied landed status.

Several reasons for these new regulations can be perceived. Beginning in the mid-60's the economic situation appeared very bright indeed. The War in Viet Nam had brought prosperity to Canada as well as to the U.S. because of ties between Canadian and American industry. There appeared to be unlimited need for skilled and professional as well as for unskilled workers.

The traditional sources in western Europe were drying up because of the economic boom in Germany, France and, to a certain extent, Italy, while the British proved an unrealiable source of immigration (an estimated 50% of British immigrants to Canada between 1945-70 left during that period). So the doors were open to all the talented of the earth, so to speak, although attempts were made to maintain the flow from preferred sources by limiting placement of immigration offices.

WEST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS

Despite all barriers placed in their path, immigrants from the Caribbean, Asia and, somewhat later, Latin America poured into Canada. The point system ensured that those applying as independent immigrants from their home countries were highly skilled and professional workers. Immigration statistics show, for example, that 62.8% of all West Indian immigrants in the years 1969-1972 indicated intentions of going directly into the work force - a substantially higher percentage than immigrants from, e.g. Britain, Italy and Portugal. Areas of the work force which West Indians indicated a preference for or were selected on the basis of their suitability for, were the mechanical and manufacturing trades, and clerical, managerial and teaching services. Given Canadian business and industry's tendency to make inappropriate demands for "Canadian experience", the majority of these immigrants have to enter the labour force at a lower level than that for which their skills equip them.

At the same time as highly skilled workers were entering Canada, a substantial number of semi- and unskilled workers came in either as nominated immigrants (a category now virtually abolished) or as visitors who applied from within for landed status (before November 1972 when the regulation was changed). Thousands of the latter ended up in the appeal process, either holding low-paying jobs Canadians would not take while they waited for a decision on their status, or they became "illegal" immigrants, providing superexploitable labour for marginal factories and the service sector. Scores of these "illegals" gained landed status in the government's Adjustment of Immigrants programme in 1973/74. By 1975 there were an estimated 100,000 blacks in Toronto of whom at least two-thirds are West Indian immigrants.

Prior to the 60's the only black immigrants admitted to Canada were students and professionals whose skills were needed. The unskilled were admitted only to fill specific needs - for instance, the Domestic Scheme of the mid-fifties which brought thousands of young women from the Caribbean to labour in the kitchens of the middle-class. The mid-60's change of policy allowed entry for the first time to large numbers of various levels of workers. In the last half of the 60's the children of earlier West Indian immigrants started arriving in significant numbers.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The expansion of the Canadian school system in the 60's has already been touched on. Surveys carried out by the Federal Department of Labour in the late 50's had found that a high percentage of skilled industrial workers had been trained outside of Canada. The unemployment rate had soared to 7% in 1960. It was clear that the school system, with its emphasis on academic performance, was not producing the kind of graduate that could meet the changed labour requirements that rapid technological advances had brought.

The Federal government therefore, passed the Technical and Vocational Training Assistanct Act in 1960, thereby establishing a scheme of grants to the provinces (which are responsible for education) to assist in the construction of provincial trade schools and institutes of technology. In 1961 the Act was broadened to include grants to local school boards for vocational high schools and the vocational component of composite schools. Vocational and technical schools, both secondary and post-secondary (Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology), were built at a tremendous rate. In Ontario $760 million was spent on construction of such schools - rich gravy for the construction industries of the U.S. and Canada. These schools, as well as creating a new market for educational technology and capital goods, were supposed to provide Canada's corporate ruling class with a better-trained work force (saving them the cost

of doing it themselves). In addition, the unemployment rate and potential for social unrest among youth would be lowered as the duration of time students stayed in school lengthened. (In 1951 secondary enrollment represented only 42% of the 15-19 age group. By 1970 the proportion was up to 80%.)

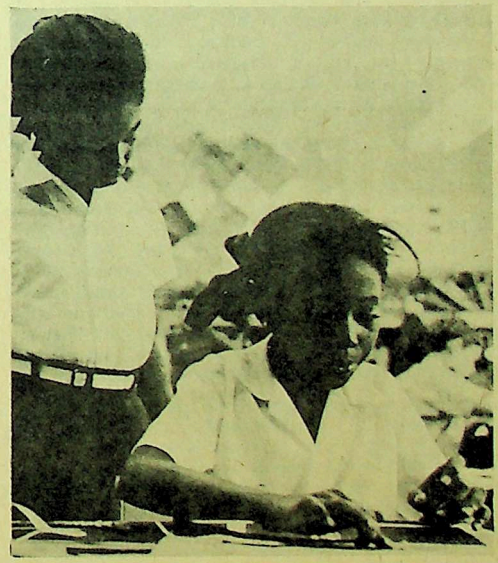
The major shift in orientation of the secondary system in the Toronto Board of Education from purely academic to vocational/technical education was expressed in a hierarchy of schools, with greatest expansion in the bottom levels. At the top were the Collegiate Institutes, offering 5 year academic (arts and science) programmes leading to University entrance. Next were the Technical and Commercial high schools offering 4 and 5 year programmes which are generally less academically demanding. These schools in fact provide some real skill training for the people needed by industry. Their graduates can go on to Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology. The new secondary schools provided were of two types: (1) those for "not-so-slow, slow learners" - the two year Special High Schools which went to grade 10 and prepared students for immediate employment; and (2) those for "slow, slow learners" - the Vocational Schools to which were sent students who had failed grade 8 (the last year of public school) and were reading below Grade 5 level. These new kinds of schools were nicely situated in the heart of working-class areas.

These schools were, as the rhetoric went, to train the working class and provide them with skills. In fact the schools served to socialize students into a properly subordinate character suitable for the deadening shit-work which awaited them - if they got any work at all. For what the rhetoric attempted to hide was that as industry became more and more automated, as assembly-line work increasingly de-skilled workers, and as unemployment rose, the need for skilled labour shrank correspondingly. The new schools, therefore, were designed to produce workers with just enough training to take orders and not enough to take initiatives.

A necessary adjunct to the deepening role of the schools as agents of social control during this period was the growth of a corps of ancillary functionaries to assist teachers and administrators in doing their job. These are the dozens of psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, guidance counsellors, etc., who are responsible for administering and interpreting IQ and other tests, for identifying what variety of "problem" the student is, for providing therapy to make kids feel good about their oppression, and for advising them about their "choice of careers". These "experts" are also used as part of the machinery to make parents feel even more powerless and accepting of the path the school as agent of the ruling class has ordained for their children.

Middle class children, also, are moulded to perform their tasks in society. George Martell, an editor of This Magazine, in an article on "The Schools, the State and the Corporations" asks "What is it .... that our ruling class asks of the middle class to whom it pays wages? Two things mostly, and they're thoroughly interrelated: first, to help make state and corporate bureaucracies run smoothly, and second, to obscure the oppression of the working class by the ruling class. And for both these tasks a certain language is required that, again, everyone calls middle-class language. It is the crucial skill required for success.

The nature of this language corresponds to the work of its users, a class 'in the middle', ironing out bureaucratic wrinkles and laundering unpleasant realities. The further down a child is on the class scale, the less appropriate is this language to him; the more it obscures his reality, the less capable he is of learning it, the worse he does on reading scores. This language, of course, isn't any 'truer' for middle-class kids. But it does get them a job and it is much easier for them to learn, being the language of the home" It is the degree of skill in manipulating this denatured language that determines which "stream" in the school system a child enters. Low reading scores = low level placement = low level ability = low level in the class structure.



Streaming in public (elementary) schools means those of average to high ability enter "regular" grades, while those labelled as "slow learners" who are reading below grade level, are placed in "special classes".

WEST INDIANS IN THE SCHOOLS

A substantial percentage of West Indian children coming into Toronto in the late 60's joined their parents in downtown working class neighbourhoods where low-cost housing, both public and private, was available. (Although the pattern of residential mobility to the suburbs was already emerging, generally speaking at that time blacks who lived in the suburbs tended to be white-collar workers and professionals. In 1976 that pattern is no longer general. Increasingly, public and other subsidized housing is being built in the "suburban" boroughs and, also, black people are buying houses in the new residential developments in Scarborough, North York and Etobicoke). In those neighbourhoods were other recent immigrants - Portuguese, Greeks, Italians - the "New Canadians" and Anglo working class people. Slightly later Indians, Pakistanis and Latin Americans entered.

Black kids joined other working class immigrant and Anglo students in the "inner city" schools where, in addition to facing the oppression of the class system, they were confronted with the racism of teachers and administrators. Low stream or lower grade placement of blacks was almost automatic as the schools diagnosed "language problems", "behaviour problems" (West Indian kids are either "too passive" or "too aggressive") and "culture shock". It was assumed by some teachers that since the language of the West Indies was English, students who spoke some variant of standard English must be dumb. The social and family institutions which we developed in response to a unique and cruel history were held up against the Canadian standard, found wanting and tagged as the reason for the children's failure in the school system. Public school aged kids were put into "opportunity" classes, "pre-vocational" and "academic vocational" classes - all leading directly into Vocational and Special High Schools. Parents were told that the smaller special education classes benefitted their children by providing them with more individual attention and the opportunity to "work at their own levels". What they were not told of was the virtual impossibility of the students moving to a higher stream.

Older youths were placed into low stream secondary schools in alarming numbers. The 1971 Every Student Survey shows 23.7% of West Indian students in the lowest stream secondary schools - a considerably higher percentage than other English speaking immigrants. Black students in every level of the system were harrassed for "ganging up" and excluding whites". When, in the mid-seventies, black secondary students started to form black organizations in the schools the administrators was at first adamant in their opposition. Students struggled around the issue and won - at a price The clubs were not to be called "Black" or "Afro" anything, since those names indicated "exclusiveness". Now black high school groups abound with names like "Soul Club", "Rainbow Club", etc. In 1974 many of these clubs formed a coalition called Reunited African People (R.A.P.).

PARENTS AND STUDENTS RESISTANCE

West Indian working class parents are increasingly resisting the streaming of their children. Whereas in the early years many parents accepted the testing and low placement of their kids, practical knowledge of how the schools operate gained from their older children's experiences in the system, gives them the confidence to cut through the mystifications with which the teacher/psychologist/social worker/guidance counsellor attempts to shroud the fact that little learning goes on in "special" education classes. This resistance adds to the pressure being put on the Boards of Education by other immigrant groups, by Anglo working-class and middle-class parents, by teachers and, most crucially, by the students themselves. What this all amounts to is a crisis in the education system.

One of the major reasons for this crisis-for the demoralization of the system - is the response of students in all schools to the attempts, subtle (in the collegiates) and overt (in low level schools) to turn them into fodder for the capitalist system. A telling indication of their rejection of schooling is the high drop-out rate - 25% in 1974-75. For the black youth who drop out - and join the Rastas, or work up a hustle - their efforts to survive inevitably bring them to confront the iron fist of the state - the police. Scores of these youth are in training schools or in the Toronto jail.

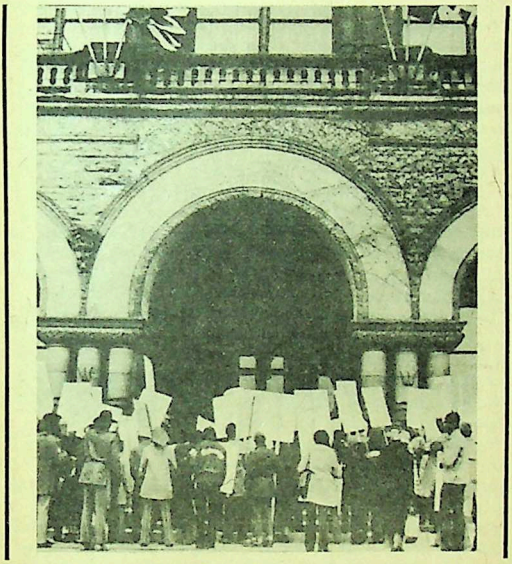
The Trefann Court (a public housing development) Mothers brief to the Toronto Board in 1971 gives an insight into why working class kids reject schooling.

"It doesn't relate to the things they know about and care about. It doesn't touch the world as it's experienced by people who don't have much money, who are forced to take on society's boring jobs, who are constantly threatened by unemployment, who are harassed by welfare officials or the police. It doesn't understand what it means to be a person with integrity under these circumstances, or where you find life and friendship. So the kids slide away, and turn their minds and their hearts off".

The rejection further expresses itself in abuse of teachers, in vandalism, and in a high rate

of absenteeism and truancy - all most extreme in Level 1, 2 and 3 schools. It is in these that teachers and kids most clearly recognize the schools' role as enforcer of capitalist discipline. There is very little room for the liberal rhetoric possible in collegiates where students are given the illusion of choice. Here it is "they're animals who have to be taught to behave like human beings" or "they have to learn to be neat/punctual/polite if they want to keep a job".

To immigrant kids it is obvious that the teachers consider that "the schools represent a superior position in terms of intelligence, development of civilization etc.. [and that] the Anglo Canadian could not be expected to give up



his values, his cultural position, those standards by which he lives etc. merely to accommodate the values, the standards and the general life position of the ethnic communities" (quoted from the report of a meeting with teachers at a Level 3 school contained in the 1975 Report of the Work Group on Multicultural Programmes). Not surprisingly, the immigrant students find themselves in conflict with this approach to them and refuse to learn.

This refusal to learn has not remained quarantined in the lower streams. Despite the liberal rhetoric in the top streams, the students still rebel. Educators point with alarm to the fact that a larger and larger percentage of collegiate students are functional illiterates and that all universities have had to introduce remedial reading classes for incoming freshmen. Teachers complain that is increasingly impossible for them to teach since students just won't learn. Challenges to the authority of the classroom teachers are blamed on the general deterioration of the permissive society.

RESPONSE OF THE STATE

The schools continue to devise ways to cover up the conflicts and to contain student and community resistance. In some public schools those whose actions make teaching impossible are placed in "behavioral classes", or, the ultimate admission of failure by the system, put on home instruction whereby an itinerant teacher goes to the student's home for a few hours a week. Black kids are increasingly to be found in those classes, the next step is often training school for the incorrigibles. Another strategy made possible by Federal grants for "projects", (e.g. Local Initiatives Programme) has been for the schools to employ "ethnics" to function as liaison between schools and students, bureaucracy and community and to cool out the incipient and increasingly overt rebellion of parents and students.

The Board of Education of the City of Toronto (the largest of the six borough boards of Metropolitan Toronto) faced with the underlying unity of response by the various working class communities - immigrant and Anglo, white and black - has fragmented the conflict situation by instituting a programme of "Multicultural" reforms. After all, 50% of Toronto's school population is immigrant of non-Anglo background. These students, says the board, are having problems in school because they come from a different culture - which should be nurtured and respected; because teachers are racist - they shall be "sensitized"; because courses lack relevance- rewrite textbooks to portray ethnics and include more ethnic course content; because (in the case of large numbers of West Indian students) they haven't been to school - place students in booster programmes to upgrade skills rather than in classes for slow learners. And last, but by no means least, create a whole new department - the Schools Community Relations department attached to the Curriculum Division and staffed with "officers" and "workers" who can relate to ethnic communities, help the schools determine what they want and express these wants in programmes. No overt recognition is given in the report of the fact that the crisis in the system affects all working class children.

There are clear signs, however, that the state administration realizes the danger to itself of the rebellion of the youth. A recent article in the Toronto Star entitled "Can Violent Youth Get

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PART II - UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE UNEMPLOYED

MOVEMENT OF THE UNEMPLOYED

1920-1960

In the October issue of Caribbean Dialogue, we began Part I of a series on Unemployment and the Unemployed. The series was intended to consist of two parts, but due to the importance of the unemployed as a section of the working-class movement today we have decided to extend the series into three parts. Part III will appear in our March issue.

Parts II and III will focus on the experiences of the unemployed in Trinidad and Tobago because we believe that the unemployed movement in the Caribbean has reached its most advanced stage in Trinidad. Also, it is perhaps more fruitful to analyse a particular experience rather than attempting to incorporate the varied experiences in the Caribbean as a whole. However, in the analysis references will be made to the development of the movement in other territories.

In the first emergence of a class, there is a tendency for that class to struggle around demands within the prevailing social system. As class struggle advances, the ruling class is forced to extend and reform the social system until it can no longer contain the social conflicts. It is at the latter stage that the oppressed classes struggle around demands that are beyond the capacity of the social system and a period of open mass struggle for state power begins in a conscious way.

A social class, however, is not a homogeneous unit. It is made up of different fragments or sections. Just as there are conflicts and struggles between social classes, so too there are conflicts between sections of a class and even within sections. It is within this context that the struggles of the unemployed must be viewed.

STAGES OF UNEMPLOYED STRUGGLES

In the first two decades of this century, the unemployed constituted a very small section of the working-class and it did not have a specific mode of existence of its own. The 1919 general strike throughout the Caribbean, from Belize in Central America to Georgetown in Guyana, was led by the urban dock workers and involved commercial and agricultural workers and farmers. It was the collapse of the sugar industry, consequently, the collapse of the Caribbean economy after 1920 and the consequences of the capitalist depression in the late 1920's and 1930's that precipitated a rapid increase in the unemployed labour army and that established the unemployed as a specific social section of the working-class.

The struggle of the unemployed movement in Trinidad and Tobago passed through four stages of development and is now in its fifth stage. The first stage dated from 1919 to 1938; the second was during World War II; the third extended from 1945 to 1962; and the fourth from 1962 to 1970. The character of each stage of the unemployed struggle and the movement from one stage to another were conditioned by changes in the Trinidad and international economy and the situation and events in the local and international arena (see Part I in the October issue, No.2, for the Political Economy of Unemployment.)

DIVISIONS IN THE UNEMPLOYED

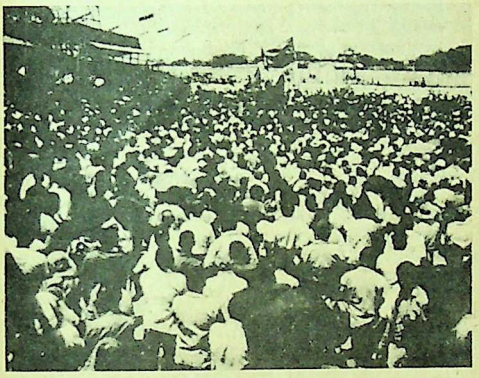
In Trinidad and Tobago, as in Guyana and Surinam, it is necessary to make two clear divisions within the unemployed movement. The first is the well known urban/rural division. The urban unemployed has always led the political struggle of the unemployed as a whole. The second division is between the Black unemployed and the East Indian unemployed. Though there are urban East Indian unemployed, the vast majority of East Indian unemployed is concentrated in the Central and southern parts of the country, and due to the family-agricultural base of the East Indian section of the population, there has been not so much unemployment as underemployment among East Indians. On the other hand, Black unemployment has been concentrated in the urban areas, particularly in Port-of-Spain. The unemployed movement in Trinidad and Tobago, therefore, has been essentially the creation of the urban Black unemployed.

BEGINNING OF THE MOVEMENT

The mass of unemployed that emerged around Port-of-Spain after 1920 consisted of urban youths and former employed workers; rural youths and agricultural labour released from the land and worker and peasant immigrants from other territories of the Eastern Caribbean (Grenada, St. Vincent etc.) in search of jobs. Little distinction could have been made between "permanent" unemployed and "recently" unemployed workers, and between unemployed and underemployed. The working-class organisation - The

Workingmen's Association that was transformed into the Trinidad Labour Party under the leadership of A.A. Cipriani in the early 1930's - that emerged after 1919 and that led the working class movement for some 15 years, paid little attention to the plight of the unemployed.

By the mid=1930's, the urban unemployed consisted mainly of recently retrenched employed workers, both urban and rural, and hunger and starvation swept the country. In the southern part of the country, the decline in wages in the oil industry and retrenchment programmes started by the oil companies resulted in unemployment, underemployment and hunger. A series of protest marches - "Hunger Marches" and "March for Work" - began throughout the country, both north and south, led by local groups. In Port-of-Spain, the National Unemployed Movement (NUM) led by a few former employed workers, was formed. Mass



demonstrations and rallies were held, in some periods on a daily basis, that united unemployed and employed workers. NUM was transformed into the Negro Welfare Association (NWA) and the Butler Movement advanced rapidly in the southern oil and sugar regions. These two organisations, operating independently but attempting to co-ordinate the struggle on a national scale, linked the employed and unemployed workers and the peasantry into a mass workers' and farmers' movement that exploded in mass rebellion in 1938/38.

The main demands of the unemployed were WORK, LAND and BREAD. The "permanent" unemployed, mainly youths, was absorbed into the mass movement and did not seem to have waged an independent struggle as a specific section of the class. They were then only a small proportion of the unemployed labour army and gaining their first baptism of political fire. However, from interviews with unemployed leaders of that period, it would appear that "permanent" unemployed formed the "shock troops" and defense units of the movement. It was they who continuously confronted the police and formed the vanguard in the physical defense of the movement. Their confrontation with the police necessitated the formation of small "tight" groups, and it is from this period that the network of self-organised unemployed groups dates (see NBM books - The Rise and Fall of Party Politics by F. Harvey, and History of the Working-Class by B. Rennie for an analysis of the working-class movement in this period).

The 1937/38 mass rebellion and the outbreak of World War II concluded the first stage of struggle of the unemployed and the beginning of the second stage. There is no doubt that the unemployed played a similar role in the struggles of the 1930's that swept the rest of the English-speaking Caribbean - Guyana, St. Vincent, Antigua, Barbados, Jamaica, etc.

THE WAR YEARS

The outbreak of World War II changed the reality of the unemployed. The opening of the American naval base at Chaguaramus in the north-west of the country and the influx of thousands of U.S. marines created new jobs, expanded the number of prostitutes and gave rise to "hustlers" among the "permanent" unemployed. The mass of unemployed decreased but the "permanent" army of unemployed labour increased.

The presence of U.S. marines in Trinidad brought a new experience to the unemployed. War-oriented, sex-starved U.S. soldiers with their superiority - mentality developed the practice of "underpaying" prostitutes; forcing them into bed without pay; underpaying small traders and in certain instances "raiding" whole areas and beating men and women alike. It was the unemployed men who organised the physical defence of their women and themselves. Groups of unemployed (and some employed workers also) emerged in Port-of-Spain that acted as the vanguard of self-defence of communities against attack from U.S. marines. In some cases pitched battles were fought (e.g. George Street in Port-of-Spain) in which men, women and children from certain city blocks were involved. The local police entered the struggle effectively on the side of the U.S. soldiers, and for the second time unemployed and police confronted each other.

The War had three basic effects on the unemployed. It expanded prostitution in the society, developed among the urban unemployed the art of "hustling", and forced the unemployed to organise themselves further in a network of small groups based on a number of blocks or areas within the city. The end of the war concluded the second stage of struggle of the unemployed.

Perhaps the most important experience of the unemployed that taught them the lesson of self-

organisation, clarified their relations with other sections of the working-class and other classes, and brought them face-to-face with the state was the Steelband Movement.

THE STEELBAND MOVEMENT

Official history dates the origin of the steelband to 1945, but as early as the struggles of the 1930's, perhaps even before, groups of unemployed and employed workers formed "bands" with bottles, "iron", tins and drums to add rhythm and endurance to the marches. At the end of World War II, the "band" reappeared on the streets with hundreds of followers celebrating the end of the war. However, it was from the end of the War that the steelband movement began its rapid development through experimentation.

The work of building and perfecting the steelband required full-time labour that could only have been given by the unemployed. The acquisition and transportation of oil drums (through varied means); the clearing of space and construction of sheds; the cutting of pans; tuning and refinement of musical notes; development of artistry etc., were essentially the work of groups of unemployed though employed workers, particularly dock workers, were also involved. The task of building the steelband gave rise to groups of unemployed that coalesced and united around a central community-based activity. There was no hierarchy in the steelband organisation; rather it was a loosely organised body with an unofficial leadership based, not on artistry, but on the ability of various individuals to develop the movement. From its origins in the eastern section of Port-of-Spain, the steelband movement spread rapidly to other urban areas and then to the rural districts. By the late 1950's a national network of steelband organisations was in existence.

STEELBAND AND COMMUNITY

The Steelband and the pan-yards though created by the unemployed became a focus of the working-class community in which it was based. Some people donated space for the pan-yard; others loaned tools; some gave lumber for the shed; children flocked to the pan-yard to listen, look-on and help; and in the evenings the steelband would "hit the road" followed by men, women and children; employed and unemployed. It was community support, encouragement and involvement that motivated the unemployed to express their creativity and give so much of their effort in perfecting the steelband and building the movement. Gradually, other sections of the community joined the steelband. Students ran away from home in order "to learn to beat pan"; more employed workers became involved and even a few young teachers became "pan-men".

CARNIVAL

Carnival was transformed by the steelband compared to what it was in pre-War period, and it acted as the annual culmination of the effort and creativity of the unemployed and the community. It was essentially a working-class festival. The months of preparation that went into Carnival was undertaken by the unemployed, employed workers, housewives, children; virtually entire communities were involved. The centre of activity was the steelband. Most steelbands brought out between 40 and 60 pans on the road during the two days of carnival, and one band would have 2,000; 3,000 or 4,000 masqueraders. Men, women and children made costumes day and night; the unemployed prepared the pans; children assisted with the pans on Carnival days, etc.

CLASS CONFLICT

The steelband movement from its emergence came into open conflict with the middle-classes and the colonial state. The middle-classes which internalised the colonial culture and sought mobility with the colonial social hierarchy, despise the unemployeds and the steelband. They kept their children indoors and away from the "rowdies" in the steelband and attempted to prevent them from participating in Carnival. The middle-classes organised their own small costumed band during carnival and paraded mainly on trucks. The steelband and huge working-class carnival bands were not allowed near the middle-class carnival competitions - Carnival Queen and King competition; costumed bands competition, etc.

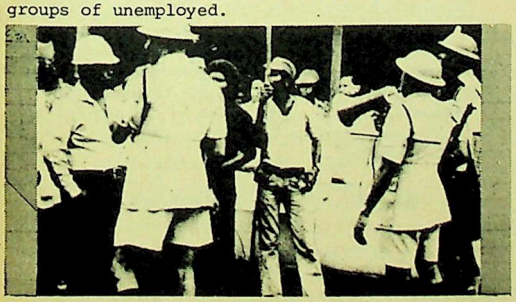
The daily papers of the period abound with abuses, denunciation and protest against the "immorality", "vulgarity" and "obscenity" of working-class "behaviour" during carnival". Some middle-class writers called for a "ban on carnival".

POLICE VS STEELBAND MOVEMENT

The middle-class gave full support to the colonial state in its attempt to crush the steelband movement. There were frequent police raids on pan-yards during which pans were destroyed and members of the steelband arrested under 19th century colonial laws relating to "disturbance of the peace". During regular evening "jump-up" in working-class areas, police would disperse the crowd and arrest the "ring-leaders". The hostility that developed between the middle-classes and the state, on the one hand, and the unemployed and working-class in general, on the other, resulted in weekly confrontations bet - ween the police and unemployed. Working-class families would hide unemployed attempting to escape police brutality and arrest. In the process, unemployed, employed, children, women, all came under the harrassment of the police. Once again, it was the unemployed that formed the vanguard of organised self-defense against police attacks.

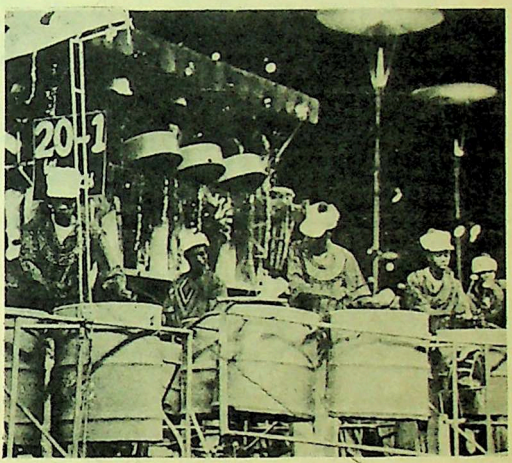
GANG WARFARE AND THE "BAD JOHN"

For over two decades, the local colonial state (through the police, courts and prison) and the imperialist state (through the U.S. marines) taught the unemployeds that violence was the solution to all conflicts. Incapable of dealing with the colonial state in the absence of a general working-class struggle, the unemployed turned inward on themselves and a wave of internal violence ensued in the form of "gang warfare" between rival steelbands. An organised military arm of the steelband developed and the most skillful and feared fighter - the "bad-john" - was the military leader. The high point of "gang warfare" occured during carnival when "two bands clash" on the streets of Port-of-Spain during carnival. Though "gang warfare" emerged around the steelband, as external "pressure" decreased and internal conflicts within the unemployed and the working-class in general sharpened "gang warfare" took on an independent existence away from the steelband organisation and was based instead around groups of unemployed.



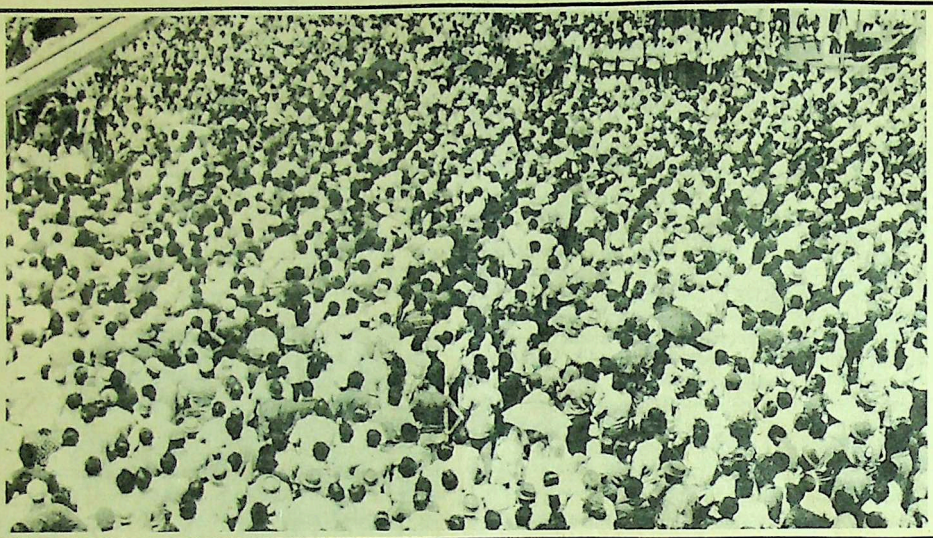
INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE

Imperialist development and international events had a significant influence on the unemployed struggle. The presence of U.S. marines in Trinidad and "sailors coming ashore" during the war had a direct influence on the unemployed. But, perhaps the most important influence was exerted by imported American films, particularly "Westerns" and films based on the First and Second World Wars. The concrete expression of such influence was reflected in the name of steelbands - Casablanca; Tokyo; Desperados; Red Army;



Cross Fire; Invaders; Renegades, etc. "Bad-johns" took their names from the heroes in American films - Bogart; Zorro; Bat Man; Robin; One Man; Bitter Man; Barong (this latter name was a localized version of the Baron). The violent experience of the unemployed combined with the violence depicted in films were expressed in the physical confrontations that occurred between Steelbands - Casablanca vs Desperados; Tokyo vs Desperados; Sunland vs Casablanca, etc. Many international events were portrayed in Carnival - Sailors Ashore; American Indians on the War path; D-Day; U.S. Marines; in fact these were the largest carnival bands consisting of up to 4,000 and 5,000 members. What the steelbands portrayed in dramatic form, the Calypsonians expressed in lyrics. The Steelband, "bad-john" and Calypsonian formed the

trinity of the unemployed movement. The Steelband was the organisation with the "bad-john" as the military leader and the calypsonian was the political orator of the movement. All three were brought together in the grand festival of Carnival.



THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

The launching of the Black Nationalist Movement - the People's National Movement - under the leadership of Eric Williams and the ascendancy of the middle-classes to political power through Independence in 1962 brought to a close the third stage of the unemployed struggle. Calypso, steelband and carnival were given "cultural" recognition as the national song, national music and national festival. They became "respectable" art forms and were promoted as the unique national contribution to the multi-cultural melting-pot of modern world society. Gang warfare ceased and the steelband was uprooted from its community base, transformed from the base of struggle and organ of power of the unemployed into an instrument of capital and the state.

It is not possible to go into the details of the process of transformation of the steelband movement between the mid-fifties and independence in 1962, the period of the ascendency of the nationalist movement (essentially the middle-classes) to political power. However, it is necessary to summarise the essence of that transformation process for it teaches a lesson to the unemployed that must never be forgotten.

MIDDLE-CLASS INTERVENTION

1. From the early fifties labour leaders such as Quintin O'Connor and Albert Gomes, and political activists, particularly in the leftist West Indian Independence Party, such as Lennox Pierre gave assistance to the steelband movement. Contacts with lawyers and "bailers" were very crucial to the unemployed as a consequence of frequent arrests. Such contacts within the middle-class assisted the steelband to obtain certain material resources and engagement performances at a few private middle-class functions and dances.

   Also, educated young people from working-class parents and middle-class youths (mainly students) began to join steelbands. The unemployed taught them the process of forming a steelband and the art of "playing pan", while they gave the unemployed new contacts in the middle-class and assisted with the documentation of music and the translation of tunes from music sheets to the pan. The emergence of the nationalist movement in the mid to late fifties accelerated that process and by the early sixties, middle class members of unemployed-dominated steelbands broke away and formed their own steelbands (e.g. Starlift was formed by a middle-class split away from Invaders and Dem Fortunates from Sun Land). Gradually, middle-class youths and members (students and young employed workers) of the "aristocracy" of labour began to form new steelbands. The above process was occurring at the same time as the rise of the nationalist movement.

NATIONALISM AND THE UNEMPLOYED

2. The rise of the nationalist movement was the political rise of Eric Williams. Most impor-

tant, Williams incorporated into his policical personality the "bad-johnism" of the unemployed. He attacked the local white commercial and planter middle-class; he attacked the churches; he defied the colonial state and began a mass campaign for independence and political power; he burnt the imperialist-owned Trinidad Guardian in the "University of Woodford Square" and he attacked U.S. imperialism around the issue of the Chaguaramus naval base so vehemently that many thought he was about to declare war on the U.S. The positive programme of the nationalist movement was education for every child; full-employment through industrialization and modernization of agriculture; a strong trade union movement etc. The slogan was "Massa Day Done" - the end of colonial rule and the power and priveleges of the commercial and planter middle-class (See NMB's booklet Rise and Fall of Party Politics by F. Harvey).

The Black Workers and farmers and petit-bourgeoisie of small owners and traders together with the Muslim and Christian sections of the East Indian community (exclusively urban) mobilized behind Williams. It was on the basis of the above political image, platform and populist character of the nationalist movement that the unemployed joined the mass mobilization.

NATIONALIZATION OF THE STEELBAND MOVEMENT

3. The third and perhaps most decisive tactic of capital and the state in diffusing the unemployed movement was the co-option of the steelband. This co-option took three interrelated forms - middle-class intervention into the steelband mentioned in (1); co-option of steelbands by capital (local and imperialist companies) through sponsorship and the incorporation of virtually the entire leadership of the steelband movement into the nationalist movement and their co-option as agents of the state and capital in the community to discipline and control the mass of unemployed.

   With the victory of the nationalist movements in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean by the early sixties and the Kennedy strategy of localization of the mechanisms of imperialist domination and control, local and imperialist capital alike began to sponsor steelbands as a method of co-option. The leaders of steelbands were given jobs with time off for performances etc.; sponsoring companies financed transportation and pans in many cases, made contacts for paid engagements etc. This new situation meant that not only were the leaders now employed,but that the 20 or 25 members of the steelband were able to gain an income, irregular as it may be, by "playing pan".

   In building the Black nationalist movement, the nationalist leaderhsip co-opted the steelband leadership particularly the "bad-johns" into the movement. The steelband was ever present at large nationalist rallies; leaders who did not obtain jobs in private enterprises were made employers of the state and "informers" in the community; and, most important of all, the "bad-johns" were given the task of defending the movement and leading their groups in attacks against the opposition East Indian Movement that coalesced into the Democratic Labour Party.

4. Finally, the steelband was severed from its community base. Whereas before a larger body of unemployed than simply the players and the community in general was necessary for the maintenance and development of the steelband, now the sponsors took over former community functions; whereas before most members of the steelband were unemployed and had to combine collectively to gain their livelihood, now the employed section was predominant; whereas before the steelband performed for the working-class community, now it performed at dances and concerts for the "nation" (the middle-class); etc.; whereas before the steelband was not included in music and carnival competition; now it was incorporated into state-organized competitions and went on tours abroad as "cultural" ambassador of the "nation".

Thus by independence day on August 31, 1962, the unholy alliance of the middle-classes, state and imperialist capital had fully co-opted the steelband movement. Nothing depicts so clearly that co-optation as the changed names of the steelband. Tokyo became Carib Tokyo (sponsored by Carib Breweries Ltd.); Invaders became Shell Invaders (sponsored by Shell Oil Co.); C.I.B.C. Starlift; Pan Am North Stars; Texaco Dixieland; West Indian Tobacco Gay Desperados, etc. From being the organization and base of struggle and power of the unemployed and sections of employed workers, the steelband became an instrument of control in the hands of capital and the state; from a community based activity, it became an institution unto itself. The steelband created by the Black oppressed unemployed and employed workers in the urban areas, was taking over by ruling class and transformed into an institution of "nationalist culture". The unemployed movement was broken, but the basis of a new movement was already laid by the unemphoyed themselves. That basis was the "LIME", and the new movement was the Black Power Movement that culminated in the 1970 mass rebellion.

Continued from page 17

Help in Our Schools?", states the depth of the conflict and the solution offered by the agents of social control. In face of the increase of extreme violence in the schools "the problem of identifying and treating seriously disturbed students haunts teachers, guidance staff, psychologists and psychiatrists. Educators and experts in the field say more guidance and psychological specialists are needed in the school system. 'We need two or three times the number of psychologists and guidance people in the schools and we need them in the early stages of education' .... Judge Stewart stresses the need for early recognition and treatment of children with emotional problems. 'Too often, kindergarten teaching is seen as nothing more than babysitting', he says. 'We must have very sensitive, aware people involved at the early stages of education.' One psychologist warns 'If we don't put money into support staff and special services, then we will have to pay to have armed guards in the schools' ". One need make no further comment.

The present state of crisis exposes ever more clearly the function the schools perform for the ruling class: ensuring future profits by maintaining long-term stability of the class system - the task of social control.

Gordon Cressy, the "radical" Chairman of the Toronto Board of Education had this to say in a recent speech to the Board.

"It should be clear to everyone by now that Canadians are going to have to change their ways. This is going to have a profound effect on the school system, on what is expected of our schools, and on what resources are made available to have these expectations realized ..... If we agree that the end of affluence may well be upon us, what new responsibilities does our education system have in ensuring that our society makes the best of this new era? ... Our schools have a responsibility to equip our young people to make the necessary changes for themselves, and to help their parents and society at large to do this before it is too late. We will either change our ways voluntarily and co-operatively, or else we'll be forced to .... One of the slogans of the new economic era is bound to be 'better productivity'.... it will mean ensuring that our teachers are able to do a good job and that our schools are providing the education service that's wanted".

What Gordon Creasy is saying and what Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, has been saying are exactly the same: the era of rising prosperity and consequently "expanding opportunities for social mobility" has come to an end; the organization of capitalist economy is disintegrating and the social relations and mechanisms developed by the ruling class to maintain its control are breaking-up as a result of interim social conflict; therefore a reorganization is necessary. In the case of the school, students must be disciplined for "better productivity" and to accept the limitations placed upon them by the social order; teachers must be trained to "do a good job" of that; parents must be made to understand the limitations necessary and do their part in the disciplining of students and, finally, the school system must be reorganized to achieve those goals. Students and parents are told either accept that ideology or face the police in schools. Which will it be?

Continued from page 8

unless agreement was reached that striking teachers would be paid for November.

Over the next few weeks teachers, responding to the massive pressures brought to bear on them, started trickling back to work and by mid-December the number on strike had been reduced to under 500.

"But we did not consider it a failure in the sense that we ourselves have made tremendous achievements, we have made an impact. I mean if you look in the Star today, you could see on the front page where they talk about proposals for money to rectify working conditions in the schools to the British development people".

The workers and peasants of St. Vincent had received another lesson in its continuing education as to the true obstacles to national development. Hundreds of families were directly affected by the strike and by the state's tear-gas response - One of the consequences of the strike has been the revival of the National Student Movement as students were activated to support the teachers' struggle.

Support of the Labour Party has eroded among teachers who had voted solidly Labour in the last election. The incarceration of teachers has led sections of the communities in which they live to oppose the government and, contrary to government expectations has produced a renewed interest in worker organizations.

Next Issue

Coming in the February Issue (Vol. 2 No. 1)

* Political Polarisation in Jamaica
* PNC State vs Amerindians in Guyana
* Letters from Prison in Dominica
* Black Organisations and the Struggle in Schools-Toronto

LETTERS

The Editors
Caribbean Dialogue

We the members of the Black Gold Action Committee see the Caribbean Dialogue as a much needed instrument through which to identify the Caribbean working class and document the development of its struggles. We congratulate you on filling a long existing void.

We were further pleased to see that in the October issue (Vol 1 No. 2) you ran excerpts from the corresponding issue of our organ "The Catcracker".

There is however an issue of concern to us which we think should be raised, at least in the first instance, for clarification. The article on Page 2 entitled OWTU awarded 57% in which the editorial of the Catcracker is quoted, states correctly that the Black Gold Action Committee holds that at this point in time oilworkers are not yet prepared for direct and open confrontation (of the March 18th nature) with the state. But the article goes further (more precisely the last paragraph) and appears to criticise the editorial implicitly assuming that our position is to just wait until the workers are ready (whatever that means). At least the way the paragraph is put together it is ambiguous enough to give such an impression to a reader, especially one who does not have the benefit of the entire editorial to look at.

If the paragraph does constitute a critique, then we think it is unfounded and are prepared to deal with it as such.

BLACK GOLD ACTION COMMITTEE
Trinidad and Tobago

EDITOR'S NOTE: The last paragraph of OWTU Awarded 57% in the October issue of Caribbean Dialogue was not intended as a critique of the Cat-Cracker editorial, for the editorial implied that workers' struggles would continue.

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Dear Friends:

At the moment, we have the pleasure of approaching you with the aim of making a formal presentation from our association which has just been formed - August 2, 1975. Our association takes the form of an Assembly which is represented by all sections of public opinion in our country.

The continuous violations of Human Rights and the burden of the laws which are being systematically produced in the last years in the Dominican Republic, have made a group of honest and restless citizens think seriously about the prevailing situation in our country. Each time, the pressures become more unbearable. This necessitated that we build a capable, solid and strong organization which is dedicated towards dealing with the innumerable insults which are being committed against Dominican citizens regardless of situation, hierarchy or social conditions.

We are conscious that the task which faces us is a difficult one and that it requires an almost total dedication if we claim that this organization will not just be another one. As a result, we are approaching not only public opinion sectors of our country to solicit help, but all international organizations which in one way or another have gained some respect in allowing their voice to be heard, protesting the injustices which are being committed against the oppressed peoples of the world.

We hope that this communique will initiate fraternal relations between our organization and yours. We close with a warm and brotherly greeting.

Ana Silvia de Abud
(President)

Elena Martinez
(Public Relations/Secretary)
Dominican Union for the Defense of Human Rights
Dominican Republic

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Dear Friend,

Fraternal greetings. We thank you for your letter dated, 2nd October, 1975.

We have noted all you have said and fully support the objectives you have outlined for Caribbean Dialogue.

Concerning contribution to the publication, we will be sending copies of our publication 'UNITE please feel free to reprint anything in it which is of relevance to you.

We look forward to a lasting relation.

Yours in Struggle

Youth Forces For National Liberation

Jamaica

PNC-PPP UNITY LIKELY??

Since the People's Progressive Party (PPP) led by Cheddi Jagan announced its "new" policy of "Critical Support" to the People's National Congress (PNC) Government of Forbes Burnham, a new political situation has been developing in Guyana.

For many years, Bookers', the British imperialist corporation that controls the sugar industry in Guyana, and the PNC - state refused to recognize the Guyana Agricultural Workers Union (GAWU) though it had majority support of the East Indian sugar workers. Instead, the Manpower Citizens' Association (MPCA) led by Richard Ishmael, was recognized as the official labour representative of the workers because the MPCA strongly supported the PNC, while GAWU has been affiliated to the Moscow-aligned PPP. After the "critical support" policy of the PPP was announced, the PNC-state and Bookers' agreed to hold a ballot among sugar workers to determine which union - MPCS or GAWU - should represent the workers. Returns showed that 98% of the workers voted for GAWU. Immediately, GAWU was recognized though official recognition will not come into force until February.

Also, after years of attempting to smash the PPP's newspaper - The Mirror - the PNC-state recently granted a licence to the New Guyana Company, legal owners of the Mirror, to import equipment and newsprint.

Unconfirmed reports reaching Caribbean Dialogue from Georgetown, Guyana indicate that Forbes

Dr. Cheddi Jagan Forbes Burnham

Burnham and Cheddi Jagan are holding private talks on closer political relations and possible unity of the two parties. However, the reports state that one of the major obstacles in the way of unity is the "right-wing element" in both parties. There is speculation that the two parties would be purged and that the "left sections" would unite in one "socialist" party. There are also reports that attempts are being made to involve other political activists in the discussions. If the above reports are accurate, we may see a realignment of political forces in Guyana very soon.

SCDA 26.385

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

A MONTHLY INFORMATION SERVICE

VOL. 2 NO. 2 MARCH 1976

JAMAICA

Fascism on the rise

- C.I.A. intervenes
- Manley Vacillating
- Private Fascist Army Formed
- Middle-class Mobilize for Showdown
- Violent Confrontation Begins

The Political war heats up

SCHOOLS CLOSED

FIRES IN TRENCH TOWN

GUNMEN TAKE FIVE LIVES SINCE FRIDAY

Cane farmers strike spreads

Says Munn: Violence directed at Govt.

JLP rapped over violence . . .

PM calls for defence groups

Seaga calls for curfew

Running battle in Harbour View

Gunman shot dead, policeman wounded

Also Inside

PNC-STATE VS AMERINDIANS

THESIS ON RELATIONS WITH THE PEASANTRY

CRIES OF LIBERATION

BLACK ORGANIZATIONS

The previous four issues of Caribbean Dialogue were dated according to the particular month or months during which information was received and articles prepared. For example, the January issue reflected the most recent information received during the month of January. Also, the January issue would come off the press and be distributed during February and early March. This method of dating issues of magazines is unorthodox and many of our readers have found it confusing being accustomed to information collected and prepared during January published as the FEbruary issue. Consequently, when readers receive the January issue in February or early March, they assume that it is an old issue.

We have therefore decided to change our method of dating to conform to the normal method. As such this issue is dated March instead of February. There will be no February issue. This change will not affect subscribers as they will be receiving a full year's supply of Caribbean Dialogue.

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE is a Caribbean information service published by the New Beginning Movement in collaboration with the Race Today Collective and other groups, organisations and individuals in the Caribbean and in the metropolitan centres of North America and Europe. Caribbean Dialogue is produced by the Toronto chapter of the New Beginning Movement with the active assistance of other organisations and individuals.

Caribbean Dialogue is distributed as a free service to groups and organisations in the Caribbean. Individuals and institutions in the Caribbean and organisations, institutions and individuals in other countries can obtain copies by subscription or at a limited number of bookstores.

Subscription rates are given in the subscription order form printed elsewhere in this issue.

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EDITORIAL continued from page 1

pendent mass organizations and institutions in the process of struggle for the seizure of state power. And a cohesive revolutionary vanguard, revolutionary organization, revolutionary party (the name is irrelevant) of the most advanced workers and farmers is necessary for the implementation of that strategy. The workers' and farmers' state cannot be a party-state, but a state based on the independent mass institutions of workers and farmers. The PNP is leading the Jamaican masses to political slaughter and fascism. The only possible way out is mass mobil-zation and organization of the Jamaican workers and peasants with the armed power to defeat fascism and advance to socialist power.

news brief

The Medical Association of Trinidad and Tobago has decided to increase doctors' fees by almost 50% as a result of inflation. A visit to a doctor's office cost workers and farmers a minimum of $10 (T&T), up from $7.00 (T&T). House calls between 6:00 a.m. and 5:30 p.m. now cost patients $20 (T&T); $30 (T&T) between 5:30 p.m. and 11:30 p.m. and $40 (T&T) between 11:30 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. Workers and farmers already saddled with inflationary prices for material necessities, are now being overburdened with increase cost of medical attention so that doctors could pocket $3,000 and $4,000 instead of $2,000 or $3,000.

WHO DECIDES FOR WHOM AND IN WHOSE INTERESTS?

Race Today

Race Today is a revolutionary journal published by the Race Today Collective, a Black working-class organisation involved in the struggles of Black immigrant workers in Britain as an integral section of the British and International working-class.

Race Today reports and analyses workers struggles in India, the Caribbean, North America and Europe.

The Race Today Collective brings not only a new approach to Marxist interpretation of struggles in Capitalist society but also adds a new dimension to revolutionary journalism.

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EDITORIAL

THE QUESTION OF SOCIALIST STRATEGY

The struggle for power in Jamaica between the forces of fascism, on the one hand, and the forces of revolutionary social transformation, on the other, with the Manley government balancing in the middle, brings to the fore the question of socialist strategy in the Caribbean. However, there can be no serious discussion of strategy without a basic clarity of the objective.

What is socialist power? In general terms, socialist power is the rule and control of all social institutions in a particular society by workers, peasants and other strata of exploited labour undet the political leadership of the working-class. The most basic concrete characteristic of socialist rule is the control of state power (of which governmental power is the weakest link) by the working-class and peasantry in their own independent mass organizations and institutions created, at least in embryonic form, in the very process of the struggle for power. Socialist power, therefore, requires as a precondition, not only the dismantling of the colonial capitalist state from top to bottom, but the construction of a workers' and peasants' state in the very struggle against the ruling classes and in the process of dismantling the old state. It is only with state power that the working-class and peasantry can undertake the gigantic task of social transformation in every facet of life in an underdeveloped society.

The strategy of building socialist power through control of parliamentary power as the first strategic step and then instituting "socialist" measures is nothing new. Since World War 11 (even before), many leftist parties have concentrated their efforts and forces on gaining parliamentary power through bourgeois elections. The most recent example is the Allende "experiment" in Chile.

A significant number of leftists has pointed to the fact that Allende had only executive power without parliamentary or congressional power as if the imperialists and local ruling class place great importance on parliamentary power in periods of crisis. One of the lessons of the Chilean experience is that the Chilean ruling class utilized its congressional majority only for tactical purposes to stall progressive legislation, withhold funds from the executive and as a national forum for political propaganda. It was the U.S. imperialist ruling class in alliance with the armed forces, judiciary and civil bureaucracy of the Chilean state; local capitalists; the urban petit-bourgeoisie and the professional middle-class together with their bourgeois parties and fascist paramilitary gangs that toppled the Allende government in a brutal and bloody coup. In fact, the crucial organization and preparation of the coup took place not only outside of Congress, but in direct violation of the very "law", "order" and "constitution" that the ruling class usually upholds as the pillars of democracy. So soon as capitalist power is threatened, the ruling class is the first to abandon its own "Constitution" and use all means necessary to maintain control.

Parliamentary power is NOT state power. Manley's control of a majority in parliament in no way means that the PNP controls the armed forces, judiciary, civil bureaucracy etc. In fact, events havesshown the contrary. In reality the PNP controls the weakest leverage of power in the capitalist state. The control of state power which is a pre-condition for socialist transformation is absent in the Jamaican situation. The first question, therefore, is this, can a leftist vanguard party take control of state power by first gaining control of parliamentary power?

The experience of class struggles in underdeveloped societies since World War 11 has answered that question very concretely. The degree to which it is politically feasible to seize power, having gained parliamentary power, is dependent on the balance of class forces in terms of organized strength, armed power and position within the organizational hierarchy of production and exchange and other social institutions. In Jamaica, the ruling class is politically much stronger and more powerful than the working-class and peasantry. Any attempt by the PNP to utilize its parliamentary power to undertake a programme of radical reforms in the present situation will lead to fascist rule.

The second and more potent question: Can the workers and peasants take hold of the capitalist state and carry through a socialist transformation? The answer is clearly NO. Marx and Lenin laid that issue to rest decades ago. Even in societies where the balance of class forces allows the seizure of state power, having first gained parliamentary power, the capitalist state has to be demolished forthwith and a workers' and peasants' state constructed in its place.

The socialist strategy today, therefore, must be the mobilization, organization and unity of the working-class and peasantry in inde-

continued on inside front cover

LETTERS FROM PRISON

Cries of liberation

World attention has been focussed on Dominica since October 1974 on account of a sharp escalation in the struggle for liberation from colonial capitalist exploitation. Official statements from the Patrick John regime were attempts to convey the impression that large sections of the unemployed youth were ".. misguided by foreign communists and were conducting an anti-white campaign which was responsible for the socio-economic ills of the British Colony". The John Government then used this concoction as rationale to launch a campaign of terror against the oppressed classes particularly the unemployed youth. Among other measures, the government introduced the infamous DREAD ACT, armed selected loyal sons of the local ruling class, doubled police wages and substantially increased their numbers.

Because the roots of the crisis lie in the colonial economic and political organization of the society, such arbitrary measures can only further erode civil and democratic rights and intensify class antagonism while chronic unemployment, abysmal squalor, dire poverty, malnutrition and general backwardness worsen.

In an attempt to mystify the masses of the population, Premier John recently annointed himself Colonel of the Armed Forces, open up the economy to further imperialist penetration and is quickly mimicking Burnham's state-controlled co-operative programme; all this as a means to diffuse the legitimate demands of peasants and agricultural workers for land to reward party henchmen.

Sections of the unemployed youth, fearing further brutality and outright murder took to the dense interior from where to prepare for a new stage of the struggle. In the campaign of terror unleached by John, many youths were brutalized and scores were imprisoned.

The letters printed below represents the cries for liberation of two comrades imprisoned during the reign of terror. They are being used as scapegoats for the total failure of the John Government and the bankruptcy of the middle-class. Kabinda (Desmond Trotter) is awaiting the hearing of a final appeal to the British Privy Council on a death sentence. He has been one of the most active comrades in the struggle and was editor of TWAVAY, organ of the movement for a New Dominica. He was "politically convicted" for the murder of an American in 1974. Shaka (Algie Maffei) is presently serving a sentence of five years for confronting the armed forces of the State. Their cause is the cry of oppressed humankind who dare to struggle for a human life.

Prison Conditions

Hail Comrade:

Right now it reach a stage where I urgently need of medical assistance for sure, this is my main reason in forwarding this letter to you, hoping you will do everything within you powers to assist me in my suffering at the House of Exile.

The way I see you should face this problem is to get a private Doctor in the accompaniment of a Barrister for I would like to show the Doctor what I really suffering from so at the same time the lawyer will help push my rights for the special treatment which will be prescribe by the Doctor to go through without any form of victimization. To continue to explain my suffering in this (Exile House) (1) No sunlight, which by right, I supposed to get one hour sun daily, (2) I have asked to see their Doctor for over two months and up to now, I have been neglected.

Cecil Harve fell sick just before the Christmas season, with all the blows the Babylons gave him he was throwing up blood by the big lumps, up to this present he can't see a Doctor. I also have a rash coming out on my skin. Since I came to jail in Jan. 17, 1975 I have been asking to see the justices, even that they shafting technically. Man I appealing to you comrade, to try and give me your help in this form , for it's urgently needed. This month giving I a year since convicted and up to now I am kept in a cage like a animal. I was also promised to get a mattress made for my sleeping convenience, and up to this present moment, is on the cold concrete I am resting, with just a piece of blanket and a couple pieces of cardboard and certain officers do take from it to give others prisoners who newly reached. The last time Trots went to see Dr. Winston for over five months he been asking to see Dr. when he finally saw one, the Dr. wrote down for him to get vegetables daily and up too this day he never seen what they call vegetables.

In Solitary Shaka

DREAD.....

"but their time is up"

Hail Comrade:

Since I was sent to prison for five years I haven't seen sunlight without they (Babylon) taking me down to court to answer more charges which (total two). If you don't know anything concerning my appeal, it was discussed by the West Indies court of appeal without giving any reason, up to this present time. It took place in June and after having three lawyers fighting real hard, the court upheld the decision for five weeks. They sent the message from Antigua to the Registrar. There was B. Alleyne, J. Harris & J. Arrows on the appeal. Now they have me on January assizes with two charges to my name. First is possession of arms & munition to endanger life. Second is breaking & entering A. C. Shillingford car accessories store where they also sell arms e munition. Them both charges me one connection but the statement given in court by them Police is a whole mess. On the possession I am jointly charge with six other men, while out of the six one is absent. The Magistrate grant the court leave to the absent man at his back just to carry on the P.I. On the Break & enter, that same man whom is absent also jointly charge with I & Winston T. Father living in Boston, Vanith Winston, Toro Brother. He Winston had cut out while on bail but he was captured in Trinidad five months later, and now back in jail down here awaiting trial in January. The way James Ladant case went on was an entire shaft from Babylon, and a bold one too. He is also amongst the six men who jointly charge with I.

If you haven't been receiving my mails from Babylon from up your side seizing them. I try an escape but failed, but you better believe it was a desperate attempt. January 76 will give I one year flat since I got convicted and up to now I am in solitary confinement but man spirit stronger than ever, although I does be thirsty for a change but I don't allow that to be a problem. There was a few Brothers who used to show solidarity with I & I. They came out and shaft them. Two was transferred to various departments, one agriculture, the other Fire department, the third is still on a forceful vacation, and still waiting on their call, which there is a big threat of he losing his job, from all government services, just because he opposing the government for their drastic action taken against Rasta man without a cause.

Kabinda there strong e lion we are in the block together he is just on some higher heights than I. The food condition is inadequate. At nights Defence Force who in charge of guarding the jail, with heavy duty arms, like they expecting an invasion from Rasta man, which they call it the military wing of MND.

The latest, John bought a car of $38,000.00 for his personal use, he also take up the highest rank in his personal army as Conel of the arm forces. His first appearance in uniform was on 3rd November 1975. Right now the country in a fuck-up state with people more hungry than before, prostitution growing the prison population rise to a 100% since he delcare his campaign of terror on I e I, but lots of people suffering from it, so that will help them to learn faster yet.

The condition with me, ain't to bright for up too now I don't really know how my legal defence being taken care of through lack of bread. Them lawyers was talking about going to Privy with the case I am making time now for but they banking on the possession charge, which they gave I an assurance of winning, if no foul play don't play. Man I just wish all them time I am wasting in here, could go in to some use for Angola. Those days Fidel not holding back. Two batty boys refused him, to refuel in their airport, just because it's troops he transporting, but that will make him known them better, and all the games they playing with they playing in his feet.

The position with my old Queen is dread for the only source of income use to come from I, now I am in jail she have to scrunt to take care of three youths. Thats my last brother & sister whom are 14 e 13 years old, and my first son who is 8 yrs. old.

The delaying tactics are still being played by Babylon, the time they was supposed to send up Kabinda case to Privy to kept it down here for a longer period of time. When the lawyer check them on that, they said that, it was a slip in mind.

Even though I am in jail, I still not panicing over anything for I know time is still on my side for everyday the imperialist and them in facing more trouble with liberation forces, their time is up, and we will soon have them puppets on the heels, (don't dig nutton).

Kabinda, Peter, Cecil, Winston T, and I share our love with you and others who support you in your struggle against imperialism. Stay up and keep your cool in the fight for Justice and righteousness. Love to the man again.

Shaka
In Jail

"Mankind remain assured of our peoples accomplishment of their destiny."

KABINDA

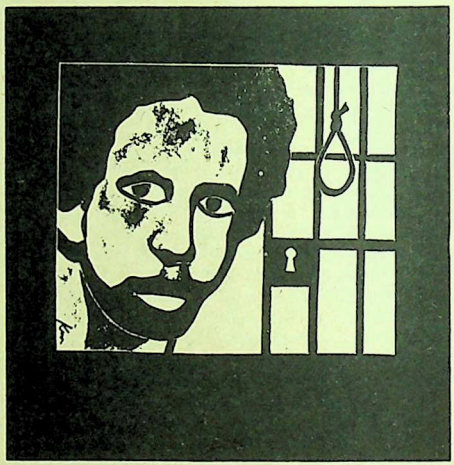
Mankind continue to struggle on within these baracoons, though it has become real dreadful for mankind to survive physically. A constant diet of dasheen has begun to take toll upon i and i; ulcerated stomach, gastritis and skin diseases plague the body. Amongst brethren, Ras Zaigi (Cecil Harve) is most seriously affected, besides having an ulcerated stomach, an abcess was caused by six hours of constant blows on his chest ...., after a year duration they have given the brother real horrors. This brethren is making a seven year term for allegedly chopping a retired British army doctor, yet the blows he received have proved much more deadly than his act, yet his TORTURERS go unchecked - babylon's justice!

This experience of imprisonment has 'seasoned' mankind thoroughly, for undoubtedly, confinement represents the most vicious form of oppression that mankind could experience under the Babylon system. To upkeep as a man demands an extremely firm will and solid faith, for every effort has been used by Babylon to sway brethren from the Love of Rastafari, in all manners they have sought to bring i and i into their corrupted & confused form of existence, worst of all to betray the struggle ...

Mankind has heard of the fight with the beast (Here Kabinda is addressing himself to Rosie Douglas), it appears that they are determined to have you "dishonourably discharged". It appears, however, that you are just as determined in thy efforts to fight back, fear not the consequences of their actions, for a return to the plantation would signify a mere transfer to another battlefield in the fight against capitalism. It could even prove a greater burden to Babylon.

The advances made by the forces of liberation worldwide demonstrates the eventual destruction of capitalism. The struggle in Angola, the solidarity being expressed, especially by Cuban brethren in fighting alongside the MPLA brethren highlights the fact, that racism, this oppressive and divisive tool of capitalism shall surely be buried by the struggles of oppressed humanity.

Recognizing that the brutal exploitation of southern Africa's resources, both human and material is the basis, or rather the foundation upon which capitalism stands. Mankind envisage the possible use of nuclear arms, especially in the light of the fact that it will be Black people who will be affected.... Babylon has displayed its barbarity sufficiently enough in history, to simply release a bomb on any part of the (African) continent in a bid to maintain its puristic existence. An early and vigorous campaign against this possibility is very essential. Mankind, however, remain assured of our people's accomplishment of their destiny.



What are our needs? Needless to elaborate, for really, are not the needs of all freedom-fighters the same? It is simply a matter of all mankind knowing his duty and setting himself to accomplish it, no matter the obstacles or the tribulations that i and i encounter.

Hopefully, i appeal should be forthcoming early this year & mankind await this with revolutionary patience. Mankind live in the hope that the efforts of brethren shall prove fruitful in getting "Justice" realized. Shaka and other brethren due to face charges, also in the Assizes opening on the 13th January. Truly, the cases against them are weak, yet one knows of the viciousness of Babylon and thus a determined fight will have to be put up. There lies a possibility of the charges being dropped, one can only speculate, however, time will tell.

Keep Struggling and Keep the Faith!
FORWARD EVER - BACKWARD NEVER!
ONE LOVE!
RASTA FOREVER!
KABINDA!

Production Decline

A recent official economic report released in Trinidad and Tobago paints a picture of general decline in production.

Crude oil production increased by 18%, but four out of the five companies experienced declining production in 1975. While crude production by AMOCO increased by 64%, Texaco declined by 30%; and Trinidad-Tesoro by 40%. Refinery production declined by 43%.

The report shows that of 17 major agricultural products, 10 declined, 2 remained stagnant and 5 increased. For example, meat production declined by 24%; production of eggs declined; while milk and fish production remained the same. Also 7 out of 13 manufacturing sectors experienced declining production; and tourism dove-tailed.

The effects of declining production on workers and farmers are realised both in the general commodity market where they purchase goods and services and in the labour market where they sell their labour power for wages. It is in the labour market that workers are hardest hit. In a situation of "fall in orders" both on the local and international market, capitalists retrench workers as a temporary solution. In Trinidad and Tobago, retrenchment is not temporary but permanent as local capitalists and imperialists attempt to "rationalize" production, which means increasing productivity in relation to wages and the utlization of more machinery than living labour (workers) in the production process.

Two recent issues highlighted the crisis of production in Trinidad and Tobago. At the beginning of the new year, Trinidad Lake Asphalt Co. Ltd. announced the retrenchment of some 400 workers due to "fall in orders for the supply of asphalt." Immediately, the union representing the workers called on the government to nationalize the industry in order "to save jobs." The State came to the aid of the industry by announcing that it would use only asphalt in its massive road improvement and construction programme.

The second issue involved Foues Park Ltd., a sugar subsidary of Vestey Corporation of Britain. During the past few months Foues Park stated its intention to "rationalize" production and retrench workers. In December, the company announced that it intends to close its sugar factory at the end of 1975. The sugar workers union demanded that the State take over the Company "to save the jobs of workers." As "closure day" approached and government remained silent on the issue, about 200 workers pitched camp outside the factory to protest the closure and inaction on the part of the government. Early in January, it was announced that government will rent Foues Park for one year and that Caroni Ltd. will manage the company (the state owns 55% of Caroni and discussions are underway for full state ownership).

Besides the effects of imperialist inflation, the "problem of capitalist production" in Trinidad and Tobago is its uncompetitiveness on the world market. The alternatives before the capitalists are either "rationalization" or "closure"; in both cases retrenchment is on the agenda, consequently, unemployment. The increasing power of the working-class movement forces the state to intervene directly and take over company after company. The result is a state-owned and state-managed capitalist economy that solves not one of the crucial problems. The struggles of the working class are no longer being deflected against two and three distinct sectors of the ruling class, but rather are increasingly focused on the state, and all workers struggles become at one and the same time economic and political struggles for power.

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PNC-State vs Amerindians

lands confiscated for hydro-electric scheme

One of the most curious things about this great dam and its associated Hydro electric power station is that it does not make any economic sense. If Guyana built an aluminium smelter and added its requirements to our projected needs for the foreseeable future, the total requirement for electrical power would still fall below the estimated output of the Kamarang hydro-electric station. There is not likelihood that the power can be exported to neighouring countries, so that the excess power will simply be wasted and will add to the cost of electricity to the Guyanese consumer. The dam, the hydro-electric station and the feeder roads are going to cost a fortune - upwards of $500 million (Guyana). It is the Guyanese people who would have to pay for this. At first, the amount involved would be borrowed, and we would then be burdened with the repayment of a huge debt for many many years to come.

WASTAGE

The hydro-electric project near Kamarang will waste people, it will waste money and it will waste land. Apparently, the government's attitude is that Guyana has 83,000 sq.miles; and therefore to flood 1000 sq.miles is nothing. Curiously enough, they do not know what lies under the soil in those 1,000 sq.miles. Our country has shown all the indications of being rich in a wide diversity of minerals. However, geological surveys have not been extensive or intensive enough to locate all mineral deposits and to determine at what points they can be profitably extracted. When a lake will permanently flood an area, it calls for renewed geological investigations to ensure that wealth beneath the soil is not being squandered. These thorough geological investigations have not been attempted, partly because of manpower shortage and mainly because of government unconcern with forward planning.

KILLING A PEOPLE

There are alternative proposals for hydro-electric power stations at other places on Guyana's numerous rivers. Some of these proposals would make more economic sense, apart from not inflicting inhuman abuse on a whole ethnic group amongst our people. To justify the government's choice of the Upper Mazaruni as the site for the dam, there is speculation that the PNC regime is building in that particular area close to Venezuela in order to forestall the expansionist claims of the Venezuelan government. However, imperialism and territorial aggression cannot be stopped by a dam. It will require the support of all patriotic Guyanese to defend our heritage from those who might with to usurp it.

Can the Akawaio and other Amerindians be loyal and patriotic Guyanese when they are being deprived of their ancestral lands and are being forced to flee beyond our borders. CAN THE REST OF US SIT BACK AND REGARD SUCH ACTION AS BEING IN THE BEST INTEREST OF OUR YOUNG GUYANESE NATION? IF WE DO, WE WILL ALLOW POLITICAL DICTATORSHIP TO TAKE A FURTHER STEP IN ESTABLISHING ITSELF IN GUYANA. IF WE ACCEPT THIS PROJECT; WE WILL SQUANDER NOT ONLY FINANCIAL RESOURCES BUT ALSO THE POTENTIAL WEALTH HIDDEN UNDER THE SOIL WHICH SHOULD BE GUARDED BY US FOR THE GENERATIONS TO COME. IF WE ACCEPT THE FLOODING AND DISPOSSESSION OF THE AKAWAIO, WE WILL BECOME ACCOMPLICES TO GENOCIDE - THE LIQUIDATION OF AN ETHNIC GROUP, WHICH IS THE MOST ABOMINABLE CRIME IN THE HISTORY OF MAN.

AKAWAIO

A recent report in the Guyana press indicated that the government is going ahead with a huge dam near Kamarang. The government press release tells of the great hydro-electric potential of the dam. However, the government and the press do not tell the Guyanese people the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. They refuse to mention that when the dam floods more than a thousand square miles of the Mazaruni basin it will completely drown out the Akawaio Amerindians who peacefully occupied those lands for centuries. Already, many of the 4,000 Akawaio have been forced to flee out of the country into neighbouring areas of Brazil and Venezuela. They are in fact already being liquidated as a cultural entity. As usual, government action was undertaken without informing or consulting the population as a whole or even the people who were directly involved. PLANS FOR THE HUGE HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECT OF THE UPPER MAZARUNI WERE DRAWN UP AND APPROVED WITHOUT THE SLIGHTEST CONSULTATION OF THE WISHES OF THE AKAWAIO.

NO DEMOCRACY

One would have expected at the very minimum that the government would have called in those affected and discussed with them where they would go if their lands were actually flooded. One would

have expected that the government might have attempted to make amends for their anti-democratic decision by offering the Akawaio generous compensation. But no such step has been taken. The actions of the Guyana Government with regard to the Kamarang hydro-electricity scheme and the Akawaio have been politically dictatorial and morally shameless.

FORCED CONSENT

Of course, the PNC Government of Guyana is good at manipulation and intimidation. In December 1973, the Minister for Energy and National Resources called the Akawaio captains to Georgetown and informed them of the decision. The representatives of the Akawaio were not given any opportunity to discuss the proposal. Instead, they were told that the dam would be built whether they liked it or not, and that they would be better off signing a document agreeing to the drowning of their own lands. Questions such as compensation and alternative living areas were not discussed. One of the captains refused to sign what amounted to the death warrant of his people. He was removed from office through government intervention and was subsequently reported to have been in fear of his life from opportunists who act as party henchmen and thugs. All of the captains later voiced disapproval, because, naturally enough their people would not accept such a savage decision. Nevertheless, the government brazenly reported that the Akawaio had enthusiastically agreed to the project.

HIDDEN BY GUYANA PRESS

This story has already been reported in the international press abroad, but the Guyanese people do not possess any of these details because our press is muzzled. Liberal minded individuals in other parts of the world are organizing to protest against this latest in a long series of historical outrages against the Amerindian people of this hemisphere. It would be scandalous if we as Guyanese citizens cannot demand truthful and detailed information on this project and confront the problem before it becomes irreversible. At least, it will take a few years before the scheme can be completed, and the working people of this country must raise their voices before it is too late. For us, it is not simply a question of helping others. It is our own self interest. In the first place, the Amerindians are part of the working population of this country; and in the second place, we must combat dictatorship and socially negative politics so as to lay down a firm, principled line for future socialist reconstruction.

COMMUNITY REPORT
a monthly paper by the Black Education Project, Toronto (533-1167). For further information give us acall.

Worker-Management Relations at GUYBAU

After the failure of the strike called by the executives of the GMU recently workers at the turning and fitting section of the machine shops, bauxite division, were called into the conference room by the superintendent of the shop. He presented a Sophis Declaration to the men. He looked at the workers with scorn and gave them a sinister grin, resembling that of Mussolini. He said, "Good afternoon men or comrades. I can see you have enjoyed your rest. I am certain that some of your are roaring to go again. Go we will.

"For the past four years, while working around this shop, I was observing you workers. I was told that the machine shop has a bunch of leaders and agitators, and I'm convinced ever since that this is true". He went on to say, "Many of you are anti-government and will be weeded out. Some come to draw their breath and their pay and I have got the power to discipline all those who are found guilty. I know workers who have contacts but I am not afraid because I know those contacts".

He has instructed his foreman to get all the names of those persons so that when they commit an offence, their life-file will be collected and brought along with the person where he, the dictator, will decide what next.

He went on, "I am totally fed-up with the whole lot of you. I will stamp out all of the nonsense.

"I will be giving my formen some sheets so as to record the time workers go to the canteen, water fountain, toilet and how long workers chat. The foremen will have to give me a daily report of workers' behaviour pattern. I am going to give you workers 2 options: (1) leave the job: (2) seek a transfer; and (3) abide with the rules and consequences".

Reactions of the workers to what the fascist dictator said:

One worker said that he handled us as though we were children.

Another said he noticed that the foremen were afraid of the dictator but he was not afraid of him. "I would give you an example of fear by the foremen", he said. "One day while working, I stopped my machine for its daily routine of oiling the gears, I told my immediate foreman

my reason for stopping". He replied, "O.K". Three minutes later he saw you coming and panicked, instructing me to start spinning the machine. I asked him if that instruction was because of fear of your presence. He did not answer but insisted that I spin the machine. I said I would not spin the machine and if the superintendent was interested in the machine not spinning, he should come and ask me why and then I would fix you up with the information you need. At hearing that the foreman trembled.

Other workers said that if such rules were implemented, disaster surely lies ahead. Other departments were hoping the Superintendent called them in so that they could rip him apart.

Victimization in the schools

The PNC Government of Guyana is overtly demonstrating to the people that every aspect of their development has to be monitored and controlled by the Party.

On the school premises the Party seeks to appoint a Head Master or Head Mistress who would serve party interests. This position is made available to those who recognize the PNC and make the necessary arrangements to join the Party. Party cadres are expected to provide the Chief Education Officer with information on students who are suitable for National Service and Common Entrance. Those students who willingly subject themselves to the wishes of the Party by joining the National Service are then rewarded by being favourably considered for Common Entrance.

The British capitalist forced to expand the colonial bureaucracy and faced with political pressure from the Guyanese workers and peasants allowed the development of a schooled middle-class but rejected moves to educate the mass of the population. Now the PNC is enacting the same strategy. Its tactics, however, are different. They provide schools but organize the form and content with the specific purpose of producing individuals who would be easily manipulated and hence be subservient to the State.

At the University level entrenchment continues as the National Service is used as the means by which students repay their tuition. The student as a worker is viciously exploited. The students serve a year's National Service. Those students who work at Kimbia labour 15 hours per day. If this labour is valued at the minimum wage of $5.00 (G) per day with time and half paid after 8 hours, the University of Guyana students will pay back $75(G) a week for their fees. In 52 weeks they would have contributed $3,000(G). Even in the selection of their own student government, the students are victimized if they do not support state candidates such as Assistant Superintendent of Police, Laurie Lewis. When 63 students of the University rejected the PNC candidate for President of the Students' organization, they were ordered to Kimbia under the National Service program. The PNC propaganda media stated that the students had taken up the Prime Minister's challenge. However, it was discovered that only seven of these students volunteered to go.

The Institutions of learning as an arm of the State can be clearly demonstrated in Capitalist societies. However, when the PNC Government which professes to be socialist intervenes so openly into education, one has to look deeper into the Guyanese society. Recent struggles indicate that large sectors of the working population are eagerly searching for alternatives. On the parliamentary level the PNC is making overtures to the PPP opposition with the hope of forming some kind of one party State. Despite the PPP's response of Critical Support to the PNC Government, there is no guarantee that the Indian workers and peasants who now support the PPP would follow Jagan. Therefore, the PNC is attempting to win the younger sections of the working-class by coercion into the Guyanese Defence force and the National Service so that they may establish a line of defence against the present adult working-class who are struggling against Party-State oppression. Hence the emphasis on the youth. But the youth, particularly students are already showing by their protest and struggles that they are not prepared to be fodder for use by the PNC Party-State bureaucracy.

-based on information in Day Clean, organ of the Working People's Alliance, Guyana

SPECIAL ISSUE

APRIL-MAY DOUBLE ISSUE

Don't miss your copy of the Caribbean Dialogue special on the present political situation in Trinidad and Tobago.

* Report on the ULF Conventions
* Policy and programme of the ULF
* Recent class-struggles
* Part III - Unemployment and the Unemployed

Thesis on Relations with the peasantry

The First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba held between December 17 and 22, adopted numerous resolutions on tasks to be performed in various sectors of the Cuban social economy. Thesis on the Peasantry is one of these resolutions. Though we believe that there is much more to be said on the question of the peasantry in socialist transformation, the resolution printed below is as good a basis as any to initiate discussion on the peasant question. The pages of Caribbean Dialogue are open for any comments, criticisms, proposals, etc., on the resolution or on the peasantry and the struggle for workers and peasants power in the Caribbean.

The 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba adopts, in all its parts, the thesis on the agrarian question and relations with the peasants and resolves that:

1. It is necessary, in the coming years, to advance gradually toward higher forms of production on the land of the peasant sector until it is totally transformed and incorporated within the socialist sector of our economy.

2. The forms through which we should gradually advance toward higher forms of production are the integration of peasant land into state farms and stations and the grouping of peasants in co-operative farms.

3. In implementing this policy, it is necessary to determine which of the two forms is more suitable in each area of the country, in line with its characteristics and with the plans for the development of the national economy.

4. Private farms that, by voluntary decision of their owners, become a part of state farms or stations will be turned into social property, with due compensation paid to the peasant for his land and other means of production.

The work of the Party, the UJC (Young Communist League), ANAP and other mass organizations will likewise be directed toward attaining the integration of the peasant and his family into the workers' collective on the state farm or station.

When joining the state farm or station and when adding his strength and energy to those of the working class, the peasant acquires strength and the same rights and duties of the workers' collective.

5. The grouping of peasants in agricultural co-operatives must be carried out through the voluntary pooling of the land and means of production belonging to the peasants who form the co-operative. The individual contribution of each member of the co-operative should be assessed and remunerated in several installments, for which purpose a part of the co-operative's income will be set aside.

In addition to this payment, each member of the cooperative, whether male or female, will receive a regular income in the form of advance payments and, in addition, a final share depending on the quantity and quality of the work individually contributed and the cooperative's annual income. The cooperative's land and means of production are its property and indivisible fund. It will be necessary to work out rules of procedure for the work of establishing co-operatives and their functioning.

6. This is to be a gradual process, whose more or less rapid pace will depend on two reciprocal factors: the development of the productive forces and the deepening of the awareness of the working peasant. Since both factors are in constant development in our country, this process may have a longer or shorter duration, but

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One Enemy, One Struggle

On June 12-15, 1975, the International Conference of Workers' Solidarity organized by radical trade unions in Quebec, Canada, met in Montreal to discuss common problems, identify common enemies of working-people and to lay a broad basis of international working-class solidarity against imperialism and its local allies in underdeveloped countries.

"Proposals include boycotting products originating in countries with oppressive regimes, as in Israel, South Africa and Rhodesia; exerting trade union pressure on governments to sever diplomatic, economic and cultural relations (including sports events) with these regimes; and improving communications among the trade unions present, so that members can keep up-to-date with the world situation and learn from the experience of others" (Third World Forum, Vol.1, No.6, July-October 1975).

Over 600 delegates representing radical trade unions from over 20 underdeveloped countries participated in the Conference. The first resolution below presented to the Conference by Caribbean delegates was adopted as a Conference resolution. The second resolution represents the general consensus of all delegates attending the Conference.

The resolutions are taken from Third World Forum, Vol. No.6, a bi-monthly journal sponsored by the Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Committee, Montreal, Canada.

Caribbean Resolution

The Caribbean delegates present at this 1st international Conference of Workers' Solidatiry, coming from Haiti, Bermuda, Antigua, Dominica, St.Vincent, Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana:

Salute the comrades who organized this conference and hail this as a significant step in the development of the international working class movement;

Salute all comrades participating in this conference, particularly our comrades from Africa, Latin America, the Middle East and Quebec:

Recognize the similarity and oneness of our fights against racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism and imperialism;

Recognize that the imperialists have built a wall of silence around the Caribbean with the consequent negation of the reality of the Caribbean as an area as exploited as the rest of the under-developed world:

View this conference as a major step forward in setting in motion the political dynamic which would ultimately enable the Caribbean struggle to take its rightful place alongside the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle:

- Condemn the Duvalier tyranny which has systematically destroyed democratic organisations in Haiti, and which has forced over 1 million Haitians into exile;
- Denounce the financial, diplomatic and military support given to the Duvalier regime by the large imperialist powers, particularly the U.S.A., in accordance with UN resolution 1514 (XV) of December 14, 1960;
- Call for an immediate end to the various anti-labour and politically repressive laws being enacted in several territories;
- Demand the immediate nationalization of all multinational corporations and workers' control of all the means of production in the region;
- Demand the immediate release of all political prisoners, and particularly those like Comrade Desmond Trotter of Dominica waiting death by hanging;
- Demand the removal of all restrictions which hinder free travel and freedom of movement and the free circulation of literature;
- Call on other comrades to fully expose and isolate the reactionary regimes masquerading on the international stage as progressives and allies of the international struggle against imperialism, particularly the repressive regimes of Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada and Jamaica:
- Express complete solidarity with Caribbean nationals and all black people resident in Canada and Quebec, now being used as scapegoats by the Trudeau and Bourassa governments for the present economic recession and the racism associated therewith;
- Call on workers and worker organisations in Quebec to condemn the inhumane deportation of 1,500 Haitians and to oppose the political deportation of Comrade Rosie Douglas as a risk to national security, and to unite the forces of all workers, Black and White and other national minorities, to defeat the mounting tide of fascism.

General Conference Resolution

We, the delegates of the workers of Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, the Arab countries and diverse regions of Quebec, unite for this International Conference of Workers' Solidarity, June 12-15, 1975, Montreal, Quebec, for a few days of work.

We have been able to better identify and better understand the different effects of the domination, whether it be in the different regions of Quebec or throughout the Arab world, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean .

We have been able to identify, through the exchange of our struggles, our common enemy: imperialism and domination.

We can reaffirm our solidarity.

We, the workers' delegations of Africa, Latin America, of the Caribbean , the Arab countries and the different regions of Quebec, want to underline that the way in which our work was approached at this conference has permitted a profound analysis of the problems of domination and exploitation; has permitted a fine exchange of the practical experiences of our struggles; has permitted us to affirm in a dynamic way, a true acknowledgement of opinions on behalf of the participating organizations concerning the pernicious character of the activities of the multinational companies and their numerous puppet governments; has permitted us to realize the need to organize ourselves to resist and confront this enemy and to defend the interests of the workers.

We, workers; delegations of Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, the Arab countries and the diverse regions of Quebec, are aware of the impossibility to report here all the ideas exchanged at this conference but we want to launch this common appeal.

We, delegates to CISO, realize the serious economic and social consequences of the multinational companies and their puppet governments.

We realize that they are the instrument of capitalism to intensify the exploitation of the workers, to take away their economic rights and worsen the conditions of work, employment, wages and their lives.

We realize they are a menace to the sovereignty of the people of countries where the vital sectors of the economy are in the hands of the multinational companies.

We realize that they are a means of pressure against the social and political liberation movements of the working class and the workers in general.

We, the delegates to CISO, denounce the imperialism of large capital and its manifestations through the multinational companies, their neo-colonialism and the forces of international Zionism.

We denounce the use of the natural resources, whether in Quebec, in Latin America, in the Caribbean, in Africa and the Arab nations, by the multinational companies who not only siphon the developing countries by exploiting the workers, but also utilize their capital, their profits, to continue the exploitation of the workers of the industrialized countries, with a new weapon: inflation.

We denounce the repression of the fascist dictators of Latin America, who systematically imprison the union and political leaders who represent the workers.

We denounce the genocide and the torture used in Africa by the protagonists of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

We denounce the racist gestures of the state of Israel, the base of American imperialism in the Middle East, towards the Palestinian people.

We denounce the colonial and fascist governments of the Caribbean who continue in a medieval explitation that is just as cruel to the workers. We demand unconditional liberation of the more than twenty non-independent territories.

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JAMAICA

Fascism On the Rise

° C.I.A. intervenes with Millions, arms and agents

° Manley balancing in the middle

° Seaga leads Middle-class Mobilization for a show-down

° Violent confrontation has begun

° Fascist army in training

The Jamaican workers and farmers face a fascist threat unprecedented in modern history in the English-speaking Caribbean. Since Michael Manley and his People's National Party (PNP) made their Democratic Socialist Declaration in 1974, left and revolutionary groups have blossomed and workers and farmers struggles have intensified, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, local capitalists, the middle-classes and U.S. imperialist ruling class have been uniting their forces and making preparations for the overthrow of the Manley government and the establishment of fascist rule.

But the workers and peasants of Jamaica have gone beyond Manley's Democratic Socialism. The workers strike movement has grown considerably in the last year; bauxite workers have been struggling against Canadian and American bauxite corporations; workers have been occupying factories and hotels and calling for workers self management; peasants have been seizing land in the countryside; students have been rebelling in the schools and recently class-room teachers began a struggle and founded a movement against the bureaucracy in the traditional Teachers' Association.

Fearing the rapid development of a strong socialist movement of workers and farmers, the local capitalists, middle-classes and imperialists have been uniting their forces under the leadership of Edward Seaga, leader of the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP). Political organizations of local capitalists have also been formed to plan, finance and develop strategy for a fascist seizure of power.

Caribbean Dialogue has been receiving information and local publications of various organizations from Jamaica. The article below is based on such information and the three following reports and demands are extracted directly from local publications. On the back cover we make a public call to all progressive, left and revolutionary organizations in Jamaica to take certain concrete and immediate steps to stop the fascist threat.

The Jamaican society is on the brink of a mass-explosion as the Right wing Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) with the support of the local capitalists, the middle-classes and U.S. imperialists, attempts to smash the ruling Peoples National Party (PNP) and all revolutionary and progressive forces in the country. With vast sums of money obtained from local capitalists and U.S. imperialists mainly through the C.I.A., the JLP has been systematically recruiting and training unemployed youth and some workers to destroy all attempts by the working class and farmers to advance the struggle beyond the Fabian socialists' position outlined by the PNP.

The PNP, which gained overwhelming support in the 1972 election, have been attempting to propagandize the masses to the party's philosophy of "Democratic Socialism", while the JLP has been secretly manoeuvering with the capitalists to undermine the Jamaican economy and create social chaos.

The tactics in application mirror those used in overthrowing Allende's regime in Chile. The crippling of the economy by the withdrawal of capital and the intervention of CIA agents to train selected individuals in the use of heavy artillery, methods of sabotage and urban guerilla warfare, is a perfect example of a CIA blueprint for subversion. The leader of the JLP, Mr. Edward Seaga, an experienced manipulator of the unemployed in West Kingston, is the key political figure in these developments. Operating from his base in West Kingston, where the majority of urban unemployed and underemployed working class youth are trapped in a death struggle for survival, Seaga has been able to buy assassins and saboteurs. The trained guerillas are then sent into strategic locations to enact crimes of violence which would heighten conflicts that would lead to massive social upheaval.

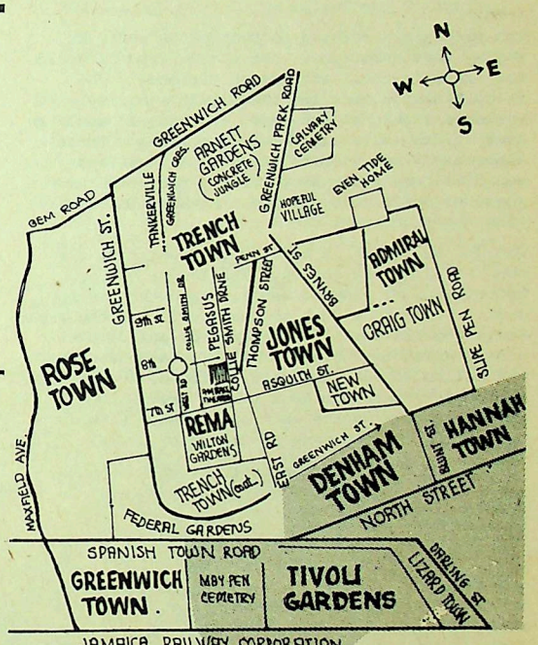
The present wave of politically motivated violence which erupted full-scale in early January has brought into full focus the activities of the underground armed fascist movement which has plagued the communities of West Kingston and St. Andrew. The traditional conflict between JLP and PNP has been transformed into violent political confrontation as the guerillas infiltrated communities and organizations for the specific purposes of inciting confrontation with the security forces and eliminating progressive leaders. Trench Town, Jones Town, Denham Town, Arnett Gardens, Rema and Tivoli Gardens were the main areas affected as the massive schemes unfolded.

On Tuesday, January 6, 1976, in Jones Town, fires blazed out of control as firemen and police were forced to retreat under a hail of bullets from machine guns. The streets were blocked with blazing tyres, large stones, trees and old drums, making it impossible for fire engines or police to reach the balzing homes.

In Trench Town bordering Arnett Gardens, bombs were hurled into homes on Asquith Street. As the houses burnt to the ground gunmen opened on Security Forces and firemen, who again failed to save the homes. With their homes blazing and heavily armed men prowling the area, several hundred people fled with what little belongings they could gather, to Admiral and Denham Town Police Station for refuge. The policemen had locked themselves inside the station, therefore, the terror-stricken people had to find refuge elsewhere.

On Wednesday, January 7, at 10:30 a.m., three policemen on duty at the Sites and Services Housing Project on Marcus Garvey Drive were attacked by six men armed with automatic pistols and a machine gun. Two policemen died in that brutal assault and one constable who feigned "dead" escaped with minor injuries. The gunmen escaped in nearby May Pen cemetary after seizing police weapons. That afternoon a curfew was imposed over a large sector of West Kingston and a massive offense mounted by the Security Forces in a search for gunmen and ammunition. The search mission which was in operation for 24 hours uncovered an insignificant amount of ammunition, 25 people were detained, two were charged - one with possession of a 0.22 calibre automatic pistol and the other on an outstanding warrant for rape. Clearly the organized perpetrators of violence and bombings were well protected by their sponsors against military intervention. Also, certain policemen publicly stated that the armed underground has more powerful and sophisticated weapons than the armed forces of the state. Even within the Security Forces Right wing supporters were at work pushing for a confrontation. The police stationed at Harman Barracks refused to work and staged a noisy public demonstration. They demanded a meeting with the Prime Minister and presented the following demands to Mr. Manley:

1. The removal of the Police Commissioner, Mr. Basil Davidson, who they accused of being an obstacle to Police action
2. An end to static duty which made them ideal



Areas of violent confrontation: Shaded area is West Kingston and area to the north is South-West St. Andrew.

targets

3. A free hand to exercise total control over the troubled area
4. The issuing of weapons to all off-duty police men
5. An increase in their equipment i.e. vehicles and arms
6. The non-interference of politicians in the action of the Police

The protesters refused to compromise until Mr. Manley gave assurances that the Government would back them in their attacks on violence. The Prime Minister also indicated that security would be tightened and fewer individuals would be aware of the strategy for police raids. These assurances indicated to the police that they would be completely supported by the state in whatever action they deemed necessary in exercising their control.

The JLP was quick in adding its support to the need for military action. The leader of the Opposition, Mr. Edward Seaga, urged the Government to declare a Dusk to Dawn curfew on the area. Seaga who had earlier attacked the police over a raid which took place in Tivoli Gardens when the police wounded innocent citizens, now attacked the Government for not taking any minimum safeguards during the wave of violence between the police and citizens of Concrete Jungle.

VIOLENCE

The bombings and arson continued despite massive raids by the combined Jamaica Defense Force (JDF) and Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) in an extended curfew area. No section of West Kingston and Southwest St. Andrew escaped the systematic cordon and search activities of the State forces. Only persons who could convince the Security Forces that they had a legitimate reason for leaving the area were allowed out, while only those who lived in an area were allowed to enter. Classes at all educational institutions in the area were suspended and bus services along the routes such as Trench Town, Denham Town and Jones Town were suspended. This extensive show of strength by the JDC/JCF units did not result in any significant gains considering the heavy artillery used by the assassins who confronted police and firemen and the number of bombings that occurred over that week. The result of the search and destroy mission by the occupying forces only precipitated a hardening of attitudes in the terror-stricken neighbourhood towards the State as the Security Forces intimidated and harassed the citizens.

The ruling Party, the PNP, added another component to the State intervention by establishing a 'Defense Force' to guard against attacks on Party Property and Religious Institutions. This force was organized after an attack on one of the PNP's headquarters in Arnett Gardens. The 'Defense Force' it is stated by Mr. Manley, would not hinder the activities of the police but would assist by establishing an early warning system when incidents occur. This action by the PNP gave the JLP and groups with vested capital interest more ammunition for their attacks on the Jamaican people. Having created the conditions which led to death and destruction during that period, the capitalists class are now using their media to say how appalled they were by the surge of violence.

SEAGA GIVES WARNING

Prior to January 1976, local and foreign capitalists have been waging a battle to the death of the PNP since it posed the transformation against the society along social democratic lines and attempted to use its parliamentary caucus to legislate socialism. The statements of Mr. Edward Seaga indicate the cunning methods that are being used by the JLP and local middle-classes. After castigating the PNP for establishing an "unarmed Defense Force", Seaga then developed an attack on the Party, based on his assumption that they incorporated tactics not unusual in Socialist/Communistic societies. Within the same statement he attacked the Workers Liberation League and the PNP youth for leading a popolar demonstration against the presence of the South African Delegate at the IMF Conference. In continuing his attack on the PNP, Mr. Seaga said:

"The real test will come when members of the Police Force or Defense Force encounter this gang (PNP's Defense Force) in the course of carrying out their duties".

Obviously Mr. Seaga is aware of the support he has in both these arms of the State and is advancing their tasks when they confront PNP supporters. His final warning comes at the end of the statement:

"Any solution along the lines proposed by the PNP will inevitably lead to wide scale confrontation which may plunge into a state beyond the control of the Army and the Police".

ANOTHER CHILE

Mr. Seaga is clearly giving notice that U.S. imperialist intervention with troops if necessary, will be needed to restore "stability", "order", the "rule of law" and "confidence" in Jamaica.

The President of the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce called for the freeing of the police from political control and condemned the private Defense

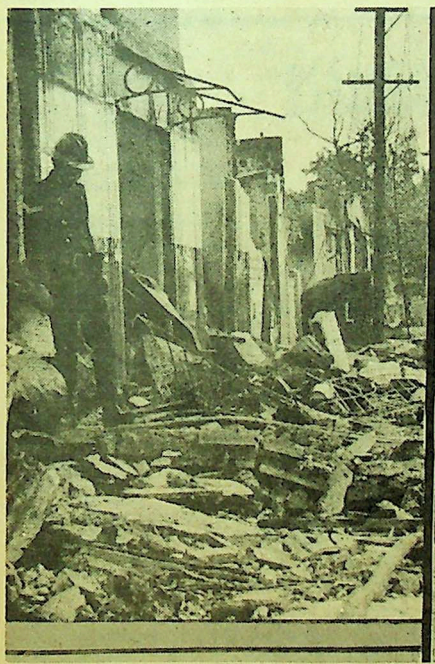
Force as the introduction of a Mongoose squad, Black Shirts or Ton Ton Macoutes to Jamaica. He outlined that the primary concern of the Prime Minister should be a call for UNITY in light of the many problems facing the society. As Mr. Seaga, the President regards this special PNP intervention as a condition which would lead to other Parties feeling it necessary to resort to their own means of protection. He added that the Chamber of Commerce had full confidence in the Security Forces to maintain Law and Order. The Soroptimists' clubs of Jamaica linked arms with their class counterparts in the Chamber of Commerce calling for all women in the society to withdraw their labour for a day as a mark of protest. They would be assisted by the merchant capitalists in the Jamaican Chamber of Commerce who would lock out workers on the day of this proposed shut-down of the productive forces.

It was only fitting that in this situation Mr. Michael Manley, who initiated the process by which class positions were concretized by declaring his philosophy for societal transformation while in control of Parliament, should respond. He outlined in an appeal for the de-escalation of violence, three events which indicated a developing trend in Jamaican politics. He said that there were significant differences between rivalry involving political factions and the present organized form of violence against Police and Firemen. He added that these events indicated that there is a sinister, cold blooded political force which is determined to destroy the Government in any way. The events mentioned were:

1. The theft of Cabinet documents
2. A steady escalation of political violence in the western end of the city
3. The attacks on the American Embassy and the killing of two policemen on guard duty, in full view of the World Press which had assembled in Jamaica to follow the proceedings of the I.M.F.

The pressure applied both internally and externally is forcing the Government to retreat. The events of the past weeks have taken their toll and the PNP is now making appeals for UNITY to fight crime and violence. The process which the PNP set in motion has now been reversed and if the Right is allowed to continue its activities unchecked, the way will be paved for the emergence of the first brutal Fascist state in the English-speaking Caribbean in the image of Brazil and Chile.

It is now clear where the leading political forces in the developing Jamaican society



stand. Michael Manley opened the door for the free expression of socialist thought and practice by his declaration of "Democratic Socialism". Although reformist in nature, it gave more progressive and revolutionary socialist organizations an opportunity to advance the struggle for socialism. With all the might at its disposal the Right moved first to consolidate their class position and then to begin the process of crushing the workers' struggle. Through the media and other agents of control, the Ruling class expressed the view that any development which would attempt to ameliorate the hardships of workers and farmers in the Jamaican society was a threat to the accumulation of capital as dictated by the laws of capitalism. They would no longer own the means of production hence they would be unable to maintain the social relationships which give rise to exploitation of labour and high profits.

As the threat of another socialist state emerging in the Caribbean was too frightening to the imperialist powers, they are intervening to assist their local gatekeepers. Whereas they may have succeeded in retarding the PNP's struggle, the rise of revolutionary socialist organizations and workers and peasants struggles in the unfolding scheme indicate that the working class and peasantry have also been developing their own forces to further the struggle. The important question for these embryonic organizations is what strategy and tactic they must devise to maintain the gains that workers and farmers have achieved. If the PNP was to survive this present wave of attacks, the revolutionary organization cannot allow the state expression of reform socialism to be seen as the final stage in the revolutionary transformation of the society.

The struggle must continue for the development of workers, farmers and Community Assemblies welded together as a single powerful mass movement in the society. Only the united, organized workers and peasants can stop the Fascist threat and advance to socialism. The building and unity of the Assemblies on a national scale require a revolutionary vanguard organization to expose the sinister plots and manoeuvres of the local capitalists, middle-classes and U.S. imperialists; to clarify the limitations and suicidal politics of Manley's democratic socialism; to propagandize and explain concretely the revolutionary socialist alternative; and to strengthen and unite the independent mass organizations of the workers and peasants through struggle in the factories, on the estates, in the schools and in the communities.

SEE BACK PAGE FOR CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON A CARIBBEAN-WIDE AND INTERNATIONAL MOBILIZATION

UNITE and MOBILIZE

CITIZENS OF NEWLAND!

Right at this moment, our community, our lives and our peace is being threatened by a serious danger. Murderous elements, operating from outside our community are invading our district and threatening the lives of our citizens. These elements have proved they will stop at nothing to get what they want. Already political gangsters have come to mash up the Newland Youth Club. Already men travelling in fast-moving Toyota motor cars are stating publicly that they intend to kill one of our youths. Already young girls are being held up at knife-point because they refuse the advances of these bloodthirsty thugs. Already our peaceful community is being invaded by these fast-moving Toyota motor cars with gun-toting ruffians, declaring a state of war.

Citizens! Our community is indeed threatened.

WHAT IS THE BACKGROUND TO THIS CRISIS?

Six months ago the NEWLAND UNITED YOUTH CLUB was formed out of the growing unity and friendship of the Newland youth. Two men, ANTHONY HOLNESS and LANSFORD RENNIE, who live outside Newland, came over to assist us in forming the club. We were grateful for what we thought was genuine assistance coming from these men. We accepted these men as President and Organiser, feeling that they had our interest at heart.

But citizens, we were taken for a ride. Slowly their evil plans began to come out into the open.

The first sign of this came out when they began stealing the Club's money. $56.75 coming from a fund-raising bingo, $10.00 donation from a citizen of Independence City, and $14.00 given to buy footballs, were captured by Rennie and Holness. For weeks we saw no sign of these men. Finally, when we caught up with them, they handed over a false cheque as payment. The bank refused to cash it and told us they wanted to get in touch with Rennie for the past 3 months.

The second sign was when they told the Club that GRANVILLE WILLIAMS, one of the JLP Caretakers for Spanish Town, had promised $100 to the Club if we won a football match. We won the match.

A cheque for $50 was sent by Williams to the Club. This too was a false cheque. The bank refused to cash it.

The third sign was when we discovered that Williams, Holness and Rennie had made a deal behind our backs for Williams to visit our Club and deliver a speech.

The fourth sign was when one MICHAEL DUDNEY, known JLP strong-arm man, began visiting our community and our Club with Holness and Rennie. We became very suspicious of these men when Holness, Rennie and Dudney could be found nowhere during the recent by-election in St.Mary. The night after the elections, these men arrived in a badly damaged Toyota motor car and told some clubites they were just coming from fighting elections for the JLP in St. Mary. They boasted how they fired many bullets. During all this time they never attended any Club meetings.

Our suspicions were confirmed. These men exposed themselves by word and deed that they were no good, that they allow themselves to be used by capitalist oppressors who seek to hold onto their ill-gotten gains by all means, including the spilling of our people's blood; that their interest in the youth club was only to recruit our youth into their gang of cold-blood murderers.

WE THE YOUTH OF NEWLAND SAY NO TO THIS!

Our first and immediate step was to cut the link between the Club and these wolves in sheep's clothing. We voted them out as President and Organiser after numerous attempts to get them to attend a Club meeting.

CITIZENS! THAT IS THE BACKGROUND TO THE PRESENT CRISIS.

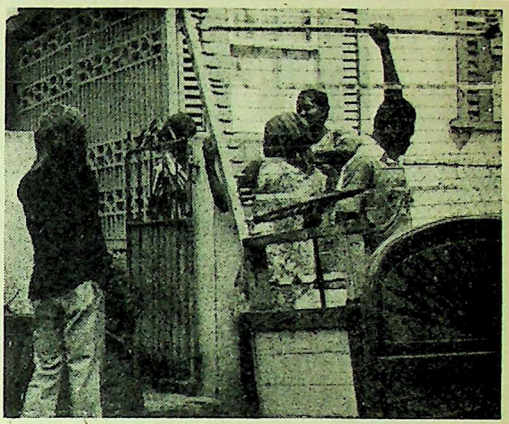
On the 11th November at one of our regular meetings, Holness, Rennie and Dudney invaded and took over our meeting. They created a lot of disorder and broke up the meeting. The clubites defended themselves. In the confusion, Holness and Rennie and Dudney made their escape. Between the 11th and 12th November, Holness and Rennie were arrested by the police who said they were searching for them for a long time.

Since then the lives of every citizen of Newland has been put on the danger list.

On the 12th of November, Dudney and a gang of four other men invaded the community in a Toyota car, asking for one of our Club members and saying they were going to "drop him".

Citizens! This is only a reign of terror being planned against us and the people of Jamaica.

Already, the South West St. Andrew Citizens Association and the Workers' Liberation League, among others, have exposed the violence and terror planned against the people of Jamaica by



people moving out during fascist attacks

the JLP leaders, the big capitalists of Jamaica, and the American Government. Already, hundreds of misguided youth are being armed with guns and bombs and Toyota cars to kill off citizens who defend rights and justice. Already, they are invading youth clubs throughout the country to recruit or stamp down the youths who refuse to go along with them. Behind all the sweet talk, this is the dirty job that Holness and Rennie are doing. Who would believe these armed gangs of ruffians would bother with a quiet, small, peacefull place like Newland? How many other communities are they invading? How many other youths are they deceiving? Who bailed Holness and Rennie to set them loose upon us again? Our community and our country is threatened. Our lives are in danger. Our already little freedom is under attack. LET OUR VOICES BE HEARD BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

WE THE NEWLAND YOUTH YOUTH CLUB CALL UPON ALL THE CITIZENS OF NEWLAND TO UNITE AND MOBILIZE AGAINST THESE HANDFUL OF LOCAL AND FOREIGN PARASITES WHO ARE OUT TO DESTROY OUR PEOPLE. WE ARE ALSO CALLING ON ALL YOUTHS AND PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS IN JAMAICA TO EXPRESS THEIR SOLIDARITY AND UNITE AGAINST THIS COMMON DANGER.

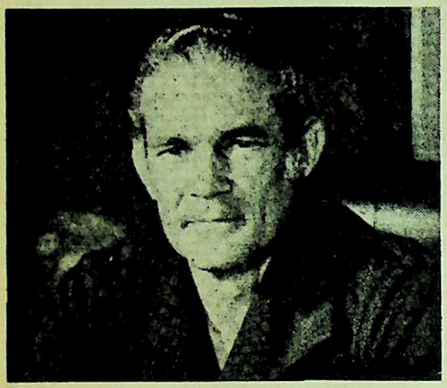
YOUTHS AND CITIZENS OF NEWLAND! PREPARE TO DEFEND OUR RIGHTS, OUR CLUB AND OUR COUNTRY!

Newland United Youth Club, Newland District, Kingston, Jamaica

FASCISM APPROACHES

PROGRESSIVE AND REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS THROUGHOUT THE CARIBBEAN AND IN THE METROPOLES MUST RALLY TO THE DEFENCE OF THE JAMAICAN WORKERS AND FARMERS

C.I.A and JLP plot fascist coup



Michael Manley

It is now clear that Pernell Charles campaign of terror against citizens of South West St. Andrew is part of an imperialist plot to overthrow the democratically elected Government of Prime Minister Manley and exterminate all socialists, militant PNP fighters and progressive community leaders to prevent social change in Jamaica.

Immediately following the transfer of JLP leadership to Seaga, leading JLP henchmen began extensive organising of ghetto youths who have been forced by needs to live by the gun. These youths are told that the Government of Prime Minister Manley is leading Jamaica to communism, causing foreign and local capitalists to withdraw investments, mashing-up the economy and increasing the oppression of the masses; that the masses will shortly rise up against the Government; and that the JLP is organising a revulutionary army which will first kill two thousand front-line PNP fighters to weaken the PNP and enable the JLP to regain power under Seaga leadership.

During the early months of this year $18 million dollars was given to the JLP by the CIA through banks in the United States. Additional funds have also been given through multinational corporations operating in Jamaica. Seventeen top CIA agents have also been sent into Jamaica to advise the JLP leadership on the strategy to be followed for the overthrow of the Government. Details of the plot revealed so far are as follows:

1. $25 million is to be spent within the ranks of the Jamaica Defence Force within two years to carry out a coup;
2. $1,000 is to be spent weekly in each polling division throughout Jamaica to maintain 30 gunmen in each polling division;
3. The gunmen in each polling division must be assigned to assassinate front line PNP fighters and selected members of the PNP Yough Organisation and various other socialist and progressive organisations including Workers Liberation League and youth clubs under the umbrella of Social Development Commission;
4. Youths recruited are to be trained in urban guerrila warfare.

Since then, the capitalists have withdrawn millions of dollars from Jamaica, closing down factories, putting thousands of workers out of jobs while raising prices of goods and services to increase the oppression of the masses, blaming it upon the Government of Prime Minister Manley to turn the masses against the Government.

Certain businessmen have revealed that JLP leaders have contacted them for funds to finance their private army being trained in St. Thomas. Six hundred youths of South West St. Andrew have been recruited for that army, and a few are also being trained in the Jamaica Defence Force.

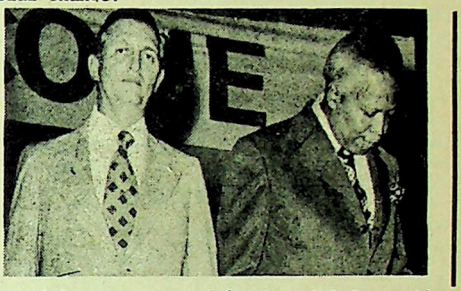
Through the assistance of a rent-a-car agency, the JLP has brought a fleet of bullet-proof

Toyota cars into Jamaica to be used in guerrilla-type activities. At least 15 frontline PNP fighters have been the first to die and scores shot and wounded in the first wave of terror.

These and more facts have been gathered by SWS-A-CA and other organisations and individual citizens who are prepared to give evidence of this before a public inquiry and assist in speedily bringing these traitors and criminals to justice, prevent the democratically elected Government of Prime Minister Manley from being overthrown, safeguard the lives of citizens and speed up social change for the upliftment of the masses.

Consequently, SWS-A-CA, PNP Youth Organisation, Workers Liberation League, Sugar Workers Co-operative Council, National Youth Service Workers League, Jones Town Youth Movement, Youth Forces for National Liberation, Haile Selassie Youth, Greenwich Village Socialist Youth, White League, Movement for Social and Political Consciousness, Student for a Democratic Society, Union of Democratic Students, Communist Party of Jamaica, Western Socialists, Buff Bay Community Vanguard and Marcus Garvey Youth will be holding a demonstration to demand a public inquiry into the revelations made by SWS-A-CA and other organisations.

We call upon the masses, particularly the PNP rank-and-file, to join the demonstration and begin to wage a united and resulute struggle now to defeat U.S. imperialism and the traitors! You the militant PNP rank-and-file are the first to be dying! Act now and do not only mourn your dead! Those among you who refuse to give maximum support to this urgent call to resolute struggle are clearly not concerned that you are dying from the assassins bullets and are therefore traitors to the cause of social change!



Seaga (l) and Shearer (r) after JLP Convention

all upon your Ministers, M.P.'s, Councillors, Trade Unions and community leaders to ensure full police protection for the demonstration, for we must remember well the attempt of Pernell Charles to attack and massacre the citizens who staged the demonstration on October 22, and failing to do this attacked youth clubs with Pioneer Corp projects and even the Police who tried to maintain order!

South West St. Andrew Citizens Association (SWS-A-CA) on behalf of the fraternal organisations listed above.
Kingston, Jamaica

'THE STRUGGLE FOR OUR OWN GOVERNMENT, A REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS ··· IS THE ONLY WAY TO DEFEND OUR COUNTRY AGAINST IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION.'

A situation now exists in our country where we the Workers and oppressed are facing a threat of an open capitalist, terroristic dictatorship by the U.S. imperialists acting through the JLP and big local capitalists.

HOW HAS THIS COME ABOUT?

Today world capitalism is experiencing a serious economic crisis. The problem is that the capitalist greed for profit has not been met. One of the reasons for this is that they produce more goods than the workers can afford to buy. Therefore to prevent a fall in their high profits they are forced to cut back on production by laying off millions of workers internationally. The effects in Jamaica are seen in such things as the closure of Revere Bauxite Plant, and many hotels. Because of these lay-offs, resulting in rising unemployment, a rebellious spirit develops among the workers as shown by the occupation of Colony Hotel by laid-off workers. The imperialists and local big capitalists want a more brute force Government to keep the workers and oppressed in check. This is the open, capitalist, terroristic dictatorship!!!

SO WHAT EVIDENCE IS THERE THAT SHOWS THE PLANS FOR THIS DICTATORSHIP?

The Daily Gleaner of November 20, carried a statement that was made by Seaga and Pernal Charles. This statement said that the next elections will be the last in the country and that the PNP is leading the country to Communism.

This kind of talk can only mean two things:

1. It means that the JLP is using the anti-communism bogey once again to fool people, to turn us back from many democratic gains we have made.

2. Since they say that there will be no more elections after 1977, they are paving the way for a Military take-over and they will say that they are saving us from Communism. They have become the agents of Imperialism and the local big capitalists in plans for a military take-over being directed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.).

WHAT DO WE THE WORKERS AND OPPRESSED KNOW?

Workers and oppressed people know that is only Socialism that can give us freedom. We know that real socialism means the ending of poverty, racial oppression, starvation wages, no roof over our heads, police brutality, political violence, crime, the high cost of living and no school shoes for our children. The rural people know that it means land for the landless. We also know that today we do not have real socialism, but that today we are in a better position to fight for this.

A military take-over by the Imperialists, reactionaries and the JLP will mean that we will be a million times more oppressed and that all the gains we have made will be taken away. It will also mean we will be like Chile today, where people cannot even get together in a group of four to reason about anything. If they do the military will hold them up, and in most cases kill them. In this way thousands of workers and innocent people have been killed or tortured. If the imperialists take over by a military coup, then we will have an openly terroristic, capitalist dictatorship - which is fascism. Those would be the darkest days in our history.

IF THIS IS SO THEN SHOULD WE DEFEND THE PNP?

We know that the PNP even though they are better than the JLP have still maintained the capitalist and imperialist rule in our country. Our experience teaches us that. It is the PNP that passed the anti-worker law (LIRDA) to send workers like the J.O.S. workers to court and probably to jail. It is the PNP that tells landless farmers not to take over the idle land in the hands of the big landlords. It is the PNP that has passed the undemocratic gun court act when certain capitalists were being killed. We know that the PNP have not taken away the industries of the imperialists and have allowed them to take millions of dollars from our country. Our Bauxite industry remains in the hands of imperialism. Therefore we know that democratic socialism is capitalism with a pretty face.

Manley addressing police demonstration

SO WHY SHOULD THE IMPERIALIST PLOT A MILITARY TAKE OVER?

The reason is this. Because the capitalists-imperialists need greater profits they cannot allow a liberal capitalist government to rule. They cannot allow this because the liberal capitalist policies no longer control the masses. Things are getting out of the hands of the PNP and this is what all the talk about indiscipline in the society is about. The imperialists/capitalists therefore feel that the only way they can secure their riches is by brute-force and violence. The point is this: they wish to get rid of the PNP first and after that all progressive, revolutionaries, and democratic organizations of the working class and oppressed. In the end it will be the total repression of the working class - all workers, no matter if they are JLP workers, PNP workers or U.P. workers.

HOW MUST WE FIGHT THIS DANGER AND WHAT OF THE PNP?

We the masses must fight this danger by uniting and organizing ourselves for self-defence. We cannot rely on Manley and the PNP Government to defend us.

DOES THIS MEAN WE DEFEND MANLEY AND THE PNP IF HIS GOVERNMENT, AND HIS LIFE ARE THREATENED?

Yes we defend him! We defend him by asking that he arm the workers, oppressed and scientific socialists. At the same time, we make it clear that in no way does he represent the real interest of the working class and oppressed. But we have to say that at this time if Manley is killed, then it is we the workers and oppressed next. It is therefore in our interest to defend Manley, at this time. Our defence of Manley will not make him become a real defender of the workers. No!!! Manley is a capitalist democrat. He fears the masses taking over control of so-

ciety through the working class. Manley believes in friendship and participation of the workers with the capitalist on capitalist terms. We cannot solely rely on him and the PNP to defend us. We have to depend on our own hands to defend us.

HOW DO WE DO THIS? WE MUST DEMAND THE FOLLOWING:

1. Earlier this month the PNP General Secretary said on radio that there is a plot to overthrow the Government. We demand that all information be brought to the oppressed people. They are our elected government, they have a duty to tell us the danger we face. WE DEMAND TO KNOW.

2. Abolish all anti-gun laws and the Gun-Court Act. The Gun-Court Act gives the reactionaries an opportunity to use it to jail revolutionaries and progressive people who want to fight imperialism and capitalist terror.

3. We demand that workers and oppressed be armed to defend our country and our families. This arming must take place under the supervision of democratic workers organizations elected by rank and file workers. We have shown that the military is being used by the imperialists. We know from our daily experience that the military and police use their powers to brutalize us - the oppressed.

During the recent University teachers strike, an important detachment of the army complete with V-150 tanks moved to the campus without higher authority, without the Prime Minister's knowledge, and against his wishes. This shows they are now acting independently of the elected Government. We cannot trust them. We therefore call for the military and police to be disarmed and a people's militia formed on the basis of elected worker-representatives and elected representatives from oppressed communities and farms.

4. We demand that the plotters, wherever they are, be exposed. They must be tried for their treachery to the nation. This trial must be conducted by a people's tribunal elected by the people - workers, oppressed and small farmers.

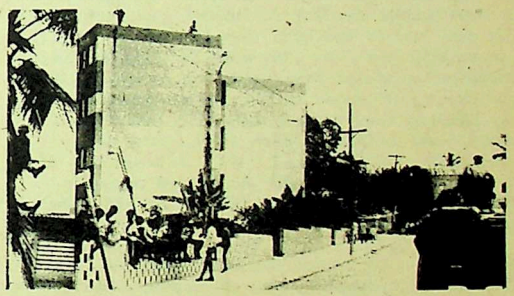
5. Because the Imperialists control many of our industries, if they remain, we would be allowing them a base from which to further undermine our country, which will strengthen capitalist terrorism. We demand therefore that all imperialist factories and industries be nationalized and put under workers' control.

6. We demand that the law that bans strikes (LIRDA) be abolished and instead a workers tribunal elected by the rank and file workers be set up to deal with factory disputes.

7. Most of the media in our country is owned and controlled by the imperialists/capitalists I.T.T., the multi-national company that was behind the overthrow of Allende, owns the Daily News through National Continental Corporation. British Traction and Transport owns R.J.R. and we all know the big capitalists that control the Gleaner. In the present situation where we are threatened by an Imperialist coup, it is of fundamental importance that the imperialists do not have control of the news media to use it to frighten people and spread lies and deception for their own interest. We therefore demand that to have real freedom of the press for the masses instead of capitalist/imperialist propaganda all news media be nationalized and run by workers and technical staff. Only this will ensure that the interest of the majority rather than the minority, are served.

8. We demand that the operations of United States, West German, Canadian and other Imperialist Embassies be restricted to trade and travel arrangements.

9. We demand that all military arrangements made between Jamaica and U.S.A., Britain, Canada and other imperialist countries be cancelled.



10. All C.I.A. Agents operating under the cloak of Peace Corp, Churches, and any other organizations must be expelled from the country.

11. We demand that all privately-owned agricultural land over 50 acres be turned into farmers co-operatives and run by landless farmers and agricultural workers.

All these demands lay the basis for us to struggle for our own Governmnet, a revolutionary Government of Workers and Small Farmers. This is the only way to defend our country against imperialist aggression.

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM!!! BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION OF WORKING CLASS!! STRUGGLE FOR A GOVERNMENT OR WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS!!!

Movement for Social and Political Consciousness
Revolutionary Marxist League
White Hall Progressive Youth Club
(Jamaica)

Black organizations

and the crisis in schools in Toronto

The development of black community organisations in Toronto from the late sixties to the present has, in large part, come out of attempts by the community to struggle against the relegation by the school system of overwhelming numbers of black youth into low stream, dead-end programmes. In the late 60's, the impetus for blacks to organize around specific concerns came from various sources: from the black Power movement in the United States, from the movements for national liberation all over the black world, and, more immediately, from the struggle of students against racism in Montral's Sir George Williams University in 1968/69.

The Sir George Williams University struggle, led by West Indian student activists, had shattered for many blacks the myth that Canada was less racist than the U.S. For many it provided an increased sense of power and confidence to begin overt challenges to the institutions which facilitated their oppression, and, for others yet, it served as the occasion to make distinctions between "them" and "us" - between the "bad niggers who bun' down de people dem computer" and the good niggers who uphold "law and order" and due process.

Defence committees for the Sir George Williams University students sprang up across Canada, particularly on University campuses. Black youth at all levels of the school system and in the work force overwhelmingly supported the students and increasingly began to make connections between what had happened in Montreal and what was happening to them in their own communities. Many of the youth w-o became involved in organizations over the next few years had their first overtly political experience in support activities for the Sir George Williams University students.

"Black kids joined other working class immigrant and Anglo students in the 'inner city' schools where, in addition to facing the oppression of the class system, they were confronted with the racism of teachers and administrators. Low stream or lower grade placement of blacks was almost automatic..."
- Caribbean Dialogue, January 1976

In Toronto, as elsewhere, this had a tremendous impact. Black students who had been fired by the 1968 Black Writers' Conference in Montreal (which was followed by Walter Rodney, one of the participants, being refused re-entry into Jamaica, sparking major confrontation between the state and the dispossessed) and who

"The schools continue to devise ways to cover up the conflicts and to contain student and community resistance. (One) strategy made possible by Federal grants for 'projects' has been for the school to employ 'ethnics' to function as liaison between schools and students, bureaucracy and community, and to cool out the incipient and increasingly overt rebellion of parents and students...."
-Caribbean Dialogue, January 1976

had organized Black Student Unions on university and community college campuses around the city, fought for and won the introduction of a Transitional Year Programme for black and other minorities and "disadvantaged" youth who had been forced to drop out of secondary schools and did not meet formal university entrance requirements. The programme was initially run for a summer out of York University, then was picked up by the University of Toronto as a full year programme after strenuous efforts by black students.

Today after six years of operation, the TYP continues to be the scene of ongoing and escalating struggles. Because from the beginning a substantial percentage of TYP students (roughly 50%) and tutors (though not instructors) has been black - and immigrant black, at that - the struggles are most often expressed in racial terms. At present, TYP is again the locus of major conflicts between the University administration and the community-dominated Policy Committee which, with staff and past and present TYP students, has a considerable voice in running the programme. Open opposition is being voiced by the administration to such things as the Third World orientation of the social science and literature courses, and to the degree of control exercised by the Policy Committee.

Many of the first group of students who went through the TYP summer programme joined with other university students to spearhead in 1969 the formation of the Black Education Project. The immediate spur to organizing the Project was an open violent confrontation in the summer of 1969 between blacks and Portuguese in

a downtown public housing development over the use of space in a local recreation centre. The majority of black youth involved were Canadian, mostly Nova Scotians whose parents had moved from ghettoes of Halifax and surroundings looking for a better life in prosperous Toronto. The rest were children of West Indian immigrants who had settled downtown initially in what traditionally has been a reception area for immigrants and who were working overtime or at two jobs to save enough to move out to the suburbs - or at least to one of the new high-rise apartment buildings that were mushrooming in various parts of the city.

The organizers of BEP, fervent Pan-Africanists at that point, saw as a priority the development of an independent black institution which would teach the youth black history and culture and provide programmes to encourage self-development and black political awareness. What they rapidly found out was that the "push-out" rate of black kids from the schools was disproportionately high, and that because so many black kids who stayed in school were streamed into "opportunity" and "vocational" programmes, their level of basic skills was low. Emphasis was then switched to an after-school tutorial programme staffed by volunteers, to teach the skills the youth wern't learning in schools. Somewhat later a Saturday Cultural School was started.

BEP members developed close links with parents and defended the youth in their clashes with police and with the agents of social control within the school system. For, along with the "new" schools of the 60's had developed what one Canadian journalist calls "a policy of 'State therapy' in which the velvet glove of the government psychologist and social worker provides a cover for the older iron fist of the police and the army." The Project organized public meetings for discussion of issues like police brutality, racism in the schools, black struggles around the world, etc., and came to assume a leading position among the progressive section of the community.

Over the first three years of BEP's existence, the composition of its students shifted from a majority of Canadians to a majority of West Indian immigrants. West Indian parents, although at first hesitant to get involved in what they identified as a radical "Black Power" organization at a time when they were barely settled in a new society, increasingly turned to the BEp to ensure that their children gained full access to all levels of the educational system. Increasingly, also, the Project was called on to play an advocate's role in schools when parents felt they needed organizational support in their struggles with the school administration. For West Indian children had joined their Canadian brothers and sisters and the white working class at the bottom of the school hierarchy. But now the system had the excuse of "culture shock", "language deficiency", "non-participation in class" etc. to explain their low-stream placement.

Another group started in the late 60's that had a considerable impact on Toronto's black youth was the Black Youth Organization. BYO was formed mainly by secondary school students although there were a few employed and unemployed youth amongst the leadership. They had formed the "youth arm" of an older leftist group, the Afro American Progressive Association, and when ideological and other conflicts had split the AAPA the youth structured their own programme. Their first activity was organizing a drop-in centre where the youth could hang-out. Again, as with BEP, most of the members were black Canadians from downtown neighbourhoods while most of the leadership was West Indian.

"Black students in every level of the system were harrassed for 'ganging up' and excluding whites. When, in the mid-seventies, black secondary students started to form black organizations in the schools, the administrators were at first adament in their opposition. Students struggled around the issue and won - at a price- The clubs were not to be called 'Black' or 'Afro' anything, since these names denoted 'exclusiveness'. Now black high school groups abound with names like 'Soul Club', 'Rainbow Club', etc..."
- Caribbean Dialogue, January 1976

Within 6 months of starting, BYO began the publication of a bi-weekly paper, "Black Voice", which articulated the concerns of the youth, especially in relation to schooling, and stressed the importance of organized action. Members held regular rap sessions and undertook a systematic campaign to reach black adults and to gain their support in the youths' rebellion against the coercive authority of the schools and police. But by 1972, ideological conflicts within the group - nationalism vs class analysis - caused the collapse of BYO.

In the early 70's the majority of suburban blacks were white collar workers or professionals. They found out, often to their surprise, that their children too, like the "downtown kids" were viewed as material for "Special programmes in the schools and were as likely to be the butts of racial abuse by their class mates and victim of racist atitudes and assumptions of teachers.

Following the lead of the BEP, and after a conference on "The Black Child in the Toronto School System" held at York University in 1970.

Continued on inside back cover

CUBA continued from page 9

it will not, of course, be eternal.

7. Starting from the principle of respect for the working peasant's free will, the socialist state acknowledges his right to work his plot individually, providing him with material and technical assistance and establishing mutually beneficial economic relations with the peasant as long as he remains a private producer, and always takes his specific interests into consideration when adopting government decisions.

8. The decisive instrument in attaining this gradual transformation of the small lots owned by the working peasants is the demonstration to them of the advantages of the large agricultural unit of production over the tiny farm, both for the economic and social development of the country and for the peasant and his family.

9. The economic relations between the state and the cooperatives and peasants - as long as they remain individual producers - must be governed by the principles of the economic management and planning system.

10. Under the Party's orientation and guidance, ANAP must play a basic role in the patient and systematic work of convincing each peasant family to advance, when the time comes, toward socialist forms of production. It must see to it that the principle of free will is respected.

11. To achieve the best attention for the peasant sector, the National Institute of the Agrarian Reform (INRA), together with ANAP, should study structural forms which are in keeping with the economic management and planning system and which bring about the necessary organizational changes so as to insure that all the peasants, all their land and all their production receive as much attention, technical assistance and material and technical supplies as the national economy permits.

12. The Communist Party of Cuba, through its high-level organizations, its intermediate leadership levels and its grass-roots organizations, will make tremendous efforts in the coming years and will promote the active participation of the state organizations, the UJC and the mass organizations so as to ensure success in this very important task for the future development of our country and in the achievement of the objectives of socialism and communism.

ANAP, the Agricultural Trade Union and INRA have special responsibility in achieving this purpose.

13. The Congress entrusts the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba with giving full support to this great task and being attentive to its implementation so as to make the necessary recommendations and constantly adapt the directives of this Resolution to the concrete demands of the transformation process to be effected in the forms of production of the peasant sector.

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Conference Resolution

We denounce the bourgeois press of Quebec and Canada, such as the English-speaking press, Le Devoir and the CBC, which systematically refuse to cover such labour meetings as this present conference.

We, the delegates of CISO, support the cause of the Palestinian workers and their only legitimate spokesman, the PLO; we support the peoples who fight for their independence, as in Southern Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.

We support the Quebec workers, the teachers, the workers of Thetford Mines, United Aircraft, or elsewhere, who struggle for their job security, their health, the very existence of their unions, against the multinational companies and their puppet governments.

We, the delegates to CISO, demand the immediate application of the 1973 resolution of the United Nations' General Assembly against apartheid.

We, the delegates to CISO, commit ourselves to propagate the ideas of the Conference in our organizations, our geographical regions and our respective countries with ferocity, because it is from these exchanges that true international workers' solidarity is born.

We commit ourselves to continue the struggles undertaken by the workers to liberate themselves from imperialism in our work contacts and in our regions or countries.

We commit ourselves to maintaining the close links between us in order to exchange our experiences of struggle against capital and also develop new forms of solidarity. Our organization reaffirms the right of any country to nationalize its natural resources.

We commit ourselves to control our natural resources at every opportunity and to use them for the liberation of workers and the working class.

And finally, we want to underline particularly the struggle of the workers and Vietnamese people, who, by their determination and their human sacrifices, have succeeded in liberating themselves from American imperialism.

One enemy, one struggle, one fight for the solidarity of the struggle of the oppressed workers.

Black Organizations continued from page 23

the Black Heritage Association was formed to provide programmes in black culture and history to black children and adults in the suburbs. The aim was to give blacks, particularly the youth, a sense of self-worth that could withstand and resist the assaults made on them by a racist society.

From about 1971 onward, the rate of entry of West Indian immigrant children into Toronto schools accelerated sharply, so that it is not uncommon to find schools which have experienced 200% to 300% increases in black enrollment over the past few years; or whose black students have risen from 15% to over 40% of the school. The black organizations were overwhelmed by the failure rate of the kids and concerned to "save" them from the neglect and abuse they suffered in schools.

The system itself, desperate for a way out of its crisis and assailed on every side - by immigrant parents, by Anglo working-class parents, by teachers, and by the public at large - started appealing to the black organizations for help in coping with the "new newcomers". Black Heritage Programme responded by instituting its own after-school tutorial programme in 4 Scarborough secondary schools, and, with BEP, by getting increasingly drawn into liaison committees in various boards of education, "sensitization" sessions with teachers, writing briefs demanding that tests be changed, that English as a Second Dialect programmes be instituted - and generally helping the system in its attempts to salvage itself.

Only slowly, after two years of frenetic activity, have some of the groups begun to grapple with analysing the nature of the black community , its position in this society, the nature and function of the school system and what steps have to be taken to forge a movement, linked to other sections of the immigrant and Anglo working-class communities, which will carry out the task of social transformation.

On Critical Support

In the continuing effort to distort the role of the Peoples Progressive Party, the Peoples National Congress' leadership has subjected the Guyanese both at home and abroad to a systematic campaign of rumor and untruth. A campaign which repeatedly asserts that the P.P.P. is now fully supporting the P.N.C. government. The situation is, in fact, far more complex.

At this stage certain elements in the P.N.C. have found it necessary to adopt socialist rhetoric in order to respond to the general developments of new imperialist strategies from abroad and constant criticism emanating from the P.P.P. and other opposition groups at home. Simultaneously, the P.N.C. has been facing sharp internal conflicts predominantly emanating from its rank-and-file supporters who want an amelioration of the existing economic hardships.

In the light of these circumstances the P.P.P. intends to pressure the P.N.C. leadership into concretely implementing those policies which are genuinely socialist in their programme.

Let us be precise, however, and recognize that policies of this type are rarely pursued by the P.N.C. government. The roots of their indecisiveness are not difficult to uncover; one has only to examine the multi-faceted alliance between the P.N.C. government and foreign capital.

It is in this context that one may understand the P.P.P.'s guarded response regarding the P.N.C. leadership's genuine commitment to the construction of a socialist Guyana. The P.P.P. acts as an independent and determined force within the Guyanese working class. Consistent therefore with its historical role, it extends its complete support to the implementation of socialist measures in Guyana for the betterment of Guyanese. Concomitantly the P.P.P. upholds its responsibility to oppose vehemently any reactionary measures, and, expose unhesitantly all ties of foreign capital to the local bourgeoisie and the government.

The P.P.P., hosever, recognizes the necessity at this stage in our struggle to form an anti-imperialist alliance with all progressive forces in Guyana. This could potentially include the P.N.C. especially with those members of its rank-and-file who recognize the need for fundamental change and, who therefore, could be mobilized in the construction of socialism. Faced with this particular situation, the P.P.P. is presently debating the advantages and disadvantages that would accure from lending critical support to Burnham's new initiatives. The P.P.P. has not in fact given critical support as yet. But critical support means just what it says- giving support for any progressive measures, opposing any reactionary moves and criticizing all shortcomings. This stand - if taken - should in no way be misconstrued as unconditional support for the P.N.C. government.

Critical support, as proposed, could lay the foundation for future political stability in Guyana. In so doing it could frustrate the P.N.C. leadership's attempt to isolate the P.P.P. from the Guyanese working class. Therefore, it would force the P.N.C. to reveal its true nature - whether it is working against or in co-operation with imperialism.

Gail Teixeira, Secretary,
Association of Concerned Guyanese

Caribbean and International Mobilization

Against Fascism; For a Workers and Peasants Democracy

An upsurge of fascist forces and the threat of a fascist seizure of state power threaten the very survival of the embryonic workers and farmers movement and the many progressive, left and revolutionary organizations that have emerged in Jamaica within the past two years.

The local capitalist class, the middle-class and the imperialist ruling-class have coalesced into an unholy alliance under the leadership of Edward Seaga and the political functionaries in the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) with the clear purpose of strangling the economy, creating social and political chaos and finally overthrowing the Manley government of the People's National Party (PNP) as a necessary pre-condition for the establishment of fascist rule.

Millions of North American dollars are in the hands of the JLP leadership to finance a massive anti-communist and pro-fascist propaganda campaign and a para-military fascist force, to pay supporters and buy-off underemployed youths and leading functionaries in the army and police and other institutions of the state. Millions more dollars of arms have been smuggled into the country and CIA agents have been filtering into Jamaica to work out strategy and tactics for "de-stabilizing" the Manley government that would create the conditions for military intervention.

Events of past 3-6 months (see inside) give concrete proof of the Chilean-type fascist strategy and tactics that are unfolding. In the wave of fascist attacks, Manley and the PNP, continue to vacillate, forming unarmed defence groups to protect party property and depending on the police and army to maintain "law". "order", "peace" and "stability".

It is the historic duty and political task of all progressive, left and revolutionary organizations in Jamaica, the Caribbean and internationally to rally to the defence of the Jamaican workers and peasants in their struggle against the forces of facism and for socialist power. Only the united, independent, organized power of the workers and peasants in mass organizations throughout the country can ever hope to defeat the forces of fascism and advance the struggle; and only a Revolutionary Vanguard Organization working among and struggling with the workers and farmers can build and strengthen these mass organizations and unify them in the present political situation.

Equally urgent for the defeat of rising fascism in Jamaica is the mass mobilization of workers, farmers and students on a Caribbean-wide scale and of progressive forces in North America and Europe. Caribbean and international mobilization of workers, farmers and students on a Caribbean-wide scale and of progressive forces in North America and Europe. Caribbean and international mobilization can give concrete support and confidence to Jamaican workers and peasants and can wage a defensive struggle in the very heart of western imperialism to stop imperialist intervention in Jamaica and the Caribbean as a whole.

To advance the struggle against fascism and for a workers and peasants democracy, we call upon the Jamaican comrades to initiate the following oconcrete proposals;

1. Form an alliance of left and revolutionary organizations to build, strengthen and unite independent mass organizations of workers, peasants and students in the very process of struggle.

2. Call all progressive, left and revolutionary organizations, trade unions, associations etc. in the Caribbean and in Caribbean immigrant communities abroad to a Working Conference in Jamaica to develop startegy and tactics for a Caribbean and international mobilization campaign. An urgent call should be made now f for the immediate formation of Defence Committees in all Caribbean territories and in metropolitan centres to give concrete support to the alliance and to begin the mobilization of progressive forces.

3. Begin the immediate dissemination of detailed information on all fascist plots and attacks, the vacillation of the PNP and the struggles and demands of workers and peasants.

The Caribbean Dialogue Collective stands ready to work with the Jamaican comrades in the implementation of these proposals.

STOP ANOTHER CHILE,'73 IN THE CARIBBEAN!
ADVANCE THE STRUGGLES OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS!
ACT NOW! TO DELAY IS POLITICAL SUICIDE!

SCDb-26.385 LWR

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

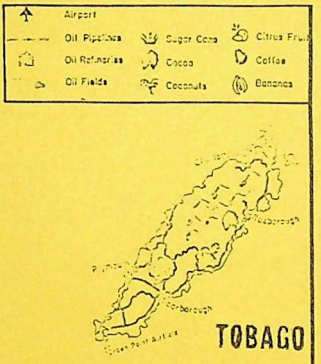
A MONTHLY INFORMATION SERVICE

Vol. 2 Nos. 3 & 4 APRIL - MAY, 1976

special double issue on the political situation in Trinidad and Tobago

At The CROSSROADS

—the emergence and potential of the U.L.F



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COMING IN THE JUNE ISSUE:

WORKERS STRUGGLES IN DOMINICA

This issue of Caribbean Dialogue is a double issue exclusively devoted to the political situation in Trinidad and Tobago. The main focus of the contents is the emergence and formation of a working-class party - the United Labour Front - on the eve of the fifth national elections since independence in 1962. We apologize for the late appearance of this issue, which was due to some delay in the arrival of material from Trinidad and major editorial work that had to be done. We were unable to publish the complete version of certain documents, and other material had to be left out, including Part III of "Unemployment and the Unemployed" which was promised. This was due to the limited space available as a consequence of severe financial constraints. We would like to know what you think about this issue and what you gained from it.

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EDITORIAL

THE POLITICAL POTENTIAL OF THE U.L.F

This issue of Caribbean Dialogue is the very first issue that has been exclusively devoted to a particular territory, Trinidad and Tobago, and to a specific theme, the emergence of the United Labour Front. The question is: why at this time? The answer is twofold.

The People's National Movement (PNM) led by Eric Williams that led the nationalist movement in its last phase, has held the reins of governmental power for 20 years. Within the past 8 years, particularly since 1970, there have been increasing mass struggles against the Williams regime and the neo-colonial (Creole) social system - mass strikes of employed workers in virtually every sector of the economy and most social institutions not only for higher wages, but, more significantly, against their union leadership and state laws, and for control over the organization of production; armed attacks on police stations and imperialist corporate property by unemployed guerillas; protest by small farmers and fishermen; rebellion by students in the schools; open conflict within the civil bureaucracy and between top Civil Servants and the PNM government.

The reality is that the old social relations and system of authority and power that maintained the colonial social order for over a century have broken down beyond repair, and as a consequence all old organizations (e.g. political parties, trade unions) and social institutions (including sports, carnival, schools, the family) are disintegrating under intense internal conflict and struggles. The PNM government as the political leadership of the state, in an attempt to maintain power and social control and to salvage the situation, has been forced to penetrate ever deeper into the social lives of the people and to directly take over ownership of industries, estates, T.V., radio, etc. The development of this state capitalist tendency on the part of the PNM government has led the oppressed classes to focus their struggles directly on the state and more particularly on the Williams regime.

The 1976 national elections that can be called at any moment is the first elections in which Eric Williams and the PNM will be facing an organized challenge by "new" political forces that have emerged out of the sustained mass struggles of the past eight years. The "new" political parties (and old ones too) did not contest the 1971 elections, and instead waged a "no-vote" campaign that resulted in the lowest poll - 38% - in the electoral history of Trinidad and Tobago since "adult franchise" and the PNM gaining 100% of the seats in Parliament supported by 28% of the electorate. The more important factor in the present period, however, is the emergence of a popular leftist working-class party, the UNITED LABOUR FRONT.

The United Labour Front (ULF) was launched on February 18, 1975 as an alliance of four radical and militant trade unions - oil workers union, sugar workers union, the popular but unofficial sugar farmers union and the Transport and Industrial Workers Union - comprising of a total membership of over 40,000 workers and farmers. At the inaugural convention of the ULF, held on January 3rd and 4th this year, a decision was taken to form a working-class party. On March 28, at the end of its third convention, the ULF was formally launched as a political party with a 19-man Central Committee, and it was decided to contest the forthcoming national elections either as a separate and distinct party or in alliance with other parties, as the Central Committee may decide.

The formation of the ULF heralds a new phase of class struggle in Trinidad and Tobago. As a party with a socialist orientation and popular base among workers and farmers, it represents the first organized challenge to the political and economic rule of the imperialists and local ruling class. The emergence and formation of the ULF brings to an end the general rebellious phase of workers' struggles in the post-independence era and has opened the phase of concrete, organized struggle for state power. Indeed, Trinidad and Tobago is at the crossroads.

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The potential of the ULF is indeed great at this juncture in the history of Trinidad and Tobago and the Caribbean as a whole. Since the mid-60's, but particularly within the past five years, employed workers in every major sector of the social economy have been struggling to link up with either the oil workers union or the TIWU. This fact, combined with the popular and strategic working-class base with which it begins, give the ULF the potential to unite the various employed sections of the working-class as an organized social force to lead the revolutionary struggle for power. More specifically, by linking East Indian sugar workers with African workers in oil, manufacturing and transport from its very beginning, the ULF has the historic chance to begin the unity of East Indian and African workers; a unity that has evaded political movements for decades, and for which the society has paid dearly. Further, by uniting agricultural and industrial workers, the ULF has the basis for combining the struggle in the rural villages and urban communities.

Continued on back cover

Radical and Left Organizations in the Post-Independence Period

About the mid-sixties a number of radical and populist groups began to emerge in Trinidad and Tobago as well as throughout the English-speaking Caribbean. There were basically three tendencies in the emerging radical movement - Black Power; radical liberalism or nationalism and orthodox left.

The Black Power groups were small and localized in many areas of the country and emerged mainly among students and unemployed youths. The most prominent of those groups was the Young Power Movement formed by Michael Als and others in the southern parts of the country, particularly San Fernando. Alwyn Primus, a young Black orator, functioned more as a Black populist spokesman in the north around Port-of-Spain than as part of any organized group. Then there emerged the PIVOT group in Port-of-Spain initiated by Roger McTair and Earl Lovelace as a cultural group which was gradually being transformed into a more political grouping by 1968/69.

The radical nationalists, almost exclusively intellectuals, coalesced into the New World Group (Trinidad) that formed a link in an English-speaking Caribbean network of New World Groups, founded at the University of the West Indies (U.W.I.) in Jamaica by Lloyd Best. The New World Groups were all based at University campuses with contacts in a few other territories and they published a journal, New World. The leader of the group in Trinidad was James Millette, a lecturer in history at the University campus in Trinidad. On the return of Lloyd Best to Trinidad in 1968, a split occurred between Millette and Best that tore the New World Group apart (for a provocative analysis of that split, see a series of articles by Wally Look-Lai in the Trinidad Express, 1969)

There was only one orthodox left group in Trinidad and Tobago in the mid-sixties - Workers' Educational Association (WEA). This group was formed by a Chinese Trinidadian - Poon - with Errol Balfour as his young student, and the group remained small and ineffective.

The rapid emergence of the present radical and left groups and organizations began in the latter part of 1968 with the split in New World, mass agitation and struggle by the radical labour movement and the unemployed. James Millette founded the Moko newspaper and group in response to the expulsion of Walter Rodney from Jamaica in 1968 on his return from the Black Writers Congress in Montreal. The Moko group was eventually transformed into the United National Independence Party (UNIP). Lloyd Best formed the Tapia group which consists mainly of intellectuals and professionals.

In early 1969, the leadership of the Guild of Undergraduates at the U.W.I. campus in Trinidad formed the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC) to wage a protest mobilization campaign in defence of Caribbean students involved in the Sir George Williams University struggle in Montreal. Initially NJAC was a united front of unemployed groups, radical labour unions and other progressive forces. By the end of 1969, many (almost all) groups and unions faded out of the front and NJAC became an independent organization. Its general ideology was Black power populism and it was the undisputed vanguard group in the 1970 mass rebellion. Since 1970, it has become more of a cultural protest group outside of the mass struggles that have been taking place in the country.

It was the 1970 mass struggle and workers' struggle since that have given rise to the spate of left groups and organizations in Trinidad and Tobago today.

In March 1971, the New Beginning Movement (NBM) was formed with the publication of paper, New Beginning. At the same time that NBM was formed in Trinidad and Tobago, sections of the organization were formed, first in England and then in Canada and the United States. During 1971, the orientation of the organization was that of radical populism and ultra- democracy as a response of members to the extreme centralization of the state and NJAC in 1970. However, at the first Congress of NBM in December/January, 1971/72, the theoretical and organizational basis was laid for its development as an independent revolutionary socialist organization.

Immediately following the emergence of NBM, the United Revolutionary Organization (URO) was formed prior to the May 1971 elections as a united front of a number of radical groups. As with NJAC earlier, most of the participating groups left the front, and WEA together with another group, UMROBI, based in the south, joined together to develop URO as an independent organization. It is closely aligned to the Moscow tendency of the international left and has close relations with the People's Progressive Party of Guyana led by Cheddi Jagan.

In 1972, the Young Power Movement changed its

name to the Youth Forces and Working-class Movement (YFWCM). Michael Als, who is recognized as the leader of the YFWCM, together with others has been involved in the formation and struggles of the Bank Workers Union. The task of organizing the Union seems to be the main activity of the YFWCM leadership.

Also, in late 1972, a guerilla movement, the National United Freedom Fighters (NUFF), emerged for the first time in the recent history of Trinidad and Tobago. NUFF was based among the unemployed, but it did not surface in armed action until 1973. The leadership of NUFF consisted of unemployed and young employed workers including women who were at the centre of the 1970 mass rebellion as "local leaders" that accepted the national Vanguard leadership of NJAC. During 1973 and 1974 NUFF carried out a series of armed actions including sabotage of capitalist property, attacks on police stations and seizure of funds from imperialist banks. By the end of 1974 - early 1975, its entire leadership was either killed or in prison. NUFF presently operates as a public political organization based on "Marxism - Leninism - Mao-se-Tung thought".

The two most recently formed left groups are the National Liberation Movement (NLM) and the National Movement for the True Independence of Trinago (NAMOTI). NLM was formed as a Maoist political underground group though many of its leaders are known. Its members seem to function mainly in the central and southern parts of the country and on the University campus. NAMOTI is also a political underground group made up mainly of students and ex-students who returned from abroad. These two groups were formed in late 1974 - early 1975.

The Line up for Elections

The political temperature in Trinidad and Tobago is rising rapidly as the time approaches for yet another general election to determine which political party or parties will capture governmental power.

As we go to press there are fifteen political parties likely to contest the election expected around the middle of the year, and it would not be any surprise if more parties are announced within the next few months.

There are five major political parties contending for parliamentary power:

- People's National Movement (PNM) led by Eric Williams that has controlled parliamentary power for nineteen years.

- Democratic Labour Party, DLP, (Jamadar faction) a a section of the original Democratic Labour Party that formed the opposition in parliament for most of the past 19 years.

- Democratic Labour Party, DLP, (Lequay faction)

- Democratic Action Congress (DAC) led by A.N.R. Robinson, former Deputy Minister of the PNM government, who resigned from the PNM after the 1970 mass rebellion.

- United Labour Front.

Besides the above five political parties, there are ten smaller parties:

- TAPIA led by Lloyd Best
- United People's Party (UPP) led by Roy Richardson who broke-away from the 1971 election.
- West Indian National Party (WINP) led by Ashford Sinanan, former Ambassador to India.
- Liberation Action Party (LAP) led by Ivan Perot, former deputy leader of WINP.
- United Freedom Party (UFP) led by Sampat-Mehta.
- Liberal Party led by Peter Farquar
- National Liberation Party (NLP) led by Masa Khan.
- African National Congress (ANC)
- Popular People's Party (PPP)
- Conservative Settlers' Party (CSP)

All political parties with the exception of the ULF that seem to be tending in a leftist direction are middle-class parties openly committed to the maintenance of capitalist relation in one form or another. There is speculation that the election would result in either a PNM minority government or a coalition government involving DAC and ULF. Whichever party or parties win the election, the class struggle will intensify.

COMPOSITION OF THE LABOUR FORCE

It is necessary to begin with the definitions of certain terms as given by the Central Statistical Office (CSO) of Trinidad and Tobago from which statistics have been obtained.

"Of the total population 15 years old and over covered in the survey, all persons engaged in, or willing and able to be engaged in the production of economic works and services are classified as being in the Labour Force. ... the Labour Force is comprised of all persons who either had jobs (the employed) or, if they did not have jobs, were willing and able to work (the unemployed)." The Labour Force includes employees as well as employers and the self-employed. Persons with Jobs were "(a) all persons who worked for pay for any length of time during the survey week; (b) persons who were temporarily absent from work because of vacation, illness, industrial dispute or some similar cause, but who had jobs to which they would return at the end of that period of absence; (seasonal workers out of work were not included in this category; and (c)persons who worked without pay on a family farm or business or as a learner".

The Unemployed is defined as "all persons who looked for work during the 3-month period preceding the enumeration and who at the time of enumeration did not have a job but still wanted work".

"An Own Account Worker is a person who carried on business without the help of paid workers. He may, however, be assisted by unpaid workers". Of a total population of just over 1 million and with a non institutional population of 658,500, the labour force in Trinidad and Tobago in December 1974 was 393,400 of which 114,900 were females. According to the CSO 40% of the total non-institutional population aged 15 years old and over is not included in the "labour force". that is, over one quarter of the entire population. However, there is a great disparity between men and women. Whereas 18% of male workers are not included in the "labour force', the proportion for women is 64%. In the age group 20-44 years old, 5% of male workers are not included, while 54% of female workers are left out. This great disparity is not surprising when it is considered that women have a harder time obtaining and maintaining jobs, and, in addition the state does not include housewives in the labour force; worse yet consider them as workers. In other words, according to the state, housewives do no work.

What is very revealing, however, is that of those not included in the labour force, over 40% were within the age group 15-24. We are being told by the state 59% of young people between 15 and 19, and 47% between 15 and 24 do not want to work and are therefore not qualified to be counted in the "labour force". However, while the non-institutional population between the ages of 15 and 24 increased by only 5% in the period 1973-74, the numbers not counted in the "labour force" increased by 12% indicating that a relatively high proportion actually dropped out of the "labour force" in that period. In other words, more and more young people are indicating that they do not want capitalist shit-work.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Official unemployment is calculated to be 16%, but in the age group 15-19, it is 36% and in the 15-24 age group unemployment is almost 1/3. Once again the male/female disparity is glaring. While male unemployment in general is 13% and 32% in the 15-19 male age group, for females the corresponding proportions are 22% and 47%. Official unemployment not only hides the level of underemployment, but does not include a large proportion of those not counted in the "labour force" that is unemployed. If it is assumed that of all those not counted in the "labour force" (265,000), only the 82,300 in age group 15-19 are unemployed (and this is an underestimation), then the overall proportion of official unemployment would be more than 1/3.

UNEMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC SECTORS

The composition of the "economically active labour force" (that is, "persons with jobs") reflects that of an advanced underdeveloped economy (that is, and economy which is tied to and dependent upon the main centres of world imperialist economy and in which capital has penetrated to a relatively high degree resulting in a large modern working-class). Of all "persons with jobs", only 15% are involved in "agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing", and about 35% are in manufacturing, industry and construction.

Over 3/4 of the "active labour force" are "paid employees" and government employs about 1/3 of that "labour force" (the proportion today March 1976 - is somewhat higher due to increasing direct state intervention into the productive economy).

Since many people are aware of the Chilean class struggle just before and during the Allende years, it might be useful to make some comparison with the Chilean situation to show the

BACKGROUND

potential of the working-class and farming-class in Trinidad and Tobago. The comparison below is based on employment by economic activity in Chile (1970) and Trinidad and Tobago (1974).

	Chile	Trinidad
	%	%
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	24	15
Mining and Manufacturing ..	22	20
Transportation and Communications	7	9
Commerce (including finance and insurance)	14	18
Construction* and services	33	38
Total	100	100

* The statistics for construction in Trinidad Tobago include certain services

The comparison above is not intended to imply that the class struggle in Trinidad and Tobago will be the same as it was in Chile, but rather to show the advanced stage of Trinidad's dependent capitalist economy and the modern character of class struggle that could be expected.

Another aspect of the composition of the "active labour force" is the concentration of males and females in "industrial groupings". A similar proportion of men and women is involved in agriculture, which reflects the family-basis of farming and the utilization of cheap female labour in estate production. The proportion of women (17%) in mining and manufacturing is not very much lower than men (21%). However, while a much higher proportion of men than women is concentrated in construction, transport and communication, women are highly concentrated in commerce and services (64%).

The picture that emerges from this brief and general summary is that, unlike most underdeveloped societies, Trinidad and Tobago is poised for modern revolutionary social transformation, a glimpse of which was seen in the struggles of workers, farmers and other oppressed peoples in Chile between 1970 and 1973. Of course, we have not even scratched the surface. The work of determining the detailed class composition of the society in terms of basic social classes; sections of classes; character of the work process and concentration of workers in different types of social productive units; the specific relations between classes and sections of classes; the relations between classes and imperialist capital etc. is yet to be done.

Oil Bonanza!

Who does it benefit?

Within just three years (1973 to 1976) the budgeted expenditure of Trinidad and Tobago increased almost four (4) times - from $538 million to $2,104 million. According to the 1976 budget, the explanation is one word"oil". "In 1973 the revenues from oil amounted to $109 million, increasing from $59 million in 1965 and $73 million in 1970. The revised estimate for 1975 shows revenue from oil of $1,184 million, almost 50% higher than the total oil revenue over the eleven years 1963-1973 of $786 million". In 1975 oil accounted for as much as 70% of total government revenues as compared with only 23% in 1973. Such gigantic increases were due more to the substantial price increases brought about between 1973-1975 by the collective power of OPEC than to any great increases in local production.

USE OF OIL REVENUE

A source of government revenue through taxation of the companies operating is basically what the oil industry means to Trinidad and Tobago in real terms. It continues to exist as a multi-national owned and controlled enclave completely unlinked with the rest of the economy, making relatively minimal contribution to employment and controlling through both lease and ownership a substantial portion of the country's land resources.

A review of developments within the economy over the past couple years is in essence a review of the use of oil revenues.

What is blatantly clear, to begin with, is that the plight of the working masses of people show no evidence of the "windfall" that has accrued to the country. To them the oil revenue windfall is something the government "speaks" about - as far removed from them as the true profits of the oil companies themselves.

A substantial portion of this increase in government revenue is held as balances in banks abroad. In essence, invested by the government in assets out of the country thus making funds available for borrowers and investors in these

foreign countries where the balances are held rather than locally where it is badly needed. The government's main rationale for this is that the local economic base at present cannot productively absorb such a level of funds without creating great disturbances; any sudden injection of the increased oil income will serve only to aggravate inflation and lead to increased expenditure on imported goods.

GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In true pattern of bourgeois economic reasoning with all its inherent contraditions, it is uneconomical to invest that level of monies within the country at the same time that the economy and people are riddled with unattended problems - "real" unemployment is closer to 30% or more. (Note that officially over 50% of the country's human resources between the ages of (15) and (19) are not counted in the labour force). Inflation is running at unprecendented rates (between 1973 and 1974), the index of Retail prices increased by 22% as compared with 3.5% between 1970 and 1971. For food the increase over 1974 was 30% at the same time that the Index of Minimum Wage Rates for Manual Workers increased by just over 11%). Hospital and Health facilities are extremely lacking - hospital workers and staff are continually protesting the conditions under which they work, at one time even refusing to eat the food that some of them are charged with preparing for patients. One word can describe the transportation and road system - "madness". Education is chaotic both structurally and qualitatively as we continue to educate people for jobs that do not exist. Moreover at the impressionable age of 15, youths are thrown out of, not only the education system, but completely out of the productive economy. The bulk of them "cease" to exist even statistically. The important point is that as far as the working masses of people are concerned there has been little change in their standard of living. As a matter of fact their relative position has continued to deteriorate. Indicative of this is the pattern of income distribution in the economy. Whereas in 1957-58 the top 20% of the households received 48.6% of the income and the bottom 20% received 3.4%, by 1971-72, the top 20% was receiving 55.2% of total income and the bottom 20% was receiving 2.2%. A classical case of the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer. Further, it has recently been estimated that as much as 54% of the population received incomes of less than $300.00 per month and close to 80% under $500. per month.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

In terms of government's annual development programme, expenditure as a proportion of total recurrent revenue has been steadily declining since 1972 despite the fact that there have been substantial increases in revenue due to oil, indicating that little of the oil "windfall" has found its way into development expenditure. This ratio dropped from approximately 31% in 1972 to a planned 15% in 1976 reaching what can be an all time low since 1968 of 13% in 1975. A specific area in which the oil bonanza has made substantially more funds available to government for development expenditure is in relation to the Unemployment Levy Fund. The Fund was set up in 1970 and aimed, through taxing incomes above $10,000, at financing programmes and projects designed to reduce the country's high level of unemployment. Since its inception to the end of 1975 $198.1 million has been received into the fund, and to indicate the extent to which the oil "bonanza" has influenced the amounts received as the incomes of the oil companies go up, in 1974 $77.9 million was collected as compared with only $14.6 million in 1973. To date only $54.5 million has been spent, just 29% of total receipts. Of the $54 million, $24.4 million was spent directly on labour intensive projects. The other main area of spending was housing- $19.5 million. (According to the figures, $143.6 million remain in the fund unspent with no clearly identified projects for its expenditure). It is instructive to note that at the time of the fund's inception unemployment was "officially" put at about 12% of the labour force; by the end of 1973 the "official" level was 17%.

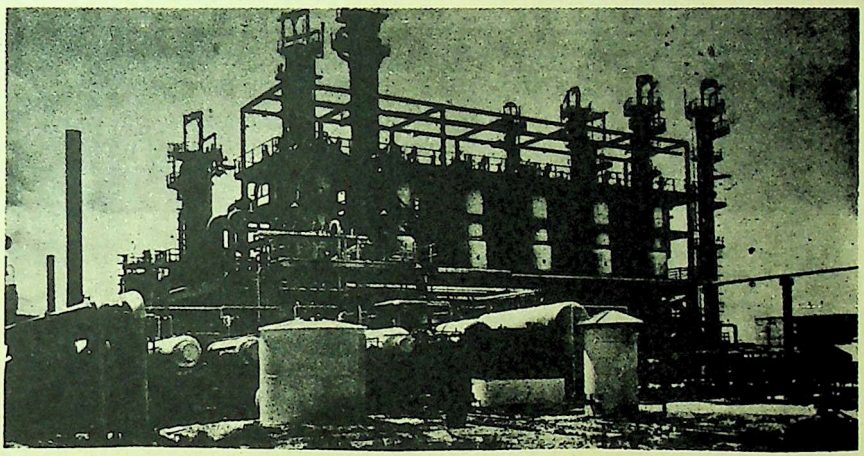
SUBSIDIES

Another area in which some of the increased oil revenue has been spent is government subsidies. According to figures given it would appear that the main purpose of the subsidies in an attempt to cushion the impact on the economy of rapidly rising prices of consumer goods. But given the high import content of local consumption, especially in terms of food, these expenditures are in reality a subsidization of foreign agricultural production. Little is done in terms of the much needed stimulant to the development of local agriculture, which remains an increasingly unprofitable activity with earnings drastically below the national average.
If one were to accept the government's proposition that the economy cannot absorb the present level of oil revenues, then the question arises as to how is the increased oil revenue being utilized to ensure the development of a "highly absorptive economic base".

STATE INTERVENTION

The increased oil revenue has been instrumental in speeding up the process of Government's

direct participation in the economy. However, it is clear that greater government control of industrial and commercial activities in the economy is not one and the same thing as, nor does it necessarily mean, a better standard of living for the broad working masses of people. To date, the Government holds equity in 2 banks, 3 insurance companies, 3 oil companies, 14 manufacturing enterprises, the mass media (a television company and a radio company, 2 sugar companies), a transportation service, 2 finance companies and 6 others. The extent of government's participation can be indicated by the government's equity holdings in industrial and commercial enterprises in the economy. During 1975, government invested over $57 million in various industrial activities (over



Sulphuric acid tank at Texaco, Pointe-a-Pierre.

30% of which was energy based; e.g. Point Lisas, iron and steel, nitrogen company). At the end of 1975, government's portfolio of equity holdings totalled a little more than $222 million representing a 33% increase over the $150 million level at the end of 1974. The range of equity investments is pretty wide and can be identified under three groupings indicating the degree of participation - Fully owned, majority participation, minority interests.

It was estimated that by the end of 1975 approximately $24 million would have been spent on subsidies for imported food items. Between January and November 1975, $11 million was spent on flour - (recently, as a result of threats by the Bakers Association to cut back on production and lay off workers if they are not allowed an increase in the price of bread, the government voted an added $3.6 million subsidy on flour), $8 million on rice, $537 thousand on edible oil, $688 thousand on poultry feed. During this period $37 million was also spent on subsidies "in respect of Petroleum Products" - an expenditure which Dr. Trevor Farrel in his essay "The Great International Chess Game, Oil and the Public Interest" indicated was a senseless giveaway to the foreign oil companies operating here. By contrast, in 1973 subsidies committed to domestic agricultural production totalled just $2 million; in 1971 the total amount actually paid out was $760,000 among 14,000 applicants - a meagre and totally ineffective $54 to each farmer who applied.

LONG TERM DEVELOPMENT

The most substantial "use" of the oil revenues has been what the government identifies as the special fund strategy of long term development. In essence, the strategy is the setting aside of monies in special funds so as to ensure an available source of financing specific long term development programmes and projects that are "supposedly" in the process of being planned. To date there is a special fund for every conceivable thing - Education, Water, Roads, Health, Electricity, Petroleum, Food, Scholarships, Buses, Training, Drainage, Sports, Housing, etc. - numbering 21 in all.

The scheme was started in 1974 and over the two years to the end of 1975, a total appropriation of $1,103.6 million was made to the scheme. With interest accruing at $35.9 million, the total income of the scheme stood at $1,139.5 million. Of this amount only $174.8 million or 15% was spent, the bulk of which (164.5 million or 95% of total spent) was disbursed under the

Petroleum Development Fund (purchase of "Shell" etc.). So that at the end of 1975, the unspent balance in the scheme after two years of operation stood at $964.7 million. It is the bulk of this money that is held as balances in banks abroad.

The 1976 budget makes a further appropriation of $830.1 million to the scheme bringing the total income of the scheme to date up to $2092.7 million (estimating interest in 1976 at $123.1 million). One can expect a substantial increase in balances in foreign banks over 1976. The overall target of the scheme is $5,564.5. A breakdown over the specific funds indicates precisely where government priority lies. Just under half of the overall target and over 52% of the appropriation made to date accrue to the Petroleum Development Fund. The Food Development Fund (including sugar) - an area where there is crying need for a whole range of developments is earmarked for only 4.5% of the overall target and has so far received only 2.6% of the total appropriations.

The problem with the fund strategy is more than a mechanism for administering funds; what is needed is the appropriate and adequate mechanism for identifying, planning and implementing projects that can begin to make some headway in staving off the present high level of imported inflationary pressures and make productive employment available to the rapidly increasing labour force. Yet this is precisely what does not exist. In the face of drastic need for agricultural development especially in terms of domestic food production, $30 million has been appropriated to a special Food Development Fund over the past two years with a target of $200 million, but to date expenditures totalling only 3.6 million dollars (just over 10% of the total appropriations) have been identified. More than that in reality only $1.1 million has been actually spent, just a little more than the interest that accrued to the fund.

What we have in essence then is rapidly increasing oil revenues accruing to the government, billion dollar budget-making and the pigeonholing "onpaper" of funds that are held outside the country, but most importantly, no mechanism conceptual or otherwise which can ensure the benefits of the increased oil revenue accure to the broad masses of people in terms of better conditions and standard of living, available productive employment, etc. It is ironical that the Budget Speech delivered by the Prime Minister himself recognizes the folly of the situation:-

> "The results (of Food Development Fund) have so far been totally uninspiring and serve as a warning that it is not enough to allocate money for a project if there is no corresponding vision, dedication or understanding of the objectives". (Budget Speech, 1976 -pg.12)

Stalin's calypso for 1976 in which he demands his "piece of the action" accurately captures the contradiction. In one verse he significantly says:-

> "Every Morning
> Every Evening
> All ah hearing
> Is big Budget making
> Yuh keep saying
> That is me yuh helping
> Mr. Divider
> Stop yuh mamaguying"

NBM Research Bureau

Dimensions of Racial Conflict

The article below is extracted from an essay, Perspectives on the Indo-Caribbean Question, in a forthcoming New Beginning publication - Indo-West Indians and Black Power by Wally Look Lai. The above essay was completed by the author in July,1974, and therefore precedes the formation of the United Labour Front. Caribbean Dialogue print this extract because of the fundamental importance of the Indian-African question in the struggle for workers and farmers power.

The escalation of racial tensions within the last 20 years is the result of two factors: firstly, the rise of the Indian middle class as a competitive force against the older African middle class; and secondly, the withdrawal of British colonialism (partly as a result of the international struggles of colonial peoples, including the people of the Caribbean; partly because of declining interest in the region by British capitalism). It is the struggle between the African and Indian middle class for State Power in the '50s and '60s, viewed as it was by both sides as a power base for continuing the competition between them begun under colonialism, that paved the way for open racial conflict and the further fragmentation of the working class and peasantry.

THE ECONOMIC QUESTION

It is vital at this stage to introduce certain perspectives on the Indian/African question which have been totally missing from all debate within the society so far.

BACKGROUND

The economic dilemma is usually described in racial terms i.e. as a dilemma affecting the Indian community as a whole. This is accurate only in the sense that all sections within the community (barring a few big capitalists and farmers) tend to be excluded from the material opportunities open under the present system, made up as it is of an alliance between the imperialists, the white creole upper class, and a section of the African middle class. There are two distinct classes within the Indian community who are being affected by the system in quite different ways: the workers and farmers on the one hand, and the rising middle class on the other.

The emphasis in any economic solution must be mainly on the problems of the Indian workers and farmers, who form the vast majority of the Indian community. It is superficial to concentrate solely upon the problems of the new middle class, who - while they form an important section of the community - are nevertheless a small minority. Even if the middle class were to have all their demands satisfied, the majority of Indians would still be living in misery and deprivation, for none of these demands centre on their own basic plight as oppressed workers and farmers. Once the question is posed in this way, two things become immediately obvious: first, that no solution of the plight of the Indian workers and farmers can be posed which is not also a solution for <u>all</u> workers and farmers in the society; and secondly, that such a solution clearly implies the abolition of the social system which is based upon the oppression of the workers and farmers. In other words, the solution to the Indian economic dilemma, and the mass struggle for socialism, become ultimately one and the same thing.

THE CLASS QUESTION

Once the class basis of the solution to the Indian economic dilemma is understood, we can go on to concentrate on the special problems of the Indian middle class. The present system, with Whites dominating the private sector to the detriment of the other races, and the Africans dominating the public sector at the expense of the Indians, must be broken down. As long as this basic level of integration is not achieved, the Indian middle class will constantly be compelled to throw up ethnically self-sufficient enterprises for its own survival, thereby constantly exposing itself to the charge of "racialism" from the other races. In so far as there is to be official assistance to indigenous entrepreneurs (for clearly, in the initial phases of a Revolution, there will still be capitalist activity of some kind, the major difference being that they will be under the strict scrutiny of the nationally self-organised bodies of workers and farmers) the Indian capitalist must be allowed to share equally with the other races in whatever opportunities are made available. The important thing about these measures is that they must be made only as <u>additional</u> to the central measures dealing with the workers and farmers, and not as <u>substitutes</u> for them - which is what all the middle class groups in the society (including the

Indian middle class groups) are trying to encourage. (Indeed the problems of the Indian middle class are really quite capable of being dealt with under the existing system, and to some extent are already being dealt with since 1970). <u>The Indian problem is a worker and farmer problem first and foremost - all else follows after</u>.

The same class divisions inside the Indian community reflect themselves on the question of political power. The present political system is completely dominated by the African middle class, to the detriment of the African masses, the Indian masses, as well as the Indian middle class. Under the orthodox two-party political system, the Indian middle class party - following the example of its African counterpart - has always been able to exploit its influence upon the Indian masses to capture a substantial number of seats in Parliament. Because Indians form a minority in the society, however, the power which it seems to have by its parliamentary representation is always an illusory one, since it is permanent-

ly relegated to the status of a parliamentary opposition, with all the powerlessness that this implies. The Indian masses, on the other hand, like their African counterparts, are totally excluded from the political system

While therefore it may be superficially accurate to say that the Indian community as a whole is shut out of the political system, it has to be clearly grasped that both classes within the community are excluded in completely different ways. One (the middle class) is powerless because of the way in which the parliamentary system is being run at present (two-party system; ethnic politics); whereas the other (workers and farmers) is powerless because of the very existence of the parliamentary system itself. Thus whereas the former can solve its problems either by forming alliances with African middle class parties, on the one hand, or by agitating for a system of proportional representation, on the other; the latter can only assert its power by moving against the entire parliamentary system itself, and seeking to replace it with a totally different concept of popular institution. Moreover, such a move can only be effective if there is an active alliance with all sections of the population equally dispossessed by the parliamentary system i.e. the African workers and farmers. Once again, it becomes clear that the solution to the Indian political dilemma, and the mass struggle for socialism - which is the class rule of workers and farmers, self-organised in their own assemblies on a national scale - are really one and the same thing.

> no solution of the plight of the Indian workers and farmers can be posed which is not also a solution of all workers and farmers in the society --- the solution to the Indian economic dilemma, and the mass struggle for socialism, became ultimately one and the same thing.

THE CULTURAL QUESTION

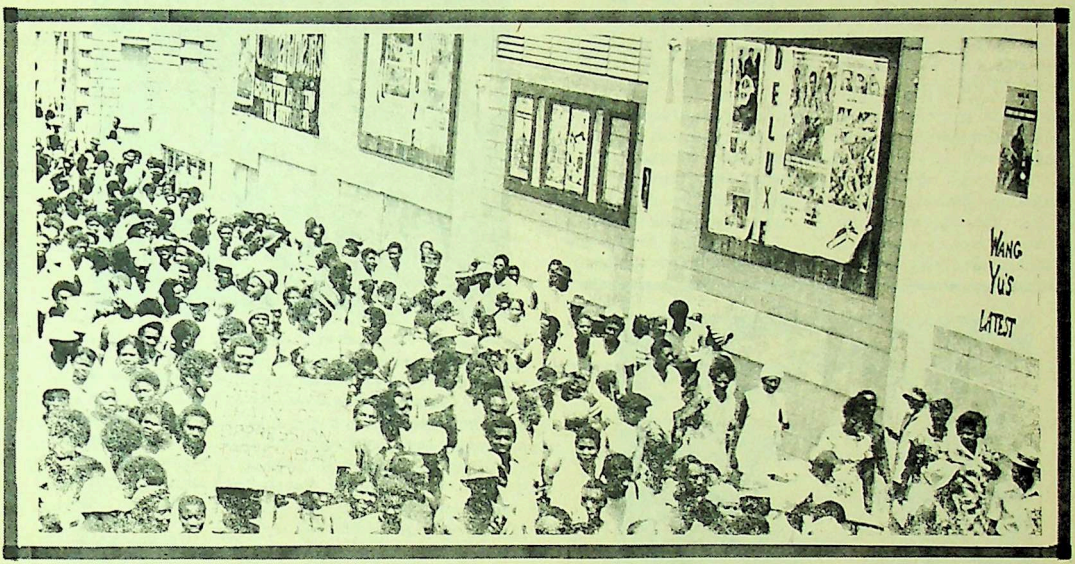
A lot of harm has been caused by this inability to come to terms with the Eastern presence in the Caribbean. By constantly viewing the Indian as a problem, rather than as a vital new dimension on the Caribbean spiritual horizon, society has forced him on the defensive, and made him even more intransigent in his determination to preserve his individuality, than might have been the case if society had genuinely opened itself up to him. What is more, the orthodox social attitude - wavering as it does between the two equally unacceptable extremes of psychologically dismissing him on the one hand, and attempting to integrate him into the Africa/Europe syndrome on the other - has led to the most peculiar results. Every act of self-preservation by the Indian in the face of his colonial environment, every act of resistance put up by him in his solitary struggle against the coloniser, instead of being valued by the society for what these represent - the independent and laudable achievements of an oppressed people struggling against their colonial oppressors - has instead been condemned as "separatist" and "racialist" by the very people who ought most to understand the meaning of these struggles - Africans.

Thus in a land where Africans struggle to build an independent economic base for themselves as a protection against the economic domination of the Whites, the Indians' limited achievements in this field - instead of being admired or emulated - are being constantly viewed with suspicion. In a land where Africans struggle to build grassroots community organisations and establish a tradition of self-help to put the people on their own feet, rather than have them depend upon the whims of the State, no one appreciates that this is precisely what the Indians have been doing all along - mobilising themselves internally to take care of the economic, educational, religious and cultural needs of their people. (Even where society has recognised this fact, it is interpreted not as evidence of success deserving praise by the entire community, but simply as yet another example of Indian "separatism" and "racialism"!) In a land where Africans bemoan the loss of their ancestral heritage and culture, and seek to restore racial and cultural pride among their people, Indians are condemned for seeking to do exactly the same things among their own people. The value of African cultural organisations like the African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA) in Guyana is recognised, but similar organisations among the Indians are condemned as "racialist". By condemning the Indians' loyalties to their religions (Hinduism and Islam) as divisive and reactionary, they blind themselves to the fact that it is precisely these religious bases which have so far given the Indians the strength to resist the coloniser in the Caribbean, and to build up all those institutions of self-help without which the community would never been able to survive. They are thus unable to account for what, on this view, would appear to be a contradiction: that in Trinidad today the most revolutionary section of the Indian community, and indeed of the entire working class of Trinidad - the sugar workers and farmers - also happen to be the most orthodox Hindus! They fail to see, moreover, that it is precisely the unifying force of their religion which has helped to mould large sections of the

CONTINUE ON INSIDE BACK COVER

Post-Independence Struggles

and the emergence of the U.L.F



The organized political forces in Trinidad and Tobago on the attainment of independence on August 31, 1962, were represented by two political parties whose politics was based on race - the People's National Movement (PNM) led by Dr. Eric Williams and based almost exclusively on that section of the population of African descent, and the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) led by Dr. Rudranath Capildeo and based on the East Indian section of the population. The struggle between these two political forces was about who will benefit most from capitalist/imperialist development (East Indians or Africans) and consequently which party must oversee further imperialist penetration of the economy and society.

Significantly, while the two main racial sectors of the middle-class were fighting for parliamentary power to manage the imperialist dominated economy and to award material benefits and social privileges to their respective racial base, the working-class began its preparation through internal struggles to defend itself against imperialist capital and to lay the basis for its re-emergence on the historic stage as an independent political force. These internal struggles began in the most advanced capitalist sector of the economy - the oil industry - and in the African section of the working-class - the oil workers. The struggles within the Oilfield Workers Trade Union (OWTU) then led by John Rojas, an arch local colonialist, resulted in the formation of the Rebel Group that eventually captured the leadership of the union in 1962. The man who has led the Rebel Group from its inception as a faction within the OWTU to the present day is an "advanced worker" that reflected then and reflects now the political instinct, caution and militancy of the working-class - GEORGE WEEKES.

After 1962, the PNM and Eric Williams reigned supreme on the official political scene as the DLP declined as a result of internal wrangling and factional splits that reflected the political weaknesses of the East Indian middle-class. The rebel leadership of the OWTU, on the other hand began to consolidate power and carried out a programme of re-organization and democratization within the union. Another rebel group, led by Joe Young, among public transport workers took over the leadership of the Transport and Industrial Workers Union (TIWU). In an attempt

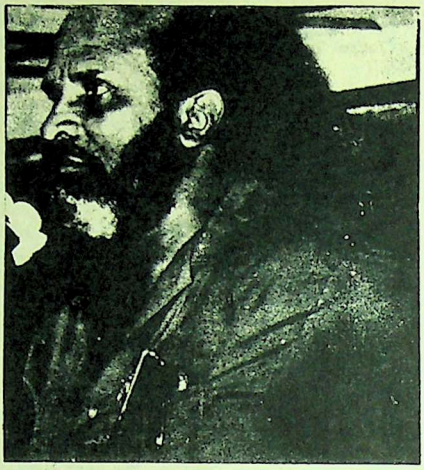
to unite the labour movement as an independent force, the OWTU leadership carried on the struggle within the Trade Union Congress (TUC) and with the support of a number of other unions George Weekes was elected Chairman of the TUC. But the overtly capitalist labour leadership in the TUC in alliance with the state and imperialist capital proved too powerful for the rebel leadership of the OWTU. The immediate issue that brought political conflicts into the open was the struggle of sugar workers against their union leadership.

The leadership of the sugar workers union which was/is composed of almost exclusively East Indians was one man - Bhadase Sagan Maharaj - the Trinidad version of papa-doc Duvalier. Bhadase's power within the union as his power within the DLP was based on his caste and leadership position within the East Indian Hindu religion and his mafia-type armed organization.

DR. ERIC WILLIAMS

SUGAR WORKERS STRUGGLE

At the end of 1964, the East Indian sugar workers began an underground struggle against their union leadership and to link-up with the Afro-dominated and militant OWTU. Secret Workers' Committees were formed in sugar factories and on estates and linked on an industry-wide basis. A delegation from these committees approached George Weekes and the leadership of OWTU for assistance in their struggle and to join the OWTU. The nationalist faction of the OWTU leadership opposed intervention into the sugar workers struggle but couched their political opposition in economistic language and fear of Bhadase's armed gang. Weekes and the radical faction openly supported the sugar workers against Bhadase. Nonetheless, the sugar workers committees had to fall back on the



GEORGE WEEKES

internal strength of the sugar workers and in 1965 the workers shut down the entire sugar industry, sabotaged the factories, burned canefields and attacked some of Bhadase's henchmen. Weekes, as head of the Labour Congress, demanded that the Congress take a stand on the side of the Sugar Workers and against Bhadase. The Williams regime declared a State of Emergency and sent the armed forces into the sugar belt to crush the workers' struggle. In the meantime, Bhadase took his mafia-organized union out of the TUC together with other capitalist dominated unions. These unions called for the resignation of Weekes and in alliance with the State attempted to weaken the OWTU and depose Weekes from the leadership of the union. On the insistence of the oil workers, Weekes resigned from the TUC and concentrated his efforts on strengthening the OWTU. The capitalist unions re-entered the Labour Congress, and Weekes pulled the OWTU out of the Congress.

In order to control the working-class under the hegemony of imperialist capital, and to break the strength of the radical section of the labour movement, the Williams regime hastily introduced the Industrial Stabilization Act (ISA) which was rushed through Parliament in two days. The ISA virtually banned strikes, and an Industrial Court was set up as an arm of the state to regulate class conflict.

The 1965 workers' struggle resulted in the emergence of a newspaper, We the People, that was started by C.L.R. James and the Workers and Farmers Party (WFP) with Stephen Maharaj as political leader and C.L.R. James as general secretary (Stephen Maharaj resigned as the leader of the DLP over the ISA which the DLP sup-

ported, and C.L.R. James was placed under house arrest during the sugar workers struggle. James had returned to Trinidad from England to cover a test cricket series for British newspapers). The WFP was short-lived, but its very formation opened a new phase in the political life of the society.

GATHERING FORCES

Following the State of Emergency and the enactment of the ISA, the state and the TUC in alliance with the imperialists began a propaganda campaign against the "communists" in the WFP and the Unions. A Commission of Enquiry into Subversive Activities was set up that resulted in the ban of all left and progressive literature entering the country. The U.S. imperialists through the AIFLD intervened directly into the political situation so much so that the General Secretary of the AIFLD speaking in 1968 on the AIFLD's involvement in the Caribbean labour movement could have said: "most of our activities have been concentrated in Trinidad --- we have a full-time office established in Trinidad and its purpose is to preserve the OWTU for the democratic trade union movement. Its present leadership (Weekes etc. - ed.) is being challenged by a group of leaders who are dedicated to the free trade-union movement. The petroleum industry is one of the most vital industries in the Caribbean and Central America".

In the period between 1965 and 1970, the working-class political forces were gathering for a mass onslaught on capitalist relations and the PNM-state. Employed workers in <u>every</u> sector of the social economy were flouting the I.S.A. by engaging in wild-cat strikes, sit-ins, sick-outs, etc.; unemployeds were organizing in political cells around the rallying cry: Black power; students were rebelling in the schools; fishermen and farmers were taking various forms of protest actions; all institutions in the society (even in sports and carnival) were being torn apart by internal class conflict and struggles. Within the armed forces internal conflicts burst into open struggle. In 1968, the militant and left unions (OWTU, TIWU, workers at the University etc.) formed the Council of Progressive Trade Unions (CPTU) and the working-class in general was gravitating to the CPTU. The electricity workers waged a heroic struggle to join the OWTU and were eventually victorious. In early 1969, the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC) was formed, and later that same year the sugar workers and farmers began another underground struggle against Bhadase and the state. The state could no longer contain the gathering forces of the workers, farmers and students and by early March, 1970 the spontaneous mass movement exploded.

---- in the latter half of 1971, the workers intensified their struggle. Workers in telephone, on the waterfront and on agricultural estates began an intensive struggle to join the OWTU, while commercial workers and workers in small manufacturing plants were moving to TIWU. The very survival of the leadership of the Trade Union Congress was threatened as the majority of the working-class was struggling to mobilize their forces under the militant left labour leadership.

MASS EXPLOSION

The 1970 mass rebellion was led by the unemployed and students with NJAC as the populist vanguard organization. For eight weeks, the massive upheaval continued with marches, demonstrations and mass rallies reaching the astonishing figure of 100,000 people at any one time on the streets. The employed workers and farmers took <u>independent</u> mass actions at their places of work and in the rural villages. The East Indian sugar workers shut down the sugar industry and called on the African leadership of OWTU and NJAC for support and assistance. The CPTU, NJAC and other progressive forces planned a mammoth demonstration from San Fernando to Port-of-Spain on April 21 that would involve all sections of the working-class, farmers, students etc. The intention was to effect a general strike and demand the

resignation of the Williams Government. The capitalist TUC through its leader, Clive Spencer, who was head of the Seamen and Waterfront Workers Trade Union, demanded that the Government act immediately to crush the movement and told Williams of preparations for an army rebellion. A certain reformist intellectual, parading as the logical inheritor of Williams' crown and the new benevolent democratic king who alone could save the situation, met secretly with a high-ranking PNM member and appraised that member of what was being planned.
On the night of April 20, Williams declared a State of Emergency, arrested the "leaders" of the rebellion, and called on the U.S., Venezuela and other Caribbean governments for military assistance. The majority of soldiers in the army rebelled and seized control of the main army base under the leadership of Raffique Shah and Rex Lasalle. Soldiers at a small army camp in the capital burnt their barracks and "disappeared". (see interview with Shah in this issue). Leading members of the Cabinet left their homes and had a helicopter on 24-hours stand-by. Due to the absence of a coherent revolutionary vanguard organization with a theory of and strategy and tactics for power, and the lack of mass organizations of the working-class linked and unified on a national scale, the 1970 rebellion was eventually smothered.

POLARIZATION

However, though the rebellion was smothered, the workers movement was neither crushed nor defeated and in the latter half of 1971 the workers intensified their struggle. Workers in telephone, on the waterfront and on agricultural estates began an intensive struggle to join the OWTU while commercial workers and workers in small manufacturing plants were moving to TIWU. The very survival of the leadership of the TUC was once again threatened as the majority of the working-class was struggling to mobilize their forces under the militant left leadership of the CPTU.

Towards the end of 1971 the OWTU was engaged in a struggle against Badger Pan American, a subsidiary of Texaco, that was constructing a desulphurization plant at Texaco. This conflict was highlighted with Badger's personnel being forced to leave Trinidad as workers physically confronted company officials and sacked the company's office. Workers at the waterfront came out openly against their union leadership and for membership in the OWTU, and sacked management offices throwing all movable equipment out the office windows. The leadership of the TUC accused the OWTU of "poaching", threatened to boycott all materials destined for the oil companies and gave the Government an ultimatum: act now to stop Weekes or face a general strike. The management of Texaco and Badger demanded firm guarantees that there would be an end to wide-spread labour unrest. Williams acted swiftly; arrested leaders of the left section of the labour movement together with others, repealed the I.S.A. and replaced it with the more repressive Industrial Relations Act (IRA).
But the IRA was as ineffective as its predecessor, the ISA. Workers intensified their struggles as the imperialist inflation began to send shock waves through the economy. Retrenchment of workers became wide-spread and workers retaliated with wildcat strikes at the slightest hint of changes in production. However, the most important workers' struggles that took place between 1972 and 1975 were internal struggles within the unions that were to form the ULF.

O.W.T.U.

Whilst Weekes was in prison two members of the OWTU's executive, Verne Edwards and Lionel Beckles, who led the PNM-nationalist faction of the leadership made their bid for power. Immediately after the State of Emergency was delcared on April 21, 1970, the General Council of the OWTU at an emergency meeting was about to call for a general strike in the oil industry that would have changed the outcome of the 1970 struggle, when Verne Edwards as acting President-General and Lionel Beckles as General Secretary engineered a resolution giving the executive the power to call the strike "at the right time". "The right time" never came.

The first phase of the internal struggle was to have Weekes, Lionel Bannister and Irvin Noel, the leaders of the militant faction, charged with conspiring to defraud the OWTU. Police seized the union books and laid charges against Weekes and others. After his release from prison, Weekes, Bannister, Noel and others mobilized the rank-and-file workers against the Edwards/Beckles faction that was eventually expelled from the union after attempting to save themselves through a prolonged legal battle. With unchallengeable power at the leadership of the OWTU, Weekes began, as best he knew, to prepare the OWTU for conscious political struggle.

SUGAR WORKERS

Among sugar workers, the death of Bhadase Maharaj triggered an upsurge in workers activity, as they began to search for new ways and means of organizing their struggle. A rebel group formed a new union, but the post-Bhadase leadership of the officially recognized union - Dickson Emery and Rampartapsingh - unleashed

Bhadase's gang on the rebel leaders. By 1973, wild-cat strikes were wide-spread in the sugar industry and neither union nor state could contain the workers. A wild-cat strike at Orange Grove Sugar Company (state-owned) for the removal of certain management personnel turned into a struggle against both union and state and for Workers Control. Sugar workers began revoking their membership of the union and workers' committees emerged in every section of the sugar industry. These committees formed an industry-wide co-ordinating body- the Sugar Workers' Committee. The official union leadership unable to contain the workers' struggle approached Basdeo Panday, a lawyer and legal advisor to the OWTU, to head the union. Although Panday was not acceptable to some members of the executive, he was recognized as the only person with popular support who could salvage the disintegrating union. Panday accepted.

The two factors which attracted the mass of workers to Panday were his links with the OWTU and his left orientation (he was in the leadership of the WFP in the mid-sixties). At first Panday vacillated between compromise with the old leadership and maintaining his popular base among the workers. With every move towards compromise that Panday made, the rank-and-file workers pushed him to the left, and they were prepared to confront him physically, if necessary. As a result of intensive mass struggles the old gangster leadership was expelled and a progressive, leftist-leaning leadership around Panday took control of the Union.

SUGAR FARMERS

The struggle of one section of the working-class enhances the struggle of other sectors of working people. This was clearly shown in the struggles of the cane farmers who were forced by the state to pay a "cess" to the Trinidad Cane Farmers Association (TICFA). Under the provisions of the Cane Farmers' Incorporation and Ordinance Act passed in 1965, all cane farmers were compelled to negotiate any increase in payment for their crop through this Association, headed by Norman Girwar. The state decreed that no other union or association could represent the cane farmers.

In the late 60's, small groups of farmers began organizing for the repeal of this Act, and the removal of Girwar and his gang from the union. The farmers, many of whom were also workers on the plantation, began to link their struggle with the workers. They refused to cut their cane when workers were on strike.

In defiance of the state, and its laws, the farmers with the assistance of James Millette and the leadership of UNIP, formed the Island Wide Cane Farmers Trade Union (ICFTU) in 1970 and registered the Union in 1973. By the time Raffique Shah became involved in the farmers struggle after his release from prison, their convictions were so strong that they were destroying their own crops to show that they would accept no compromise. The only solution acceptable was a repeal of Act 1 and the recognition of ICFTU by the state. Continuing the process he began in the Army, Shah took a militant and left position and began to strengthen the linkages in struggle between workers and farmers, and advanced the farmers struggle against the state for repeal of Act 1. At the request of the farmers he was elected as the President-General of the "rebel union" (ICFTU).

With the intensification of mass struggles in every section of the working-class and farming-class, with the formation of an armed guerilla underground - the National United Freedom Fighters (NUFF) - by a section of the unemployed and young workers that surfaced in 1973 and attacked police stations, sabotaged imperialist property and seized funds from imperialist banks; with the capture of the leadership in the sugar workers and oilfield workers union by the militant and leftist factions and with the popular mass base of the ICFTU, the objective conditions were laid and the subjective leadership elements had emerged for the formation of an organized political movement of workers and farmers by the beginning of 1975.

The OWTU and TIWU have had a long and close relationship in struggle since 1965 and Panday was both legal and political advisor to the leadership of OWTU. Members of the leadership of TIWU and OWTU and Shah were directly involved in the 1970 mass rebellion and were in prison together. Besides, in the struggle against the state, Shah, and the ICFTU needed the backing of more powerful and militant unions. After a few months of close alliance in struggle and joint meetings of the General Councils of OWTU, TIWU, ICFTU and the sugar workers union, the United Labour Front (ULF) was born on February 18, 1975, with a massive rally of 40,000 odd workers, farmers and students.

George Weekes

—20 years of Working-class struggle

GEORGE WEEKES has been and remains the most controversial political figure in Trinidad and Tobago. Due to the political bankruptcy of the professional section of this class, and as leader of the powerful and militant Oilfield Workers Trade Union (OWTU), the position of de facto leader of working-class political resistance to the Williams regime, the local ruling class and the imperialists has fallen to George Weekes.

Weekes came from deep inside the bowels of the industrial sector of the working-class.

He has been placed under house arrest, thrown in prison, physically brutalized by the police and faces persistent attack from the local ruling class including the present leaders of the TUC and the mass media. His voice and picture together with those of other U.L.F. leaders were even banned from radio and T.V. during 1975.

The exclusive interview reproduced below traces the emergence of Weekes to the labour leadership of oil workers and his struggle to strengthen the democratic power of the working people. The interview was recorded in January, 1976, in Trinidad and Tobago by Darcus Howe, editor of Race Today, for Caribbean Dialogue and Race Today.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS

Before we get into the period of your activity in the OWTU, could we discuss your early years: where you were born, who were your parents and your years in school?

I was born in the fishing village of Toco on the north-east coast of Trinidad. My father was headteacher of Toco Anglican School for about 25 years. My mother, Rebecca Weekes, is still alive. My father was an active member of the Trinidad and Tobago Union of Teachers, and he travelled from Toco to Port-of-Spain on union business, fighting against the oppression of the priest who was in charge of the Church and school. This I think led me to keep on thinking about trade unions.

What other schools did you attend and what was your first job after leaving school?

I left Toco at the age of 13 and went to Tranquillity Boys School in Port-of-Spain. I was not particularly bright; so I left school and was unemployed for a period of time. Then the War started.

And you joined the Volunteer Corps?

Yes. I was a volunteer in the Overseas Service for about two years, and while in the service in the Middle East and Italy, I was able to get literature that made me think about socialism.

Could you give us some idea of how you got into the oil industry and your union activities up to the time of your election as President-General?

I got into the oil industry after I returned from the Second World War. There was a vacancy in oil and I was able to get the job. But before I was very active in the Butler Movement. I was introduced to the Butler Movement by James Lynch, an old Butlerite, who is now employed with the OWTU. I got my first opportunity to speak on a public platform by James Lynch. Immediately after the War (around 1946), I was active in the sugar industry, and as a result of my experience in the Butler Movement and being a Butlerite, when I became an employee of Trinidad Leasehold Ltd. (T.L.C.) - purchased by Texaco in the 1950's - I refused to associate myself with the OWTU.

Why was that so?

Because of my dislike for the policies being pursued then by the OWTU's leadership under John Rojas and Carl Mentor. They took a conservative line and collaborated with the employers. Then it dawned on me that I should fight the leadership from within. I was a refinery pipefitter at the time.

THE STRUGGLE BEGINS

Could you give us some idea of the kind of regime Rojas led at the time, with some examples, and the struggles you were involved in?

Rojas and Mentor ran a very undemocratic and dictatorial regime, and since they collaborated with the company, T.L.L., opposition was not allowed. Anyone known to the critical of the leadership was victimized. So there was great fear (among the workers) but because of a

counter-fear on the part of the Company for the Butler Movement which at that time was struggling against Rojas and Co., I was able to get together with other Butlerites and form what was called The Rebel Group.

The Rebel Group was formed in the largest section of the oil industry, the refinery at Pointe-a-Pierre, where some 3,000 workers were employed. That branch was fully in support of the Rojas regime which had them under control through the union officers and Company officials. The Rebel task, therefore, was to begin a new awakening.

At our Annual Conference, delegates were usually hand-picked by the leaders and supporters of the Rojas regime. So that Rojas supporters in the Pointe-a-Pierre branch were able to dictate the Conference. We forced the leaders to hold democratic elections by bringing in the Registrar of Trade Unions to supervise the elections and see that no dirty tricks were played - padding of the ballot boxes, etc. We were able to win over the Pointe-a-Pierre branch and capture the leadership in 1956, and that is when things began to roll. We were further able to amend the constitution thereby removing the elections of executive officers by the delegate system and replacing it by adult franchise whereby every worker could vote for the executive officer of his/her choice.

Did you get any assistance in that struggle from political activists outside of the workers themselves in the Union? I remember that around this time there was the West Indian Independence Party with people like John La Rose. Were they involved in assisting you in the struggle against Rojas?

Yes. I would say that they assisted us quite alot. They were able to guide me, and indeed it was John La Rose and Lennox Pierre who further developed my mind along socialist lines by the classes that were held in different areas. They showed us the new approach that should be used and guided us in the overthrow of the Rojas regime.

THE REBELS VS ROJAS

There is a period I remember as a school boy when there was a major strike in the oil industry. I think it was in the late 1950's while Rojas was still President-General of the Union. Were you active in that strike and could you recall the main issues and what happened? What role did Rojas play?

Well, that was in 1960 when we went on strike for 18 days. It was the first official strike by the OWTU and it was the Rebels that forced Rojas to make the strike official. At that time I was part of the negotiating team as president of the Pointe-a-Pierre Branch. The Company did not assist Rojas by making any realistic proposals, and saw the conflict between the Rebels and Rojas as an opportunity to hold the workers down. Indeed, the agreement reached was for only a 3% increase. The Rebels held demonstrations and pressured Rojas, in particular his executive, to call a strike.

I remember the appeal by Rojas for some understanding on the part of the Company to avoid a strike. The Company did not believe that the workers would go on strike, moreso as the union's executive was saying that the workers would not strike because they have fridge, homes and families to provide for, and that they were better off than most of the people.

I remember the afternoon in July, about 2:15 p.m., when we withdrew from the conference table and prepared a letter giving the Company 48 hours notice of our intention to strike. The Company was shocked. Never would I forget the enthusiasm of the workers. One hour before the deadline, workers stopped work and began marching around the refinery and singing. When Rojas heard that thousands of workers had left their jobs, be began to tremble.

GEORGE WEEKES

Rojas did not meet us at the refinery gate, but joined the march in San Fernando when he was sure of the massive response of the workers. When we got to San Fernando, Rojas climbed on top of the union car waving to the crowd trying to show that he had a mass following. It was as a result of that strike that oil workers realized their power.

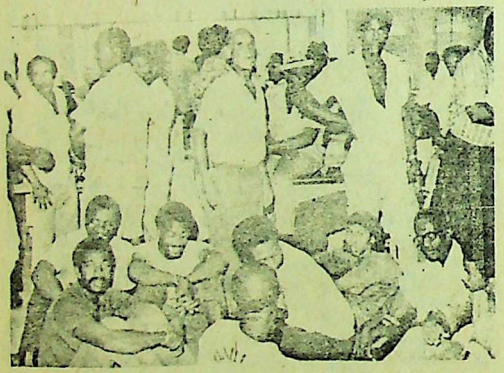
Did you win that struggle? In other words, were your demands accepted?

Whereas before we would get a 2¢ or 3¢ increase, on this occasion we won a 22% increase in wages. In addition, we laid the foundation for a 40-hour week and increased benefits generally.

REBELS COME TO POWER

George, could you tell us how the Rebel Group came to power in the Union in 1962 and what motivated you to challenge Rojas for the position of President-General?

Well, after our success in amending the constitution to bring in the rank-and-file into active participation in the elections, it was agreed that as president of the largest branch within the Union with support in other areas in addition to Pointe-a-Pierre I would be the best one to challenge Rojas even though I objected to it. I did not want to stand for election

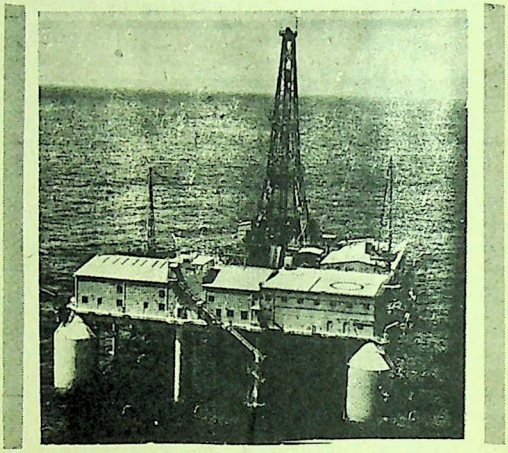


but I was strongly influenced by other members. When Rojas saw that there was a serious challenge to his leadership, he did not fight the elections and resigned. He charged the Rebels with being Communist-led and influenced and said that we were out to create chaos. By then the whole political situation had changed; Rojas became a supporter of the PNM joined the Party and was appointed a Senator by Williams.

ATTEMPTS AT CO-OPTATION

Could you give us some idea of what happened after the Rebel Group came to power in 1962?

Soon after the Union elections, Trinidad attained independence; it was on August 31, 1962. Williams invited me to hold discussions with him on the future of the oil industry and the country and to accompany him to the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference in London. The possible entry of the U.K. into the ECM was the main issue. Williams posed many questions to me, such as: should the U.K. join the ECM? How would it affect the oil industry



I think Williams was making a desperate attempt to win us over but he did not succeed.

Also, Company officials offered me all kinds of positions and facilities, and told me that they knew my salary was small and if I needed anything while in London, I should telephone them. I rejected these offers outright.

THE STRUGGLE SHARPENS

After I returned from London, we began negotiations with Texaco and won a 20% increase in wages. We supported the Transport and Industrial Workers Union (TIWU) and other unions that were taking positive action. In 1963, we forced Rojas to resign from the Trade Union Congress (TUC) and I was elected President of the TUC. There were many workers' strikes and as President of the TUC I was very active in trade union work in the country.

By that time the leadership of the OWTU appeared to be in open opposition to the PNM regime. Was there a movement, however small, within your union against what you were doing?

Yes. A minority of Executive members was showing signs of opposition but they were pushed by the majority. The PNM began to propagandize that it was not against trade union struggles,

but that I was turning the union struggles into political struggles. The PNM was able to convince some members of the union that I was joining the Indian sugar workers struggle to overthrow African political leaders because the East Indians were anti-PNM. TUC members were approached by the PNM and the leadership of TUC-affiliated unions began taking decisions in their local unions calling for my resignation as President of the TUC. I think this was an attempt to get me out of the political arena. I realized that elections in the union was due (1965) and with the propaganda that the PNM was spreading among oil workers, it was necessary for me to concentrate more of my work in oil.

What about the sugar workers' struggle in 1965?

The conflict over my leadership of the TUC came to a climax with the strike in the sugar industry. The sugar workers were attempting to get rid of Bhadase Sagan Maharaj as leader of their union and they made an appeal to the TUC for help. The workers said that they wanted the President-General of the OWTU to lead them. We (OWTU) told the sugar workers that under our constitution we could not represent them as we were limited strictly to workers in the oil and chemicals industry. However, they asked us for assistance in their struggle and we gave them as much help as e could.

I also invited the sugar workers to meet with the TUC leaders who supported the workers and gave me a mandate to assist the sugar workers in their struggle against Bhadase. When the workers shut down the entire sugar industry, Bhadase organized his relatives and henchmen to break the strike - they drove the trucks, loaded and unloaded cane and so on.

The struggle of the sugar workers was not just for an increase in wages, but for democracy in the union; a democratic practice similar to what the oil workers enjoyed. The strike was so powerful that Williams, in order to save the situation and Bhadase, declared a State of Emergency and placed me under house arrest.

POLITICAL STRUGGLE

It was during the strike in sugar that Williams passed the ISA. Could you tell us why the ISA was passed at that time?

Well, the ISA was passed during the explosion in the sugar industry in 1965. Word began to circulate to the effect that the Act was passed because of my entry into the sugar workers struggle as a means to overthrow the Government and capture power. The PNM attempted to use this propaganda and the Commission's report against me during the union elections.

The PNM put up a candidate, Lasaldo, to fight me for the leadership of the union. He was financed by the PNM and Bhadase Maharaj. They gave him vehicles, printing facilities etc., and literature was published calling me "red", "communist" and so on. In the end, however, I won an overwhelming victory.

In 1966, you joined the Workers and Farmers Party (WFP) and lost your deposit in the national elections as all the other WFP candidates. Did you make any criticisms of the course you took at that time?

I was very popular in the sugar industry and sugar workers (almost exclusively East Indians-ed.) were prepared to support me though there were doubts in the minds of many oil workers because of the racial problem (African - Indian conflict - ed.), particularly as the DLP and the newspapers were blowing up the possibility of an Indian take over. The Africans became politically scared. They said that if the Indians are allowed to take over, Africans would lose their position. They saw my intervention in the electoral struggle as assisting the East Indians because, in the Pointe-a-Pierre constituency, they felt I would have taken away votes from the PNM and the East Indian candidate might win as a result. Similarly, the East Indians felt that if they voted for the WFP candidate, the PNM might have won in a DLP stronghold and so on. This was the situation in most of the areas.

STATE VS THE WORKING CLASS

Perhaps we can move to 1970, George, when you appeared again on the national political stage in what was essentially an unemployed rebellion; you were detained and an attempt was made by key members of your executive in 1971 to undermine your position in the Union. Could you give us some idea of how the OWTU as a whole was able to defeat yet another attempt to smash the union or make it a company union, subservient to the state?

In 1970, we were concerned with the worsening situation in the country. We had alot of support as the demonstrations and other protest actions showed. After I was imprisoned, rank and file members of the union organized committees and carried out a campaign for my protection and release. They joined forces with opposition leaders such as A. N. R. Robinson, who had broken with Williams and began to criticize the PNM, to form Action Committees. These committees were very active in the successful campaign against the Public Order Act.

Attempts were made to burn down the headquarters of the union - two fire bombs were thrown into the offices of the General Secretary; bombs and ammunition were "planted" around the

building, etc. The battle for the survival of the OWTU was fought by the workers who kept vigil day and night for over 4-5 weeks. Police fired shots at a wall in the building in order to terrorize the workers. An attempt was made to burn down the Vanguard (a printery owned by the OWTU - ed.), but workers were able to put out the fire. Police raided our offices and seized union books using the excuse that they were carrying out an investigation into fraud. It was the members of the union with public support that defended the union during that period of crisis.

In 1971, unity between Indian and African workers was developing and NJAC began agitation once again. When we entered the Seamen and Waterfront Workers' struggles at the request of the Tugs and Lighters section, the TUC leaders said we were "poaching". The whole trend in 1971 among workers was to move towards the OWTU. With oil and chemicals, electricity and certain agricultural sectors under our control, the TUC leaders were very fearful that WASA and the Waterfront would have fallen to us. The fact that Tugs and Lighters workers were joining OWTU meant for us a break-through in a traditional PNM stronghold in the north. The TUC leadership panicked and gave a seven-day ultimatum to the Government: do something about Geroge Weekes or else they will call a general strike and bring the country to a halt.

Two main incidents occured in oil around that time. The police entered our headquarters and arrested three of us, three executive officers of the union, including myself, on an alleged charge of fraud - stealing $5,000 from union funds. The newspapers published that Weekes and his boys were in some kind of corruption. They laid the foundation to place a cloud of suspicion around me. Secondly, Badger workers who were constructing a desulphurization plant at Texaco went on strike in sympathy with other striking oil workers and a confrontation arose between workers and Badger officials. Eventually, Badger's officials closed down operations, hired BWIA planes and left the country. Williams used this last incident to declare a State of Emergency and arrest us.

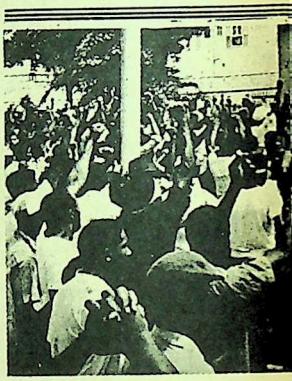
INTERNAL STRUGGLE

What attempts were made from within the Union to undermine your position?

At the time of my arrest, the Vice-President (Verne Edwards) became acting President-General and the Executive under the influence of the Vice-President and General Secretary (Lionel Beckles) took a position that nothing must be done, no resistance or protest should be organized, because the Government would destroy the Union. Other Executive Officers - the Assistant Secretary and Branch Officers - waged an internal struggle to reverse that position. The active members of the union, who began to take action in protest against my detention, were terrorized by police and their families and friends harrassed. They were told that if they took any organized action on my behalf there would be trouble. People were arrested and jailed and police terror was rampant in the oil belt. Williams in conjunction with his stooges in the union decided that I should remain in prison so as to give Edwards and Beckles an opportunity to gain influence in the union and ultimately seize control of the leadership. But the workers organized on my behalf to resist the dirty manoeuvers of Williams, Edwards and Beckles. I played an important role from behind the prison walls by sending out letters instructing the workers what they should do and how. Every night I spent 15 minutes writing instructions and giving information to the workers. In spite of the tactics of Williams, Edwards, Beckles and company who held secret meetings to plan my overthrow, the workers were able to organize, and eventually the enemy was defeated.

VERNE EDWARDS

LIONEL BECKLES

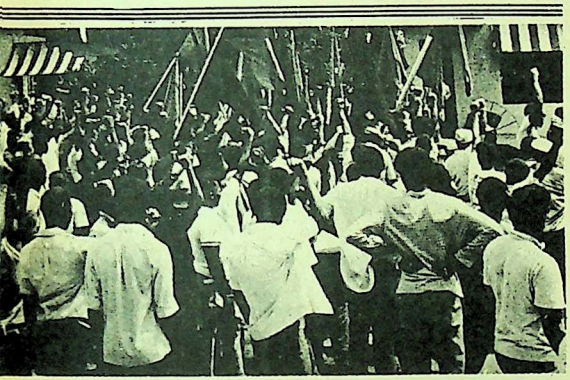


After my release, we realized that something was wrong with the organization of the union and we decided to undertake a reorganization of the union structure. Whereas before, the General Council consisting of three members from each branch was considered to be the broad leadership, the general voice of the

COSSABO

Union as a whole, we decided to hold what we called COSSABO - Convention of Officers, Shop Stewards and Branch Officials - to discuss problems affecting the Union generally and different sections in particular, the situation in the sugar industry, the economy of the country and the general political situation.

We held the first COSSABO in late 1973 and throughout 1974 we held many of the conventions. The conventions helped to sharpen the insight of the local leaders and develop members politically. By the time we began negotiations with Texaco in late 1974, thousands of workers left their jobs and held a huge motorcade and



march of support for the negotiating team. We initially asked for 80% increase in wages, and afterwards we increased it to 147%. As soon as the Company rejected our demands, the workers took positive action - "go slow" and other actions. Later, the workers took strike action and brought production to a standstill.

We also called Mass Membership Meetings. Workers would leave their jobs and march to these meetings. The police attempted to scare the workers with SLR's and SMG's, but the workers were united and confident.

THE ULF

Could you talk about the formation of the ULF?

Well, many struggles were taking place in Trinidad in 1974 and we supported these struggles, particularly those of the sugar workers and sugar farmers. We began to hold discussions with Rafique Shah and the sugar farmers union, and the sugar workers union in order to collaborate in struggle. With the struggles of workers increasing, we decided that in the interest of workers and the country unity of the progressive unions was necessary and in January, 1975 we formed the United Labour Front. On February 18, we (ULF) held a rally at Skinner Park in San Fernando where some 40,000 people gathered. This show of working-class strength shook the country and the whole establishment, and it gave the leadership and the workers confidence. Then, on March 18, one month after the rally, we decided to hold a march from San Fernando to Port-of-Spain that was suppressed by the Government. The police shot at workers, arrested and brutalized the people. The ULF was therefore born out of struggle and christened in blood on March 18, 1975.

THE NEW DEMOCRACY

You talked about the long-term aim and your conception of the New Democracy - mobilization in the villages, on streets, on the local level, mass membership meetings of workers and so on. Could you outline your conception for our readers?

What I would like to do is to carry my experience in the trade union and as a trade union leader on to the political arena. By organizing discussions and taking decisions at the Branch level, in small groups, in homes, at mass membership meetings and at general conventions, we have seen how much we have achieved and the benefits we have gained for workers in particular and the country in general. We have to think about the future, not just winning a seat and going into Parliament. We have to deal with issues in the villages, in the towns, involving the people in solving their own problems so that they would not look to others to solve their problems. The people themselves must be involved at every level in making decisions and solving problems. That, to me, is the New Democracy. The ULF can begin to hold discussions and take actions at the local level - in villages, on streets and so on - involving not only ULF members but the whole community.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE:

THE STRUGGLES OF WORKERS AND UNEMPLOYED YOUTH IN DOMINICA

RAFFIQUE SHAH....

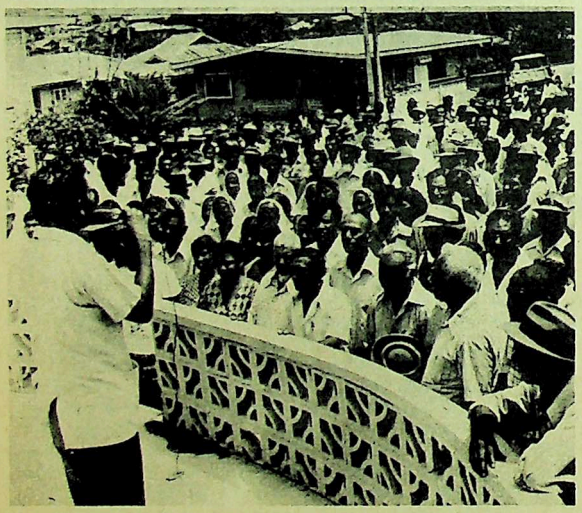
Raffique Shah has emerged as a leading figure amongst the militant union activists in Trinidad and Tobago. The son of a sugar worker , he began a professional career as a lieutenant in the Trinidad and Tobago Army after receiving military training at the Sandhurst Academy in England. The crisis in Trinidad during the sixties which permeated all sectors of the society forced SHAH into the mainstream of the 1970 rebellion, as he and other Army officers attempted to commandeer sections of the military forces against the STATE. For his prominent role in the anti-PNM revolt SHAH was sentenced to 20 years for mutiny. He was released on the 27th July, 1973, after securing an appeal.

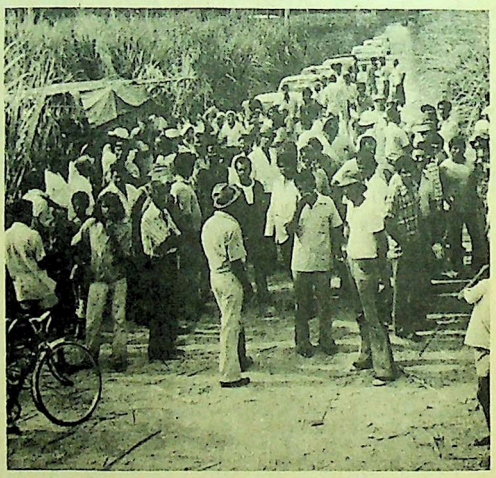
SHAH effectively politicized his trial and won tremendous support from the working class, therefore his adherence to radical politics on his release advanced his intervention into the struggle of the sugar workers. He eventually accepted a request by the cane farmers to become President-General of the Island-wide Cane Farmers Union (IWCFU).

The Union which SHAH represents is one of the major participants in the United Labour Front, a political organization that is on the brink of making a significant intervention into the Politics of Trinidad and Tobago.

Caribbean Dialogue in presenting the recent struggle of the working class in the society has extracted excerpts from two interviews done by RACE TODAY (October 1975) and THIRD WORLD FORUM (July - October 1975) with Raffique SHAH.

The complete interviews can be obtained from Race Today, 74 Shakespeare Road, London S.E.24, England, and Third World Forum, Box 685, Station C, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.





SHAH ADDRESSING CANE FARMERS

1970 ARMY REBELLION

Could you tell us what was happening in the army before 1970?

Firstly, the senior officers had no military background whatever. They were what one might term political appointees who were appointed to such positions because they were loyal to the ruling party. All the efforts to have the soldiers trained fell on deaf ears and as a result, a lot of tension developed between junior and senior officers.

Open rebellion by junior officers developed around 1968. There also developed a conflict of even greater significance between the rank and file soldier and the establishment as whole.

There were a number of incidents in which there were physical clashes between officers and the men, and soldiers actually fired gun shots at officers. The other form of rebellion was called 'the soldiers weapon'.

The thing among soldiers was to report sick, pretending to be in need of psychiatry. And so some of them were actually going mad because of the atmosphere and conditions. In a day about one hundred soldiers would be off sick. At the same time we, the younger officers, used to meet and discuss the situation because it disturbed us both from the military and political angle. Meanwhile, Lasalle and I kept in touch with what was happening in the population at large and as a result of discussions, we came to the conclusion that the one thing we could do, was to prevent the government, which had obviously become unpopular at that point, from using the army against the people.

How do you take over an army?

Well, we moved around to certain soldiers in whom we had confidence and told them what had to be done. For instance, taking control of the ammunition bunker was the main target, then the communication system, some soldiers were detailed to ensure that certain senior officers did not get out of line as such and generally we took control of the barracks by use of arms. Having full control, we attempted to go into Port of Spain and on the way there, we were fired on by the Coast Guard. We then took a decision to return to camp and from there, demanded that all the political activists, who were detained in custody following the state of emergency, be released; that the government send a representative to work out the setting up of a provisional government, comprising all the political forces in the country and finally, that the army be reorganised.

On the second morning, two Venezuelan battle ships came steaming into Tetron Bay. They actually came within yards of the army camp in Tetron. We informed the Prime Minister that the threatened invasion was not raised in discussions and we were prepared to fight. The Prime Minister through an interpreter, ordered the Venezuelan vessels out of our territorial waters. This was followed by the appearance of American naval vessels in our territorial waters. Our patrols picked up evidence in Scotland Bay, which is about one mile away from Tetron, of the presence of US soldiers on the beach. It appears that they probably landed a small group for reconnaissance purposes. On the third day, the government sent the returned Colonel Serette to meet with us and to say that they had agreed to the demands. On May 1st, Serette told us that we were wanted in Port of Spain for questioning and we would be returned to the army in a day or two. We complied and spend the next 27 months in prison.

CONDITIONS OF CANE FARMERS

Could you discuss your involvement in the Workers' movement?

In 1970 I went to prison for 27 months. There I was politicized to a far greater extent than when I went in. I committed myself to be totally involved in the struggle to liberate the people of my country. There were several political organizations in my country including the NJAC, New Beginning, the Union of Revolutionary Organizations and several small organizations outside the conventional political parties. We also had a growing Trade Union movement and I decided to work within it among the sugar workers.

I was aware as were many others, that there was an intense struggle taking place within the cane farming community against their union leadership and Caroni Limited. It is only when they approached me, explaining what was going on, that I was able to determine that the farmers were on par with workers in their own way. Because when one looks at cane farmers, what do you see. We see a number around 9,200 cut down from an original 14,000 because it had become unproductive to plant cane under the conditions demanded by the sugar manufacturers. 75% of the 9,200 farmers cultivate cane on tenanted land, under five acres. Five acres would produce about 50 tons. Only 79 cane farmers produce tonnage of over 500 tons - 79 in the entire country. The contractual arrangement with the manufacturers is most brutal. They tell you what kind of cane to plant, dictate the terms of sale, how the cane is to be reaped, even whether they buy it at all. In all, these farmers contribute 45% of all the cane grown in the country.
Cane farmers are in a very peculiar position. They are not workers in the strict sense but they do belong to the working class and are extremely exploited. Some people in Trinago criticized the move to organize this sector claiming that the cane farmers are petit-bourgeoise. However, these farmers are not large landowners with hundreds of acres of land and employing hundreds of workers. In fact, 90% of the cane farmers in my country cultivate less than 5 acres of land. More often than not, they are tenant farmers and are exploited just as the workers are. In fact, about 40% of the cane farmers are also sugar workers trying to supplement the income they receive from farming. The organization of the cane farmers meant not only being involved with their specific problems, but also in their overall political situation. I saw the trade union therefore as a vehicle for political mobilization.

ORGANIZING THE UNION

How did you go about organising the farmers into the union?

We began by holding a series of meetings throughout the sugar belt, both public and private meetings. Farmers were cautious at first, simply because they have so often been betrayed. But by the end of 1973, we could call a strike, the first strike of cane farmers in the history of the country. Striking means witholding the produce which is not much strength really, more so, because manufacturers grew their own canes, some 55% of the canes going to the factories. The 'no cut' campaign as it was called, was designed to secure recognition and an increase in price for farmers' canes. What needs to be understood at this point is the importance of sugar workers to our struggle. The sugar workers had got rid of their union leadership who, at the time of our 'no cut' campaign, called them out on strike in a struggle for the recognition of the new leadership. The government agreed to an increase in price per ton but refused to recognise our union. The farmers were determined to continue but the government, by recognising the leadership of the sugar workers, successfully got them back to work. We were then forced to abandon the campaign.

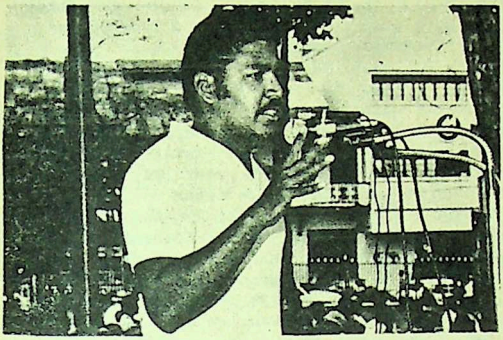
What was your next move?

We decided to operate from within the union by attempting to take over the union branches through the democratic voting process. It was impossible to find out what and where meetings were held. In fact they were being held secretly. We ambushed one of those meetings and lo and behold it was said that the gathering was not in fact a meeting. It became clear that this activity would be to no avail so we resorted to the second option, withdrawal of membership from the union. We printed revocation forms and collected 6,000 signatures, demanding that no levy be deducted. The government and the company would not budge. We continued with meetings, at this time, laying stress on the political situation in the country as a whole. We reached the point where we were discussing the total nationalisation of the sugar industry. At the start of the 1975 cane crop, we again cal called a 'no cut' campaign and we were 99% successful. To those who scabbed we made it impossible for them to sell their canes at the scales. Our farmers would occupy the scales and ensure that nobody could sell canes to the manufacturers.

FORMATION OF U.L.F.

What was taking place in other areas of the working class?

The Oil Field Workers Trade Union had, in 1974, organised a series of seminars geared to bringing the oil workers back into the mainstream of the politics of the country. At the same time, the leadership of the sugar workers was propagandising their members with a view to participation in electoral politics. At the end of 1974, the sugar workers demanded a wage increase of 100%, the oil workers demanded 80% and their recognition as representatives of white collar workers in the oil industry and, as I said, we were seeking an increase in price for canes and recognition of our union. The general councils of all three unions began meeting. A fourth union, the Transport Union, has joined us. The general council is made up of officers from the branches of the union and so, is fairly representative of the 40,000 workers and farmers. The general councils agreed to unite under an umbrella organisation. This was of great importance, particularly in uniting the Indian workers and farmers in sugar with African workers



in the other unions.

We knew that unity among workers was necessary for two reasons. First, it gives strength to the workers' movement and secondly, in our country, it helps to bring the races together and combat racism as a divisive force. As was mentioned earlier, the Sugar Workers Union is predominantly Indian and the Oil Workers Union is predominantly African. This need for unity is what brought us together in the United Labour Front.

The circumstances which provoked the formation of ULF was the simultaneous battles of these three major unions with their companies. With Texaco, the OWTU was making a revolutionary demand for a 147% wage increase ver a 3-year period. At this time the sugar workers' negotiations were drawing near. They were demanding a 100% increase.

The cane farmers were also demanding more money. They supply about 45% of the overall tonnage of cane. They were also demanding a union of their choice - the Island-Wide Cane Farmers' Union.

At what point did you publicly launch the umbrella organisation?

On February 18th, we called a mass rally of oil and sugar workers and they launched the United Labour Front under the slogan 'Peace, Justice and Bread'. Estimates at the crowds ranged from 25,000 to 40,000 workers. We started at 10 a.m. and finished at 6 p.m. Both industries came to a stand-still and electricity workers left the power station to run at a minimum capacity. We passed the resolutions that multi-national corporations be expelled and that we should own and control our resources.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

When the ULF was formed, a large section of the workers felt that it could win by waging an industrial battle and possibly even bring down the government. What the workers failed to realize is that imperialism has it all planned out. Recognizing the development of political consciousness in the working class, imperialism was prepared to bring down a maximum of repression on the workers to ensure that the industrial battles would fail. They wished to frustrate the workers to the point which would lead them away from the progressive trade unions and opt for more docile government trade unions. The workers, because of this experience, realized that the industrial battles they were waging could only get them so far. They clamoured for the ULF to become political. Their experience in the political actions in which they have been involved has pointed to the main enemy, namely, the multinational - U.S. imperialism.

The United Labour Front has been a very useful organisation in terms of bringing the races together; each section supporting the other in their respective struggles. But it has shortcomings. It is essentially a unity of trade union organisations and it is a big leap from that point into political organisation. We are also faced with the question as to whether we enter electoral politics. There are differing views in the organisation on this; in fact, there is conflict not open and hostile, but nevertheless a conflict of views within the leadership and to a lesser extent among the membership. Workers have been accustomed to seeing elections as one of the methods by which some change comes about. It is a question that still has to be resolved.

In conclusion, could you give us your impressions of the future prospects for revolution in Trinago?

The political climate is very hot. The present government controls parliament because it has the majority of MP's. It proposes to introduce a new constitution which we know will serve the interests of the ruling class and not the workers. The big question is whether the government will let a progressive organization like the ULF win electoral power in an alliance with other progressive forces in the country. We have seen what has happened in Santo Domingo, Guatemala and Chile. The imperialists do not want, nor will they let, organizations which serve the interests of the people to come to power. They will use any means necessary, including invasion, to try to stop this. We know they train people in the various countries which they dominate to suppress popularly elected governments of the people. We in the ULF are fully aware of this. In spite of this, our feeling are that we should exhaust all possible democratic means.

I cannot say here that the ULF should engage in armed struggle. My personal opinion is that we

CONTINUE ON INSIDE BACK COVER

Fact or Fiction

The letter reproduced below has been circulating in Trinidad and Tobago and created a political uproar when it was released in the daily papers. Caribbean Dialogue cannot vouch for the authenticity of the letter. The United States Embassy in Trinidad and Tobago publicly denied any responsibility for the letter. Whether true or false, what is certain is that the U.S. ruling class will attempt to crush any serious working-class movement that threatens imperialist capital in the Caribbean. We have to be prepared.

2nd March, 1976

Dear Prime Minister,

The rise of radical political and trade union forces in Trinidad has been a constant source of concern to Embassy personnel, American business interests, and doubtless to you too. The success of these forces would be detrimental to U.S. as well as Trinidad interests. Such a success would have the effect of

a. Replacing the PNM as the ruling party of Trinidad and Tobago.

b. Seriously affecting U.S.A. business - perhaps even to the level of nationalization.

c. One spinoff of this would be the rapid decline of U.S.A. investments thus effectively destroying the Trinidad economy.

d. Undermining the traditional friendly relations between the Government and peoples of the U.S.A. and Trinidad and Tobago.

e. "d" above will have the effect of cutting off immigration to the U.S.A. thus creating greater unemployment problems in Trinidad and Tobago.

We have had similar experiences in the U.S.A. and I thought that you may wish to examine the extent to which they are applicable to, or implementable in Trinidad and Tobago.

You will recall that in the 50's and 60's Black Power radicals, "Minutemen", the Klu Klux Klan (KKK) and other assorted disaffected groups were making deliberate efforts to sow seeds of discord and generally to tarnish the image of the Government of the United States of America in the eyes of the international community.

In the United States of America we took a good hard and scientific look at the situation and discovered that these disaffected elements were being unintentionally assisted in their efforts by the press - particularly the television stations which often feature "live and on the spot reports" of looting, violence and other open violations of law and order. Accordingly we took measures to influence the communications media to discontinue the attention that they have been paying to these radical and revolutionary groups. The policy came to be known as "benign neglect". (An official U.S.A. report dealing comprehensi with the steps that we found appropriate i our situation has been sent to you under separate cover. I would appreciate it if th could be kept strictly confidential).

The Embassy of the U.S.A. has undertaken an independent survey of the 1970 Black Power Demonstrations in Trinidad (a copy of which is enclosed) and as you will see in the report, we have found that the exposure provided by the communications media was an important aspect in the developments of these protests.

My staff has been reflecting on the growing strength and influence of the revolutionary and socialist forces in Trinidad and Tobago particularly the United Labour Front.

We have again come to the conclusion that the communications media - particularly The Express has played an important part in its growth, strength and influence. As a result, there is an ever-present threat that your party and Government will be overthrown by the ULF and the traditional friendly relations between the Government and the people of Trinidad and Tobago and the Government and people of the United States of America would be subverted.

Our information, received from a most reliable source, indicates that the ULF plans to follow up its February 18th success with an illegal public march and demonstration that is intended to lead to the overthrow of your Government. We have faced similar problems in the United States of America and we have personnel available on the ground as well as at short notice who would assist your Government and security forces in dealing with this immediate threat to law and order.

CONTINUE ON PAGE 29

The Politics of State Transformation

The proposals printed below form the concluding section of a document by the New Beginning Movement, presented to the ULF leadership in December, 1975. Since March 18, 1975, Bloody Tuesday, NBM has been publicly calling on the ULF leadership to form a Working-class Party. On September 21, 1975, NBM organized an Assembly of 500 oil workers, unemployeds and other workers in the heart of the oil industry, that called on the ULF to "do whatever is necessary to become a working-class party". The complete text of the Proposals to ULF is contained in New Beginning, Vol. 5 No. 2.

THE UNITED Labour Front is the broad Political Movement of the workers and farmers. As such its basic task is to wage struggle on all fronts for democratic human rights, for reforms, for concessions. in fact to engage itself in every single issue that concerns the people, first and foremost defending the interests of its class against all other classes, mobilising and organising, moving its ranks from stage to stage until a new day is born.

The ULF is the result of the increasing demand by workers and farmers to determine the kind of economic relations into which they enter – e.g. to determine wages, as well as other forms of payment, working conditions, and to make all decisions that concern their livelihood, survival and general welfare. It is precisely because of this that Workers' Control became the slogan of the masses of workers and farmers, the only slogan that can presently rally the masses in their tens of thousands. The demand is quite understandable when one remembers that it is placed in the context of capitalist society in which more and more the State is grabbing hold of the entire economy and over-centralising (around a few in Port-of-Spain) every aspect of decision-making in the political and economic life of the country.

Such over-centralisation of State and Economy is a natural inevitable result in Capitalist society whereby all capitalist development tends to further divide the people into classes, lessening the amount at the very top and forever broadening and expanding the mass at the bottom. The intensification of such social division in T&T is quite evident.

The workers and farmers have realised that it is them versus the Capitalist State. They realise that the State is used by Texaco and Amoco against them, that it is used by Caroni and the Politicians against them.

They have reached the level of consciousness whereby they understand that first and foremost they must *either take the State or influence its weilding – somehow or the other they must grab hold of it, minimise it or dictate its operations.* The struggle for better wages, COLA, better working conditions and social benefits, the struggle for the right to decide, etc. etc. have all boiled down to one big Political struggle for State Power. Presently then the demand of the people is twofold

(a) Mass Democracy – the crucial necessity to make decisions;

(b) Control of the State – the need to fashion the State in their own behalf.

This is the present need and level of the masses and it is this to which ULF has been forced to address itself. Immediately the focus is thrown onto the 1976 Elections. If we the Revolutionary Left see ourselves as advanced elements in the situation, then we must involved ourselves in this process, in the practical struggles of the people and constantly test our theory out there among them, alongside them in concrete activity. NBM is dogmatic about one thing – i.e. practice purifies, develops and advances theory, that the motor of *all development* is class struggle and involvement in class struggle. All

We repeat, in Capitalist Society nothing is what it appears to be. The ULF is gearing itself to either participate in or capture altogether GOVERNMENTAL POWER, 'Parliamentary Power, but this is only a small part, AND THE WEAKEST PART, of State Power. Don't be fooled! The Police, the Army, the Judiciary, the Civil Bureaucracy (Civil Service) are the MORE POWERFUL ARMS OF STATE POWER and will minimise parliamentary power anytime this becomes necessary on behalf of Capitalism regardless of who holds Governmental Power. Remember Allende in Chile.

PRACTICAL PROPOSALS

In light of all that has been said about the coming elections, the nature of elections, the present level of class struggle, the corresponding level of political consciousness of the workers and farmers and the need for an organised input to guide the involvement of the whole people in the process towards a new society, we see three (3) crucial questions before the potential Vanguard, ULF:

(1) How is it to organise itself as a Vanguard of the Workers and Farmers based on the (4) Unions (ICFTU, OWTU, ATSEFWTU, TIWU,)

(2) How is it to organise and mobilise the masses of people – workers, farmers, unemployeds, students, housewives, etc?

(3) Then, what must it do, and how in order to bring change to the lives of the people it represents and to the entire country?

Understanding clearly that these questions can only be answered through ongoing discussion and through the process of practical activity, NBM proposes the following:

(1) That an ASSEMBLY OF ULF DELEGATES from the 4 Unions be convened as soon as possible. That this Assembly of ULF delegates

should attempt to do four (4) things:

(a) Put forward a Draft Perspective on the 1976 Elections.
(b) Structure the ULF.
(c) Put forward a Draft Policy and Programme (brief Manifesto)
(d) Call for, and outline work for *the structured ULF*, towards the setting up of, and elections to, ASSEMBLY COMMITTEES, throughout all the factories, industries and estates in T&T (Panday has already once called for the setting up of ULF Units all over, NBM is proposing here that this be elaborated and concretised in such a way).

(2) That following this a GENERAL NATIONAL WORKERS AND FARMERS ASSEMBLY be convened comprising delegates from all the ASSEMBLY COMMITTEES, to

(a) Broaden and establish the ULF as a National Vanguard organisation of the Worker and Farmer class.
(b) Discuss and clarify the Draft Perspective on 1976 Elections and the Draft Police and Programme.
(c) Outline work for general mobilisation of the entire country for Elections and the fundamental tasks envisaged or projected by the Policy and Programme.

(3) That following this a PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY be convened comprising representations of workers, farmers, organised sections of the unemployeds, students, housewives, etc., to

(a) Ratify strategy for Elections and the Policy and Programme
(b) Put into gear the mechanics for the elections – e.g. Elections machinery, fundraising, selection of candidates, decisions as regards possible alliances etc.

The first two Assemblies are geared to allow the Workers and Farmers to clarify and harden their class position before addressing a cross-section of the entire population in the 3rd Assembly. This is important and central to the strategy. The revolutionary nature and potential of the workers and farmers must be the foundation stone upon which we attempt to build. The Elections is a conventional exercise but such an approach to it will be most unconventional. *The Assemblies shall in fact begin the destruction of the old social order, the old social relationship between politician and people, Party and People, Executive and membership, leadership and rank and file, and bring confidence to the working masses themselves as decision-makers, as the most important social force.*

The assemblies shall provide the basis for the removal of the old relationship between people and people which keeps the present Capitalist State intact. The Assemblies provide the framework for the masses of workers, farmers, unemployeds, etc., to be involved in PRACTICE and ACTIVITY that is crucial to their further development and their conception or view of an alternative to the present set-up. It will be nonsensical to adopt the view that ULF has been having Congresses and Mass Meetings already so there is no big thing about NBM's proposals – a typical negative attitude that is prevalent among us. We are talking not only about a particular form (the Assembly) but more so a particular CONTENT. If the CONTENT is not proper then the form is useless. It is extremely important that the Assemblies are organised and made to function in such a way that the workers and fanners are involved in every aspect of the activity. And last but not least we are advancing three (3) logical stages of development pinpointed by three (3) different and distinct Assemblies – different in composition and in work to be done.

In no way does the time element change our views on the strategy for Electoral struggle. The assemblies as a new form with a new content is the fundamental idea, and although ULF may not be able to convene the 3 clearly distinct Assemblies, at least the process could be accelerated limiting the size of the Assemblies, the representations and presentations (long speeches), leaving aside any excessive, grandiose operations and making simplicity and practicality the order of the day. *And if Williams does not call Elections then the Assemblies are even more necessary to discuss Policy and Programme in such a situation and a different strategy towards dealing with State Power.*

THE PARTY AND ASSEMBLY

An Assembly of ULF delegates (COSSABO – Conference of Shop Stewards and Branch Officials) has in fact been convened since Jan. 3rd 1976. To date there have been 4 sessions of this Assembly. A draft Policy and Programme was presented and discussed, a decision was made to form a Working-Class Party to be named ULF, and a proposed constitution for the Party was put forward for discussion and ratification.

In the draft Constitution the proposed structures of the Party are: (1) THE BLOCK, based in communities and work places, to be the basic unit (2) THE AREA COMMITTEE comprising a number of BLOCKS, (3) THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE – a number of AREAS, (4) PARTY CONGRESS – the supreme authority which elects a tremendously powerful CENTRAL COMMITTEE OR CENTRAL EXECUTIVE that is to run the Party on a day to day basis. What does all this mean? What is the significance of all this?

We shall have to define what we have before us so far. First there came to exist the Political Mass Movement, the ULF, a combination of 4 Trade Unions forced by objective conditions to twin industrial and political struggle into one. Out of this Mass Movement came the ULF ASSEMBLY of Delegates (COSSABO) which decided that a Working-Class Party be formed to deal with the question of Political Power.

What is the *Mass Movement?* What is the *Assembly?* What is the *Party?*

The ideal Mass Movement is the co-ordination of the self-organisations, popular bodies or institutions of "independent historical action" of the working masses for liberation. It is the organisation of the people to the very last person with power and authority vested in the hands of the people themselves for the task of breaking up the old society and building the new. The Assembly is the basic unit of the Mass Movement, it is the most immediate organisation of the majority of the people, the most democratic form and the most crucial instrument in the struggle as it is where the people take responsibility onto themselves to make and implement decisions. Therefore the *Mass Movement is the co-ordination, combination, a network and inter-relation of such Assemblies and is in itself a new form of State – the Workers and Farmers*

Democratic State. The significance of the ULF Assembly (COSSABO) is that it indicates the beginning of the *organised* Mass Movement and the *new state*, the beginning of Assemblies all over the country.

What is the ideal Working-Class Party? It is the coming together of the most conscious and advanced elements – radical middle-class intellectuals and advanced workers and farmers – to form a disciplined structured leadership of the Mass Movement *at local and national level. It serves as the administrative machinery of the Mass Movement* and its major tasks are (1) to orchestrate the efficient operations and tactics necessary to wrestle power from the highly centralised bourgeois/capitalist State (2) to prepare the Mass Movement into a conscious, disciplined social force for the purpose of holding power, constructing a new state and consolidating the NEW DEMOCRACY. Sure, right, the Party must be the "general staff" of the ULF, the mass movement, not in the sense of a dictatorship over the mass movement but in the sense of providing firm guidance to the mass movement as it engages in the task of social transformation. Remember that the objective need of the people today is the urgency to possess within themselves the authority to decide. That is a specific feature of our politics today. *The important question is how will the Party stand in relation to this need of the people.* The Party or Vanguard Organisation is to capture State Power, *not for itself,* not for the conscious advanced elements, not for this minority to use as their personal property but for the Mass Movement as the natural right of the workers and farmers.

Due to what has happened so far NBM is forced to extent and elaborate its proposals:

(1) That what is important is that we first of all come to recognise the distinction between the Party and the Mass Movement, both of which will make up the ULF, that we understand the distinction and then work our clearly the relationship between the two. If not the ULF shall degenerate just like the TLP and the Butler Party before it.

(2) That the aim should be that all Party Units (Block, Area Committee, Regional Committee, Congress) be developed respectively into Local, Area, Regional and National People's Assemblies as the basis of a New State, rather than the Party developing into a hierarchical power structure above the people. It all depends on how we see it. To NBM the Party is to guarantee that the potential of ULF as a Mass Movement be developed to the fullest.

(3) In the Policy Statement, ULF says that it is for a New Democracy and for Workers' Committees managing the industries. If the ULF is to be true to these positions the Party Units cannot simply be machinery to collect funds, inform people of Party positions and mobilise people to vote, but most of all must be the central focal points of social transformation, of all development and all programmes of activity in the communities and work sites.

(4) Due to the objective conditions, the Party at this point in time will not, cannot, be a force of one particular working-class view or socialist tendency no matter how hard anyone tries. Instead it will be a combination of different tendencies and will involve in the process of development all working-class organisations and positions. The point is not to "dig any horrors" from this. But that the framework be set whereby in the course of time and practical activity one position is hammered out.

To allow for this, two things must be kept foremost in mind at all times:

(1) That our theory is not dogma or doctrine like those of the Church, and is only capable of "marking out general tasks" which are to be modified and further defined by the specific features (economic and political) of the present situation. (Lenin)

(2) That at all times we must deal with what is reality and not "cling to a theory of yesterday" which "like all theories only comes near to embracing life in all its complexity. (Lenin)

It is in the context of all this that the significance of the ULF as a whole lies. The Assemblies, the fundamental structures of the Mass Movement, as proposed by NBM are to be seen as the basis of social transformation, the basis of the New State, the New Democracy. This is distinct from the Party or the Vanguard which has its crucial strategic role to play therein. If our conception of what we have before us is false and clouded, we shall make a mess of things. We ask:

What is the Mass Movement?
What is the Assembly (COSSABO)?
What is the Party?

FACT OR FICTION

CONTINUE FROM PAGE 26

You will appreciate therefore that it is in our mutual interest to make every effort to derail the growth and influence of the ULF and other radical, revolutionary and socialist forces in Trinidad and Tobago.

I would suggest the following immediate measures.

1. The Government controlled radio and television stations prohibit the broadcast of the pictures and voices of the leaders of the ULF.

2. That official pressure be brought on the press to severely limit the exposure presently given to the ULF.

As regards (2) above I would suggest

a. that immediate steps be taken to replace the present editor of the Express;

b. that immediate steps be taken to secure ownership of the Trinidad Guardian by local interests who would be more sensitive to the Trinidad political situation.

You would appreciate that these are urgent matters. I would welcome an early opportunity to discuss these issues with you in greater detail.

Original signed by

Robert G. Rich
Deputy Chief Mission
Embassy of the United States of America

U.R.O *"Call to all Workers and Farmers"*

The following proposals by the United Revolution Organization are extracted from a two-page bulletin published by RUO, January 30, 1976.

Since the United Labour Front took the decision to enter the political arena, it is necessary that we in U.R.O. state how we see the ULF. The U.L.F., we have said, is a broad-based mass organisation representing a whole range of political views, concepts of society and proposals for solving the problems facing the nation in general and the industrial workers and peasant-farmers in particular. ULF is a multi-class coalition and a manifestation of unity of interests between industrial workers in oil and sugar, estate workers in sugar, cane farmers, radical and progressive intellectuals and professionals. What then is the common denominator uniting these classes?

The main denominator is that these industries are all foreign owned and controlled and are very productive sectors of our economy, but that the workers or farmers do not receive a just share of this productivity or prosperity.

WHAT IS THE POTENTIAL OF THE U.L.F.?

The U.L.F., because it has grown out of the struggles of the workers and farmers and was not imposed on them or created from outside, presents tremendous potential. It has the potential of calling to all the workers and farmers in the other sectors of the economy who are all under imperialist domination and exploitation, or are living at subsistence level under the oppressive capitalist system, managed by the neo-colonial, pro-imperialist, pro-capitalist repressive P.N.M. regime. But this is not all. Because it has the potential of calling together these two oppressed classes, it also has the potential of rallying the unemployed, the youth and the progressive intellectuals. With these forces being mobilized, it also has the potential of attracting a large section of the middle strata and petty producer, frustrated civil servants and petty bourgeois professionals. But finally, the ULF has the potential of becoming that broad popular front of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces. It can become the anti-imperialist front with which all other left and Marxist-Leninist groups could advance the climate of democracy for the development and final victory of the democratic phase of the revolution.

WHAT U.L.F. MUST DO NOW

(1) Circulate the Policy Statement throughout the membership of the constituent Unions and initiate mass discussion and debate at the branch level.

(2) ULF must circulate the First Policy Statement throughout the country and begin a series of mass meetings to develop the First Policy Statement, inviting public contributions at these public meetings.

(3) ULF must publish a minimum programme around which it is prepared to entertain any alliance with existing political parties.

(4) ULF must begin an analysis of all existing political forces and decide with which forces it may entertain discussion on unity. ULF must not leave the door open to any opportunist right wing forces but must decide with whom it will unite. ULF must oppose anti-communism as a backward and anti-working class ideology.

(5) ULF must move to revitalize the CPTU as the only Trade Union Federation which is an alternative to the pro-imperialist, reactionary Trade Union Congress. CPTU must be the Trade Union Federation separate and distinct from the ULF, the political front.

(6) ULF should become a popular front of all progressive workers, peasant farmers, youth and revolutionary left groups and should consolidate the alliance before seeking unity with other petty bourgeois forces.

We of URO regard as our sacred duty the building of THE Working Class Party, the only working class party. This party does not have only democracy or anti-imperialism as its goal and programme but sees these things as struggles which are part of the larger struggle of workers, the struggle for Socialism the struggle to build a Communist Society. The working class must have a party, a party with Marxism Leninism or Scientific Socialism as its ideology. No other ideology will lead to Socialism.

30th January 1976

Printed & Published by PREDCO, URO
PORT OF SPAIN

"Support the Struggle"

—NAMOTI

The statement printed below is taken from a "Special Mass Bulletin", No.1, January 30, 1976, published by NAMOTI.

The U.L.F. has shown not only in words but in fact, that it is the only mass political organization at present willing and capable of advancing the struggle for True economic Independence and political democracy.

The National Movement for the True Independence of Trinago (NAMOTI) whole heartedly supports the objectives of the U.L.F. and commits itself to strengthening the movement of the people towards True Independence and Democracy.

It is a credit to the progressive trade union movement that in spite of all the blows it has received and the undermining it has had to suffer, it has proved to be the only strong and consistent opponent to the rape and plunder of our country by the foreign multi-nationals and their friends and stooges, the local capitalists and the repressive P.N.M. regime. And it has been able to renew its strength and launch the greatest threat to foreign domination so far developed in Trinago - the U.L.F., an organization which has been able to unite the working class and raise its level of political consciousness as it has never been raised before. An organization which has been able to explse racial politics as being a trick by the self-seeking and corrupt politicians and which has succeeded in getting the Indian and African workers and farmers to realise that their interests are the same.

It is therefore the duty, the moral obligation of all patriotic citizens of Trinago to embrace the U.L.F., which has developed out of the struggles of the oppressed people through the years. It is the only organization that possesses the potential to stop the development of our country into fascism which will mean a police state and the taking away of all the limited democratic rights we still possess

We must support the U.L.F. in their efforts to educate, mobilise and politicise our people. To organise our people in the factories, the fields, the offices, in the villages and the towns, in the homes on the blocks and steelband yards, in the schools and community centres, in the P.T.A.'s, youth groups, sports and cultural organizations, in the community organizations, and if possible even in the armed forces. We must expose the enemies to the people and encourage their overthrow.

Because the U.L.F. is a mass based organization it is not a homogenous group. In it will be found the influences and class views of the various classes and strata which together make up the people - the advanced working class, the backward working class, the advanced peasantry, the backward peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie or middle class, etc. As a result there will be differences of opinion among members as to the goals, the strategies, and the tactics which the U.L.F. should adopt. This will inevitably lead to class struggle within the U.L.F. as each class influence and view tries to seek its own interest and present itself as the best interest of all.

In such a situation it will be the responsibility of the genuine patriots and all progressive elements and advanced sectors in the U.L.F. to carry on a resolute struggle to ensure that the U.L.F. does not develop in any way that is opposed to the best interests of the masses. They have the important task of strengthening and further developing the revolutionary character of the U.L.F. and ensuring that the U.L.F. is not side-tracked into any dead-end, away from complete independence, democracy and liberation for the people.

At the present the U.L.F. occupies the vanguard position in the mass movement. Hence it is in a position to play a crucial role in initiating moves to create a solid united front organization of anti-imperialist, democratic and other progressive groups and individuals to carry the struggle for true independence and democracy forward. But again it can only do this if it perserveres in internal struggle to further develop and strengthen its revolutionary character, awaken the backward elements within it, raise the political consciousness of its members, and isolate the undesirable elements who might try to worm their way into it.

It is only on the basis of this kind of struggle that the U.L.F. can be made to fulfill all its potential. It is only on the basis of this kind of struggle that we will be able to recognise and deal with, reactionaries, bandwagon-riders and agents who might have been able to infiltrate the U.L.F. It is only on the basis of this kind of struggle that we can advance along the road to liberation and fully achieve our cherished goals of True Independence and Democracy.

SUBSCRIBE TO CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

U.L.F. Assembly

—A Report by NBM

The Assembly was convened to do two major things:

(1) To discuss the proposed Policy Statement put forward by the leadership of the ULF with a view towards arriving at a general perspective and consensus of objectives to b expressed later in the declaration of a People's Charter.

(2) To decide on a course of action to achieve Political Power necessary to bring the needed social changes.

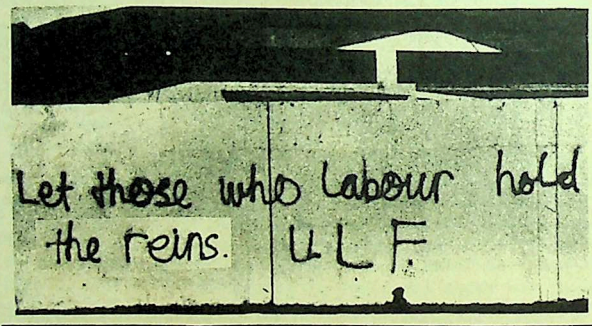
What this seems to say is that the leadership placed before the Assembly a framework or view of what is to be achieved in the New Society to come, but left the question of a Programme of activity to bring this about up to the Assembly itself. To us of NBM this was an oversight. Policy must at all times be tied to a concrete programme. In addition, when people, faced with a crisis, in particular an ongoing social crisis, come together in their thousands, they come to hear quite simply what the leadership proposes to do. And the experience of the first day of the Assembly (Sat. 3rd Jan.) brought this point much clearer to us. Significantly the rank and file workers and farmers steered away from discussion of the Policy and moved immediately into the crucial questions of what is to be done now and how to proceed. This is not to say that they are not concerned about the broad issues like Education, Health, Re-organisation of the economy, etc. etc., but that they see the more fundamental issue, around which all else depends, as the struggle for Political Power. It is in the course of this struggle and the practical organising for it that they shall envisage in a real concrete sense how their total life, the collective life of the nation, can be re-organised. By not discussing the Policy Statement, what the Assembly of workers and farmers seemed to be telling their leadership, and what their leadership ought to learn from this response *is that the process of struggle to achieve political power is an integral part of the actual process of social transformation. To organise to get Political Power is the first step towards creating a New Society, a New Democracy, and must provide us not only with the tools and instruments with which to bring the changes but moreso must provide us with a concrete understanding, a conception, of the very changes of which we speak. For example, how we approach the Education, political and otherwise, of workers and farmers in ULF, must tell us or suggest to us how we are to deal with Education in the immediate stages of the New Society. In this sense the Policy is "discussed" or dealt with continuously in the course of PRACTICE.*

At the moment the workers and farmers have indicated that foremost in their minds is how should we deal with the concrete situation in which we have found ourselves. *WHAT TO DO is the all embracing and only relevant question at this point.* From what the workers and farmers do now, under the guidance of their leadership. they shall begin to conceive of how to re-organise the Economy and the overall political system. *But the leadership must be totally clear on perspective and objectives and how IN PRACTICE the perspective and objectives can be highlighted or revealed concretely before the workers and farmers.*

On the Sunday, only two people, Francois, from Forest Reserve Branch of the OWTU, and Clive Nunez, Vice-President of the TIWU, attempted to deal with the Policy Statement. Significantly both of them are or were associated with revolutionary political organisations in the Country. They both basically emphasised that the leadership should have stated clearly in the document what they propose to do. Thus these two advanced people articulated what the rank and file had demonstrated on the previous day by shying away from the Policy Statement altogether.

THE QUESTION OF ORGANIZATION

But despite the fact that no complete statement on organisation and what is to be done was presented to the Assembly by the leadership. both Millette and Panday in their opening addresses on Sat. 3rd Jan. expressed certain general positions on organisation which we find necessary to outline in skeleton form in this report:



Millette (Acting Sec. ICFTU):

(1) That the present system of government was brought to the fore by the French Revolution in the 18th Century – at that time this system was seen as a revolutionary one which broadened the framework of democracy. This system we have inherited. But to-day it is the very system against which we must revolt since it has become the very opposite of what it appeared to be in the 18th Century. To-day it serves undemocratically to maintain a select few at the top, to centralise decision-making around them, and to oppress and subject the masses of modern people at the bottom for the sake of the

profits of Capital. What was revolutionary in late 18th and early 19th Century has become outright anti-revolutionary and anti-progressive today.

(2) That the working-class of Trinidad & Tobago have always been confronted directly or indirectly by State Power whenever they attempt to better their lot in life. Laws such as the Strikes and Lock-Out Ordinances of the 1920's, the Habitual Idlers' Ordinance, the ISA, the IRA, are all of the same purpose: to keep the workers subjected to the needs of capital.

(3) Scientific Socialism as distinct from Utopian Socialism answers the question of how you deal with the question of State Power, how you organise to capture it and with it determine the nature of a new existence.

(4) That the task before us is to build a Party of the Working Class – AND OF NO OTHER CLASS – to deal with the situation. So far the masses of people have not yet been allowed to put forward their own solutions to the fundamental problems. Every other class has advanced solutions which have failed.

(5) We, the ULF, are still uncertain about the Elections, however, as an organisation that must deal with State Power we will have to state clearly what we plan to do as regards Elections.

Panday(Pres.Gen. ATSEFWTU):

(1) The Trade Union has certain traditional limitations. It was born out of the bowels of Capitalism to do one maior thing: to seek to protect and defend the interests of workers and better the working conditions in a situation where wages tend to fall constantly in comparison with ever-increasing profits of the Capitalists. The machinery of the Trade Union is geared to perform this task. Its weakness and limitations lie in the fact that it did not see itself as being an organisation that must address itself to State Power which determines the overall social conditions in Society and influences all changes therein.

(2) The Capitalist uses State Power to keep the workers in line. In face of further and further demands by the working-class, so called democratic rights were granted but today these very rights are denied the workers and farmers in order to prevent us using these rights effectively. We have no choice but to acquire State Power.

(3) ULF must mobilise workers and farmers to seize State Power. But first of all in the process we must remove Williams from Office.

(4) Unions cannot capture Political Power, therefore the ULF must become the Vanguard of the Working-class mobilising and organising workers and farmers into a disciplined mass movement to Seize State Power and transform the Society. The ULF must be structured to do this.

(5) There are two ways to seize Political Power (a) Conventional means Electoral Process (b) Violence.

The Capitalist will make sure that any violent confrontation is degenerated into a RACIAL WAR. On the other hand there is an election before us, we must make use of it, whether ULF goes the Political road and whether the leaders of the Unions fight the elections are two separate and distinct questions. The ULF can decide to go into the elections and yet order the leaders of the unions not to fight. But if the ULF fights the elections, it must do so maintaining its working-class political identity despite whatever alliance is seen as necessary.

(6) However, if the ULF decides to fight the elections, it will by necessity have to organise the workers and farmers into a disciplined Mass Movement, it will have to launch a certain process of organisational activity which, even if the Election strategy proves a failure, will most definitely be useful in the other approach towards capturing State Power.

At the end of his address, Panday read part of the NBM leaflet distributed at the Assembly (See the entire text of the Leaflet on Pg. 4). The section he read made two fundamental points:

(1) That never again must we allow any government of NON-PRODUCERS over PRODUCERS to come to exist: Never Again.

(2) That to ensure this Political Power must be placed directly into the hands of the Working People. The ULF is the organisation with the potential at the moment to accomplish this.

BOURGEOIS PARTY INFILTRATION AND RACE POLITICS

Once the session was opened to positions from the floor, the workers and farmers wasted no time, they moved immediately into the question of elections and the possibilities of alliances.

The majority position was that the ULF must form a working-class Party to wage elections. If any alliances are to come, it must be on the basis of ULF's programme and in no way must ULF submerge its identity.

The minority position was that ULF must not form a Party because the membership of the 4 Unions already have political loyalties and any attempt to form a ULF Party will destroy the internal bonds of the Unions. That instead the ULF should support a combination of Jamadar (DLP) and Robinson (DAC) either under the leadership of Jamadar, according to one faction of this position, or under the leadership of Robinson according to another faction.

The advocates of the MINORITY position (they were very few in number) were booed vociferously. Not only because of the "ridiculousness" of the position. Not only because it was assinine. But mainly because everyone quickly recognised the agents of the Bourgeois Parties of the old-school, primitive politics who had come set to do one thing; prevent the ULF forming a political

> The process of struggle to achieve political power is an integral part of the actual process of social transformation. To organize to get political power is the first step towards creating a new society, a New Democracy, and must provide us not only with the tools and instruments with which to bring the changes but moreso must provide us with a concrete understanding, conception of the very changes of which we speak.
>
> *NEW BEGINNING MOVEMENT TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO*

entity of its own, expressing its working-class nature. For the bourgeois politicians are quite aware that the moment the workers and farmers take politics into their own hands to fashion it on and in their own behalf, the very existence of bourgeois middle-class politicians shall no longer have any basis. Arthur London of Barrackpore and Chan Maharaj and his cronies came to the Assembly to save the existence of people like Jamadar and such the line who are presently seeing before their own eyes the political death of an era and the political burial of the primitive politics upon which they have capitalised and revelled. When Chan and his gang saw that no hope existed. they wasted no time in stirring up RACIAL ANTAGONISM.

of work that must be done within the Unions and the necessity to co-opt people to get it going as fast as possible and as efficiently as possible.

Another attack from a different source came when the question of the relationship between ULF leaders and the DAC was raised. It is known that Robinson and company have been wooing the ULF leadership for quite some time. One OWTU member, a Phadase of Fyzabad, informed the Assembly that there have been secret meetings between DAC and the ULF leadership. He listed venues of these meetings, the times and the people who were present, and demanded a report from the ULF leadership as regards the results of these meetings. The ULF leadership put off any reporting as this was not included on

day of the Assembly got on its way, Richard Jacobs of the ICFTU presented an address on the "Case for a Working-Class Party", thereby establishing logically and from a historic point of view the objective necessity of the workers and farmers to form a working-class Party at this point in time. But there were no doubts in the minds of the majority of workers and farmers in the Assembly about the need for the working-class Party – they were already convinced most of all by their own experience. However, Jacobs' address provided a historical record of the endeavours of the workers and farmers and served as a Balance Sheet of past successes and failures. To further enhance the point, blind Stanley MacDonald, chief organiser of the first working-

"Hold the fort for we are coming

– Union men be strong"

They condemned and indicted the Assembly because Africans were speaking more than Indians and according to them dominating the discussion. A boyish trick to raise people's emotions. They heckled briefly. There is the objective fact that Africans because of a different particular relationship to Capital tend to have a higher percentage of "literacy" than Indians and therefore tend to show greater political consciousness and more confidence in ability to speak or articulate political positions. No one was debarred from speaking because of RACE. Africans may have spoken more but that was due to historical factors. Chan ignored this deliberately to serve his immediate purpose but to no avail since he and his tiny clique attracted no one. However, this must serve as a reminder to the ULF leadership of the urgent need for a certain kind

the Agenda for the day, but nevertheless some amount of embarassment and apparent confusion had been affected. The impression NBM got was that there were informal meetings, not official meetings, between individuals of ULF and DAC, from which there could be no binding decisions. In re-action to the Chairman's statement that he, individually, never participated in any such meetings, Phadase insinuated that the ULF leadership was hiding information from the Assembly. Significantly, Phadase had information about everything else except the decisions of these meetings, for quite clearly if there were any decisions Phadase would also have had the relevant information.

THE SECOND DAY

When proceedings of the second

class Party (Butler Party), now defunct, addressed the Assembly as a guest speaker.

THE QUESTION OF DEMOCRACY

One major tactical measure was quite quickly established, as soon as the session was thrown open to contributions from the floor. The workers and farmers decided to restrict contributions only to Shop Stewards and Branch Officers of the 4 Unions. It was not an attempt to be deliberately undemocratic in any way but a measure to prevent the agents of the bourgeois opposition parties from disrupting the proceedings of the Assembly as they did the day before. This measure worked to a certain extent, in the sense that a number of the

disrupters of the previous day was debarred from speaking again and even a member of a Maoist organisation whose only purpose is to denounce and lambasse unscientifically the mass popular bodies of the working-class without participating therein, in favour of its own little supposedly-underground sect, was not allowed to parade his organisation's boring, over-repeated jargon despite falsification of identity. However, the measure could not remove altogether the "presence" of the bourgeois middle-class parties, for such influence surfaced openly in the contributions of one or two of the Shop Stewards and Branch Officials, e.g. Coolman. On the other hand, sentiment for the formation of the Party ran extremely high.

Nevertheless, the adoption of this tactical measure brought out forcefully another consideration: Did the Shop Stewards or Branch Officers or Delegates have the authority or mandate to make binding decisions at the Assembly on behalf of the workers and farmers particularly since the ULF is so far only a loose organisation of 4 Unions? Significantly this was posed by Paul Bassaw, President of the Staff Association, a section of middle income workers who had recently entered the fold of the OWTU. Despite the fact that his fears were founded on the nature of the particular people he represents – their economic position, material benefits and political associations – nevertheless from the point of view of overall democratic procedure, there seemed to be some validity to his position that before binding decisions are made delegates should go back to their respective Shop Floors and local areas for confirmation and verification.

Shop Stewards like Lalchan, McLeod, Durant and Scott, who represent a lower section of oilworkers, and Wanza and Hamlet, representatives of sugar workers (Orange Grove and Usine respectively), saw it differently. Four distinct positions came out of their re-action to Basaw's statement:

(1) That the mandate had already been given to the ULF, its delegates, and its local and national leadership, particularly since the march on the 18th Feb-1975 which was attacked by the State, and which was carried to its destination, P.O.S., by rank and file workers and farmers after leadership was arrested and jailed. In other words by what they had demonstrated in practice throughout the two bitter years of 1974 and 1975, the workers and farmers have mandated the leadership to make the necessary decisions. (McLeod, Wanza,).

(2) That it is the task of the delegates – Shop Stewards and Branch Officers – to go back to the rank and file and convince them, if need be, through rational arguments about the logic and necessity of the decisions made at the Assembly.

If Shop Stewards and Branch Officials cannot do this, then they are not fit to hold their positions (Durant, McLeod).

(3) That what is of prime importance is MASS EDUCATION – the development of the political and social consciousness of the workers and farmers – so that they will understand the need to destroy the system and the need for certain basic decisions to be made (Scott).

(4) That for the ULF to accomplish its task of destroying the system, it may possibly have to ally with a political party that can sway the middle-class (Lalchan).

The debate brought to the fore certain fundamental issues and contradictions that will have to be resolved by the Assembly in time. The working-class is not one whole, there are different sections involved that demand different strategies and tactics to get them organised. How are the Staff Workers, who are basically middle administrators, to be meshed into the overall programme of the ULF? It brings to the surface the question of class struggle within the very ULF and the society as a whole, and the different organisational approaches that are to be worked out for different sections of workers, different sections of the population, in order to pull the broadest possible front against Imperialism and Capitalism, and to possibly neutralise those of the middle sectors that are "undecided". At the same time inherent to all this is the fundamental question of democratic procedures. What standard procedure of decision-making is to be established? Which brings up immediately the bigger question of how is the ULF to be structured and how are its structures to inter-relate? What is to be the relationship between Assembly and leadership, Assembly and the proposed Party, Assembly Delegates and Rank and File workers and farmers, Staff Workers and Rank and file, etc. etc., in other words, *how do these bodies stand in relation to each other? ALL IN ALL WHAT IS THE NEW DEMOCRACY IN PRACTICE?*

Of course, all this must be side by side with, and in context of, necessary tactics to deal with counter moves engendered by bourgeois politicians, their agents, and our class enemies. In broader terms, what about the security of the Assembly while it is going on, so that it could get through its business with the very least disruption and obstacles? Over the weekend of the 3rd – 4th Jan., helicopters flew overhead all the while and police spies with electronic equipment to record the proceedings got their directions mixed-up and ended up knocking on the door of George Weekes' home instead of the home on the other side (after much embarassment they went to the correct house and set up shop). This indicates that what the Assembly is doing is correct otherwise the State would have taken no interest. These are just beginnings or signs of a coming "attack" on the Assembly. What can be done to ensure that the Assembly functions as efficiently as possible at all times despite subtle or open attacks from its internal and external enemies and *yet reflect in practice the new democracy?* That is the question?

RESOLUTION

At the end of the session the floor was open for resolutions. Hamlet, a sugar worker of Usine, read out a resolution calling for it to be accepted. It turned out that the resolution was similar to one prepared by Raffique Shah. On hearing Shah's resolution, Hamlet withdrew his and the one resolution was adopted calling for the ULF to form a working-class Party and for the setting up of a Steering Committee to begin to deal with the mechanics of this task.

In time, all the questions and issues that surfaced will have to be broached seriously. In the mean, we await the continuance of the Assembly on the 1st Feb. 1976. One worker, at a point during the weekend, asked the question: "Is the ULF an organisation?" "Then, if it is, where is its Constitution?" When the reply came that there was no Constitution, he said, "then, Mr. Chairman, I am afraid to speak any further because I have no framework within which to speak."

In a strange but dramatic way, this worker made the point that was underlying the entire proceedings of the Assembly on the 3rd & 4th: *An organisation first and foremost must clarify itself of its own NATURE and PURPOSE.*

Policy and Programme of the U.L.F

The U.L.F. has held a number of convention sessions this year to work out the policy, programme and organizational structure of the Party. During February and March, three such sessions were held at which the policy and programme was debated. Below, we reprint extracts from United Labour Front - the future towards a New Democracy.

The spontaneous revolutionary uprising of the masses of the people of Trinidad and Tobago in 1970 and 1971, and more recently in 1975, the crippling strikes by the workers in the two main industries, oil and sugar, indicate clearly that the capitalist imperialist system which has been imposed on our people is collapsing.

In a small country (under 2,000 sq. miles), with a population of just over one million; a country endowed with an abundance of human and natural resources - sulphur-free oil (200,000 barrels per day), sugar (200,000 tons per year), asphalt, fertile lands, waters teeming with fish, excellent tropical climate, great potential for agro-petro industries etc.; in such a potential paradise, it is a total contradiction that we are steeped in a seemingly endless social-economic political crisis.

Galloping inflation is eating away at whatever increase in wages workers win. About 70,000 young, energetic people are being driven to drugs and crime through unemployment and an even greater number of our people are under-employed; epidemics of one kind or another silently and steadily are murdering our children, and those who survive to adulthood, face intense police brutality and a growing tendency to fascism, manifested by the emergence of torture and murder squads, series of repressive legislation and a judiciary wavering between 'law and order' and conscience; corruption and immorality in public affairs, like a tidal wave, are attempting to drown us all.

In fact, the system, its perpetrators and agents are like a cancer, eating away at the core of our society; only surgery can save us now.

But how have we arrived in this sad position in a country which held out such promise? A people with high hopes on the eve of Independence today are on the brink of chaos and disaster. Why?

OUR RECENT EXPERIENCES

We came here as two separate races, Africans and Indians (with some Chinese and even a few Europeans falling in a similar category), but we ended up in Trinago as ONE CLASS - THE WORKING CLASS - the people who slave, who toil, who produce the wealth and who are exploited by the ruling class in the process.

In 1919 as a class we first flexed our muscles in a general strike which won for some workers increase in wages and improved conditions, but we handed leadership to a petit-bourgeois, one from outside our class - Cipriani. Within ten years he had turned viciously against the workers and it took the militant leadership of Butler and the economic crisis of the 1930's to bring the workers to their rightful position, the vanguard.

Once more power eluded the working class. Because of a lack of understanding of their class position, the workers and the farmers were cleverly outmanouvered by the British, who, with their local agents, maintained a firm control of state power.

By 1956 the working class once more faced the same problem of power. Williams came on the scene, a glib-talking pseudo-nationalist bringing down the moon and the stars to the people of the country. And the working class (mainly African) supported him. His opposite number in race, the D.L.P., was supported by the Indian workers. Thus the working class was divided along lines of race.

The events of 1970, the massive demonstrations by the unemployed, the army uprising, the jailing of unionists, these were all inevitable. The system was decaying fast and these were the symptoms of that decay.

The State of Emergency in 1970 was precipitated not so much by the demonstrations in Port of Spain, or by Army disturbances, but moreso because sugar workers, a key section of the working class, and Indian, were moving to link up with the mainly African unemployed, who formed the vanguard of the 1970 uprising.

The unity of the people along a Class line is what Williams and the CIA and the Capitalists fear. 1971 saw this again - workers unrest led to another State of Emergency and detention of leaders of the working class.

After 1970, the NJAC leadership of the revolution gradually diminished, and the National United Freedom Fighters (NUFF) had a three year flirtation with armed struggle. But as dedicated as the comrades in NUFF were, they lacked organic relationship with the working class and this led to their demise.

From 1973, there emerged on the sugar scene new leadership, Leadership which perceived clearly the nature of the struggle as one of class as opposed to race; the workers and farmers had advanced considerably since 1970, and they easily understood their new-found power. In Oil, a process of education of the workers was given priority and by 1974 the Transport and Industrial Workers Union had formally opted for Socialism.

WHAT WE GO PUT

The United Labour Front born out of the struggles of 1974 and 1975 was, therefore, inevitable. The ULF meant the unity of two people who have been divided along race lines by power-crazed reactionary politicians. The ULF meant workers in the most important industries and services in the country - Oil, electricity, sugar, power and transport. The ULF crystallized the natural alliance between peasants and workers.

But the ULF was a Labour Organisation, an Association of Trade Unions trying to improve the life-styles of its members. Because of the nature of the capitalist society, however, the ULF was drawn into direct politics. It had to confront U.S. Imperialism in the multi-National Corporations: Texaco, Amoco, WR Grace; and British Imperialism - Unilever and Tate and Lyle; repressive legislation - the IRA, the Summary Offences Ordinance (Restricting demonstrations and meetings), Act 1 of 1965 (Cane Farmers Cess Act) - These factors have forced almost daily confrontations.

It has now become clear to the workers, that once power remains in the hands of the Imperialists and their agents, they (the workers) will be oppressed.

The ULF now has thrust upon it the historical responsibility of taking this 400 year old struggle to its logical conclusion - to organise the working class, to prepare our people to assume state power and to use that power to transform this society from the brutal decadence which now envelopes it, to one of peace, bread and justice, to one which ends the exploitation of man by man ..... to a new democracy.

The question we now face is no longer "who we go put" but rather "what we go put". For we recognise that the Capitalist - Imperialist system is the path to destruction. Today, Multinational Corporations own and control most of our oil, part of our sugar, the banks, and most of the key manufacturing industries. Today the U.S. Government can dictate to Williams on all aspects of national life, including which countries we ought to be friendly with. Today 10% of the big boys at the top control 40% of the National Income, while the working class, those who produce the oil and sugar and other goods and services, 80% of the population, controls a mere 32%.
The old order, the capitalist - imperialist order has collapsed - it is finished.

What we need now is a new system, one which will reflect the hopes and aspirations of the masses of the people. We need a system which will bring social and economic justice to all our people. We need a system which will return the human dignity of which the majority have been robbed through slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism and imperialism. We need a new dynamic, and new inspiration.

It is the duty of the ULF to effect in Trinago a working class ideology designed to put an end to the exploitation of man by man and in so doing, to abolish once and for all, those ills which have been characteristic of capitalist - imperialist domination.

That is what we have to do now. But it is not going to be easy. We have already seen the panic reaction to the ULF's declared intention to enter the political arena.

THE ENEMY

The PNM, the CIA, the Multi-Nationals have begun their campaign. Editorials appear in the Guardian and the Express Newspapers, mysterious letters to the Editors, all attacking the decision by the working class. And their line is clear - Trade Unions and Workers have no business with politics, they say, leave politics to the politicians.

In other words, leave power in the hands of these known and declared enemies of the workers, while the Unions beg every three years for a few more crumbs for our people. Leave them to sell a piece of Trinago every day to some foreigner while the Unions try to get two cents more COLA; leave the politicians to engage in endless corruption, to swindle millions of our dollars and enrich themselves while the Unions beg THEIR police for permission to hold Public meetings to talk about it. Leave the politicians in their hopeless inefficiency in running the affairs of the country, while we, the working class engage efficiently producing oil, sugar, electricity, food, etc. for them to consume.

This is what the PNM, the CIA, MNC's, the Guar-

dian etc., want. And they won't stop there, the CIA is going to spend millions of dollars to stop the ULF. In Chile the American Imperialists used everything - the Media, the Landowners, the MNC's - eventually the army to murder Allende and stop the workers' move.
Already too we notice the panic of some so called opposition groups; realizing that the ULF means death to their cheap "put me in Whitehall" politics, understanding that the workers have rejected them as traitors to the exploited, they now attempt to use race (apan jhat), the red menace (ULF is communist) etc. They too are finished.

All these are good signs; the workers and farmers and the unemployed are once more striking terror in the hearts of the enemy. But we have to be careful. We cannot, must not, repeat the errors of 1919, 1937, 1956, and 1970.

OUR TASK

In 1970, for over two months, the spontaneous mass movement neutralized the government and held de facto power, but was unable to seize state power. In 1975, we of oil and sugar demonstrated our power by a strike which brought the country to a standstill, but this immense industrial power was meaningless while political power remained in the hands of the enemy.

We, the working class people, have shown that we have the potential, the energy and the capacity to remove the regime and change the system. In order to bring this struggle to its logical conclusion WE NOW HAVE TO BUILD AN ORGANISED AND DISCIPLINED WORKING CLASS POLITICAL ORGANISATION, "distinct in character, committed to the unity of the workers as a class and to the advancement of the particular interests of the workers and of the people of Trinago generally" - (ULF COSSABO - Resolution - 3rd January, 1976).

Power is important. If we are to create the new democracy we need state power to bring about the change in the system. But in our struggle for power, we must not allow a seat in Parliament, or even Whitehall to take precedence over the building of our organisation; of the Worker's Party, Franz Fanon had this to say:

"The party should be direct expression of the masses. The Party is not an administration responsible for transmitting Government orders; it is the energetic spokesman and the incorruptible defender of the masses".

That is our task; to create such an organisation, indeed an institution, one which will eternally keep alive the spirit of our Rap Sessions, our COSSABO'S, our Mass Membership Meetings; henceforth not just at a Union level, but at a National Level. Not just to preach, but to practise the maximum in democracy that we of the ULF have guarded so jealously within our own organisations, that the oppressed people of our native land yearn for. Let us give it to them, LET THE U.L.F. GIVE TO THE PEOPLE OF TRINAGO.... THE NEW DEMOCRACY.

THE PROGRAMME - POWER TO THE WORKING CLASS

The United Labour Front, the vanguard of the working class struggle for the new democracy, is not concerned about reforms. Reforms and handouts are for those who are in a hustle to Whitehall, those who seek a seat in Parliament as the ultimate achievement.

These are the people who claim that what we need is a vibrant parliament with a good opposition.

But for decades we have had this - certainly up to 1971.

Who can forget the comic entertainment provided on the airwaves nightly by government and opposition? Mr. Speaker Sir ..... talk, talk, talk.

And while this talkshop for fancy speeches symbolised democracy the rich got stinking rich and the poor desperate; the multi-nationals quietly entrenched themselves, taking all our wealth, inflation became runaway, roads deplorable, epidemics daily, and on and on .....

That parliament with two multi-class, capitalist-oriented parties solved nothing. It solves nothing today, and it never will.

There are 800,000 people belonging to the oppressed classes in Trinago, workers, farmers, unemployed, small businessmen, teachers, public servants - whose productive forces and enormous constructive capacity CANNOT be liberated within the present system, which can only exploit and oppress them, use them today and discard them tomorrow. These forces, together with others who are not corrupted by collaboration with reactionary national and foreign interests, those who are not steeped in corruption - in other words, the united and combative action of the vast majority of the People must break the present iniquitous structures and advance toward true liberation.

In seeking to build the New Democracy, therefore, the U.L.F. proposes the establishment of Workers Committees everywhere - factories, farms, offices, villages, schools etc. Thus, the workers, farmers, students, etc., concerned will be able to have a decisive say in matters which affect their own interest and those of the nation at large. The workers will be able to elect their own delegates and give them a mandate to represent their interest at the REGIONAL and NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

CONTINUE ON INSIDE BACK COVER

Constitution of the Party

The extracts below are taken from the published version of the Constitution of the United Labour Front.

NAME, AIMS AND OBJECTS

1. The name of the Organisation is the United Labour Front (ULF).

2. The aims and objectives of the ULF are:-

a) To unite the working class as a class for political struggle and to struggle with the workers or any section of them for such political objectives as are immediately realisable and for the ultimate political objective of working class power;

b) To establish an economic system, a social order and a government consistent with the interests of the working classes and the people in general;

c) To promote and defend democracy and democratic institutions among the workers in particular and the people of Trinidad and Tobago in general;

d) To eliminate all forms of imperialism, capitalism and racialism in our society and to achieve genuine independence for Trinidad and Tobago in all spheres, economic, political, social and cultural, and to end the exploitation of man by man;

e) To secure and maintain the interests, well being and prosperity of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Trinidad and Tobago and to win and preserve their fundamental freedoms and human rights;

f) To provide for the political education of our people so as to stimulate their consciousness and guide their ideological social and cultural development;

g) To struggle against all trends which are opposed to the interest of the exploited masses;

h) To establish and maintain unity among the peoples of the working class in the Caribbean and Latin America and throughout the world;

i) To support and collaborate with progressive peoples who are struggling against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, capitalism, racialism, and fascism everywhere throughout the world.

THE BLOCK

1. The Block shall be the basic unit of the Party Party. Each Block shall consist of not less than ten members. No Block shall be formed without the prior approval of the Central Executive of the Party.

2. Blocks shall be organised in communities (villages, districts, towns, wards, counties), and places of employment or any other on a basis determined by the responsible Party organisation in the community, place of work or otherwise.

3. The functions of the Block shall be:-

a) To bring about the closest possible relationship between the Party and the working people in the community or work-place by joining and participating in the struggle of the people for political, economic, social and cultural improvements;

b) To win support for the Party's policy by conducting continuous propaganda, agitational and organizational work;

c) To win new members for the Party and to provide for their education and training so as to make them effective Party workers in their communities and work places.

THE AREA COMMITTEE

1. There shall be an Area Committee for the purpose of co-ordinating the activities of Blocks within a defined area.

2. The Area Committee shall be composed of representatives from the Blocks in the area among whom shall be the Block Leader the Block Secretary and one (1) elected delegate for each ten (10) financial members or part thereof of each Block, provided that at least one (1) such delegate shall not be an officer of the Block.

3. The functions of the Area Committee shall be:-

a) To superintend and co-ordinate the activities of the Blocks within its jurisdiction;

b) To make recommendations on Party matters and Party activities within the Area to the Regional Committee to which it is responsible;

c) To carry out all orders and directions and to perform such duties as may be delegated to it from time to time by the Central Executive or the Central Committee of the Party.

THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE

1. There shall be constituted Regional Committees of the Party, the functions of which shall include the proper administration of the Area Committee and the due execution of of those resolutions, programmes and policies communicated to the Regional Committee by the Central Executive or the Central Committee of the Party, and in particular to summon and to hold an Annual Conference of all Areas within the Region.

2. The functions of the Regional Committee shall be as follows:-

a) To report systematically to the Central Committee and to advise on Party activities within the region;

b) To co-ordinate the work of the Party auxiliaries within the Region;

c) To carry out all orders and instructions and to perform such duties as may be delegated to it from time to time by the Central Executive or the Central Committee of the Party.

THE PARTY CONGRESS

1. The Party Congress is the highest authority of the party, and is empowered to:-

a) Amend the Party Constitution;

b) Establish the general programme and policy of the Party;

c) Elect the Central Committee;

d) Make such other political and organizational decisions as are necessary and which shall be binding upon the entire membership of the Party.

2. The Party Congress will be held once every two years on the summons of the Central Committee, except that the Central Committee may decide by vote, on a two-thirds majority, and with good reason, to postpone the Congress to a date not later than one (1) year beyond the time at which it should normally be held.

3. The Party Congress will be composed of:-

i) Delegates elected by ballot from among the membership of the Blocks and the Area Committee on the following basis:-

a) In respect of the Blocks, one (1) delegate for every ten financial members or part thereof;

b) In respect of the Area Committee, four (4) delegates from each Area Committee at least one (1) of whom must be an ordinary member of the Committee;

c) In the case of the Regional Committee, the Regional Leader, the Regional Secretary, the Regional Treasurer, Educational Officer, and one (1) other delegate not being a member of the Regional Executive Committee.

ii) The Central Committee of the Party;

iii) Observers from the Party auxiliary group on a basis to be determined by the Central Committee.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

1. The Central Committee is the highest authority of the Party between Congresses. The size and composition of its membership shall be decided by the Party Congress which shall be empowered to elect the members of the Central Committee by ballot from among its members.

2. Only Party Blocks and Area Committees shall be entitled to nominate candidates for election to the Central Committee.

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE

1. The Central Executive shall consist of the Chairman, the General Secretary Treasurer and such other members of the Central Committee as it shall decide to elect.

2. The functions of the Central Executive shall be:-

a) To implement the decisions of the Central Committee;

b) To exercise all the rights and fulfil all the duties and obligations of the Central Committee between meetings of the Committee;

c) To report on activities of the Party at each meeting of the Central Committee and to make proposals with respect to policy for the ensuing period;

d) To consider reports from Regional and Area Committees, Blocks and other Party organisations and to advise and direct them on questions of Party programmes and policies;

e) To nominate Regional and Area Committees where for any reason whatsoever such Committees have ceased to exist, become inactive or defunct or otherwise inoperative or inoperable, and to direct, advise and instruct such Committees until such time as properly elected Committees may be constituted.

3. The Central Executive shall be empowered to:-

a) interpret all matters on which this Constitution and any Standing Orders and Rules or Regulations, made or to be made are silent or ambiguous;

CONTINUE ON INSIDE BACK COVER

RACIAL CONFLICT CONTINUE FROM PAGE 10

Trinidad peasantry into a cohesive and collective unit unusual for a peasantry, thereby strengthening their revolutionary potential.

The solution to the so-called Indian question holds the key, not only to the success of any Revolution in Trinidad, Guyana or Surinam, but also to the success of any Pan-Caribbean unity movement. As long as the Indian continues to feel alienated in his society, he will always react with fear against the idea of a larger political unit in which he will be an even smaller minority. In the context of what has been discussed above, this is not an entirely unjustified fear. The way to get rid of it is not to accuse him of "racialism", or to browbeat him into Pan-Caribbeanism, but to ensure that he is truly integrated into the revolutionary project in a way which respects his individuality and autonomy. Once that is assured, and he is convinced of his place in the new society as an equal partner, Pan-Caribbeanism will lose the frightening prospects which it now holds for him.

CONSTITUTION OF ULF CONTINUE FROM PAGE 40

b) make Orders, Rules and Regulations in respect of any matter not provided for within the Constitution whether by reason of omission or oversight;

c) delineate and project the specific policies, strategies and tactics of the Party in conformity with the general programme and policy formulated by the Party Congress or Special Party Conference.

4. The Central Executive shall appoint Education Officers to carry out ideological work among and assign them to Blocks, Area and Regional Committees. Such Officers shall be entitled to attend and participate in the meetings of the Party units to which they are assigned.

RAFFIQUE SHAH CONTINUE FROM PAGE 25

should prepare to fight physically if it becomes necessary. It is quite true that a country like Trinago cannot withstand an invasion by U.S. imperialism. But we must view this question from the standpoint of the political development of Trinidad and Tobago within the context of the whole Caribbean.

If the working class of America were to stand up and ensure that their armies do not intervene in the Caribbean, victory would be ours and our people would be free from the oppression and exploitation of imperialism. Whether or not this happens, one thing is clear. The people of the Caribbean are prepared to stand up.

ULF PROGRAM AND POLICY CONTINUE FROM PAGE 38

This National Assembly shall comprise of delegates from all sectors of the community, shall meet at regular intervals, and shall discuss and decide upon all matters of national interest. As such, the National Assembly will genuinely reflect the wishes and aspirations of the masses of the people.

Parliament is there to operate on a day to day basis, and TO CARRY OUT THE WILL OF THIS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

That is true democracy; that is the NEW DEMOCRACY.

SOCIAL PROPERTY:

The ULF proposes, therefore, that ALL OUR NATURAL RESOURCES MUST BE OWNED AND CONTROLLED BY OUR PEOPLE. Several Key areas of the economy must be controlled by the state on behalf of our prople.

OIL - including crude oil, natural gas, fertilizer plants.
SUGAR
FOREIGN TRADE - all import - export
STRATEGIC INDUSTRIAL MONOPOLIES e.g. Motor Vehicles, Cement, Rum
LARGE DISTRIBUTION MONOPOLIES
FINANCIAL SYSTEM, including foreign banks and issurance companies

AREA OF MIXED OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY:

There are several industries - mainly medium sized manufacturing industries, which are involved in the manufacturing of commodities essential to the people of the country e.g. - cloth, clothing, shoes, drugs, building materials, etc.

The ULF proposes a combination of state, private capital in these industries, the state providing the necessary credits and loans for purposes of expansion and rationalisation in order that our people may be adequately supplied with these essentials at minimal costs.

Trinago has an important role to play in the development of the New World Economic Order; we therefore commit ourselves to active involvement in this sphere with countries throughout the world which are serious about eradicating neo-colonialism, imperialism, monopoly capitalism and the trans-national corporations.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The ULF recognises the right of people throughout the world to struggle for their liberation, the right of rebellion of the peoples subjected to colonialism, neo-colonialism, economic, political and/or military aggression.

EDITORIAL continued from page 1

The ULF, therefore, has the objective basis and political strength to mobilize employed workers, unemployeds, housewives, peasants and small farmers, fishermen, small shopkeepers and artisans, students and the progressive sector of the professional middle-class into an organized revolutionary mass movement to take state power and economic power and to begin the process of socialist transformation. That is its great potential and historic task. There is no internal force (armed or unarmed) in Trinidad and Tobago that can prevent such an organized movement from taking power, and no Caribbean state would dare to send military assistance to prop the local ruling class. It would demand the intervention of massive foreign forces (from U.S., Venezuela, Brazil etc.) to defeat the movement, but such intervention could precipitate a Caribbean-wide war that would have severe repercussions in North America, Britain and Europe.

****

Notwithstanding the great potential of the United Labour Front and its expressed socialist aims, inherent in its very formation is the character of a leftist "mass party" or left populist movement. A leftist "mass" party in Trinidad and Tobago today cannot but contain a spectrum of class forces and divergent political tendencies that may be obscure at present, but will surely come to the fore as the class struggle intensifies. The apparent "openness" of the party would tend to allow political opportunists, seeking a popular bandwagon to power, to infiltrate the organization. In early May, Dr. Ivan Perot took his Liberation Action Party, a breakaway faction of the bourgeois West Indian National Party, into the ULF "so that a truly united people's front can become an organized reality." The likely result would be a party paralysed by internal dissension and consequently indecisive and compromising at the most critical moment of the class struggle. What follows is well known.

The second weakness of a leftist "mass" party is that it sees no distinction between itself and the revolutionary classes as a whole. Consequently, when in the course of intense class struggle the workers and peasants throw up their own independent truly mass organisations, the "mass" party attempts either to co-opt the mass organizations as appendages or to effectively crush them.

There can be no doubt that a Revolutionary Vanguard or Revolutionary Party of workers and farmers, led by the working-class is a necessity in Trinidad and Tobago. The ULF, however, seems to be developing more as a leftist popular front than as a revolutionary vanguard. In the absence of a strong Revolutionary Vanguard that could mobilize and organize the workers and farmers into an organized mass movement for power, existing small socialist organizations should rally around the ULF to build and strengthen democratic workers and farmers committees in the course of concrete struggles and to wage ideological struggle against reformist tendencies and influences. At the same time, it is equally necessary and urgent to build the Revolutionary Vanguard.

LATE NEWS

U.L.F Seeking Electoral Alliance

As we go to press, information has come to hand that a 19-man pro-tem Central Committee of the ULF has been elected with the power to co-opt other members for conducting the affairs of the Party. The Central Committee was directed by the convention to call the first Congress of the party before December 31, 1976. The Chairman of the Central Committee is Joe Young, and the General Secretary is Dr. James Millette.

It has also been reported that the Liberation Action Party (LAP), led by Dr. Ivan Perot, has been dissolved and its members have joined the ULF. It is significant to note that LAP was formed as a break-away faction of the West Indian National Party, a bourgeois party of the East Indian middle-class, led by Ashford Sinnanan.

The ULF is presently holding discussions with the Democratic Action Congress (DAC), led by A.N.R. Robinson who was Deputy Prime Minister until he broke with the PNM in 1970. The ULF-DAC talks have been focusing on the formation of an electoral coalition or front of the two parties to challenge the PNM for governmental power. However, it has been reported that the two parties are in conflict over which party candidate will run in particular constituencies. DAC has already announced 24 of its full slate of 36 candidates for the forthcoming elections. Further reports indicate that ULF and the United Democratic Labour Party (an East Indian based middle-class party) have begun exploratory talks on an electoral alliance.

The ULF is treading on very dangerous political ground. An electoral alliance with middle-class parties would force the ULF to compromise its already compromised position. The result would be at best left reformism a la Manley in Jamaica. The coming national elections give the ULF the great opportunity to mobilize the oppressed masses, clarify the burning issues and to build the embryonic organized base of the Party and the Mass Movement at one and the same time. Which way will ULF take?

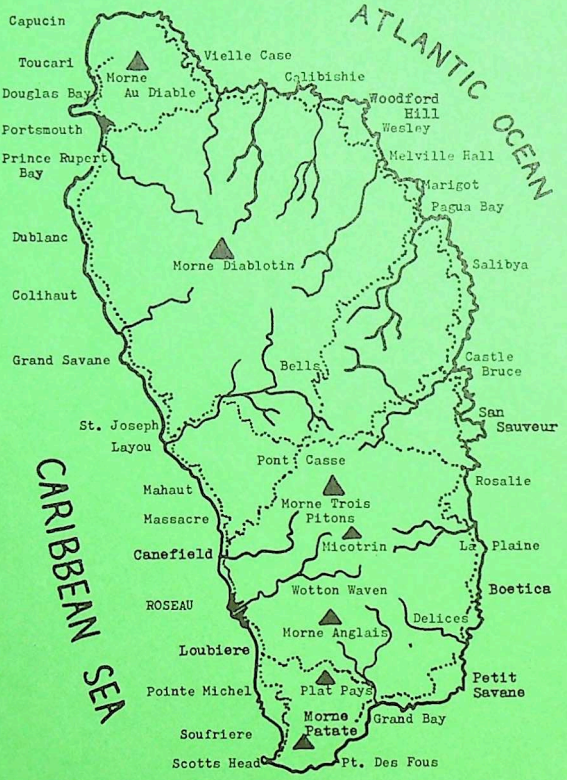
CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

A MONTHLY INFORMATION SERVICE

Vol. 2 Nos. 5&6 June/July, 1976

DOMINICA

CONDITIONS and STRUGGLES in a small agrarian economy



ALSO INSIDE

- State of Emergency in Jamaica
- Asian Struggles in Britain
- Gairyism in Grenada
- Independence and Transformation
- Debating the Issues

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE is a Caribbean information service published by the New Beginning Movement in collaboration with the Race Today Collective and other groups, organisations and individuals in the Caribbean and in the metropolitan centres of North America and Europe. Caribbean Dialogue is produced by the Toronto chapter of the New Beginning Movement with the active assistance of other organisations and individuals.

Caribbean Dialogue is distributed as a free service to groups and organisations in the Caribbean. Individuals and institutions in the Caribbean and organisations, institutions and individuals in other countries can obtain copies by subscription or at a limited number of bookstores.

Subscription rates are given in the subscription order form printed elsewhere in this issue.

Subscription orders and requests for further information should be sent to one of the following centres:

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Britain : Race Today, 74 Shakespeare Road, London, S.E. 24

This issue of Caribbean Dialogue is another double issue highlighting analyses, trends and struggles in the smaller territories (eg. Grenada, Antigua, Dominica) of the English speaking Caribbean. Over the past few months we have been receiving a large volume of material from groups, organisations and individuals active in various parts of the Caribbean. Indeed, our regular issue has already become too limited to accomodate all the material. Further, the increased volume of work has made it necessary for us to obtain full-time personnal. During August and September, we will be taking a rest from our publishing work to reassess the first 12 months of Caribbean Dialogue, to clarify concrete perspectives and to re-organise and streamline our work to meet the rising demands of the Caribbean-wide struggle for information, a medium of discussion and debate and an international perspective based on the factual reality of world economics and politics. We plan to expand the information service to include research and other publishing ventures geared to service all groups and organisations that are involved in the Caribbean liberation struggle. We will be publishing an "Assessment and perspectives" in one of our regular monthly issues by the end of this year.

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Race Today

Race Today is a revolutionary journal published by the Race Today Collective, a Black working-class organisation involved in the struggles of Black immigrant workers in Britain as an integral section of the British and International working-class.

Race Today reports and analyses workers struggles in India, the Caribbean, North America and Europe.

The Race Today Collective brings not only a new approach to Marxist interpretation of struggles in Capitalist society but also adds a new dimension to revolutionary journalism.

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potentials and pitfalls of co-ops

Within the past 3-5 years, there has been the widespread emergence of agricultural co-operatives led by the youth throughout the English-speaking Caribbean. In some instances, such a as Castle Bruce (see article in this issue), agricultural workers have formed co-ops in the heat of struggles to control land and production. In order to develop and clarify a liberating perspective and strategy for the emerging co-operative movement, it is necessary to know the potentials and pitfalls of the co-op.

The political and economic potential of the co-op as an instrument and weapon of social liberation cannot be understated. Firstly, co-operative farming is a daily activity around which young people, particularly the unemployed, small farmers and rural dwellers in general can be organised to collectively struggle. Secondly, the co-op can provide a means of economic survival and upliftment particularly within the context of widespread unemployment and poverty in the Caribbean. Thirdly, the concrete struggle to build co-ops would develop the consciousness of the youth a as to the reality of local state and economic organisation, the task and discipline of managing production and distribution, and would result in a more concrete understanding of the mechanisms and power of imperialist economic control. Fourthly, by engaging in "productive" activities in which the majority of "active labour" is employed, the youth could begin to break down the barriers that divide youth and adults, employed and unemployed, workers and farmers, etc..

However, the potential of the agricultural co-op is counter-balanced by inherent pitfalls There is a strong objective tendency in the operation of the co-operative within a capitalist economy for it to become an end in itself. Most of the young people that are engaged in the development of co-operative agriculture have little if any experience in agricultural production. Even in cases where former estate workers and farmers build co-ops through struggle (e.g Castle Bruce), the rulin class imposed ignorance of workers and middle-management alike in the wider and important aspects of management, production, marketing, etc. places them in a weak position vis a vis the economic ruling class. Consequently, the struggle to begin is continued and transformed in the operative phase as a struggle fo economic survival or economic viability. Whether or not the leadership of the co-op began with a political perspective, the realit of the conditions and system of relations within which the co-op is forced to operate demands that the leaders and members channel all their energies in the "battle for production" (as was the slogan of the Chilean CP during the Allende Presidentcy). The struggle to solve detailed production problems; the struggle to increase productivity; the struggle for markets; the struggle to manage the central affairs of the co-op; in short the struggle for survival saps the energies of co-op members. In addition, the power of the system of economic relations demands that the co-op conforms to the guidelines, regulations, and system of relations imposed by the capitalist credit institutions, marketing agencies, various departments of the state, the imperialist market, etc.. In general, the co-op has to operate in a capitalist economy that forces it to conform to capitalist principles. The co-op that perhaps started off with noble ideals becomes transformed into a capitalist institution within the bowels of the working masses. Relations between "driver" and worker management and mass, within the co-op organisation begin to mirror the institutional relations of any capitalist enterprise. Capital and the State that were perhaps hostile to the co-op movement at first suddenly seem to be promoting the development of co-ops and to provede them with land, credit, marketing outlets, facilities, etc.. The co-op as an institution of the working people is turned into another institution of capital and state control over the working masses.

In the 19th century, the utopian socialists attempted to use the co-op as the strategic socialist instrument of gaining control of the means of production in order to take power from the class of private capitalists. That strategy was utopian then, as Marx analysed, and it is ten times more so today. This is not to say that the co-op as a form of organisation around daily activities and as an instrument for the development of critical consciousness is irrelevant to the liberation process. It is no accident that the co-op form of organisation was an integral part of the liberation struggles in China, Cuba, Vietnam and Africa. In all revolutionary situatio and mass struggles that have occured historica agricultural workers and peasants have formed "committees", "soviets", "councils", etc. to seize land, take control of production and gai political and economic power. Within the cont text of a Workers and Farmers State, the co-op in various forms, some rudimentary, others

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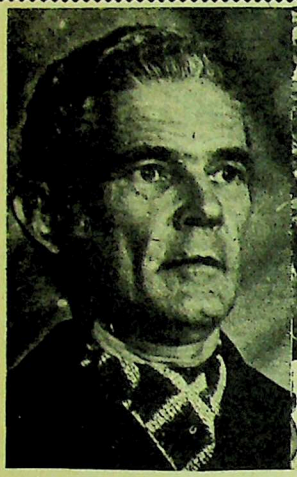
STATE OF EMERGENCY



Michael Manley

Demonstration in support of Manley and the PNP

On Saturday, June 19, the Government of Michael Manley declared a State of Emergency "to give further powers to the security forces in their fight to maintain law and order". The Emergency empowers the security forces "to lock up and keep locked up all persons whose activities are likely to endanger the public safety, and in particular, the gunmen and terrorists".

In outlining the reasons for the declaration of State of Emergency, Prime Minister, Michael Manley, in a nation-wide broadcast on June 19, said:

> "We have seen for the first time in our history children being armed. We have seen innocent people murdered in the privacy of their homes and on the streets, business places held up and robbed, offices and dwellings raged to the ground on a scale complete beyond anything in our experience .....
>
> "These wanton and ruthless activities have had the effect of not only creating fear throughout our country, but have been slowly bringing the economy to a halt".

The State of Emergency came after some six months of escalating violent confrontations in Kingston; burning of entire urban communities; economic sabotage by the imperialist corporations and local capitalists through curtailment of investment, closure of production units, export of money-capital, propaganda in the local and U.S. mass media, etc. Sophisticated weapons more fatal and destructive than those carried by the Jamaican security forces, were being used by para-milatary gangs and in the first six months of 1976, over 150 people lost their lives in violent confrontations. As violence escalated, it became clear that the local Jamaican capitalists under the political leadership of the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) were in collusion with the CIA and other imperialist agencies to overthrow the Manley Government as a means of maintaining capitalist/imperialist hegemony (see Caribbean Dialogue, March, 1976,Vol.2 No.2).

Two significant events, that seemed to have been used by the Manley Government to politically legitimise the State of Emergency, formed the prelude to the declaration of the Emergency, both events occurred on Friday, June 18.

On the morning of June 18, Mr. Herb Rose, National Political Organiser of the JLP, resigned from the Party and at a midday press conference accused the JLP of utilizing "violent means to obtain victory at the polls". Mr. Rose said that the JLP was providing guns and ammunition to "half-starved and maltreated youngsters and encouraging them to take up a life of crime and violence in an effort to win the next elections". Speaking from his "inner knowledge" of the party, Mr. Rose said that he is convinced that the whole strategy of the JLP "is based

upon violence and the use of violent means to obtain victory at the polls". The JLP's plan, according to Mr. Rose, is to escalate the "violent pattern" and as election approaches "violence will gain momentum and ferocity, and the country will witness almost civil disobedience". He concluded his statement by confirming that "gunmen are all around like ticks". Prior to the press conference, Mr. Rose handed over party documents to the security forces and informed them of certain subversive activities of the JLP. In the aftermath of the press conference, the leadership of the JLP requested police to detain Mr. Rose and charge him with "public mischief".

The second significant event was the discovery of an arms cache in a construction site in Trench Town (West Kingston). The arms cache included 1 submachine gun, five revolvers, 431 rounds of ammunition, sub-maching gun magazines, detonators and fuses and two 6-channels walkitalkie radios of "Tokai" make that "are new to the island".

DETENTIONS

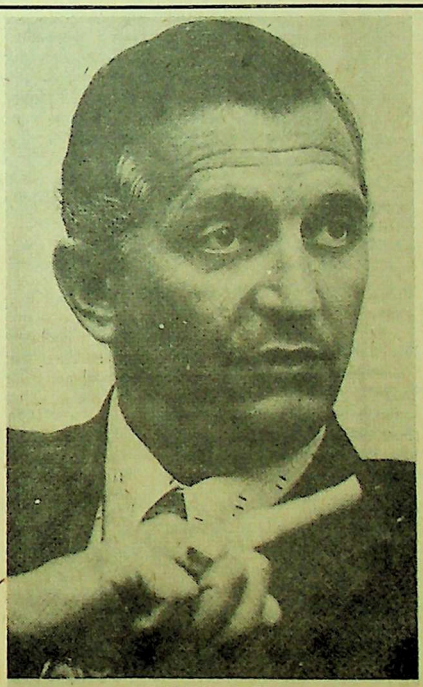
Between June 19-30, 355 persons were detained under the State of Emergency that is being controlled by a Joint Police/Military High Command. Of the 355 persons detained, 164 were released, 132 held for further questioning and 32 charged. Twelve of those detained are members of the JLP and 10 are from the PNP. During the first week of the Emergency, some of the people detained were:

- Ray Miles, a vice-president of the Jamaica Manufacturers' Association (JMA) and PR chairman of the JLP
- Earl Spencer, Political youth organiser of the JLP
- Victor Troupe, a JLP organiser
- Peter Whittingham, JLP candidate in elections
- Ferdie Yap Sam, JLP candidate in elections
- Patrick Stevens, businessman and a JLP organiser
- Reginald George Saunders, businessman
- Senator Pearnel Charles, deputy leader of the JLP and assistant supervisor of the BITU (JLP controlled union). Charles has been charged on "six counts with inciting to create breaches of the peace".

As we go to press, reports from Jamaica indicate that over 1000 persons have been detained so far, though the great majority of those detained have been released.

VIOLENT OVERTHROW

As security forces closed in on the JLP and began to uncover concrete evidence of "plots" and "para-military activities", Mr. Edward Seaga, leader of the JLP, accused the PNP government of using the State of Emergency to carry out a witch-hunt against the JLP and to silence its leaders. The two daily papers, The Jamaica Gleaner (owned by local capitalists) and the Daily News (owned by local capitalists and ITT - the latter was involved in preparations of the bloody Perrochet coup in Chile and the assasination of Allende), have been consistently supporting JLP positions. However, recent discoveries demonstrate clearly that the JLP has been preparing a deliberate and calculated escalation of violence that would lead to the overthrow of the Manley Government by any means necessary, primarily para-military attacks. It has also been discovered that a group of Jamaican capitalists in Canada, primarily those who ran out of Jamaica in the last five years, has pledged over $1 million to the violent overthrow of the Manley Government. Information reaching Caribbean Dialogue indicate that this pledge was made at a closed meeting of the group in March this year during the visit of a top-ranking leader of the JLP. What else has the group pledged? A mercenary army! Weapons and other para-military equipment! Recently, the Jamaican Freedom League (JLP-Toronto) denied any such pledge was made. If the pledge was made, would they admit it?



EDWARD SEAGA

SEAGA'S TACTICS

As a tactic to deflect the Jamaican people away from the imperialist-backed para-military gangs of the JLP and the sabotage of the economy by the imperialists and local capitalists, Mr. Seaga collected a number of published pamphlets and handed them over to the Director of Public Prosecutions for legal action. The documents, Mr. Seaga said, "were printed, published and widely distributed on the streets to thousands of people over a number of months" by such organisations as Workers' Liberation League; South-West St. Andrew Citizens Association, PNP youth organisation; Revolutionary Marxist League; etc. The documents called for the immediate setting-up of a system of People's Community Councils and Courts "so that all traitors to our country can be found and punished", and the creation of a People's Militia - (see Caribbean Dialogue, March, Vol.2 No.2, 1976). Mr. Seaga said that those documents are "far more dangerous in what they propose and advocate than anything so far revealed to the nation" (for the latter, see excerpts from Prime Minister Manley's address to Parliament on recent discoveries printed in this issue). Obviously, to Mr. Seaga and the Jamaican capitalist middle-class, People's Councils, People's Courts, a People's Militia, nationalization of imperialist property, etc. are very dangerous because such measures threaten capitalist hegemony and middle-class political rule and power. The private local capitalists and the professional middle-class are not depending on the JLP alone to launch an organised right-wing political offensive. They have been organising outside the JLP and waging a propaganda campaign in preparation for a major right-wing offensive (see article on formation of Private Sector Organisation in this issue). The Jamaican Manufacturers Association (JMA) has been consistently attacking the Manley Government, supporting the positions of the JLP, and recently Mr. Douglas Vaz, president of the JMA, called on the Government to resign and hold new elections (Mr. Vaz resigned as President of the JMA in late June to become more directly involved in the JLP's right-wing counter-offensive). After the State of Emergency was declared, the JMA Directors warned Government of

> "the adverse effects on production and employment which have already begun to manifest since the announcement of the State of Emergency, as already significant reductions and withdrawals of foreign credit by overseas suppliers and confirming houses have further reduced producers ability to procure raw materials, capital and intermediate goods, and should the State of Emergency exceed 30 days the inevitable escalation of already widespread unemployment could add considerably to social upheavel".

THE ALTERNATIVES

What else is the above statement, but a linguistic disguise for further sabotage of the economy and an escalation of violence by the forces of reaction. Since the Manley Government has extended the State of Emergency for at least another 100 days, we can expect more economic sabotage, "widespread unemployment" and capitalist-instigated "social upheaval". The State of Emergency has only slowed down the rate of development of open class struggle. Like Allende in Chile, Manley in Jamaica is attempting to institute "democratic socialist" reforms through the instrument of the dependent capitalist state he inherited and to abide by the capitalist through which he came to power.

What Manley in fact needs to do is to control the expansion of direct, private local and imperialist capital; to redistribute social wealth in favour of the workers and farmers (only to some degree); to extend bourgeois democracy to involve the "active participation" of the masses in their own exploitation; all under the supreme authority and power of the state. The consequence would be a reform of the capitalist organisation of state and society. But the local private capitalists and the imperialists cannot allow the extension of their own bourgeois democracy for that would threaten their very survival and conjure up in their vision the spectre of workers and farmers power. Unlike Chile, however, the Manley Government is no Unidad Populaire and the Jamaican Armed Forces do not have the capacity to maintain Military rule a la Pinochet. The alternative for the right, therefore, is either massive, imperialist, armed intervention or a combined Civilian (JLP)/Military seizure of power under the strategic and technical command of the imperialists. The former, in the final analysis, could prove a disaster for the imperialist bourgeoisie in the entire Americas; the latter is more likely. The mass movement of workers, farmers, youth, etc. has only one alternative - political clarification and mass organisation to win demands in its own interest and to rapidly develop its political strength to gain increasing power and eventually state power as the first stage in the transformation process. The next 18 months will be decisive in the Jamaican struggle of the present period.

IMPORTANT

There will be no Caribbean Dialogue in August and September. Publication resumes in October with a special issue on Blacks in Britain.

Manley reveals rightist plots

The following excerpt were taken from a speech made by Prime Minister Micheal Manley to the Jamaican Parliament at the end of June. In this statement Mr. Manley released information consisting of hand written documents, tape recording of Security forces' transmissions and the location of a stock-pile of dynamite and fuse wire, which he said was discovered by the security forces. He indicated that the documents and tapes revealed the organisation of sinister operations aimed at creating social unrest to subvert his Government utilizing the tactics of urban guerillas and anti-communists propaganda.

Mr. Speaker, I now have to give this House and the nation some of the information and the facts that have come into the hands of the Security Forces during the past ten days. Before doing so, however, I would like to sketch the background of the information that I am about to give.

Ever since November of last year, the Security Forces have been increasingly concerned about two things. Firstly, intelligence reports that increasingly suggested that the pattern of violence in Jamaica stems from something more sinister than sporadic reactions to alleged victimisation or purely local struggles to gain political control of particular pieces of alectoral territory within constituencies. These reports indicated that there was a deeper and wider conspiracy at work aimed at national objectives involving the stability of the society and the security of the constitutionally elected Government itself.

Secondly, the Security Forces were concerned at the increasingly sophisticated, para-military quality of the violence we have suffered this year. Its scale and patterns suggest the kind of planned terrorism that is more in keeping with guerilla tactics than with local electoral skirmishing.

MILITARY WEAPONS

Firstly, I wish to inform this House that the Police gained possession of a briefcase last week. The contents of that briefcase are being meticulously examined and analysed. For the moment let me draw the attention of the House and the nation to three documents found in this briefcase, all in handwriting. First document:

"ST. ANN'S AREA: 22 trained men; 100 ideologically indoctrinated; 300supporters. Supplies: 200 rifles; 100 sub-machine guns; 2 barrels of gunpowder; 50,000 anti-government pamphlets".

I draw attention to the word "area". The heading is 'St. Ann's Area'. This at least suggests that the items listed refer to one of a number of similar groupings.

Idraw attention to the following: Firstly, rifles, machine guns and gun powder are not normally associated with criminal activity. They have absolutely nothing to do with resentment of alleged victimisation; nor with traditional political rivalry which has from time to time, erupted into political violence within constituencies. These are military weapons. These are implements used in para-military or guerilla operations concerned with matters such as organised terrorism or even the violent overthrow of a government.

When one takes the listing of men, their description as trained people, and looks at it in conjunction with the nature of their supplies, there is no question but that the document indicates the formation anf training of a para-

military organisation equipped to engage in warfare directed against the Government.

I now turn to a number of pages in handwriting, one group of which are headed 'Anti-Communist League' and the other group of which are headed 'Werewolf'. These two handwritten documents devote considerable space to the presentation and repetition of the standard lie of the Opposition that I am a Communist heading a Communist Government.

As you read these documents, it becomes clear that the lies about Communism and this Government are used to set the stage for comments such as these:

"Michael Manley and his Government are dedicated Communists and we intend to destroy them at all costs." This is taken from the document headed 'Werewolf' which the writer describes as a "militant underground movement". He then goes on to say:

"Werewolf is now willing to take up arms against the Communist regime and purge them from our shores."

The other document sets out an organisation with different levels of responsibility and secrecy. At the top is a High Command whose role is stated as follows:

"The High Command will coordinate both the conservative and militant wings and be responsible for Liaison with any other forces, local or foreign, who sympathise with the cause."

This, we will observe, is the language of violent overthrow, or at least of organised terrorism. Incidentally, it will interest members of the House to know that the name "Werewolf" was used during the last War to describe the secret agents of the Nazi movement who served the most evil man of the twentieth century, the racist and fascist Adolf Hitler, murderer of six million Jews and countless millions others.

ESPIONAGE

I wish now to advise the House that this briefcase has been identified as the property of one of those persons about whose detention the Leader of Opposition has complained and sought to make mischievous propaganda. The handwriting of these documents has also been positively identified by the handwriting experts of the Secutiry Forces as being the writing of the owner of the briefcase who has admitted that it is his. The owner of the briefcase and author of these documents is Mr. Peter Whittingham, candidate of the Jamaica Labour Party for the Eastern Constituency of St. Catherine. It is worthy of note that Mr. Whittingham is a former Officer of the Jamaica Defence Force and, therefore a fully trained military man.

I now turn to another person about whose detention complaint has presumably been made. In the home of this person the Security Forces have found two tapes. Both these tapes are recordings of excellent quality of the secret transmissions of our Security Forces when engaged in Joint Police/Military operations. By an examination of the logs which are kept by the Security Forces, we have been able to identify positively that one of the tapes is a recording of all of the transmissions of the Police and the Military on the night of May 14, five days before the terrible Orange Street fire. The operation in question was being carried out in the Payne Avenue and Brotherton Avenue areas. The actual occasion of the second tape has not yet been identified, but it will be in due course.

Mr. Speaker, these tapes were found in the home of the Deputy Leader of the Jamaica Labour Party, Senator Pearnel Charles. This is another of the persons about whose detention the Leader of the Opposition has complained and sought to make propaganda. And, here, Mr. Speaker, I pause to make it absolutely clear that I am not commenting on any of the counts in the indictment under which Mr. Charles was arrested recently. Details of this new indictment matter will emerge in due course in the Courts of Law and it would not be proper for me to make any comment upon them.

Now I wish to stress the following points. Firstly, the Police and the Military did not record these transmissions during their joint operations. Therefore, there can be no question that official tapes could have fallen by accident into the hands of the person in whose home they were found.

The recording of these conversations can thus only be a deliberate and plainly subversive act involving a form of espionage on that aspect of the work of the Security Forces that is so vital in the struggle to maintain law and order and to protect the lives of innocent citizens by catching the criminals and the gunmen. There is absolutely no circumstance whatsoever in which the act of listening in on these security transmissions could be innocent or harmless. The very act is in itself subversive.

CACHE OF DYNAMITE

Against this background, the House and the nation may wish to take a fresh look at the significance of a discovery made by the Police in Glendevon, Montego Bay last week Friday. Members will recall that last week Tuesday, I mentioned the fact that the Security Forces had warned the Government of their belief that there was a plan to launch a new wave of violence on the North Coast aimed at the Tourist Industry in general and Carifesta in particular. This, they feared, was part of the general design to bring down this Government or at the

- continued on page 14

williams attacks williams

At the end of May this year, Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago and Political Leader of the People's National Movement (PNM) for 20 years delivered an address at a meeting of the General Council of the Party during which he attacked the Party and the candidates nominated by party branches to contest the forthcoming 1976 elections. The excerpts printed below are taken from that address, followed by a commentary on the main points of Williams' attack.

PARTY MILLSTONES

In his address, Williams admits that there exists a "total indifference to the traditional electioneering (and a) disdain for political parties" on the part of the people. He says: "the electorate wishes no part whatsoever of the majority of the PNM incumbents and nominees, no matter who else is satisfied with them". Considering the "PNM incumbents and nominees as "aspirants", Williams goes on to say:

The sole weapon of these aspirants who boast of their party group nomination ..... is dependence on the Political Leader to fight the election for them.

"Let it be understood now, once and for all, by all and sundry - the Political Leader has not the slightest intention of encumbering himself yet again, with these traditional party millstones, unable to speak properly, knowing nothing of basic issues facing country and world, incompetent for higher responsibilities which ultimately fall on the Political Leader's shoulders, unable - unbelievable though it sounds - even to seek to assist their constituents in difficulty, who further turn to the Political Leader and interfere with his attention to his formal, public, national responsibilities.

"The Political Leader has not the slightest intention of leading into an election campaign some of the choices of a few party members ....

WILLIAM'S SOLUTION

"Either the nominees remain and you get a more appropriate Political Leader, or the Political Leader remains and you get more appropriate candidates for whom no apology need be made. There is no other alternative.

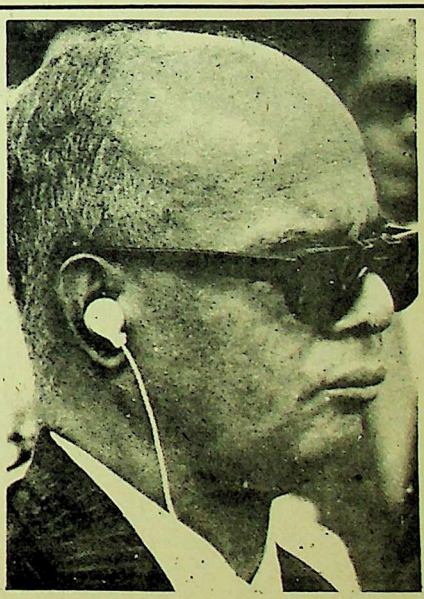
"There are no young people in PNM's team, and only one woman has been nominated over and above the present lone PNM female in the House of Representatives. PNM's team shows total contempt for Women's Lib. and the voice of youth. If anything is political suicide, that is.

"If I must stay on, I shall do so only as the leader of a team comprising persons of tested competence and loyalty, on the one hand, and, on the other, new recruits both male and female, both young and old, to be trained in the responsibilities of independent nationhood, dedicated to party discipline and morality in public affairs.

"If these principles I enunciate (including declaration of assets of prospective parliamentarians; measures to prevent members of one party from "crossing the floor" in Parliament, etc.) are not acceptable, then the party must get a new Political Leader and the country a new Prime Minister more attuned to party indiscipline and public immorality".

THE REAL ISSUE

After 20 years of leading the state and the party; after 20 years of completely dominating party and state to the last detail; after 20 years of purging all professional elements with some bourgeois "competence" from the party; after 20 years of tolerating and encouraging crude and widespread corruption; after 15 years of subjecting large numbers of the oppressed classed to party card and party loyalty in order to obtain employment, land and other material necessities; today in 1976 Williams tells the people of Trinidad and Tobago and the Caribbean that the Party



Eric Williams

is nothing. As Political Leader, he throws the entire blame for the bankruptcy and emptiness of the Party on his very political assistants whom he hand-picked. That is the ultimate in political absurdity.

As Franklyn Harvey points out in The Rise and Fall of Party Politics in Trinidad and Tobago, NBM, 1974; "The party was Williams and Williams was the party. The leadership was Williams and Williams was the leadership .... If computers could have organized people, chair meetings and obtain opinions and views from people, Williams would have needed no leadership with him and no party structure .... the party became only a shell of its former self. The party card became the pass for the worker to sell his labour-power in order to exist. Even with the party card, and moreso without it, bribery became the only way out. Prestige, position and material rewards for services rendered became the motto of the professional middle-class. Fat profits through corruption became the motivation of civil administrators and the commercial middle-class. The Party no longer functions as a political party but as a show piece. The membership of the party no longer sees itself as the beacon for change, but as a body of commercial agents seeking material profit. The cult of the leader has become more entrenched than it ever was ..... state power becomes the means, the instrument of maintaining state-power" (pages 28-31). Williams was the King of the PNM, the leadership (if one can use that term) his court, and the membership his subjects. The open crash was inevitable. As Harvey projected, "The Party disintegrates. The Party is dead. Bury the Party".

DILEMA

Why has Williams waited until now to attack himself? Two reasons! (1) Williams knows nothing about political organization. Before leading the PNM, Williams had absolutely no experience of political organization. He played no concrete role in the organization of the PNM in the early years. It was other experienced members of the party leadership such as Patrick Solomon that gave Williams a few lessons in practical politics, and people like Ivan Williams were the organizers. His leadership of the PNM was based on his oratorial talents, his knowledge and recital of facts, figures and static information, and the myth of his intellectualism. Faced with degeneration, internal decay and paralysis, Williams knows not what to do. (2) For the first time in his political career, Williams is faced with a serious political challenge (see Caribbean Dialogue, Vol2 Nos. 3 and 4, April/May, 1976) and he smells defeat, elections or no elections. That is his crisis and the crisis of the PNM. The rest is details.

A SHOW OF STRENGTH

The Asian community in Britain is presently being tested in an experience of 'blood and fire'. Three members of the community have been murdered by whites. Hundreds more have been physically attacked in their homes and on the streets by small groups of white males. White housewives have in some communities banded together to make the lives of their Asian female neighbours intolerable.

These attacks have been concentrated on the Asian community. For Asians, Britain at this moment is, in one sense, divided between those who attack them and those who don't. West Indians fall in the middle of this divide. A small minority of West Indians, young males and housewives, have been involved in attacks on Asians. The vast majority stand aloof, using space and time to state guardedly the dying myths and prejudices they have fostered towards the Asian community.

These are experiences which the *Race Today* Collective have gathered during the last two years. We have been involved, in this period, in assisting Bengali workers in the East End of London to build an organised mass movement on the issue of housing.

Neither is the Asian community of one mind. The blood and fire experience has brought to the surface those tensions and divisions which have been ever present in the community as it has grown and developed here in Britain.

The mass of Asians are either male or female workers or full-time housewives. In the East End, the men leave their homes at all hours to catch the shift. They are of all ages. They produce things mainly in the clothing industry. They receive, in return, a wage which enables them to contribute to house-keeping and return to work on the following day. The elders speak little English but the younger generation is bi-lingual.

A middle class has developed within. They speak two languages and are businessmen, lower-order civil servants and professionals. For this group, Britain is experienced as quite a different place from those who have nothing to sell but their labour power.

The middle class has gained the traditional leadership, which involves representing to the British State what they believe to be the interests of the mass of Bengali workers and housewives.

Until the recent attacks all appeared to be proceeding smoothly. The concentration of attacks from outside have had the effect of tearing the veil from the surface, bringing to the fore what the different sections stand for.

The middle class Asians do not want a fight They prefer appealing to government ministers and the police to calm things down. Pressing on them are the mass of Asian families who have been facing

the attacks on the ground. The latter stand for the mobilisation of the strength and power of the community — mass meetings, mass demonstrations, vigilante groups.

Wherever the leadership has been forced to call demonstrations, they have, in most cases, avoided a community show of strength. In order to get around this, they call demonstrations in the name of racial harmony. They manage to muster groups of left-wing demonstrators who are in London today, Bradford tomorrow and Sheffield on the following day. Perhaps the odd Bishop from the locality is present. In this way, they hope to calm the Asian workers by pretending that the bishop and the left-wing jamboree reflect the white working class.

Every Asian worker knows the opposite is true. A fierce struggle has emerged in the Asian community on this question. In Southall, the very existence of the demonstration was threatened at the last minute by young workers who wanted a show of strength. In the East End, we had to fight off the jamboree and the middle class in order to carry out a mobilisation of community power. In all of this the West Indian community has been absent as a force.

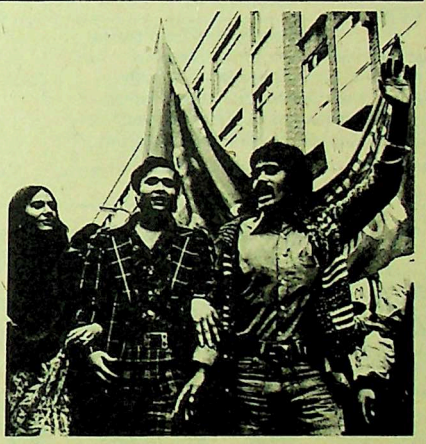
Appeals to racial harmony, however well meaning and noble, have in no way affected that force which has been consistently attacking the Asian community in the last few weeks. A gathering of white left-wing and liberal forces can not be mistaken for a mobilisation of the white working class. To make such a mistake at this time is to attempt to lure the Asian working class community into a false state of security.

There is an alternative. We offer the line along which we have been proceeding in the East End of London. Only a mobilisation of the strength and power of the Asian community in itself and for itself could deter those who have, to date, viewed the community as an easy push over — a target for those frustrations and energies that are better spent against the state.

Race Today Collective June 1976.

NO RETREAT

The article published below consists of excerpts taken from the June issue of Race Today.



Monday night 31st May, 1976. Two gangs of white motor-cyclists rumble west on their well-tuned machines. Sixty strong, they park their bikes in Hanbury Street, E.1. This is just short of Brick Lane, the social and commercial artery of the Asian community of East London. Helmeted and leather-jacketed, they stroll down Brick Lane in a mob. They are enforcing the unofficial curfew, from twilight to midnight, that keeps Asian families behind closed doors.

Half a mile down Whitechapel Road on the same night, at approximately the same time, a kerb-crawling car follows a lone Bengali. He is, unheeded of the curfew, walking down to visit a friend. As he reaches the door and begins to knock on it, the gang from the car emerges. One of the watchers produces a knife and attempts to stab the Bengali in the back. The door opens in the nick of time. The knife sticks in the door as the rest of the Asians on the street come to their windows, summoned by the sudden scream. The gang get into their car and noisily drive away.

Monday 7th June, 1976, 9:30 pm. Sujlu Miah and *Nuruz Zaman,* two young factory workers are leaving their work place on Richard Street, E.1. As they turn the corner, twenty to twenty-five whites descend on both Bengalis, stabbing, kicking and punching. Both are taken to hospital, one of them is seriously injured. It is midnight before the police begin their investigations. They ask a few questions: *'Do you know any of their names?'* *'Would you recognise any of them again?'* They take a few notes. Within twenty minutes their 'investigation' is over.

It is in this atmosphere of increasing racial and police intimidation that the Bangladesh Welfare Association initiated a meeting to discuss ways in which the Asian community of East London can best protect itself. It was to be, primarily, a gathering of representatives from local organisations. Over a hundred people attended this first meeting in the last week of May. A few days later there was another, attended by close to two hundred people. Neither meeting had been announced publicly and the news had travelled on the internal ghetto grapevine – mostly by word of mouth.

Official invitees made up only about one tenth of the entire gathering. By the end of the second

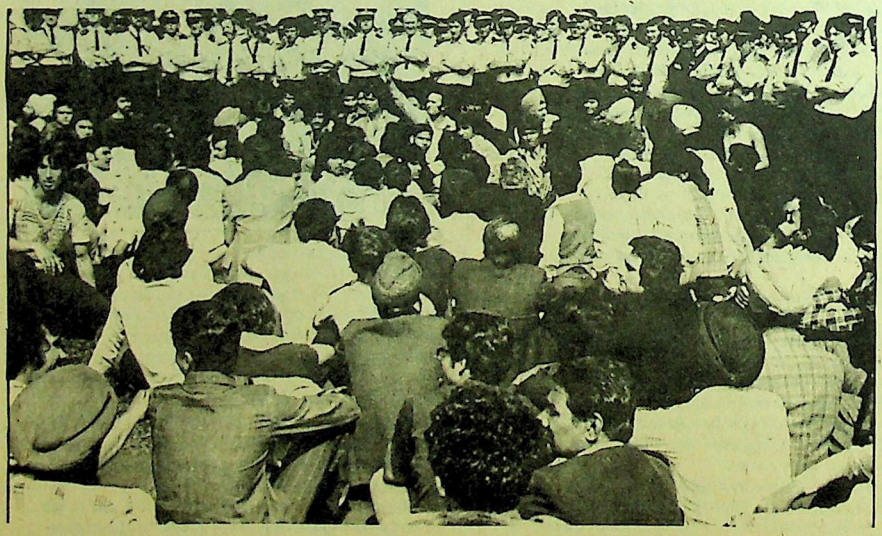
Meanwhile, we are informed by another Asian at the hospital that an hour after the incident, six Asian youth were arrested. They are being held at Bethnal Green police station. Down at the station, the police claim that they are holding an Asian vigilante squad. In the early hours of the morning the youth are finally released on bail, but not before the policeman in charge has seen their passports. *'There are a lot of illegal immigrants in the area'*, he says, and sends their friends at 3 in the morning to fetch their passports from five different addresses. All of them are charged with possessing offensive weapons. Four 'weapons' between the six of them, consisting of two milk bottles, a wooden stick and an iron lever. Of the possession of weapons of offense they have pleaded Not Guilty.
meeting a steering committee of eleven Asians had been elected to represent a cross section of the Asian community in the area. On the committee are a factory owner, two restaurant owners, a barrister, a member of the Pakistani community, a member of the Indian community, two unemployed youth, two members of the BHAG (Bengali Housing Action Group) and *Race Today,* and a worker from a tailoring factory. The new organisation was named the Anti-Racist Committee for the Defence of Asians in East London.

The meeting decided, unanimously, that there had to be a massive show of strength from the Asian community. Secondly, there had to be a continuous, disciplined self-defence organisation which would effectively stop white gangs, National Front hooligans, or any one else, from picking on Asian individuals and on Asian homes.

The standing meetings, for the first time in the life of the Asian community in Britain, completely rejected the mediation that their own middle class offered. In the East End of London the coalition of the actual forces on the ground consisted of the young activists of the Bangladesh Welfare Association, the activists of the Bengali Housing Action Group and the hitherto unorganised young resistance in the community. They came together to undertake both the tasks our meetings had set us.

The meeting and demonstration of the 12th June put paid to this trade in political maneuvering. Three thousand people from the community responded to the call from the committee. The Naz Cinema, the venue of the mass gathering, was besieged by the crowds who couldn't enter because the hall was full and overflowing. All along Brick Lane supporters waited patiently for the meeting to finish so that they could join the march.

To the organisations called on to support the meeting (*Race Today* was given this organisational task by the Anti-Racist Committee of Asians in East London) it was made clear that the demonstration had been called for the specific purpose of uniting and displaying the strength of the Asian community. They were asked to join and participate if their position was one of support. For those organisations who have spent years looking for someone to whom to sell their 'line', the letter added that banners and distracting publications, put out purely for party propaganda, would not be welcome. Most groups who attended the demonstration agreed and complied.



GAIRYISM

- *the tree too heavy for the roots*

The political figure of Eric Matthew Gairy has dominated the political, social and economic scene in Grenada for quarter of a century (Since 195]). Gairy ruled Grenada as Napolean ruled France between 1851 and 1871, though Gairy's class base was different from that of Napolean. Gairy rode to power on the crest of a mass workers' rebellion between 1950 and 1951, and since then his political roots consisted essentially of urban and agricultural workers; and a section of the unemployed, farming-class (tenant farmers and small land owners), artisans and shopkeepers, the commercial middle-class and state bureaucracy (civil service).

The opposition Grenada National Party (GNP) has never been able to effectively challenge Gairy for political power as it is based on an alliance of planters, commercial traders (import/export and local) and the majority of the peasantry. In his 25 years of political dominance, Gairy has sought to eliminate class opposition by naked blackmail and fear tactics, and those he could not scare, he bought with material rewards privileges and concessions. When all that failed he resorted to open physical repression second only to Duvalier in Haiti. The political dominance of Gairy and the method of his rule highlight the political weakness of all classes in Grenada, particularly the planter/commercial middle-class.

MASS RESISTANCE

The emergence of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) in March, 1973, heralded the beginning of the decline of "Gairyism". NJM began to do what GNP never attempted and could not attempt because of its class base and leadership. NJM utilized the conflicts that were developing between all classes and the Gairy regime since 1970, particularly on the question of "who must have power in an "independent" Grenada?", and it launched an open, bold and daring political attack on "Gairyism". In early May, 1973, only one month after its formation, NJM led a general strike against the Gairy regime that threatened to topple the Government. Between November, 1973 and January 1974, NJM led a mass rebellion geared to dislodge Gairy from power on the eve of "independence". One third of the entire population of the island was on the streets of St. George's clamouring for the removal of Gairy by any means necessary. With virtually the entire national leadership of NJM in hospital due to the physical barbarism of Gairy's Mongoose Gang

Eric Gairy

(like Duvalier's "Ton Ton Macoute"), the local leadership of the Movement was unable to independently lead the rebellion, and a middle-class alliance of trade union leaders, religious leaders, Chamber of Commerce, etc., in the "Committee of 22" seized the leadership of the mass rebellion and sought to contain it. The mass rebellion was sustained for over one month by a tacit though tense alliance between NJM and the Committee of 22, for the Committee of 22 led on the public platform the mass mobilization that NJM organized on the village, school and work-place level. The failure (in the sense of taking power) of the May, 1973 General strike and the 1973/74 mass rebellion is indicative more of the political weakness of the class formations in Grenadian society than of the political strength of Gairy's regime.

After "independence" in February, 1974, NJM realized that greater effor needed to be placed in building an organization and clarifying a new political direction. In the past two years, the NJM leadership has built over 40 "cells" of the organization; launched a new militant trade union in the heat of an intense struggle between agricultural workers and the Gairy regime; sustained an "illegal" weekly paper; held popular discussions throughout the island on a policy and programme for reconstruction and has sustained popular agitation and resistence to "Gairyism". It can be said without doubt that, since 1973, the NJM has been the only political organization to openly, boldly and effectively challenge Gairy for political power. The two other political parties have been marginal, to put it mildly, to the struggle.

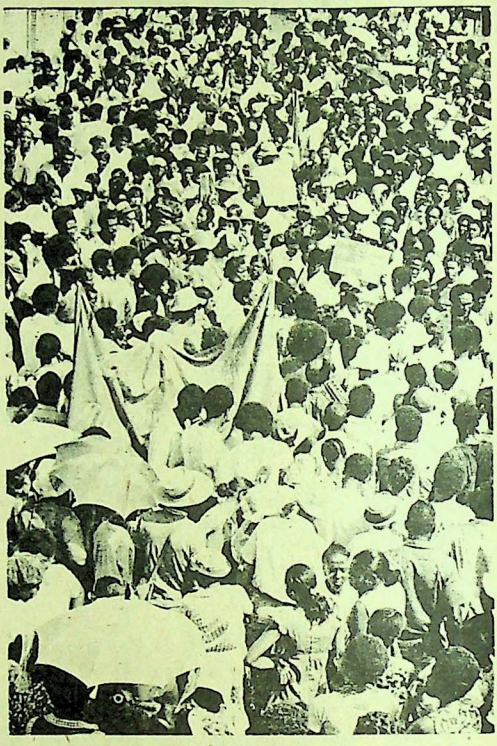
National elections is due in Grenada by February, 1977, and, as usual, the old political parties have begun the scramble for a greater share of governmental power. Within the past 12 months and as the electoral struggle heightens, certain events have been unfolding in Grenada that demonstrate the disintegration of Gairyism. It is necessary to briefly summarize these events to set the context within which the electoral struggle is taking shape.

THE NUTMEG CO-OP ISSUE

The Grenada co-operative Nutmeg Association was formed in the 1940's as a co-operative of nutmeg farmers that buy, process and export nutmeg and mace on behalf of member-farmers. Though the Association has been dominated by the large planters, there was democratic participation (more in form than in substance) of small farmers in the affairs of the association, particularly in the fixing of price and disbursement of the annual bonus to farmers. The Grenada economy being essentially agricultural and nutmeg being the most financially lucrative product, the Co-operative usually accumulates millions of dollars every year.

In 1975, having a bankrupt Treasury, unable to pay the salaries of government employees, facing rising discontent and realizing the potential of the Co-operative as an organized base for political resistance, the Gairy regime seized control of the Association and all its funds on July 4, 1975. The elected Association Board wad dissolved and a new Interim Board was appointed by Government. Prior to the seizure of the Nutmeg Co-operative, the Banana and Cocoa Co-operatives were taken over in 1969 and 1971 respectively. To date, no area or general meetings of Association members of any of the co-operatives have been held since government take-over. The seizure of the Nutmeg Co-operative was followed by mass protest on the part of farmers - meetings, mass rallies, a boycott of production and of Barclay's Bank that was in collusion with the government. However, the struggle was channeled into the courts.

The dissolved-elected Board challenged the legality of government take-over on many grounds including the constitutionality of "the denial of farmers rights to elect the Board of their choice". Court hearing on the issue was completed on April 16, 1976, but the decision of the court is still pending. Fearing a decision against its interest, the Gairy regime rushed through Parliament on May 26, 1976, an amendment to the Nutmeg Industry Ordinance, 1847, suspending all Area and General meetings of nutmet farmers, thus making "legal" the dictatorship of the state over the Farmers in a Farmers Co-operative. The Leader of Government Business in the Senate, Derek Knight, when



Mass protest in 1974

questioned on Government dictatorial actions, said that "the Government is the Government of the people and has the right to represent the people and see after their interests".

These actions of the Gairy regime combined with the continuing seizure of estates and middle-sized farms of farmers who oppose "Gairyism" under the guise of Land to the Landless (agricultural lands are being sold as house lots to supporters of the regime and consequently agricultural production has been declining rapidly), have alienated the overwhelming majority of farmers (large and small). Instead of transforming the agricultural co-operatives from planters dominated organizations into organizations for development of the agricultural economy and of small farmers, the Gairy regime has used these co-operatives for material gain and to destroy political opposition and agriculture.

THE BANK DEPOSIT ACT

Having seized farmers money by taking over the agricultural co-operatives, the Gairy regime

has turned its attention to the seizure of savings held in bank accounts. On March 25, 1976, the Bank Deposit Act was amended retroactive to January 1, 1976, whereby all commercial banks must deposit with the Accountant General 5% of all saving deposits - fixed and current accounts - at the end of every quarter (March, June, September and December) and this money will be held by the Accountant General indefinitely. Also, all monies in any account at the banks "lying dormant and unclaimed" for six years and over must be handed over to the Accountant General.

The first payment of 5% of all deposits was made by the banks at the end of March and reliable sources have estimated the total amount paid at $3.5 million (Eastern Caribbean Currency). The amount from "dormant and unclaimed accounts", has been estimated $2.2 million (ECC). In many instances, individuals have reported that they went to their bank only to find that all their money has been handed over to the government.

The effect is that many people have withdrawn their money from the banks; all the banks have dropped fixed deposit interest from 9-10½% to 3½-4% and are only accepting fixed deposits for no longer than 6 months. Barclays Bank has closed its Sauteurs branch and transferred the staff to Grenville; the Bank of Nova Scotia has sent home some of its staff as the "work-load" has dropped; the regime has deported the Nova Scotia bank Manager - Mr. Scott Cowper - because he has been openly critical of the Act and refused to allow bank clerks to sell tickets at the bank for the government-organized Easter Water Parade; and news savings have virtually ceased.

On July 4, 1975, the Gairy regime passed an amendment to the Newspapers Act which required any newspaper publisher to deposit in the Treasury a sum of $20,000 (ECC) or the equivalent in Government Bonds or the necessary Insurance Coverage for that amount; pay licence fee of $600 (ECC) per year to the Registrar and sign a bond of $960 (ECC). Failure to comply with all or any of the above would result in a fine of $3,000 (ECC) or 2 years imprisonment or both.

The NJM continued to print and publish the New Jewel newspaper and refused to comply with the deposit and licence fee requirement (the Bond requirement was not new). The members of NJM continued to sell the New Jewel publicly in defiance of the Act and many of them were beaten by police and Defence Force personnel, arrested and charged. One of the members of the NJM's Political Bureau was badly beaten in St. George's on July 18, 1975 for taking pictures of police brutality against NJM members. All the cases arising from NJM's public defiance of the Act are still pending except one (a member of NJM went to court without informing the legal committee of NJM, pleaded guilty, refused to pay the required fine and was sent to prison for 4 weeks - as he put it - to show the establishment that he had the courage of his conviction that the law was oppressive and denied him his fundamental rights and freedom of expression). The other cases are awaiting review as a result of a so-called amnesty granted by Gairy in December, 1975 to all NJM members charged.

The Amendment to the Newspaper Act was specifically passed to silence the New Jewel, but having failed to do that (New Jewel continues to be published every week), the Gairy regime passed a second amendment on May 5, 1976 making it "illegal for anyone to have in his or her possession an illegal newspaper". Police can search and arrest anyone without warrant and if the person is found to be in possession of an "illegal" newspaper (obviously, New Jewel), he or she could be fined $1,000 (ECC) and/or sent to prison for one year. At mass public meetings held in Grenada recently, the people pledged to defy the Act and to continue buying New Jewel.

CLANCY AND A.G

Attorney General, Desmond Christian, a Guyanese who was appointed A.G. by Gairy some months ago, was suspended in April this year and a Tribunal has been established by the Governor General to inquire into a number of charges brought against Christian by Gairy. The charges include (1) failing to pay telephone bills and embarassing the Government, (2) using threatening gestures to the Prime Minister (Gairy), (3) leaving Grenada for Guyana without making proper arrangements for government's representation in the nutmeg issue before the court, and (4) bringing charges against an American Mafia gangster, "Clancy" alias "Elmer Zeek" for forgery contrary to Cabinet's instructions. It is obvious that all the charges are absurd to say the least except the "Clancy" issue.

"Clancy" arrived in Grenada about two years ago from the U.S. in order to escape trial for embezzlement of over $2 million. The NJM obtained documents from the U.S. which showed that "Clancy" was wanted by the F.B.I. for fraud. The New Jewel exposed "Clancy's" true identity and the regional and U.S. press carried NJM's release and photographs of documents. When the F.B.I. arrived in Grenada to arrest "Clancy", Gairy made him a Grenadian citizen and refused to hand him over to the F.B.I. (Grenada does not have an extradition treaty with the U.S.). "Clancy" arrived in Grenada with two companions, Nancy Mueller and Kar Korte, and the three have been living in Grenada since.

After Gairy granted "Clancy" and company asylum, the A.G. began in independent investigation into the "Clancy" affiar and found that the three in-

dividuals used false passports and names on entering Grenada. Charges of forgery were brought against them, but on two occasions when the cases were called "Clancy" and Co. did not appear in court. On the third occasion, Magistrate Ernest John, who has never practised as a lawyer in any court, threw out all charges as the police offered no evidence against "Clancy" and Co. Gairy had instructed the police to drop all charges, and then he suspended the A.G. for "acting contrary to Cabinet instructions in the Clancy case". The decision of the "Christian Tribunal" should be handed down by the end of June.

The Nigerian-born Commissioner of Police and his Deputy (both men came to Grenada under a technical assistance programme agreed to between Gairy and Gowan before Gowan was toppled in a coup in Nigeria) are under attack from Gairy because they brought charges against "Clancy" and Co. on instructions from the A.G., who is also Director of Public Prosecution, without Gairy's approval. It is expected that the Commissioner will have to pack his bags soon. If the A.G. and the Commissioner are fired, Grenada would have had eight Commissioners of Police in 9 years and 6 A.G.'s in 8 years - a record indeed.

G.U.L.P SPLITTING APART

During the first five months of this year, there has been two major splits in Gairy's party, the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP). The first major split occurred after Waple Nedd and Nadia Bengamin, Parliamentary Representatives for St. Andrews North East and St. Andrews' North West respectively opposed the seizure of the Nutmeg Co-operative, a 5% C.I.F. tax on imported goods and the Bank Deposit Act. It is reported that the two representatives also called for "justice in the "Clancy" case". Gairy has never tolerated opposition within or without the GULP. He acted swiftly against Nedd and Benjamin. They were banned from Cabinet meetings and afterwards expelled from the Party. Soon after their expulsion from the Party, Gairy ordered a police search of Benjamin's house for arms and ammunition (previously, this was a privilege reserved only for NJM members and supporters). Two guns were found and the police attempted to arrest Mrs. Benjamin, but a large crowd of former GULP supporters threatened to physically confront the police if they even touched Mrs. Benjamin. Both Nedd and Benjamin have joined the opposition in Parliament.

In the aftermath of the Nedd/Benjamin expulsion, Bertran A. Pitt, a long-standing party organizer and considered to be Gairy's right-hand-man, attacked Gairy at a GULP General Council meeting for "trampling on the masses of the people". In the heated political argument that ensued Pitt called Gairy a "confounded liar", stormed out the meeting and tendered his resignation from the Party.

MYSTERIOUS FIRES

In March and April, 1976, there were three mysterious fires in the St. George's area (1) the building housing the Ministry of Agriculture was completely destroyed by fire. The Prime Minister's office which is next to the Ministry of Agriculture was slightly damaged. (2) The Evening Palace Restaurant and Bar and Terese Boutique at Grand Anse, both of which are owned by Gairy, were partly damaged by a mysterious fire. Since then Gairy has cleared the area around the buildings and assigned police and Defence Force guards to protect the buildings and to patrol streets near to the buildings. (3) The house of the leader of Government Business in the Senate, Derek Knights, Gairy's main trouble-shooter, caught afire. However, the fire was extinguished before any major damage was done.

These recent events indicate that the political class basis of Gairyism is disintegrating and the leadership of the GULP is falling apart. Indeed, the tree of Gairyism has become too heavy for its class roots. Gairy and Gairyism are in serious political trouble as the NJM challenge for power gains ground.

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MANLEY REVEALS RIGHTIST PLOTS

least force it to call an early election by reducing the country to such a state of chaos that the people would lose all faith.

What then did we find in Glendevon, Montego Bay? Two hundred and fifty-seven sticks of dynamite and twenty-five rolls of fuse wire. Once again, let me make it absolutely clear that a collection of two hundred and fifty-seven sticks of dynamite is unlikely to have anything whatsoever to do with crime or with resentment about alleged victimisation or with Party squabbling about control of constituencies.

Let me give this House and nation some idea of what a stick of dynamite is capable of doing. The Military experts advise me that, properly placed, four sticks of dynamite would render the Flat Bridge impassable. The nation is entitled to ask itself, therefore, who could be involved in collecting, storing and hiding in one place two hundred and fifty-seven sticks of dynamite and for what purpose? Together with two barrels of gun powder, this is, we are advised, enough to blow up at least forty bridges in Jamaica; certainly enough to knock out our power stations and our water supplies. Clearly

INDEPENDENCE AND TRANSFORMATION – A REVIEW

Independence: Yes! The Old Mess: No! is the second major document published earlier this year by The Afro-Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM) of Antigua on its perspectives for a new society (the first major document was entitled: Liberation - From the Old Wreckage to the New Society). Whereas the first document dealt with the collapse of the old colonial economy and the building of a new social economy with "direct and continuous mass participation in political and economic planning, as the only means of clearing away the terrible mess which three centuries of foreign domination have left us with a huge millstone around our necks", in the second document "the ACLM here presents its views on the 1976 elections, and of greater value and note, its views on independence". It is with the second document that we are here concerned.

Members of ACLM with rabbits they have produced on the Movement's 50 acre communal farm in Antigua

BEACON IN A DUNGEON

Few political organizations within the general "movement for liberation" in the Caribbean have published anything of consequence that could be considered a major and serious contribution to the clarification of some of the fundamental questions that face the Caribbean "movement for liberation" today. Fewer still indicate that they grasp the complex reality of Caribbean society and particularly that of the lives of the masses, and attempt to grapple with the difficult questions of a transformation strategy. Even fewer have any clear conception of the particular strategy and tactics of struggle required in the present period. And as to the building of a socialist society, most of the political organizations either adhere to doctrine and dogma or function in such conceptual and practical confusion as to make a mockery and farce of the revolutionary methodology of Marx and Engels. In this dungeon of intellectual bankruptcy and theoretical confusion, ACLM is one of the very few organizations that stand out as a beacon of political creativity. That is not to say that ACLM has made or is making no mistakes. Only those who do nothing make no mistakes, or so it seems. Rather its creativity is reflected in its attempt to break new ground in Caribbean political analysis by digging below the social sub-soil to get to the detailed character of institutions of power and social relations, and to tackle theoretically and concretely in the very process of the struggle some of the basic questions of social transformation in a small dependent economy. As the Central Committee of ACLM states in the preface, "this document is our contribution to the movement for liberation which today is sweeping Antigua and the Caribbean". It is undoubtedly an important and serious contribution.

In the Preface, the major theme of the document is summarized as follows: "... the coming struggle for genuine Independence .... demands above all, organizations, democratic organizations, of the revolutionary social forces .... it is a well established axiom that where there is no revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary movement ..... the movement for liberation needs clarity in order to move directly to the goal - a New Society ... we are sure, very sure, that the people of Antigua are ready, more than ready, to control the land; are willing to control industry and industrial development; and are able to manage their own society, not by choosing representatives once every five years whilst hiding behind a curtain, but by their own open and direct representation of themselves, in Assemblies, of their own creation" (page 2). With this Preface, ACLM gets to the very heart of the basic questions facing the "movement for liberation" in the present period - revolutionary theory and political clarity; democratic mass organization and confidence of and reliance on the capacity and capabilities of the Caribbean masses "to manage their own society -- in Assemblies of their own creation".

The document is divided into four sections. The first section outlines the present situation and exposes the bankruptcy of the existing political parties. Section two focuses mainly on the collapse of the old economic order. The third section deals with party politics and parliamentary democracy and poses "the New Beginning". The fourth and final section contains ACLM's view of "Independence - What it Means". The document concludes with a programme for Independence.

PARTY, STATE & MIDDLE-CLASSES;

In section three of the document (and also in the first document) ACLM analyses the weakness of the middle-classes from which emerges the political elite and the consequent bankruptcy of the political parties and the political system in general. The document states, "excluded from large scale agriculture, commerce, industry or tourism the West Indian middle-class from which comes the political elite have had to attach themselves to foreign capital. It is a way of life".

The document goes on, "... Because foreign capital cannot directly represent itself, because the middle-classes are directly dependent on foreign capital, as people who render services for salaries, an organic link is struck between capital on the one hand, and the West Indian political elite (on the other hand - author). Parliamentary Democracy becomes the medium where this organic link gains full expression (page 13)". International capital (the imperialists) needs the local middle-classes and the local middle-classes need imperialist capital. But why do the middle-classes, particularly the professional middle-class hang on to the imperialist?

Elsewhere (Rise and Fall of Party Politics, NBM, 1974), I have enalysed the origins, development, material basis and ideology of what I term the professional middle-class as a specific section of the middle-classes. Suffice it to state here that;

DEPENDENT CLASS

1) the social and political character of the middle-classes is based on their intermediary position in the social economy between imperialist capital, on the one hand, and local labour, on the other hand. They depend upon imperialist capital for their position, material wealth, etc. and on the masses of workers and farmers for their political power to bargain with the imperialists. Consequently, they live a life of contradiction.

2) They are a complete product of colonial capital, and imperialist capital since the 1950's, having been nurtured and trained by the colonial and imperialist ruling classes. From their infancy they have been providing services in one form or another for the imperialists either within imperialist productive and service institutions or as appendages of those institutions. The degree to which they are tied to imperialist capital is the extent to which they are dependent upon imperialist capital for their social position and material wealth. For example, the "export plantocracy", small manufacturing capitalists, financial and commercial agents and the professional middle-class in imperialist institutions are more directly tied to and dependent upon imperialist capital in an objective sense than the independent professionals and those who manage the varied institutions of the state.

3) As Marx clearly showed, ideas and ideology do not exist in a vacuum, but are based on the predominant mode of social production and consequently the class that maintains and develops that particular mode. The ruling ideas and the dominant ideology are therefore those of the ruling class. The middle-classes being a product of colonial and imperialist capital inherit the ideas and ideology of the international capitalist ruling class. The capitalist ideology is not only a mode of thought, but governs modes of organization, methods of approach, character of social relations etc,; it is a way of seeing and

doing, and of life. Even when sections of the middle-classes apparently break-away from particular forms of capitalist organization, they maintain the capitalist ideology. Besides their varying degrees of material dependence on imperialist capital, the middle-classes as a whole are also ideological extensions of the imperialist ruling class.

PARTY, UNION & STATE

4) Left out of the economy and state institutions by the colonial ruling class, the middle-classes particularly the professional middle-class at its emergence could only have gained social mobility and position of power through influence in and control of the state machinery. More significantly, their accumulation of wealth proved impossible within the colonial organization of the economy (this latter was not as crucial to the old plantocracy and commercial traders). Capture of the state administration was therefore crucial to the advancement of the professional middle-class. The instrument for achieving that goal was the trade union and political party. The conflict between different sectors of the middle-class took the form of competition between trade unions and political parties for greater mass support to gain control of state administration. Consequently, as ACLM states' the political party as we have known it has become the irresistible centre of attraction for rip-off men and adventures, many of whom become no more than political gangsters (page 12)." The middle-classes therefore, utilized the trade union, party and state to enhance their social position, power and material wealth and to gain influence and control over every organized institution in the society in alliance with imperialist capital. The further penetration of imperialist capital resulted in an expansion of the professional middle-class as a consequence of new imperialist economic and service activities and the gigantic growth of the state bureaucracy and other institutions.

CHANCE WITH DANGERS

In the smaller territories such as Antigua, the above process of middle-class expansion and development has been stultified due to the low level of imperialist capital penetration. The economy remained extremely weak and fragile, the instability of the society became more acute and all organized institutions including the state remained primitive and undeveloped. The consequence is an even greater scramble for and crude method of control of union, party and state. What in the larger territories like Trinidad was considered farcical became in the smaller territories absurd. The professional leadership "from captian to cook" in union, party and state descended to political savagery. Whereas in the larger territories,

Vere Bird

George Walter

the expansion of imperialist capital and the growth and development of the middle-classes lay the objective basis and potential for the second and final phase of middle-class seizure of the leadership of the mass movement, in the smaller territories, the low level of imperialist capital penetration and the consequent absence of middle-class reproduction has given the mass movement of employed workers, unemployed, farmers, and the few progressive professionals in their midst a historic chance to undertake the revolutionary transformation of the society free of middle-class domination during the early phase of the transformation period. The great danger is that the workers and farmers movement in attempting to transform the economy and society by developing the productive forces and expanding the state would create a professional sector that could seize control of the new institutions of power.

STATE CAPITALIST CLASS

5) Finally, the rebellion of the working masses that have enveloped every Caribbean island-state and the Guyanas (except Cuba) in the past eight years and the crisis in institutional power relations (from family to state) that have resulted have thrown the local "political elite" into panic. Forced to appease the working masses, the professional middle-class as a whole through the state has been pressured to re-negotiate the distribution of the surplus resulting from imperialist controlled production and exchange in the Caribbean. The form this middle-class demand is taking is state capitalism whereby "national capital" is rapidly becoming centralized under the legal ownership and management of the state, while the foreign imperialists maintain control through the commodity and financial market the International Monetary Fund, research and technology, patents, management contracts, production of information and ideology that dominate the local middle-class mentality etc. The economy remains as before - externally propelled - and labour continues to be managed, regulated and coerced by the state capitalist class.

INDEPENDENCE AND THE NEW SOCIETY

In section 4, ACLM analyses what Independence has meant and what it must mean today. The experien-

ce of "political independence" is analysed to show the farce it has been. The document shows that in fact independence has meant the intensification of imperialist financial and industrial penetration in the form of huge monopolies, and "persistent poverty". The national flag, anthem, constitution, bird, flower; the position of Prime Minister and Chief Justice; the army and expanded police and security are all that independence has brought - symbols, social position and brute force. To ACLM, "independence is in fact and reality the end of dependence and the beginning of people's control of land and all resources" (page 16).

Three principles highlight ACLM's conception of independence. "Today .... those fighting for liberation, make no distinction, no distinction whatsoever, between political independence and economic control as an indivisible unity...." page 18). Independence therefore is not the constitution, flag, anthem etc. It is essentially economic control; "people's control of land and all resources". How must this be effected? "The first and essential purpose of Independence in a territory like Antigua and in world circumstances such as outlined above must be its immediate disengagement from foreign capital. Immediate is the word" (page 19). "Secondly, there must be mobilization of labour in agriculture and industry around the new concept of social ownership of the means of production. That is to say, the workers in agriculture and industry must feel, in fact, know in truth, and realize in practice, that the age of exploitation is over and that with Independence they are no longer working for "them" (the elite, local or foreign) but that they are working for themselves. That is the beginning, the real beginning of Independent history..." (page 19). The document goes on to state that "the key point in the new organization of production is that Workers, by and through democratic discussion and decision, themselves plan production goals for the whole society, and freely organize themselves to accomplish those political and economic goals". (page 19). As a perspective and programme, the task of the "movement for liberation" could not have been articulated better. ACLM is clearly saying that the struggle for political independence and economic independence is one and the same struggle, in other words, the struggle for independence and for building socialism is one and the same struggle. The fundamental task is the mobilization and organization of the oppressed classes in democratic mass institutions to take political power and "control land and all resources". Anything less will not do.

On the question of independence, ACLM concludes with a call for a "United Caribbean State". "A Caribbean state is a prime necessity when once the old colonial economy and its political apparatus have been dismantled". Though a very general argument is made for the necessity of a Caribbean state (petty island-states will be forced to "bow and bend" before American capital), ACLM does not show why such a state is necessary as opposed to a "good and better thing".

STRATEGY AND THE NEW STATE

ACLM sees the way out of the mess of colonial party, parliament and economy as mass organization. "The political remedy is clear. The workers and farmers, women and unemployed, are the only social force which can stem the tide and halt the downward slide. The time is now. The rest is a matter of organization. Mass organition". (page 4).

After critically analysing "the party as we have known it" and parliamentary democracy in the context of Caribbean society, ACLM poses "the new beginning". To those whose dogmatic "live" is the replacement of the two-party state by the one-party state as an end, ACLM says NO. "... the One-Party State, extended beyond the transitional stage, is but a means of political control, social and economic domination, whereby party officials and faceless bureaucrats dominate over the mass of the population, and carry on, indeed intensify, the exploitation of workers and farmers .... the One-Party-State in final analysis, that is, when extended beyond the traditional stage, is but the Two-Party State in its most degenerate form". (page 14).

What then is the revolutionary alternative? "The organization and direct intervention of the mass of workers, unemployeds, women and youth must of

necessity produce a new and higher form of democracy. A new democracy wherein the worker at work, discusses and decides on the industrial plan. Likewise the farmer on the land, organized collectively and in Communes, formulates and decides on the agricultural plan. And worker and farmer alike in council, with all the relevant facts put before them, decide on the social development of each particular community and that of the Caribbean nation as a whole". (page 14). So far so good, but good only so far.

THE TRANSITION

The revolutionary perspective and the only way out of the mess, as ACLM sees it, is the mass organization of workers and farmers from the roots up to plan and develop the economy and to effectively control state power in a new state; a new democracy. The One-Party State will not do. However, the key qualification in ACLM's perspective - "extended beyond the transitional stage" - remains vague and unexplained. What is the "transitional stage"? Transition from what to what? ACLM neither elaborates nor defines. Is it the transition from dependent capitalism to socialism? Is it the transition from colonial party and parliamentary-democracy to the "new democracy" of the organized masses of workers and farmers planning the economy and weilding state power? ACLM leaves us in the dark.

Clarification of the "transitional stage" during which, according to ACLM, the one-party state may be politically necessary is crucial to the achievement of the revolutionary perspective, the notion, and the strategy for power. If the "transitional stage" is the transition to socialism, then the very "domination" and "degeneration" of which ACLM speaks will be the objective result, whether intended or not. It was Hegel in the development of his Theory of Dialectical Logic who concluded that the new ideas and context are "imperceptibly contained" in the old order, and Marx saw the old society "pregnant with the new". It is the task of revolutionaries and the organized forces of liberation to make that objective tendency a subjective strategy, or else the new order, the "new democracy" the new organizations and content will not only be suppressed within the old society, but more-so during the "transitional stage" and the concretization of the revolutionary perspective. will become another farce, a higher level of absurdity in the Caribbean dynamic.

NEW ORGANISED FORCES

The dialectical relationship that must govern the development of the revolutionary mass movement in the period of the struggle for power and in the "transitional stage" is between vanguard (or party, for those who like the name), elected workers and farmers committees or councils etc. and the Assemblies (the organized masses). As the New Beginning Movement states, "All revolutionary movements to date have concentrated on the elected popular bodies (e.g. council, committees, etc.), we must transfer the exphasis now to the mass itself ... the Mass Vanguard Organization (the revolutionary party, if you like - author) is to operate within the Organized Mass Movement (councils and Assemblies -author) - they are separate yet make up a complete whole. The Vanguard must have no power outside of the Organized Mass Movement though it influences and guides the Organized Mass Movement ... In the New State the Vanguard functions within the Assemblies not above the Assemblies" (document on State Power by NJM to be published in the next few months). ACLM must clarify its meaning of the "transitional stage" and the inter-relationship of organized forces operative therein.

INDEPENDENCE PROGRAMME

ACLM concludes the document with an Independence Programme that calls for (1) the formulation of an Independence constitution by a Constituent Assembly of the people; (2) the inclusion of a Bill of Rights establishing "The Right to Work, The Equality of Women in all aspects of life, The Right of Workers to Control their Labour and the Profits from their Labour", (3) a law promulgated by the constituent Assembly (bringing all land in the state under popular control"; (4) the drafting of a plan by the Constitutent Assembly to secure full employment in 5 years; (5) "a clear strategy of industrial development, aimed at workers control be declared. Such a statement will state precisely and clearly how and when the commanding heights of the economy will be brought under the Independent Control of the people".

It is very significant that ACLM's Independence Programme is very similar to the strategy worked out during discussions and debate within the New Jewel Movement (NJM) Grenada, in 1972-73. The problem in the Grenada situation was that the NJM never really implemented the strategy. The ACLM should learn from the mistakes of NJM and begin the methodical and tactical implementation of its programme in form and content. The programme is clearly revolutionary and, to my knowledge, concretely in tune with prevailing situations in Antigua. Go ahead ACLM and begin the implentation. Who else is there to begin?

Indeed, Independence: Yes! The Old Mess: NO! is an important contribution to the clarification of the movement for liberation in the Caribbean. It is a revulutionary perspective. Of that, there could be no doubt. However, there are a number of shortcomings in the contents of the document. For example, ACLM speaks of the midd-

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FEATURE

CONDITIONS AND STRUGGLES IN A SMALL AGRARIAN ECONOMY

Dominica, one of the Windward Islands, is situated between the French islands of Martinizue and Guadeloupe. The island covers an area of 298 square miles of steep mountains and deep valleys. Population count at the 1970 census stood at 70,000 people, with an annual growth rate of 1.5%. The people are mainly of African descent with small numbers of Caribs; Europeans and Syrians making up the remaining. The languages of the people are a French-based "patois" similar to that spoken in St. Lucia, and the French island, and the official language, English.

The economy is based on plantation and peasant agriculture, the main exports being bananas, citrus fruits, and copra. The island has the status, along with St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Antigua, St. Kitts and Montserrat, of an "Associated State" of Britain with internal self-government.

About 20,000 people live in the capital town, Roseau, and its environs, the rest of the population being widely spread in the 80 or so villages and towns throughout the island. Over 60% of the population is under the age of 30, 45% under 15.

Agriculture provides the means of livelihood to the majority of the labour force engaged in productive activity, whether as agricultural labourers, sharecroppers, tenant farmers or peasants or in local agro-industrial exterprises, transport and distribution. Agricultural exports provide the key component of economic activity and growth. (Accounting for 39% of the G.D.P. and 90% of total exports in 1964).

The distribution of available land resources is notably unbalanced, an inheritance of the colonial plantation system established in the 18th Century.

The high number of small land holdings is obvious. Large estates are found on the coast, on the deep river and valley soils while small holdings are most often located in the interior on steep highly erodable soils. Despite the economic and topographical disadvantages under which they work, small scale and peasant farmers produce over 70% of the bananas exported, as well as much of the food crops.

FOREIGN DOMINATION

The island is completely dependent on and dominated by foreign capital and "aid" principally from Britain and Canada, although in recent months the Dominican government in its search for capital has been cultivating the "French connection". Barclay's Bank and the Royal Bank of Canada are the two major banking institutions, with branches in the larger towns. The sole local bank in Roseau is controlled (90% of shares) by local capitalist J. B. Charles. Credit unions offer the only hope for many Dominican workers of getting loans for housing etc. Insurance companies are all either Canadian or British.

Other major multinational corporations with holdings in the island are the Commonwealth Development Corporation - the overseas investment arm of the British government (?) - which controls hydroelectric production, having divested itself of "unprofitable" estates in 1973 (see article on Castle Bruce). L. Rose & Co., a subsidiary of the British Cadbury-Schweppes multinational dominates the lime industry - from estate production to canning and processing. Until recently Cadbury had controlling shares in A. G. Shillingford and Co. merchants, import/export agents, distillers, estate owners. The other foreign owners of large landholdings are Van Geest, the company which transports and markets all Windward Islands bananas, and Picard Estates Ltd.

There is little tourist industry to speak of. Dominica's rugged topography, inadequate road system, black sand beaches, non-existent "night-life" plus the difficulties faced by a traveller to get in and out of the island, have limited its saleability as a tourism haven. The few hotels are mostly locally owned, the three foreign owners being local residents.

Persistent efforts have been made by the Labour government over the past 5-6 years to attract foreign capital for the development of a tourist industry, to date with no success. At least part of the cause for this failure has been the growing hostility of Dominicans towards tourists - and the frequent social explosions in recent years.

Social and economic conditions in the island can provide textbook illustrations of the effects of colonial dependency and underdevelopment. The resultant social unrest and struggles of the people to change their exploited situation has typically been met by the "Labour" government with force.

TERRORISM

In a country where the overwhelming majority of the population is under 30, and where the official unemployment rate is 35% (unofficial is over 50%) of the labour force, the government has expended a great deal of time, money and propaganda in recent years in attempting to crush the yough-based back to the land movement by unleashing the police, special police, defence force upon the youth of the island; by enacting the Dread Act; by trying to terrorize and silence those actively working for change by keeping in prison Desmond "Kabinda" Trotter in spite of the fact that the only witness against him in a murder case has recanted her testimony.

The Labour Party has formed the government for the past 16 years, having swept into office in 1960 in the attempt of workers and peasants to wrest political power from the plantocracy and commercial middle class and put it in the hands of those who represented their interest. Leader Edward Leblanc's strategy had been to denounce the large landowners and Roseau based merchants and promise that the interests of the rural majority and urban sufferers would be pre eminent. From 1960 to 1975 when the Party gained only 49% of the popular vote, the Labour Party faced no real challenge in the island.

COMING IN CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

the experience of the National United Freedom Fighters in Trinidad and Tobago - self criticism on armed struggle in the Caribbean.

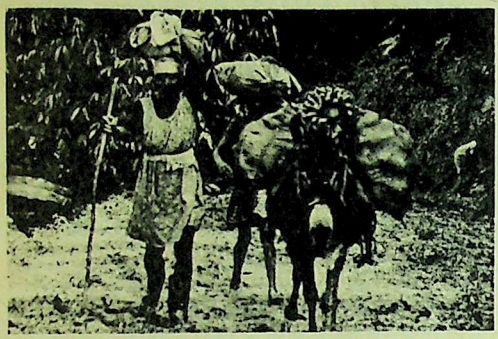
THE STRUGGLE FOR CATTLE BRUCE

The 1972 rebellion of workers at the Castle Bruce estate was the most significant event of recent Dominican history, marking as it did the beginning of a new stage in the contemporary struggles of the labouring masses of Dominica for control by them of the means of production - the land, and for transformation of agriculture as a first step towards the transformation of the society whose potential wealth lies overwhelmingly in agricultural production.

Castle Bruce estate, covering 1300 acres of land, is located on the east coast of the island, adjoining the village of Castle Bruce (population apprpximately 3000). Situated in the Castle Bruce valley, the estate has a considerable portion of flat and gently sloping land, although much of it rises sharply to the crests of the surrounding mountains.

In 1948, the British Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) bought the estate and cleared much of the land, but did not begin organized production on the estate until 1958. The village provided a workforce of about 200-250 people and Castle Bruce estate was planted in coconuts, cocoa, limes, grapefruit and bananas. By 1972, bananas were being phased out to give way to increased cultivation of grapefruit and coconuts - crops which are not labour intensive - and the labour force had been dropping correspondingly. A daily wage rate of $3.20 was maintained, despite the government set minimum of $4.00.

The vital importance to the village of employment possibilities on the estate can be easily illustrated from an account given by Atherton Martin in the April 1974 issue of TWAVAY:



AT THE MERCY OF CDC

"The work experience and skills of the community were limited to farming, so that a man could confidently go to a field, plant bananas, coconuts or yams... Not many of the workers could lay bricks, fix the plumbing, or repair a truck, so that even if other job opportunities were available, few would be able to take advantage of those without prior training. The above situation, added to the control of all farm jobs and top class land by Castle Bruce Estate, means that the working population of Castle Bruce had the following alternatives open to it: (1) to obtain and farm a piece of land beyond the extent of the estate; (2) work on the estate; (3) work outside the Castle Bruce area.

"Choice number one was affected by the fact that land beyond the estate boundary is inaccessible by road, is of difficult topography and as a result, presented little chance for economic farming.

"Choice number two is best considered after a discussion of the third alternative, because to work on the estate was conditioned by the limited availability of jobs in other areas of the state, and that restriction was aggravated by the limited skills of the applicants.

"With the (official, CD) national unemployment figure standing between 10 and 14%, it was clear that the people of Castle Bruce had to select ... work on the estate... As a result, there was intense competition for 158 jobs by an entire village workforce of about 200. The advantage that this gave CDC was obvious as the labour market was vast enough to permit very loose hiring and firing practices.

"Further to this, with an 8-hour work day, the farm worker had little time to cultivate a food garden. Saturdays for shopping, the worker had only Sunday left for food gardening.

"The effect of this situation on village food supply is further aggravated by two conditions: 1) those working on the estate were generally the more able-bodied who would normally have to carry the additional work load of food production. 2) the cropping on the estate includes only cash crops for export. In the final analysis, many of the able-bodied workers of the village spent little time in food production but spent 40 hours a week in cash crop production for CDC.

"What this meant was that the income earned in the village (80% of which is earned from the estate) had to be used for the purchases of imported food, having little left over for investment in secondary education, better health care, housing and adequate recreational services".

HOW IT BEGAN ?

On June 9, 1972, Atherton Martin, a recent graduate in agriculture, took up his appointment as manager of Castle Bruce Estate. One month later he received orders from Allan Pugh, the General Manager of CDC, to prepare a list of names of 30 workers to be laid off. On the 24th the requested list was expanded to 59 names. The reason given by CDC for the proposed retrenchment was the unprofitable operation of the estate. Martin refused to comply with the order on the grounds that the firings were not in the interest of the Castle Bruce workers and villagers and would impose undue hardships on people in the village. The workers concurred with that position.

On July 27, Martin was ordered off the estate, but after pressure from the workers Pugh agreed at a meeting the following day (at which was present E. G. Christian, Minister of Health and Education and representative for the area) that no firings would take place. On August 5, however, Martin received notice of dismissal and workers decided on a work stoppage.

STRUGGLE FOR OWNERSHIP

During this period, the workers and other villagers had a series of meetings where they had discussed securing funds to buy the estate which would then be worked collectively. On August 7 a petition signed by over 200 workers and other residents of the village was sent to CDC, the government and the Dominica Trade Union (DTU), supporting the stand against retrenchment, requesting the negotiations begin for the transfer of ownership of the estate from CDC to the workers, and asking for government assistance in securing the purchase price of the estate. Within the 5 days following, all workers were dismissed and on August 12 the estate was closed.

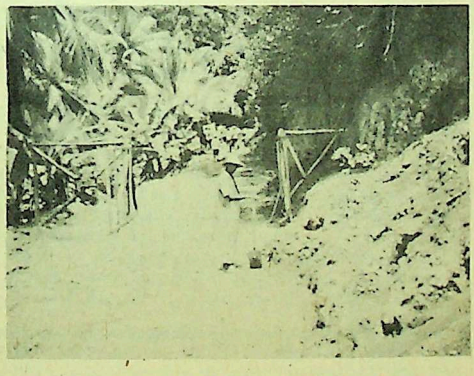
For weeks the workers continued to report to the estate, determined that CDC would not recruit a new labour force locally. At best they received only lukewarm support from "their" union, the DTU. By September CDC had given in to government pressure to reopen the estate and recruited over 50 workers from the Carib Reserve. Pushed by the rank and file, the union attempted to get the original workforce reinstated, but ended up accepting CDC's proposal to keep the Castle Bruce workforce at 80 people and provide some compensation (2 weeks pay) for those who were not rehired. Despite the workers repeated rejection during the course of negotiations of this type of settlement, the union signed the agreement. In light of the extreme hardship caused by the loss of income to the village the reduced workforce went back to the fields.

Regular public discussions and political education continued around the future of the estate and the village. This process clarified and strengthened workers' resolve to take over the estate as a collective. The attitude and actions of the government also served to reinforce the workers' realization that only through their own independent organization comprising workers and villagers could they bring about the changes for which they were working. That the government's role from the beginning was one of betrayal and provocation of the people of Castle Bruce is not surprising. The "Le Blanc Labour Party" in its best moments saw itself as doing no more than "improving the lot of the little man" within the structure it had inherited and its best moments were few indeed. Worker's control of the means of production was anathema, especially since the most powerful faction of the party was led by R. O. P. Armour, member of a family of large landowners, Minister of Finance and Deputy Premier.

GOV'T/CDC ALLIANCE

At the beginning of the crisis, E. H. Christian had pledged the support of his "socialist" government for the workers. However, some time later the government broadcasted a statement on Radio Dominica saying that they regarded the dispute as a "private matter" between management of labour, and advised the workers to return to work, expressing at the same time their disapproval of "collectives" which they took care to distinquish from "co-operatives". In dealing with delegations of Castle Bruce workers who strove to get full government support for their plan to purchase the land, the various Ministers consistently attempted to dissuade the workers, advising them to return to the intolerable conditions of work under CDC. Meanwhile, Labour Party leaders began and sustained a "communist" scare related to the workers demands, willingly aided by estate owners and Roseau merchants. Urban youth, who had embraced the Black Power movement and who were increasingly pushing for a return to the land in view of the extreme level of unemployment in the state, enthusiastically supported the Castle Bruce workers. This despite the fact that the leading figure in the Castle Bruce revolt, Atherton Martin, was extremely careful not to link Castle Bruce too closely with the embryonic Movement for a New Dominica (MND) which had posed the necessity for socialist transformation and with which he had some connections.

In contrast to their approach to the workers, the government extended CDC every courtesy and consideration possible.



road and gate built by workers after taking over land.

section of Castle Bruce workers discussing problems of production in the field.

Undeterred by obstacles, the Castle Bruce people continued the process of education and clarification about how to develop a co-operative and what role the co-operative would play in development of their community. Martin and other members of the Steering Committee undertook a search for funds to buy the estate. CDC agreed to sell for $500,000.00 with a (EC) $125,000 downpayment and a government guarantee, on behalf of the workers, for the rest. The workers' delegation was able to mobilize the amount for downpayment from international sources, as well as promises of capital grants, both contingent on the government guarantee. However, instead of providing that guarantee

R.O.P. Armour, the Minister of Finance, and Etienne, the Minister of Agriculture, flew to England in November and arranged a loan of EC $1 million from CDC to buy Castle Bruce and another CDC owned estate, Melville Hall. Government announced its plan to divide the land into small plots for lease and formed a Land Management Authority (LMA) to administer the estates.

CO-OP STRATEGY

By December, 1972, 200 estate workers and villagers had formed themselves into the Castle Bruce co-operative and entered the second phase of their struggle: to get legally registered as a co-op and to get land on the estate. For one full year they found themselves in a Catch-22 situation set up by the government. The LMA would not lease land to them unless the co-operative was registered, and the Co-operatives Division would not allow them to register unless they had land. 1973 was spent by the Castle Bruce co-operative in negotiations with the government, in consolidating and expanding support for the workers in nearby villages and in certain sections of the urban population, in continued organizational and educational work within the co-op itself, and in building international interest and support for the co-op. However, during that year the co-op did not make any concerted attempt to link their struggle with that of other agricultural workers in the state (although workers from nearby villages were invited to public meetings). Instead a "pilot project" approach was followed which to some degree weakened the possibility of mass support across the country.

In Castle Bruce village itself the villagers were split between those who saw the co-op as their only hope for breaking out of the cycle of poverty and dependence and those who saw the collective as "communistic", as the first step of a movement to take away what little they owned. Leading the opposition to the co-op were the more prosperous shopkeepers and peasants.

AN ECONOMIC VICTORY

In December 1973 co-op members decided to give the government an ultimatum: register the co-op or members would occupy the land. That it took co-op members 18 months of delays and betrayals to come to this position speaks both to the cautious approach of the leadership and to the determination of members to forge a new form of relationship to production. Meanwhile, public sentiment against the co-op had been modified somewhat - partly because of the deliberate policy of staying aloof from overtly socialist-leaning sections of the population, partly because of the support given by church-related bodies and some of the more progressive elements of the middle class and partly because of members' perseverence. Early in 1974 the Co-op was registered and in May 1974, 150 acres of Castle Bruce estate were leased by the Co-op at a rental of EC $7,338 a year. After protest by the workers, the rent was reduced to EC $5,538. Funds for initiating operations were provided from two main sources, CADEC and the Inter-American Foundation (IAF). Operations are conducted essentially at three closely integrated levels; administration, farming and marketing. The emphasis in production has been transferred from cash crops for export to cultivation for local consumption. Caribbean market outlets are being sought and the development of local technology undertaken. The Co-op has successfully negotiated for more land - 53 acres - for which the additional lease is $3,900.

Although Castle Bruce represented an important step in the workers' struggles, the co-op was set up in a spirit of compromise and its present mode of operation reflects this. On the one hand it is a concrete expression of workers determination to control production, on the other, many of the relations of production of the past continue to exist - relations between driver (field supervisor) and other workers, differential in pay for women and men, etc.

The questions Castel Bruce poses for agricultural workers in Dominica where the movement to producers co-operatives has grown rapidly since 1973 are: Can the co-operative, which is basically a protective economic institution, become the basis for social transformation? Is social development regarded in terms of a multiplication of the Bastle Bruce experience in rural Dominica or is control of State power viewed as a necessary pre-condition for national transformation?

Caribbean Dialogue will not be published in August and September. Watch for our special October issue on the Black Immigrant Working-class in Britain.

GRAND BAY

- A CASE OF POVERTY AND MASS RESISTANCE

Unlike the struggle at Castle Bruce, the revolt of the people of Grand Bay in March/April 1974 exploded into direct violent attacks against the forces which kept the villagers living in squalor and misery, that is the local estate owner and the power of the state.

The Grand Bay area in the south east coast, made up of about 13 villages and hamlet, with a population of over 7000, covers the larger part of the Parish of St. Patrick which contains about 14% of the total population of Dominica. For many generations the people have been dependent on Geneva Estate (1390 acres) which adjoins the village. The main village of Grandbay-Berricoa is hemmed in by steep mountains and by the estate, forcing the peasants and farmers of the area to plant on the high, difficult-of-access mountain slopes. The estate has traditionally provided the major employment possibilities in the area and the people have had to dance to the tune of whoever owned the estate. From 1949 onward, the estate had been in the hands of Elias J. Nassief, a Syrian merchant who owns several retails outlets in Roseau, a rum distillery (Belfast), and majority shares in Dominica Coconut Products which manufactures coconut based products.

LANDLORD VS. TENANTS

The also traditional hostility between village and estate, between labour and capital, was deepened when upon Nassief's acquiring ownership, villagers who had established "squatter's" gardens and those who grazed their cattle and other animals on the land, were evicted from the estate. The effect of this action was to impoverish the people of the area still further and Grandbay went from being one of the largest producers of milk and beef on the island to a situation of critical shortage since animals had to be sold or slaughtered due to lack of grazing land. Appeals to the government to intervene brought no response and the feelings of resentment against this injustice were fed in subsequent years as for example the terms for leasing land on the estate became more and more prohibitive, as the restrictions were instituted on what tenants could plant since Nassief wanted to expand the cultivation of bananas and coconuts. For example, food crops planted by tenants were ruthlessly uprooted by Nassief's agents on the estate and the only apparent effect the "development" of Geneva had on the lives of people in the area was to increase their misery and the level of dependence on the shrinking number of jobs to be gained on the land

CONDITIONS OF LIFE

Conditions of life in the area were and are among the worst in Dominica. Not only is housing criminally inadequate and overcrowded (the average family size is estimated at 8-9 persons, the majority of whom live in tiny dilapidated houses), but, given the location of the village there was no land for extending the village unless the government acquired part of Geneva. Requests from the villagers from the 1950's onward to extend the village to provide additional housing, recreational facilities and grazing land had always been totally ignored by the government in power. The indifference of the previous government was more than matched by the malice of the Labour Government whose deliberate and criminal neglect of the area stemmed in large part from the fact that the people had never voted for the Labour Party. (One of the contradictions of the situation was that for many years until 1975 the M.P. for the area was himself a large landowner, R. S. Fadelle, whose Stowe Estate, somewhat smaller than Geneva, is the only other sizable estate in the vicinity of the village).

In the early 70's an estimated 62% of the area's population was under the age of 20 and all that faced them was an empty future. Education did not hold out the traditional route to economic and social advancement. The Grand Bay Primary and Junior Secondary School, which serves all the villages of the area, has an enrollment of 1100 students. 1970 census figures indicate that in the village of Berricoa alone, there were 1,054 school-age children (5-14 years). The implication of the enrollment figure is that hundreds of children in the area have no access whatsoever to basic primary education and no hope of receiving training or of securing regular employment. They swell the numbers of the massive army of unemployed in the state and provide the opportunity for the government to display its coercise "law and Order" line when the police arrest the youth for taking coconuts from the estate without permission. About 600 persons under 30 in the area are in fact without either training or jobs.

SURVIVAL

The strategy for survival traditionally adopted by hundreds of working age people of Grand Bay who cannot get employed locally (in its heyday Geneva employed no more than 300 workers) has been to migrate either to some other part of the island, where agricultural workers are needed to some other island or out of the Caribbean entirely. The economic crisis of the 70's has closed off all these outlets. The spiralling unemployment within the island, acutely felt by agricultural workers whose chances for employment on large estates are continually shrinking with the increased cultivation of citrus and coconuts which require far fewer workers than banana cultivation, sent many of the internal migrants back to their home villages, and restrictive immigration policies in the metropolitan countries shut off that escape route.

In 1974 the economic and social pressures on the village were immense. At the inauguration of the 1974 village Council in February, the councillors and the representative for the area requested that the government acquire part of Geneva for village extension, stressing the critical housing shortage, the lack of recreational facilities for the youth, the lack of grazing lands, etc. From the establishment of the villages of the area in the 19th Century, no additional land and few jobs had become available. The vast majority of villagers remained dependent on agriculture for their means of livelihood: working on the estates; undertaking subsistence level cultivation of bananas, ground provisions, cocoa, limes and food crops; keeping livestock or, in the case of many women, producing straw goods.

UPRISING OF WHOLE VILLAGE

The early 70's had brought a drastic decline in chicken and pig rearing because of the exorbitant cost of imported feed, with adverse consequences both to the income of the villagers and to their ability to satisfy their nutritional needs. The costs of producing the main cash crop, bananas, had become too prohibitive for profitable small scale production. In short, on every side the masses of the people of Grand Bay, old and young alike were trapped in a circle of deprivation and poverty whilst at least 60% of Geneva estate lay idle.

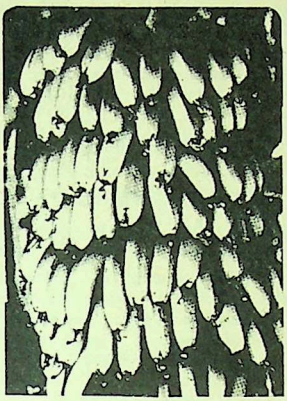
The first overt display of simmering unrest came with the incidents of open clashes between villagers and police during carnival in February when gunfire was exchanged between police and villagers who expressed their defiance of the state by wearing the banned "sensay" costumes. (These costumes had been banned by the government following the death by arson of 3 people wearing them in 1963). Police reinforcements had been sent to deal with the situation and hostility against the agents of control became generalized.

At the end of March, 1974, the village exploded into armed rebellion with Geneva Estate as its focus. A group of villagers, mostly young unemployed workers, occupied the estate, slaughtered cattle, cut down coconut trees, burnt estate houses, cut telephone wires, seized guns, trucks and furniture and distributed meat and other food found on the estate. Barricades were thrown up to prevent police access to the village

STRATEGY OF THE STATE

The government (already in the midst of a law and order "anti-communist", anti-Black Power campaign in Roseau and environs as a result of the killing of a white American tourist on Carnival Tuesday), poured police and Defence Force members into the Grand Bay area, declared a State of Emergency in the Parish of St. Patrick. In response the estate's diesel tanks and a coconut drying shed on the estate were burnt while firemen who were trying to control the arson were stoned. The village itself remained solidly supportive of the rebels and actively hostile to the police forces. The Premier and the Minister of Agriculture were forced to hold public meetings with representatives of the village to hear their grievances and negotiate their demands.

Ironically and with typical hyprocrisy, the Premier who with every strategem short of armed force, had tried to stop the development of the



Castle Bruce co-operative, now went on the air and held up Castle Bruce as the model which the people of Grand Bay should have followed to attain their demands non-violently.

Attempts by the Labour Party to link Grand Bay with outside agitation fell flat in face of the united front of the villagers and the long history of requests to government to improve conditions. Two meetings between representatives from various groups and the Premier, Minister of Agriculture, Director of Land Management Authority, etc. were broadcast on Radio Dominica and the powerful testimony given by Grand Bay residents of all ages of the shocking conditions which they had to endure, together with the persistent demands that the government buy the estate and turn it over to the village led to an agreement by the government to negotiate for the land.

The State of Emergency lasted for three months during which the policy and defence force attempted to terrorize the villagers while protecting the estate. During that period also the Land Management Authority agreed to buy the estate from Nassief for $960,000 (E.C.).

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Purchase of the estate, and the terms under which the L.M.A. makes land available to tenants again brought about bitter hostility towards the government and conflicts within the village itself. A section of the population demanded worker control and management of the estate whereas others were in agreement with the government's plan to lease the land at $20.00 an acre. The disposition of the estate became a rallying point and a number of groups were formed to develop plans and make representation to the authorities. The conflicts which have emerged have generally been between the youth and the older people in the village, with the youth favouring the co-operative approach to the development of resources.

At present an estimated 600 farmers work the estate, 120 are tenants of whom 107 operate ½ acre units, the rest 1½ - 10 care plots. By far the vast majority are squatters, about 55 are employed by the L.M.A. to clear land, crate limes (at 42¢ a crate), etc.

Given the unprofitablity of small scale cultivation it is apparent to all, even to the government, that dividing the land into small parcels will not benefit the area. The Ministry of Agriculture has proposed the formation of three co-operatives which when developed would be handed over management and control of the estate. Failing that, the L.M.A. would continue to develop the estate.

Two years after the revolt it is more obvious than ever that the people have to take into their own hands the task of transforming their social and economic conditions. Some of the Grand Bay youth, employed and unemployed, continue to develop the tools for the inevitable struggle to come.

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INDEPENDENCE

le classes, the political elite, workers, farmers, women, unemployed, youth, etc., but does not analyse the class composition of Antiguan society concretely - who constitute the middle-classes and what do they do; what are their concrete ties to imperialist capital in the context of Antigua; what are the different sections of the working-class and the character of their work; etc. Also, how does ACLM perceive the relations between the revolutionary vanguard or organization and the Assemblies? Further, ACLM does not deal with strategy, tactics and organization in the document (that is, the particular organization of the revolutionary vanguard).

A burning political question that ACLM only mentions in the document is that of intervention in the electoral struggle on the part of revolutionary organizations. This question has been partly broached in a Caribbean Dialogue editorial, Vol.2 No.2, March 1976 and in New Beginning, Vol.5 No.2, March-April 1976. Suffice it to state here that in the smaller territories of the Caribbean it is politically feasible to take Parliamentary power and immediately smash the colonial state and on its unions to build a Workers and Farmers Democratic State once the Revolutionary organization has built an organized embryonic mass movement of Workers and Farmers that could be strengthened and developed as the alternative state on the morrow of Parliamentary power.

-F.H., June, 1976

youth in agriculture and rural development

The Y.A.R.D co-op is one of the many co-op groups that have emerged in Dominica since the Castle Bruce struggle. It can be said that Dominican youth have launched an island-wide co-op movement which they view as the first stage of building a political movement in Dominica. The interview published below was held with one of the members of Y.A.R.D earlier this year.

What are the aims and objectives you had in mind when you embarked on this co-operative venture?

The organization was formed in July 1974 with the following objectives:

The creation of self-employment;
The development of better rural community relationships;
The promotion of the economic and social interests of its members and the community;
To develop political awareness and cultural consciousness among rural people;
To bring about self management along socialist lines in terms of:

a) development based on the concern for the living conditions of the mass of the working people;
b) self-sufficiency in providing the basic needs of life;
c) control of the means of production and other resources of the community.

ACTIVITY AND STRUCTURE

Give a brief resume of the structure, membership, resources and operations/activities of the Co-operative.

The organization with a membership of 15 brothers, operates a 53.01 acre farm through a lease agreement on the government owned Newfoudland Estate.

In its efforts to generate collective planning and participation the organization has designed an organizational structure consisting of various committees to perform specific functions. The activities of these various committees are co-ordinated by a Board of Directors.

The Co-operative in its 1½ years of farm operations has brought approximately 10 acres of land under agricultural production. This was done, however, in the light of problems such as lack of transport and storage facilities and limited capital.

In order to develop better worker participation Y.A.R.D. recognized the need for constant worker education among its members and the community. Through its functioning education committee a series of educational activities were organized including group and panel discussions, seminars, workshops, field trips and films.

A STRUGGLE TO BEGIN

To what extent did this venture turn out to be a struggle in both economic and political terms?

Economically it was a struggle to create employment for the unemployed youths, and furthermore the struggle to engage oneself in the dwindling agricultural economy with a common view of changing the present capitalist system of agricultural production.

Politically it was a struggle for land from central government. The struggle for land which in our view implied the consciousness and dedication of the farmer, the peasant, the working man, in controlling the means of production on a collective basis. This meant a change from our present political system. The working class was demanding control of our resources, the land, into their hands thereby placing themselves in a position in which they could take their own decisions and engage in their own planning programmes for their total rural development.

What was (and is) government's attitude towards the Co-op? What role has government played in the operations of the Co-op so far?

The present "labour" government from its 1975 election campaign, has incessantly emphasised the development of the Co-operative movement as a means of coping with out socio-economic problems but only from an economic point of view. The government sees Co-operatives from a capitalist point of view, the bread, the money side; but refuses in all ways to recognize the Co-operative movement as the voice of the working, oppressed, repressed and victimized people of the country, struggling for social reform. To them as brothers working together for their own selfish motives (fine); but once we start talking about real socialist transformation and the corruption inherited from the 300 years of both local and foreign domination of colonial power the government's fine attitude changes. Government's role played in the operations of the Co-op is two-fold. They have finally assisted in making land available to the Co-op only after our own pressures, and have provided minor assistance through extension officers towards the scientific planning of the co-operative project. A small financial contribution has also been provided towards the costs of some educational activities planned by the Co-operative.

What kind of aid has the Co-op been receiving? What is your policy towards aid, government and otherwise?

The Co-op has received $2,000 E.C. from the Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO) for the purchase of farm supplies and equipment. Presently the Co-op is negotiating for funds for farm operational costs and transport facilities with I.A.F. and Oxfam respectively. However, the Co-op has laid down certain policies towards aid, government or otherwise. We accept aid in so far as we hold direct control over how, and to what extent this aid should be utilized. If the terms of the funding agencies are contrary to our ideological objectives we won't receive their funds.

SELF-RELIANCE

What are some of your ideas on the land question in Dominica? Do you think that the Co-operative is the answer?

In Dominica a New Land Distribution Pattern is inevitable and most immediately almost 90% of our flat agricultural lands are in the hands of a few elite families, whereas the small farmers provide all the food, provisions and vegetables, regardless of their small and distant holdings.

Y.A.R.D. welcomes the co-operation direction in controlling our land (resources), not through the mediation of the government but by the direct control of the people themselves. The Co-operative should serve as the vehicle for bringing the people into the management and control of their land, their labour, and the profits from their land and labour. That is the basis for our social development and the creation of a self-reliant society. Self reliance, through co-operation is the necessary answer in economics as well as politics and as the corrective to three centuries of unmitigated dependence in production and trade, in culture and education, indeed in all aspects of life.

UNITY THROUGH STRUGGLE

What role did the Co-op play in the recent formation of the National Federation of Co-operatives?

It was in a discussion on "Workers Struggle in Dominica" held by the Y.A.R.D. Co-op, that participants recognized common problems confronting the various co-operatives, and decided that there should be a follow-up to this discussion. That follow-up was in the form of a Conference of Agricultural Co-operatives in which the idea to form a National Federation of Agricultural Co-operatives was first thrown out. A Steering Committee was subsequently formed to plan for the formation of such a Federation. Y.A.R.D.'s farm manager holds the position of secretary of such a committee while the president is on a "rules" committee to draft the constitution of such a Federation.

What hopes do you see in this new National Federation of Co-ops?

Y.A.R.D. sees the New National Federation of Co-ops as operating within a structure set up by the Co-operative Society involved, having total autonomy (control, ownership and management). It must provide Educational Training, Finance, Marketing, outlet and Agricultural extension services. The Federation should stand as the united force of the organized farmers of the land, fighting for their total liberation, and a new society where independence is a reality.

How seriously does the Co-op see its role as a vanguard organization among youth? How does the Co-op propose to translate some of its ideas into action?

The ruling power has outspokenly blamed the actions of the youth for the socio-economic problems. They refuse to recognize that the youth (the majority of the population) are unemployed.

Y.A.R.D. like other depressed and frustrated youth of the state, has engaged in co-operative activities which illustrates quite vividly that the youth if given a fair chance, can participate positively and meaningfully in national change for national development.

Through the proper implementation of its educational, farm and community project plans, the Co-op hopes to translate its ideas into action.

What are some of the achievements of which the Co-op is particularly proud and some of its plans for the future which would be of general interest?

The Co-operative is particularly proud of the fact that the idea and in fact the initial drive to the formation of a National Federation of Agricultural Co-operatives really started from Y.A.R.D.

As a matter of general interest, the co-operative hopes to release to the Premier of Dominica a solidarity message expressing concern of the plight and release of freedom fighter Brother Desmond Trotter from solitary confinement.

BLACK STRUGGLES IN BRITAIN

WATCH FOR THE OCTOBER ISSUE OF CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE - A SPECIAL, RESEARCHED AND P PREPARED BY THE RACE TODAY COLLECTIVE (LONDON, ENGLAND) ON WEST INDIAN AND ASIAN IMMIGRANT STRUGGLES.

testament of an L. Rose worker

Following is an interview with a woman worker sometime employed by L. Rose & Co. L. Rose & Co., a subsidiary of the Cadbury-Schweppes transitional, produces the world famous Rose's Lime Juice and exerts complete control over the lime industry in Dominica.

The company owns two lime producing estates, Bath Estate and Soufriere. Until the late 60's there were factories on both L. Rose estates as well as the New Town lime processing factory owned by A. C. Shillingford & Co. a local farm. The factories provided a market for small lime growers in addition to processing limes produced on company owned estates.

In 1969 the price of limes and lime products was dropping on the world market and L. Rose was ordered to cut back production in Dominica. The Soufriere factory was closed, workers were laid off (coincidentally two days before a new minimum wage scale went into affect at Bath Estate) at about the same time, L. Rose's Parent Cadbury-Schweppes bought 51% shares of A.C. Shillingford Co. and proceeded first to arrange for A. C. Shillingford to lose its market for lime products in England forcing the New Town factory to sell its produce to L. Rose at a very low price. This uneconomical arrangement led to the shutdown of the New Town factory small growers had to abandon lime cultivation.

L. Rose later acquired Wallhouse and part of Canefield Estates two other estates with sizable lime cultivation. Part of Canefield was sold to the government for a housing scheme taking more land out of lime cultivation.

During the retrenchment crisis of 1969 the union which represented the workers, DAWN (Dominica Amalgamated Workers Union) expressed their fear "... that the control of Dominica's economy to her benefit is beginning to be effectively removed from the hands of the legitimate planners". What DAWN did not acknowledge is that they had never had it in the first place.

(Late in 1975 A. C. Shillingford, merchants, import-export agents, estate owners (Layou Park), rum manufacturers (Dominica Distelleries) was ordered by the majority shareholders (C.S.) to make massive cuts in staff. Accusations that the C.S. appointed upper management had run the company aground financially resulted in March, 1976 in discussions of the Chairman and Accountant, expatriate Englishmen both. The union representing the workers in question the Waterfront and Allied Workers Union, intimately connected with the Labour Party, and the Labour government itself said not one word in support of A. C. Shillingford's workers. In March also it was disclosed that the government had bought substantial shares of Dominica Distilleries and the Attorney General Leo I. Austin had been named Chairman of the Company).

About Nov. '74 I heard that L. Rose was opening a factory at Bath Estate and I went to ask the manager if I could get a job. He told me I was too late. I went a second time and got the same answer.

After the factory opened, I heard that it was just going to be opened for the grapefruit season. The second year I went before the factory was due to open and the man was unable to tell me anything definite because they were transfering people from the limes section, (which engages in fulltime operations) to grapefruit as the limes were getting short. Besides that they had had a lot of applications from outside.

A friend told me to come the next day because she had heard the manager say he wanted 3 girls. I went, he scratched his chin, thinking, then I began to cry and tell him my situation. My childrens father is in prison, I have two, and I also have my niece whom my mother threw out of her house when she discovered she was pregnant, and the baby in a one-room shack. He told me to come back and he would see what he could do. It was Friday, Nov. 27th. He told me be there at 7.00a.m. on Monday. There were 5 of us newcommers that Monday. The Managers turn and twist, and then said "Alright start to work". He gave us each a padlock and a key and told us that our lockers were in the toilets. I discovered later that we were expected to eat in the toilet while other people were using it.

THE BURDEN OF WORK

The first day I had to leave at 4.00 p.m. because I had not made arrangements for my two children to be taken care of. I had to lie and say that I was going to the doctor.

I went home and the next day I worked from seven a.m. to six p.m. (I was not told anything) They told us that we had to come back at seven. I came back and worked until 12 o'clock or one o'clock, I can't remember. The next morning I couldn't get up. I was too tired.

A portion of that day's pay was deducted from my weekly wages, i.e. a portion of $4.25. I went back at 1 o'clock and got $1.75 for my half-day. We used to get overtime from 4.30pm. - 50¢ an hour.

The day was 7.00 a.m. -12 midday, then 1.00 p.m. to 6.00p.m. and the last shift 1p.m. -12, sometimes 1.00a.m. The earliest we got out was 10.30 p.m. If you reached a minute late, they took out from your money - you had to clock in.

My job was to open cans, put it on the machine to get round, then put it on the machine for the bottom to be fitted in, them pack then again to be filled with juice and then again to be sealed at the top. When it is concentrated juice, it is very hot and we had to take them out and pack them on palettes. We asked for gloves many times, but we were never given and they wanted us to pack them fast without letting a drop fall. Twice a can of hot juice fell on my feet.

We had a supervisor. He was not bad. When we asked him to go out, he allowed us to, telling us don't stay long. But he was a careless supervisor, or biassed I don't know. I was always unlucky to get the job to pack the hot tins.

When I wanted a paper to go to the doctor or the dentist, they told me that I did not have six months there yet so I couldn't get.

POWERLESS

There were seventeen women on the line. The only 2 men who were working on the machinery used to do the clanking (turning down the rims) and pull the palettes loades with 224 tins each weighing about 5 lbs. These men got $6.00 a day and 75¢ an hour.

I knew all the women socially very well. They are all from the ghetto with children ranging in number from ten to one. Most of these women are the sole support of their family. One woman had a tiny peice of government land, but apart from her all the others did not have a job. All these women were very thankful for the job, all of them said it was better than nothing, better than sitting down at their home. They all complained but not for the supervisor to hear. If anybody talked loud in front of the supervisor (I was the only one who used to do that) they would give the person wrong, for the supervisor to hear.

The workers were complaining about the union. WAWU was representing them, but I've never seen any of the union officials come around. I never joined the Union and never regretted it. The workers were saying the union is forkeries but they were still giving it their money. After all, the union signed the wages contract or whatever you call it,

The manager of the company is a white man from England called Laban. He said he was in Africa, I can't remember which country. He just used to grin for us and pass on to his office. Other than than we never saw him; it seems as if it was the Domincan manager under him who had to deal with workers.

WORSE OFF THAN BEFORE

I have never worked inside a factory before and I don't think I like it. I heard they are calling back workers in March for one week. The time I worked there the factory had opened early November until the 29th of January. We were not told in advance that the factory was going to close. On the last day of work, as we were leaving, we w were told not to come back the next day. The day after I went for my money. I got $24 and change, they had deducted some money for latecoming and $1.75 for National Provident Fund. Before deductions, my pay was $29.32. I had worked every day and all my overtime.

- continued on page 40

my objective in D'ca

- ROSIE DOUGLAS

Rosie Douglas was deported from Canada a few months ago for his involvement in the struggle against racism at Sir George Williams University in Montreal in 1968/69. Soon after he returned to his homeland, Dominica, he gave an interview to the local newspaper, The New Chronicle. Below we publish excerpts from that interview to those in the Caribbean, Canada and elsewhere who have listened to speeches by Rosie or are acquainted with his past political activities and may like to know what political position he has taken on his return to Dominica.

STAGE BY STAGE

...my first objective is the unity, development, independence and social progress of my country. My commitment therefore right now is for peace, democracy, National Independence and Social Progress. To that extent I realize that the stage that Dominica is in right now, that is, the preliminary stage of National Liberation.....
...The first stage of National Liberation is political independence, the second stage is economical emancipation. Two stages but one process. Most colonial countries in the world are now at the second stage--economic in-dependence. My country still has not attained the first stage, so that we've been colonised for 300 years and no child can be 300 years old, so the time has come when Dominica has to make that major historical step towards political independence and then economic independence.

NATIONAL UNITY

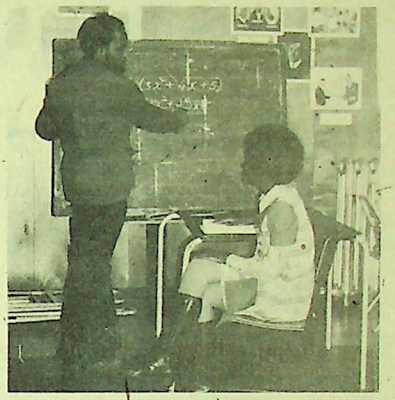
...My contribution is to seek and encourage the greatest level of National democratic unity that we can achieve at this time. That is to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in the country from the youth, the unemployeds working class, small farmers, estate workers, middle businessmen, the professional strata, the armed forces, the Police and the Military, the Churches, to unite all those forces, because without that unity, Dominica is heading for the kind of CIA motivated chaos which we see in Jamaica....
...The call for independence by the government is a progressive move which must be supported, irrespective to political affiliation. Popular Independence committees should be set up all over the island to hold open discussions with all sections of the nation on the question. This approach will unite the nation and provide the rudiments of an independence constitution.....
....I don't see myself at this time operating within the membership framework of the Labour or Freedom parties, but I will seek the unity of the progressive forces inside those parties. In other words any party operating in Dominica today that does not support the political independence and the social progress of the country deserves to be discredited as agents of colonialism. I am not stating on the basis as pointing a finger at any party but I will call upon and meet people from the two parties, particularly Government, to discuss the question of approaching independence in the united way.....
...Oh yes, I intend to meet with the Premier. He is the legitimate leader of the country and I respect that because I respect democracy. I also respect his rise to leader of the country from a very humble beginning. I will meet him and I will make concrete proposals to the government. In other words we are calling for National Reconciliation, for an end to victimization, favouritism and wastefulness; we are calling to heal the wounds which have kept major oppressed sectors of the Dominican population at each others neck while colonial plunder and economic backwardness deepened. That bourgeois game must come to an end or chaos and barbarism will reign supreme....

WHY I RESISTED ?

...I resisted the deportation order because the deportation order against me was unjust because there were 28 students of which I was one from the Caribbean who were involved in the incident at Sir George William University in 1969. None of the others were sent to jail and we were on the same charge, the same evidence, none of the others were sent to jail and none of the others were deported.. I was the only one sent to jail, I was the only one deported. As a political Leader in the black community in Canada my deportation without a struggle would have had tremendous negative implications on the black community. It would have demoralised the community, it would have given the government the confidence to believe that they could harass black people if they could deport one of their leaders, then the ordinary person in the street could hear us. Finally several thousand black people have been deported from Canada over the last three years, 1500 from Haiti alone, 37 from Columbia. In that kind of atomsphere the will of the oppressed is to fight back to fight for our rights. If they infringe upon our rights in immigration and we accept it they will infringe in it in employment, they will infringe in it in housing, they will infringe in it in the court as they have been doing, so that you do not turn your back ever to a struggle, you always confront it and deal with it on its own term.....

TYP: Why U of T closed it down?

For the past three years a struggle was being waged over who should controll the Transitional Year Programme, a programme for "disadvantaged" working-class youth at U of T. Control of the programme involved basically 4 bodies: (1) The Policy Committee consisting of community, students, staff and U of T representatives, which acted as an advisory body to the U of T hierarchy. (2) The Review Committee (external assessors) who reviewed the programme every three years and made recommendations to the Academic Council of U of T. (3) Important academic decisions concerning the programme are made by the Academic Council of U of T and the overall responsibility for the maintenance of the programme rest in the hand of the Provost of U of T.
Since the article was written, U of T has decided to discontinue the programme.



The Academic Council (U of T) rejected the recommendations of the Review Committee (external Assessors), the Administrator (U of T) and the Principal of Innis College by passing a motion on Monday, June 7, to continue the Transitional Year Programme (TYP) for another year: The lack of any evidence to refute the academic merit of the programme forced the Academic Council to accept a compromise between shelving the programme and allowing its continuation along the lines which were emerging. The Council in an attempt to defuse the struggle in the Policy Committee (TYP), which was in fact a struggle for Power, proposed the establishing of a "trusteeship" comprising of the Principal of Innis, the Director, TYP, and an appointee of the Provost. This body will have sole authority for all major decisions in the Programme and will report to the Provost of the University. With this formulation the establishment has wrestled control of the Programme from the Policy Committee. This new development comes as no great surprise for from its inception the Programme was placed on a collision course with the University establishment.

APPARENT HARMONY

The TYP, established six years ago, provides less skilled working-class individuals with an opportunity for gaining entrance into University. Horace Campbell and Elaine Maxwell, black community organizers, laid the basis for this experimental programme, with the University finally accepting the responsibility for enhancing its development. The programme was viewed to be different in form and perspective from the traditional pattern of University education, although its task was to prepare students for normal academic courses within the University. The contradictions inherent in this formulation became more evident as the programme grew in size and content. The tutors, instructors, students and Policy Committee members dedicated to the continuous development of the programme began to assert themselves and attempt to force the representatives of Innis College and the University to release levels of control to the Policy Committee. Through sub-committees established by the Policy Committee all sensitive areas of the Programme were examined and proposals reflecting the needs of the student were instituted. In many instances these proposals did not meet with the approval of the establishment, but the strength and convictions of Policy Committee members forced the opposition to accept the positions taken.

POWER STRUGGLE

Those members of the Policy Committee who vehemently rejected the paternalism of the University elite and the loose relationship between the College and the TYP recognized that in a period of severe economic restraints and rapidly changing social patterns, there would be less consideration given to the students in the Programme. If the University was faced with the choice between schooling the lowly skilled ethnic minorities and the more academically equipped high school graduates, the axe would fall on those with the least power in the society. Whereas the University has no problem receiving STATE funds for traditional academic programmes, once this can be justified with increased enrolment, experimental programmes are considered low priority in a period of economic crisis. Therefore the Power stru-

ggle in the Policy Committee was an attempt to entrench the programme in the University community and provide for the development of perceptions which were different from those expressed by the status quo. The Principal of Innis College supported by members of Innis and the University Governing Council, retreated from time to time, but never accepted the role of the Policy Committee. The opportunity to undermine the Power of the Committee came as the University began to prepare for an assessment of the program after its second, three-year period. Who shall be afforded Post-Secondary University education and under what kind of authority were the two questions the University posed and answered in the recent documents, the Director's report and the Review Committee report.

THE MANAGER'S ATTACK

The reports unleashed an attack on the Black community and White progressives associated with the Programme. They portrayed these representatives as being responsible for all inadequacies in the Programme. The Director, the Principal of Innis College, and all other University personnel, except the Black professionals and White faculty aligned with the radical faction, were absolved of any blame for the polarization which developed. In concluding his biased report the Director states:

> "This programme does not have a patent or Manifest Destiny to educate the disadvantaged, and if it cannot solve itsinternal dissertions over staffing, there are alternative ways of assisting the disadvantaged at the University of Toronto which could easily be instituted with a fair chance of success and without as much fuss and bother as has plagued this programme for the past three years".

It should be noted that the only two individuals at that meeting who defended the Director were Professor Russell, Principal of Innis College and Mr. David King, Registrar of Innis.

THE GREAT FEAR

It was believed by some members of the Policy Committee that the Review Committee comprising of persons who were "professionally ethical", would ignore the overt attacks of the Director and arrive at a more objective assessment. Those persons of high esteem in academic circles showed their true allegiance and mercilessly tarnished the reputation of many individuals associated with TYP. They highlighted the word "ideology" and stated that mainly Black community representatives, tutors, students and two or three University faculty members had interferred with the original purpose of the Programme by introducing a Third World/Black Community/Black Studies orientation and Marxist "ideology". In the University of Toronto where credit courses are offered on Capitalism and Socialism, there is no conflict, but the exposure of these opposing world views to students in TYP was challenged. What the Review Committee was in fact saying is that: (1) the development of political consciousness amongst these students poses a threat to Innis College and the University; (2) enlightening both Black and White students to the nature of the relationships in this society and the world was equated to arming your enemy: (3) these students having both the experience and a clearer understanding of the exploitive nature of the society, would be further motivated to struggle for the transformation of the society. They would be better equipped to articulate their grievances and enhance the development of their sector of the working-class; (4) within the institution their collective action would subjectively engender a feeling of power which could influence other sections of Innis and the University.

THE LESSON

The Innis Power bloc which was defeated within the Programme and the Policy Committee had no alternative but to retreat and call up the rear guard. The Review Committee, Professor Harry Crowe, Prof. Vincent D'Oyley and Prof. Lynn Trainor, summoned by the Vice-Provost Milton Irasel, represented the heavy armory. Their purpose was not to review objectively but to remove any notion that the institution would retreat from defending the class to which it owes its existence and whose interest it so faithfully serves.

In reality the establishment has accomplished its objective. The Policy Committee can now be disbanded at the will of the University or its composition manipulated to remove community representatives or any other sections which are not acceptable. Those members of the Policy Committee who struggled for its survival and recognition as a dedicated and industrious body have had a valuable lesson in class struggle. The racial and class alliances which developed amongst the progressives is an example of the potential which exist in this society for struggle around particular issues. The issues never present themselves in any consistent manner therefore it is necessary for those who are engaged in struggle to be extremely vigilant and observe the political, social and economic trends in the society which give rise to new developments and new struggles.

The lesson of the TYP experience is that the managers of the educational insiitutions and the producers of knowledge will not relinquish power and control without a fierce struggle.

debating the issues

During the past two months Caribbean Dialogue has been receiving letters from various politically active people as the letters published below will indicate. Most of these letters are in response to articles published in Caribbean Dialogue. Though we have stated many times before that the pages of Caribbean Dialogue are open for debate, many of our readers seem to be unaware that they can send letters, articles, etc. for publication. We are therefore beginning in this issue a new section - Debating the Issues - that will demonstrate concretely our commitment to open debate and dialogue. You write, we publish.

WHY CRITICAL SUPPORT ?

In the following letter the author wrongly assumed that Gail Teixeria is a Correspondent (member) of Caribbean Dialogue. We apoligize for not clearly indicating that the column On Critical Support in Vol. 2. No. 2. was a letter received from Gail Teixeira, Secretary, Association of Concerned Guyanese, Toronto, in response to our publication Vol. 1. No. 3. which contained excerpts of the PPP's document " On Critical Support". Our reflections on this document are contained in the Editorial Comment of that issue.

Dear Editor,

Your correspondent Gail Teixeria, writing as Secretary of the Association of Concerned Guyanese, 'On Critical Support" Caribbean Dialogue, Vol. No. 2 March 1976, has added complexity to a simple matter, and shown complete unconcern for the civil rights of the Guyanese working people in her efforts to give that concept some progressive character.

The correspondent writes of"policies which are genuinely socialist in their (PNC) programme," and "the PNC leadership's genuine committment to the construction of a socialist Guyana." At the same time there seems to be doubt about these admirable qualities credited to the PNC, which is accused of having "multi faceted alliance" with "foreign capital", attempting to "isolate the PPP from the Guyanese working class." "Whether it is working against or in cooperation with imperialism." Truly this is the construction of a political maze and wolly thinking, if not sheer opportunism.

The simple tests of whether a party is committed to socialism, which must include anti-imperialism are (a) which class put it into power (b) which class does it serve and conversely which it persecutes. (c) Tied up with this,are the features of its administration as a government at home?

HISTORY OF THE P.N.C

The PPP which extends 'critical support' to the Burnham clique has time and again exposed the manner in which it secured power originally, that is through the CIA. Memories here are not short especially since the effects of the events have resulted in so much unhappiness. Neither the U.S. Government nor its arm the CIA nor the British Government has denied the revelations in Schislinger's "A thousand Days" nor the New York Times nor London Times reports all concerning the then imposition of the Burnham clique upon Guyana. There is no need to repeat quotations in view of your limited space.

In return the clique has served imperialisn itself, and its class associates well. It supported all imperialist schemes openly up till recently. These include the blockade of Cuba, anti-communism, the war in South East Asia. It has never condemned the US persecution of the Afro Americans. It dragged its feet before it came out in support of the African Freedom Movement. Every act of nationalisation of foreign interests was forced upon the regime which paid large compensations and retains marketing and other ties with them. One such is the marketing arrangements with the South African subsidiary Philip Brothers. Internally the take over of local firms have been extremely beneficial to their former owners.

P.N.C MANIPULATION

As a result of these policies, the regime must exercise dictatorship of the working people. The people are denied their democratic rights. They cannot change the government by elctoral means. The 1973 elections were rigged, the ballot boxes seized by the Army and protesting electors shot and killed. Others were persecuted in many other ways. Local Government elections which had to be rigged in 1970, have now been indefinitely postponed.

Justice is delayed, manipulated and denied. Awards in questionable libel suits brought by the PNC leadership are excessively oppressive. Penalities for political offences are heavy. The Report of the Ombudsman on charges against two Ministers brought by ASCRIA took more than two years to be announced. The investigation into the shooting of two electors by the Army in July 1973 having concluded, no report has been announced to date. The case of Dr. Balwant Singh, the Secretary of the Ghandi Youth Organisation, which organisation vigorously op-

posed certain acts of the regime, has been delayed for several years. Dr. Singh a senior government officer has been interdicted from duty for several years.

Trade Union Rights are manipulated to suit the regime's interests. It took the PNC twelve years to permit a ballot in the sugar industry so that the workers may decide the union of their choice. In the intervening period, the workers were imprisoned, tear gassed and persecuted generally because of their struggles in that regard. The PNC leadership intervened and staged a farce to deny the Linden bauxite workers their right of choice of union leaders during February 1976. Now with the aid of the kept TUC, the regime wants to control the number of trade unions in Guyana.

STATE REPRESSION

It is impossible in Guyana to criticise the regime using the newspapers or radio. It is impossible to publish any comment on a matter of public concern without overcoming a host of financial and other oppressive restrictions. The regime controls the importation of newsprint and printing machinery.

On an accusation of publishing Dayclean, Mr. Moses Bhagwan of the IPRA a group associated with the WPA, was fined G $8,500. On Wednesday April 14, 1976 the police raided the homes and offices of several leading members of the WPA, took away Dayclean, typewriters, stencils, papers, etc. Those raided include Moses Bhagwan, Eusi Kwayana, Walter Rodney, Clive Thomas and the offices of the Working People's Vanguard Party, (ML).

The regime is militarising the whole of Guyana. Here we have the Police, the Army, the National Service, a large number of government armed security guards. All these carry arms. Even the municipal constables do. Right now, on the urging of Dr. Jagan the regime is mobolising a 'People's Militia'. Yet it is the same PPP which on July 31, 1975, just a few days before 'critical support' was announced, led a delegation of the Civil Liberties Action Council to present a Memorandum to the U.N. representative in Guyana. In the covering letter, it declared..... "The Civil Liberties Action Council requests the U.N. Human Rights Commission to investigate the violations complained of and to call upon the Guyana Government to respect the Charter of the U.N. on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms." The letter was signed by Mr. David Westmaas, Secretary to Dr. Cheddi Jagan.

How could such a regime have a "genuine committment to socialism in Guyana" and "genuine socialist policies" in its programme? Or is it that the correspondent does not appreciate the import of the words and concepts.

Democracy for the working people at home is a sine qua non for anti-imperialist and socialist orientation. Unless 'Concerned Guyanese is concerned about these, then their concern is not for the oppressed classes in Guyana.

NO TO CRITICAL SUPPORT

"The PPP," writes your correspondent, "recognises the necessity at this stage of our struggle to form an anti-imperialist alliance with all progressive forces in Guyana. "Prior to 'critical support', the PPP worked with the groups of the WPA both severally and collectively. The Party cooperated with the protest group, the Guyana Council of Indian Organisations. Some of the GCIO's leaders belonged to the Guyana Peace Council and were sent to Cuba and the USSR as emissaries of the PPP. There is no longer any cooperation between these groups, and those which openly attacked 'critical support' have been branded by the PPP as "CIA operatives", "indian right wing racialists," "ultra left dogmatists" and "maoists".

Dayclean, the organ of the WPA in refrence to the regime has declared "if the "PNC now says it is Marxist/Leninist, when and where did it carry out its self criticism? When a political movement is following a certain course and suddenly changes that course and does not explain in a scientific way that change of course, that political movement is opportunist. All who begin to "deal with it and give it credit, without demanding a public explanation for its change of behaviour should also be self critical, or else they are telling us that they themselves are treating Marxism in opportunist fashion."

So with whom is the PPP forming this'anti-imperialist alliance' based on 'critical support'. Perhaps your correspondent could give the Guyanese people who live in Guyana some details.

'Critical Support' is a concept contrary to the interests of the Guyanese working people. Although for racial reasons the rank and file PPP supporters remain quiet, they, like the overwhelming majority of the Guyanese working people are opposed to it.

'Critical Support' cannot lay the foundations for political stability. It is foreign inspired and is rife with opportunism and contradictions. It has already run into the shoals and cataracts of the working peoples' displeasure. It will disintergrate like Old Kaie's canoe over the lip of the Kaieteur Falls.

yours sincerely,
Brinley H. Benn
Working People's Vanguard Party (ML)
69 Main Street
Georgetown, Guyana

THE FOREIGN PRESS AND THE JAMAICAN STRUGGLE

Recently, a Toronto newspaper, The Globe and Mail, carried an article on Jamaica entitled "When does socialism go communist?" The article charged that Manley's economic policies have brought Jamaica to the brink of bankruptcy, while his political and social programs have resulted in widespread labour unrest, outbreaks of violence, and the flight of middle-class professionals and local and foreign capital".

The following is a letter received by Caribbean Dialogue in response to that story.

Dear Caribbean Dialogue:

Much is made in North America of the 'freedom of the press'. So much in fact, that newspapers often seem divorced from the other institutions of the region. They seem objective, as not representing the interests of any one group. People believe in them. That their reporters are quite often ill-informed, that their owners are part of the ruling-class, and that the combination of these two factors often make for misinformation and deliberate mystification, is an analysis not made by the bulk of their readership, and they therefore play a powerful role in forming the political consciousness of the public.

Because of this it is not possible to dismiss the recent stories concerning the Caribbean, Jamaica and Guyana in particular, as mere manifestations of the newspaper's summer 'silly season', a time when ships from outer space, landing beings from other planets, unknown monsters and the like are reported. Two of the continents most influential newspapers, the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal have, in the past little while carried stories about political unrest in Jamaica, which included a clear warning-off of investors. If this has a familiar ring to it, it is because it is familiar: the same kind of press reports were circulated about Chile prior to the coup in that country - a coup financed by the CIA and U.S. businesses, and accepted by a public prepared for it by tales of 'socialist mis-management' carried by the press.

MYSTIFICATION

Canadian newspapers follow the lead of their American counterparts, and having few foreign correspondents themselves, rely on the American wire services for their information. It was only a matter of time therefore, before "Canada's National Newspaper" as the Toronto Globe and Mail styles itself, asked its readership "When does Socialism go Communist?" (Saturday, May 22, 1976). The article was written by one Earl Copeland Jr., a journalist living in Puerto Rico, and was inserted into the Globe's widely read International Report page.

The article is a text-book compendium of journalistic distortions and mystification. Copeland quotes as his sources the opposition leader Edward Seaga (also known in Jamaica as CIAga) and a "dis-enchanted English Businessman". His evidence of a Communist Plot on the part of the Manley government is based on the rather ineffectual steps taken by that government to gain some control over an economy at the moment dominated by foreign capitalists and their local compradors: the government's negotiation of a 51% ownership of the island's only mineral resource - bauxite; nationalization or "some smaller industries" (perhaps Copeland has in mind such utilities as the Telephone Company and services like the omnibus service); the raising of the (abysmal) minimum wage (which anyhow affects only the very few who are wage labourers). Perhaps most clinching in Copeland's eyes is the attempt to stop the draining away of scant foreign currency by imposing some control on the importation of luxury goods, and foreign exchange laws to halt the flight of capital.

IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA

Copeland accuses Manley of having "like Castro... used his knowledge of economics to destroy the existing system while blaming others for its defects. The next step is to put the new system of socialism in its place". The further evidence that Copeland cites in Jamaican recognition of China and Cuba and "talks" with the Soviet Union. An affect the Red Scene. The irony is, that if the Manley Government was in fact socialist, if it had altered significantly the various sets of relationships within the island, social, political and economic, had in fact acted as a cohesive agent among the 90% of the population which are the poor, it would be in a much better position to withstand attack.

As it is, it is possible for the CIA to follow its standard operational policy of destabilization within Jamaica (as reported in the April issue of Caribbean dialogue) - funneling money, arms and vehicles to the local opposition. And of course a propaganda, which translates the reaction of a government beseiged - curfews, search for weapons, and the popular hostile response to those measures as an 'instability' brought about by communism.

The U.S. together with the local capitalists crushed Chile's nascent socialism. Undoubtedly, the same thing is being attempted in Jamaica. Therefore, we can expect more and more stories out of the U.S. wire services misinterpreting the strikes, violence, defection of bought-off politicians and horror stories from a tightened ruling-class (who somehow seem to have retained enough of their wealth to take out ads in North American and local papers warning against the terror of communism.

We can certainly expect more stories from 'free-lance' journalists like Copeland, and scare headlines written by Canadian editors. Watch for them - remember the content. It is instructive to note for instance that Copeland himself lives in Puerto Rico, has access to the U.S. wire services. That country is even now attempting to free itself from U.S. control. Copeland's hysteria about Cuba can be seen as a direct result of the Puerto Rican independence movement's links with the only Caribbean country which has successfully defied U.S. imperialism and created a better life for its people.

F. Reid
Toronto

ON DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

The declaration of Democratic Socialism as the political ideology of the Peoples National Party (PNP) by the Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley in 1974 gave rise to the formation of left wing groups, and an intensification of the struggles by workers and farmers.

RULING CLASS STRATEGY

On the other hand, the threat of another emerging socialist state in the Caribbean was too frightening to the imperialist power, therefore a campaign was organized to discredit with the intent of overthrowing the popularly elected government of the P.N.P.

The campaign was organized under the leadership of Edward Seaga, leader of the right wing Jamaican Labour Party (JL).

Initially the P.N.P. was accused of forcing the communist ideology on the Jamaican people. A massive anti-government plan was organized in collusion with the local capitalist controlled news media directed mainly at the middle class, the urban and industrial workers, historically the base of the P.N.P. Victories by the P.N.P. in three by-election, two in rural and one on the urban areas, indicating popular support for the policies forced the imperialist to change to the tactic of arm terror and economic sabotage.

Vast sums of money was obtained locally and from the U.S. imperialist mainly through the C.I.A. by the JLP to recruit and train unemployed youths for a terrorist army. Since January 1976 there has been organized arms attack by the terrorist army in the City of Kingston. The latest being the burning down of a tenement yard, killing eleven including eight babies and leaving five hundred homeless.

The Jamaican economy controlled by metropolitan imperialist interest is being manipulated by these same interests to de-stabilize the society by sabotaging the economy.

The foreign owned hotel industry representing the third largest source of revenue and controlling over 90% of available beaches in Jamaica is now financially bankrupt.

Although the terrorists attacks were localized in Kingston far removed from the tourist area in the north, the imperialist U.S. press and WALL STREET JOURNAL in particular completely distorted the Jamaican situation and have been able to deter international tourists from visiting the island thus eliminating the large source of revenue.

Faced with empty hotels, a situation created by their own interests, the foreign owners began laying off workers, closing down hotels and adopting a very antagonistic attitude in settling collective bargaining disputes with the workers.

To prevent massive lay-offs, the government bought and kept the hotels open for business, Mostly by channelling funds from the much needed popular social oriented programs. The rank and file of the National Workers Union (N.W.U.) an affiliate of the ruling P.N.P. and historically a dormant force during the reign of previous P.N.P. governments, have taken an uncompromising position. The workers are demanding control and an end to provocative attitudes of management. The rank and file in total opposition to its leadership occupied the "Colony Hotel" to back their demands. When threatened with state intervention, i.e. police, the workers took in their families and were prepared to die for their cause. The occupation was called off after six weeks. The Taxi Association (J.U.T.A.)are now demanding for control of travel agencies.

THE BAUXITE CRISIS

Presently there are four alumina (Alcan, Alcoa, Revere and Alpart) (a conglomeration of Anaconna, Kaiser and Reynolds) and two Bauxite (Kaiser and Reynolds) exporting companies in Jamaica. These companies control 25% of total land area including the prime agricultural areas of St. Elizabeth, Manchester and St. Ann, displacing the small farmers. In addition Clcan is the largest

producer of milk - 1 million gallons in 1975, meat products, with Alpart being the second.

After intense pressure from the workers for nationalization of the Bauxite-Alumina Industry and returning the land to the small farmers, the government imposed a tax of $209 million dollars representing less than 10% of total industry sales for 1974. The companies refused, then finally decided to pay the new tax. This new taxation represented the major source of income for financing the new popular programs of the government.

All the companies excluding Revere which had ceased operations rather than pay the tax, adopted an antagonistic attitude towards the workers, especially in settling collective bargain disputes. Alcan and Alpart, the two largest resorted to the old intimidation trick by firing 25% of their labour force. The remaining workers all members of the NWU, and again in opposition to its leadership, shut down Alcoa and physically assaulted all foreign imperialist personnel on the plant. The state intervened with the police and army and the workers were beaten off the plant.

Following the intervention by the state, the remaining bauxite companies closed down the industry. The Government therefore will not be able to collect any tax due to the production quota system of taxation.

It was ironic that the intervention by the state gave the Bauxite companies the chance to fulfil their initial objective of total closure of the industry contributing to the economy sabotage as part of the overall de-stabilization attacks against the Government.

MANLEY'S PROBLEM

The elimination of the two largest sources of revenue and the antagonism between the government and workers, have resulted in a curtailment of the government's popular programs and the advancement of the efforts of imperialist forces against the workers.

The massive infusion of imperialist capital in Jamaica to further develop the Bauxite Industry in the 1960's gave rise to an increase in the ranks of the petit-bourgeois class. This new group was concentrated in the non-productive commercial and mercantile sector of the economy. It is this group that has been able to illegally channel massive sums of money to the U.S. and Canada, creating financial insecurity and monetary problems. The effectiveness of this group has been such, that from a total of $200 million dollars in 1975, the Foreign Reserve Fund is now negative $11 million dollars.

The events dealt with offer concrete proof of organized attempts to de-stabilize the country. Despite these attacks, Prime Minister continues to vacillate. The three problems now facing the Prime Minister are: how to contain the fascist threat; how to develop a society based on democratic liberal capitalist principles; and finally to prevent mass mobilization of the workers and farmers and retard their revolutionary thrust. His actions so far has indicated an anti worker position. How successful the PNP will be in defeating the fascist force will have a significant influence on the struggles for workers and farmers control.

- Jamaican worker for liberation
Kingston, Jamaica

"POWER DIFFERENCES" WITHIN THE WORKING CLASSS

Dear Caribbean Dialogue,

We enjoyed your article on immigration and the school system in Toronto in the January/76 issue. As white, native-born Canadian workers, we found particularly important your perspective on the "underlying unity of response by the various working class communities--immigrant and Anglo, white and black"-- to the state's use of schooling to sort out who will empty its hospital bed pans, tunnel its subways, raise its kids and assemble its cars on the one hand, and who will supervise all this work for the benefit of employers on the other hand. Your article does a fine job showing how students' and parents' refusal to go along with this scheme of things is growing in vocational, technical/commercial and academic schools, and how "multiculturalism" can be used to fragment the common struggle of different sections of the working class.

This is not to obscure the fact that sex, race and nationality remain by and large decisive factors in determining what type of job, at what wage (or lack of any wage), each of us ends up doing. These differences in jobs and wages are differences of power within the working class, in that wages reflect how much money in exchange for how much work different groups of workers have been able to win from employers. It is these differences of power which employers and the state constantly use to undermine all our struggles for more money, for more power.

We'd like to take up some of the points in your article in this perspective.

In the immediate post-war period, the working class in Canada was in a position of consider-

able power. On the one hand, capital was poised for major expansion to meet pent-up working class demand for goods and services that had been deferred by years of war and depression, as well as to meet American industry's need for Canada's mine and forest resources. On the other hand, low birth rates during the 1930's and heavy war casualties meant a short supply of workers. Also, the organizational strength of waged workers had never been greater, as demonstrated in major post-war strike victories in the auto and steel industries.

One of the Canadian state's main solutions to this situation was to seek new supplies of workers among low waged and often wageless groups of workers, primarily in the war-ravaged countries of Europe, and thereby undercut the position of power of workers in Canada. Immigration in the late 40's and 50's did in fact result in reduced rates of wage increases for all workers in Canada, both native-born and immigrant.

Attempts to resist this weakening of the whole working class came not from the more powerful white section of the class, but from the less powerful immigrant section. In the Toronto construction industry in the early 60's, a mass movement of Italian workers was organized. They wanted one big union of all construction workers to remove the differences of power organized around skill and nationality differences, and use the greater power of all construction workers against the employers. The movement failed, and from our limited knowledge of the period, it appears most white workers, who dominated the most skilled trades and the existing trade unions, chose to stick with their relatively greater power vis-a-vis immigrants rather than following the immigrants' initiative to build more power for all construction workers.

STRATEGY OF THE STATE

Today the Canadian state continues to exploit differences of power between workers in Canada and those in other countries. For example, the Economic Council of Canada predicts major "labour shortages" and resulting higher wages in the 1980's as a consequence of women's refusal to produce as many children as they used to. The Council advocates more immigration to prevent this potential source of power for workers in Canada.

The same thing is happening between different groups of workers in Canada. As your article points out, the children of both native-born and immigrant workers are causing a labour shortage of their own. The growing number of unemployed youths, both black and white, who refuse the discipline of schooling and of a steady job, are a source of more power for other workers by refusing to compete for their jobs. However, this has by no means been clear to employed workers, which has enabled the state to crack down on unemployed youth both by cutting them off unemployment benefits and welfare, as well as by increasing police harassment in the streets.

At the same time, racial conflicts between white youth and black immigrants is on the increase in Toronto. These conflicts are clearly rooted in white workers' fears that their "turf", their relative power vis-a-vis immigrants, is being threatened. As white male workers, part of the most powerful section of the working class, we want to move forward on the basis of the added power which the struggles of immigrants give to the whole working class. This is a long-term process, in which the concern to uncover the interconnections between the struggles of different sections of the class, such as your article did for the Toronto schools, has a fundamental part.

Gary Brunzlow
John Ford
Tim Grant
John Huot
David Kidd

cont'd from page 31

TESTIMONY

When I started the job I had $86.00 credit in a shop for groceries which had collected over a period of time. When the job finished, I had $97.00 for the lady. As soon as I got my pay packet I used to pay her between $10 and $20 and credit again for the rest of the week. She doesn't sell meat and I still used to have to borrow #3.00 or so from her to buy meat elsewhere.

As for my children, I used to put out their schoolclothes and leave recess for them to take to school when I would come back, the clothes would be still on the bed and the children all over the place. They are 5 and 6 respectively.

As far as I can see, the job left me worse off than before when I was hustling for my living. I will not go back in March. Right now I have lost touch with some of the people who used to help me out. Never me again. On Christman Day I could not even cook a piece of food in my house. I will never forget that. And now they tell me that we have to pay to use the public bath and tiolet which, short of using the sea, are the only facilities of this kind that we ghetto people have access to.....

NEWS BRIEFS

JAMAICA

Private Capitalist Organize

On June 29, the local private capitalists in Jamaica launched another organisation - the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica (PSOJ) - that seems to be an umbrella organisation of all existing local capitalist organisations (e.g. JMA, Chamber of Commerce). The Jamaica Gleaner, quoting from the address of Mr. Carlton Alexander, President of PSOJ, reported:

"This organisation adopts as its primary aim that of getting production going again in our economy, and increasing employment through the further expansion of the private sector," he said.

Among other objectives he noted were: The establishment of a task force at national and regional levels to put the best entrepreneurial, professional and technical skills to work with a mandate for coming up with feasible programmes for economic expansion and their implementation; reinforce faith within the society in the private enterprise system and democracy as a way of life; a public education programme; the establishment of committees to monitor all the important areas of Government activity; and eliminating prejudice based on sex, class, rase and political affiliation.

The PSOJ president added that worker participation was something to be carefully studied and not rejected "a priority out of hand." He called for unity, declaring that the organisation was not intended to engage in partisan political activities.

"We are not in the business of offering slick, superficial ideological solutions. We are in the business of trying to harness the will, the brains and the minds of the private sector to work for the creation of fair and equal opportunities for all," he said.

It is clear that the "private sector" in Jamaica is organising at various levels to maintain power. The course of the struggle in Jamaica is following a similar pattern to that of the Chilean struggle between 1970 and 1973 which resulted in the brutal assassination of Allende and the overthrow of his government. Just as the Chilean capitalist class formed overt organisations and covert para-military gangs in collusion with the U.S. State Department and the CIA, so too the local Jamaican capitalist class are doing the same. The forthcoming national elections will mark the end of stage I of the struggle (assuming Manley last that long). After the elections we can expect either open class war or a political retreat by the PNP. It is the task, a priority task, of left organisations in Jamaica to prepare the forces of the workers and farmers internally and progressive forces regionally and internationally to defend the gains that have been made and to advance into the period of social transformation.

A recent release by the Jamaican Government shows that the state now owns 50% of total hotel rooms in the tourist industry. Of a total of about 7,000 hotel rooms, the state owns over 3,300 rooms, and approximately 1,250 workers are employed in the state sector of the tourist industry. The release also states that the purchase price per room paid by Government was just under $20,000 (J'can).

ST. LUCIA

Some 1,500 agricultural workers on three of the largest banana estate in St. Lucia have been on strike since June 3. The Farm Workers Union headed by George Odlum, former leader of the radical Forum Group and presently a member of the opposition St. Lucia Labour Party, has been fighting for recognition to bargain on behalf of banana workers. The union is demanding increase wages and better working conditions, but the " capitalists" including the multinational Geest Industries Ltd. refuse to hold discussions on anything unless the workers return to work. The five largest trade unions in the island have sent a letter to the Labour Commissioner demanding "immediate recognition of the Farm Workers Union". The five unions include the Teachers Union, National Workers Union, Agricultural and General Workers Union, Water Front Workers Union and the St Lucia Workers Union. Within the past 18 months, the Farm Workers Union has been making deep inroads into the political stronghold of ruling party headed by John Compton.

cont'd from page 1 EDITORIAL

highly collective, becomes the strategic organiaational weapon for the control of production and the broadest development and expansion of democracy, particularly in the rural areas. In the period of the struggle for power, the co-op can only be a revolutionary weapon if it is integral to an organised, social liberation movement with a central political strategy for taking power. But once the co-ops remain purely economic units, the struggle for better economic arrangements and greater productivity will predominate, and capital and the state will co-opt thw co-ops.

A CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE SPECIAL

on

BLACK WORKERS IN BRITAIN

Black immigrant workers (West Indian and Asian) are today in the very vanguard of working-class struggles, in Britain and against imperialist capital in general. If all Black workers in Britain were to effect a Black general strike, the British economy would come to a complete halt.
How did this situation develop?
Why are 2 million Black workers in Britain?
What have been the character of Black struggles?
What is the position of Black students and unemployed in the working-class struggle?
What is the present situation?
Whither the Black working-class Movement in Britain?

For a serious and scientific analysis of these questions, read the October issue of Caribbean Dialogue, researched and prepared by the Race Today Collective, Londan, England.

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE will not be published in August and September. We are taking a break to streamline and reorganise our work. From October we will be back, not only with Caribbean Dialogue, but an expanded information service network.

WATCH FOR DIALOGUE WITH PAULO FREIRE

A Caribbean Dialogue discussion with Paulo Freire author of "Pedagogy of the Oppressed", "Cultural Action for Freedom" and "Education for Consciousness

COMING IN THE NEXT FEW ISSUES

- Dialogue with Paulo Freire
- Experiences of armed struggle
  - self-criticism by the NUFF, Trinidad & Tobago
- Political prisoners in Trinidad
- Interviews with comrades active in the Dominican Republic struggle
- C.Y. Thomas on Imperialism and Socialist Economic strategy.

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CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

A MONTHLY INFORMATION SERVICE

VOL.3 NO.1 JANUARY, 1977

STATE REPRESSION AND POLITICAL PRISONERS

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

Caribbean Dialogue is a caribbean information service published by the New Beginning Movement in collaboration with the Race Today Collective and other groups, organisations and individuals in the Caribbean and in the metropolitan centres of North America and Europe. Caribbean Dialogue is produced by the Toronto chapter of the New Beginning Movement with the active assistance of other organisations and individuals.

Caribbean Dialogue is distributed as a free service to groups and organisations in the Caribbean. Individuals and institutions in the Caribbean and organisations, institutions abd individuals in other countries can obtain copies by subscription or at a limited number of bookstores.

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STRUGGLE TO PUBLISH

It is approximately 18 months since Volume 1. No.1 of Caribbean Dialogue was published. From the very beginning it was an uphill struggle to publish Caribbean Dialogue and keep it alive. First, the Caribbean Dialogue group is a small group of Caribbean people that has been learning the theory and practice of publishing a magazine in the very process of DOING IT. Second, we are all voluntary, part-time, "after six" Caribbean Dialogue workers. Third, the magazine has survived on a "hand-to-mouth" financial basis.

We planned a two-month break for August and September, 1976, which we announced in our June/July double issue(that issue was very late due to a long delay at the printer) in order to mobilize some funds and map out a plan of action to rectify the problematic situation. The Race Today Collective (England) undertook the responsibility of producing the October issue but due to the intensification of the Black struggle in England, the Collective was unable to produce the October issue. In early October, we decided to suspend publication for 2-3 months and concentrate on mobilization fo funds

Now, we are back with this January issue (and we are determined to maintain a monthly publication), a plan of action and some funds. However, we need all the funds and assistance we can get to seriously undertake the tasks we have set in our Caribbean-wide regional initiative. To the many Caribbean organizations we serve and to all our subscribers and readers, we apologise for the break in publication.

May 1977 be a new stage in the conscious and organized Caribbeanization of the island Movements for social liberation

1060482

EDITORIAL

State Repression and Political Reality

The 1970's have witnessed an intensification of repression in the Caribbean from Guyane (French speaking Guyana) to Jamaica. Not only repressive legislation was enacted; not only were unemployed and youth brutalized and imprisoned; employed factory and estate workers, teachers and nurses, unionists, progressive political activists, etc. have suffered under the repressive measures of the state. In Burnham's Co-operative "socialist" Republic, workers, leaders of left organizations and progressive intellectuals are being suppressed and imprisoned. In Trinidad and Tobago, leaders of the unemployed and youth are being imprisoned and sentenced to death, members of left and progressive organizations are imprisoned and gunned down. In Dominica, unemployed "Dreads" are murdered, organizations in defence of Political Prisoners are banned and policemen have been given complete license by law to do as they like. The pattern is the same in territory after territory.

It is necessary to ask the question: why this intensification of state repression and rapid increase in the number of political prisoners in the past 5 - 10 years? The general answer is simple - sharpening of the contradictions and class struggles in a fragile, dependent capitalist economy and the emergence of groups and organizations that pose a direct threat to imperialist and local capital and the political and social position of the professional middle class.

From the mid-60's to 1970 and even after, the mantle of political vanguard of the mass struggle was carried by the unemployed, young workers and students. They launched the Black Power Movement that harrassed the local ruling class, agitated against imperialist property, struggled against white capitalist values and cultural forms, boldly and physically disrupted the political order and sought to establish links with the workers and farmers. In Trinidad and Tobago in particular, the Black Power movement gained strength and confidence from the escalating struggle of the working-class led by the radical union leadership in oil and transport, and vice versa. It is no accident that the culmination of the Black Power phase of the struggle was represented by the open mass rebellion in Trinidad and Tobago in 1970 that paralyzed the state and almost toppled the government.

During the first half of the 1970's, the international capitalist economy and social order dovetailed into spiralling inflation and unemployment combined with recession, that exposed the weakness and fragility of the Caribbean economy. The phenomenal increase in oil prices made the economic situation more acute. With avenues for mass emigration closed, the Caribbean masses were forced to face Caribbean reality. Employed workers (including teachers, nurses and civil servants); the unemployed; small farmers and peasants; the petty bourgeoisie of small shopkeepers, skilled tradesmen running their own small enterprises, students, etc., either independently or in a spontaneous collectivity revolts against the prevailing economic, political and social conditions.

Between 1965 and 1975, every single territory in the Caribbean experienced a major, open mass rebellion at least once. The only exception was Cuba. By 1976, for the first time in Caribbean history, left groups and organizations that are socialist-inclined had emerged in every Caribbean territory: Not only was imperialist capital threatened, but the very survival of the local ruling class was at stake. The alternative was either state repression or run. As in almost all capitalist societies, state repression was and is the answer. It is within the above context that the intensification of state repression and the increase in the number of political prisoners in the Caribbean must be viewed.

However, political prisoners in the Caribbean are not a unique phenomenon. Every single country in the world, capitalist as well as so-called socialist states, has political prisoners, and state repression is global. There are political prisoners (and state repression exists) in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, China, India, all of Africa, the Middle and Far East, North and South America, Cuba, etc. State repression and political prisoners existed from the very historic emergence of social classes and the state as an institution of class rule. State repression and political prisoners can only disappear, therefore, with the disappearance of class society and the "class state". In the transition from capitalism to socialism, state repression and political prisoners will remain a necessity. The crucial question in the present stage of the struggle is not whether state repression and political prisoners are necessary, but, rather, whose state repressing whom and why, and who are the political prisoners of whom and why? In other words, state repression and political prisoners are not simply political questions but <u>class</u> questions.

Political prisoners such as Junior Cottle, Desmond Trotter, NUFF members, Eusi Kwayana, etc. are prisoners of the local state acting on behalf of the local ruling class and the imperialists. The struggle for liberation must of necessity incorporate the struggle against bourgeois state repression, for the release of political prisoners.

TERRORISM AND IMPERIALIST INTERESTS

BOMBING OF THE CUBAN PLANE

The sabotage of the Cuban Airline DC-8 which claimed the lives of all 73 passengers on Oct 7, was the latest attempt by Pro-imperialist terrorists to register their disapproval of the growing influence of the revolutionary Cuban State in the Caribbean. This horrendous crime preceded by a series of bombings in Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and Guyana was obviously intended to intimidate other Caribbean states against closer links with Cuba. Since the defacto lifting of the 11 year old blockade of Cuba by the Organization of American States (OAS), Cuba has been able to negotiate airflight agreements with other Caribbean States, thereby enhancing movement between these States and Cuba. Also, there have been developments over the last four years which have initiated friendly relationships between Cuba and countries such as Venezuela, Jamaica and Guyana. The decision to reject the position imposed by the U.S. imperialist, who continue to harass and threaten the Cuban State, was due to the forward thrust of the anti-imperialist forces in these countries where the government overtly compromise the political and economic independence of the state in support of U.S. domination. The reluctance of the Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago Governments to prosecute the four terrorists arrested, clearly indicates their complicity in maintaining U.S. hegemony in the region.

The four terrorists, two Venezuelan and two Cuban exiles finally charged by the Venezuelan Government for aggravated homicide, complicity in aggravated homicide and the manufacturing of weapons of war and false documents, have all been involved in counter revolutionary acts supported by the CIA. Luis Posada Carriles, a Cuban exile, admitted that he had participated in Playa Girou mercenary invasion of Cuba in 1961 and that he was a CIA agent. Orlando Bosch, a Cuban exile member of Condor a terrorists group based in Miami, is a known operative in similar acts of sabotage. Whilst Herman Ricardo Lozano and Freddy Lorgo, the two Venezuelans who actually planted the bomb and were arrested in Trinidad are close associates of Carrilles. Well secured and protected by an arm of the American State, El Condor has accepted responsibility for the sabotage and has issued an open threat to the Venezuela Government, if any of those held in Caracas were sentenced. A statement sent to Caracas included this comment, "we will declare the planes of the Venezuelan State airline, VIZSA, to be military targets, and in future they will be subjected to sabotage in any part of the world".

After the disaster which resulted in the death of 57 Cubans 11 Guyanese and 5 North Koreans, the rhetoric of Condor cannot be taken lightly. In the continuing efforts to the instruments of U.S. reprisals against Cuba they are quite willing to murder Caribbean and Latin American people.

The Cuban, Venezuelan and Guyanese Governments have publicly implicated the United States in this mass murder. Whilst Cuba has ended the hijacking agreement with the U.S., the Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Penez has asked the U.S. government to clarify the links between official U.S. agencies and counter revolutionary groups of terrorists of Cuban origin. Through its organized terrorists arm, the CIA, the U.S. has launched repeated attacks on the Cuban state since 1961; however, the recent manoeuvers by the terrorists here indicated expansion of the war zone to include the rest of the Caribbean. As the influence of the Cuban state grows in the region and the working-class and peasants force their states to deal with the reality of the developing socialist state, on one hand, and decaying capitalism, on the other, the U.S. imperialists feel impelled to intensify organized terrorism and military preparations. Choosing selected targets, at particular times and using well placed agents, the terrorists design their acts to scare the people away from the anti-imperialist path of struggle. The action of these four terrorists cannot be viewed as an isolated incident but has to be seen as an integral part of the new U.S. policy for the Caribbean and Latin America.

In terms of U.S. military strategy for continued domination, the Caribbean territories are strategic and highly significant. Any political waves which suggest change in the established relationship is assessed as a threat. Therefore it is imperative that the working-class and peasants recognize that any form of terrorist activity sanctioned by the U.S. imperialists is a direct attack on their movement for change. The U.S. imperialists fully realize that not only a liberated Caribbean but even the liberation of the English-Speaking Caribbean (from Jamaica to Guyana) will pose a direct threat to U.S. imperialist power. A successful revolution in the English-speaking Caribbean would unleash revolutionary social forces throughout the Caribbean and Latin America and in the very belly

- continued on inside back cover

The Suspension of Mike Brown

In November 1975, Primary School teachers in St. Vincent went on strike in protest aginst the government's refusal to seriously consider demands for improved working conditions; retroactive payment of $750, salaries revision, repeal of the Public Service Act, 1971, and collective agreement. The government's response to the teachers' demands can be summed up by the premier's threat to some teachers that the axe would fall heavily on organizers of the strike and disciplinary action will be taken against others.

It is no surprise then that Mike Browne, President of the Teachers Union (SVUT), has been suspended from his government duties. During negotiations with the Premier and his representatives, Mike Browne was selected as the target for political attack, abuse by the government and harrassed. Before his suspension, Mike Browne was moved from his teaching position to an administrative post in the Civil Service where he was given no work to do. Below, Caribbean Dialogue publishes a statement by the St. Vincent Union of Teachers. (see Caribbean Dialogue, Vol 2 No. 1, January 1976 for a report on the 1975 teachers' strike)

On Friday August 13, 1976 President Mike Browne received a letter from the Public Service Commission informing him that disciplinary proceedings are to be instituted against him. The letter stated that the Commission have decided that he be interdicted from duties beginning Monday August 16, 1976 and that he be paid half the salary now earned during the period of interdiction. No reason for this step has been given. No charges have been laid.

1. (a) We of the S.V.U.T. see this as another of the assaults against President Browne by the Labour Party Government which, ever since the Party took office, has harassed hounded and pressured Comrade Browne. This intensified after February 1975 when he became President of our Union, and was clearly aimed at intimidating the president.

(b) Not only is the suspension an assault on President Browne but it is also an attack on the St. Vincent Union of Teachers. We note the concerted plan of the Labour Party Government to destroy our Union. Steps include: propaganda attacks on the President himself and the Union, the dismissal of many S.V.U.T. stalwarts both at executive level and general body level, the disruption of Branch Executives through numerous transfers, the wooing over of important S.V.U.T. members, the removal at the Treasury of a large number of Teachers, and now the suspension of the President. We see these steps as being aimed not simply at disrupting the S.V.U.T. but at destroying it.

(c) The suspension of the S.V.U.T. President is indeed a further assault on the entire Trade Union Movement of the country as well as on workers in general, and shows the contempt which the Labour Party holds for workers.

2. (a) We of the S.V.U.T. note the continued absence of a clear agreement between our Union and Government defining, among other matters, time allocated to the S.V.U.T. officials to execute Union duties. Presently there is a verbal agreement permitting principal S.V.U.T. officers, including the President and General Secretary, time to do S.V.U.T. business.

(b) We repeat No. 5 of our demands last year calling for an "Agreement between Union and Government" when we said: (1) "The present arrangement between Union and Government places the former and its members at a severe disadvantage. This is readily seen in the area of salaries where Teachers are forced to wait until government is willing to revise salaries". (2) "The Union is demanding that the Union and Government jointly examine the currently existing arrangement with a view to setting up the necessary machinery for working terms of a collective agreement between both parties".

(c) We of the S.V.U.T. note the continued presence of the Public Service Act 1971

and Government's persistent refusal to repeal it.

(d) We repeat No. 4 of our demands last year calling for the repeal of this Act, when we said: (i) "The Union holds that the Act is unconstitutional, undemocratic and inhuman, and that it seriously curtails the freedoms of Teachers". (ii) "At a time when the country is on the threshold of independence and nation-building, an important sector of nation-builders such as Teachers cannot be kept constrained by such legislation. The intellectual energies and creative powers of Teachers must be allowed scope at this crucial point of the country's development". (iii) "The Act is in opposition to the 1975 recommendation of the Caribbean Union of Teachers (the regional body of Teachers' Unions). This recommendation calls on Teachers and organisation to play a central part in the change-process leading to a society based on the principle of the Common Good" (iv) "The Union is demanding that this Act be repealed and that examination be made of other legislation which seriously trespass on the fundamental rights and freedoms of Teachers as citizens of this country".

3. We of the S.V.U.T. call:

(a) For the immediate re-instatement of President Browne with full financial compensation for the time of suspension.

(b) For an immediate explanation from Government of this action against President Browne.

(c) On all freedom and justice-loving people to; (i) write Government to abandon this un-warranted assault on President Browne, the St. Vincent Union of Teachers, and the Trade Union Movement, (ii) rally to the Union's call for the formation of a broad front of organizations and individuals.

The continuing violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms must be checked.

We Say: TRADE UNION FREEDOM NOW!!

The General Secretary
St. Vincent Union of Teachers

Over 130 Banks in one Island

Residents of the tiny eastern Caribbean island of St. Vincent can choose from 130 international banks---if they can find them.

The banks all are established here, most setting up business in the past four years. But the banks discouraged local business and in some cases operate from well-hidden offices.

The banks come to this island of 95,000 people because the government dangled three enticing lures before them: the banks are not taxed, their accounts are secret and they can be 90 percent foreign owned. Observers say these incentives some day may make St. Vincent a rival to the Bahamas for overseas banking.

Although the banks are not taxed, the government makes its money from fees levied when banks open. A bank with capital of $1 million would pay $3,000 to the island.

Premier Milton Cato has said he would like to see the fees raised to give the government a greater share of the bank boom.

The banks have come to St. Vincent from such diverse places as Houston, Texas and Stuttgart, West Germany. They pay their fees and then settle into obscurity.

Customers looking for the Owens Bank would find it tucked away in a lawyers office up two flights of stairs.

At the Traveler's Bank and Trust Co., all accounts are handled by cable or by mail. There is no over-the-counter business despite the fact the bank offers 10 percent on savings accounts.

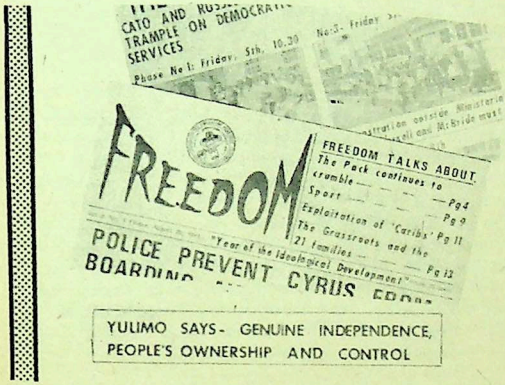
And at the National Bank & Trust Co. of North America, reporters calling the listed telephone number get nothing but unanswered rings.

The previous article was taken from a United States Newspaper---THE DAILY NEWS. The Situation is that we are faced with all these banks coming into the country by the scores each year in order to take advantage of the lucrative deal offered to them. Between 1973 and 1976, over one hundred came into the country and the list grows every month.

These banks which come from all parts of the capitalist world used this country as a means of escaping the heavy taxes they would otherwise have to pay in other countries. Their operations here are well-hidden away from the public so as to attract as little attention as possible.

The Banks have come in under the shelter of

the International Business Companies (Exemption from Tax) Act passed by the Legislative Council in 1966 when colonialism and British-led imperialism had Youlou under full and total control. This same Act in fact has paved the way for the rape of our country by imperialism. It grants tax-free concessions to foreign owned corporations which do not carry on trade in the buying or selling of goods or services in St. Vincent. (The Act Expressly stipulates that to qualify for exemption from tax, corporations must be at least 90% foreign owned). The Act also exempts from tax the Shareholders of these "International Business Companies" who from time to time find themselves inside the country for the purpose of supervising the operations of the company.



1. A. S. L. International Bank Ltd. (banque A.S.L. Internationale Ltd.)
2. Anglo-Suisse Bank - S. A. Ltd.
3. American Int. Bank and Trust Co. Ltd.
4. Atlas Bank of Commerce Ltd.
5. Barclays Bank Int. Ltd.
6. Harbinger Bank Ltd.
7. Bank of the Western Hemisphere Ltd.
8. Bank Administrators Ltd.
9. Br. European Bank and Trust Co. of London Ltd.
10. Bank Fuer Hansbesitz Ltd.
11. Bank and Factory Ltd.
12. Bridgewater Finance Ltd.
13. Bankers Equity and Trust Co. Ltd.
14. Doctors Bank Ltd.
15. Dominion Bank and Trust Co. Ltd.
16. Bank of Europe and Trust Co. Ltd.
17. E. E. C. Bank Ltd.
18. European Community Bank Ltd.
19. Euro-American Bank Ltd.
20. Euro-Continental Bank Ltd.
21. European Commercial Bank Ltd.
22. Euro-Bank Int. Ltd.
23. Equity Bank and Trust Corp. Ltd.

- continued on page 7

GUYANA

PNC Regime Attacks Sugar Workers

On Sunday September 26 PNC leadership rushed a demolition squad to Tuschen and Metenmeerzorg on the West Coast. With ruthless efficiency this squad tore down the houses of one hundred and twenty sugar worker families. The squad included armed police and PNC strong armed activists. They sealed off the areas as they carried out the inhumane order that rendered the people homeless. Babies were injured. Men, women and old folks were manhandled as they were pushed aside to permit the ripping off of boards and zinc sheets in the complete demolition of the homes.

The workers all Indians from the reports received by IPRA have made applications years ago to the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund Committee for housing. For years they managed an intolerable existence at homes of friends and families in the overspilling housing schemes around and in Metenmeerzog and Tuschen. At the beginning of this year (1976) they occupied these areas of land which were unused for over twenty five years. These areas are owned now by GUYSUCO.

The action by the regime followed the worst tradition set by sugar lords from whom they have taken over.

When the demolition squad left the victims were in tears and a state of shock and deep humiliation. The homeless workers however proceeded to organise and reconstructed their homes as best as they could with the damaged materials.

The workers set up a committee which organised a picket exercise at Uitvlugt as well as a protest strike by sugar workers and clerks on the West Coast estates. GAWU proposed a resolution at the TUC Congress then in progress condemning the action. The resolution was passed only after GAWU walked out of the Congress in disgust at the behaviour of certain TUC delegates. WPA activists Moses Bhagwan and Eusi Kwayana visited the scene and spoke to the angry workers. NACCIE activists were also on the scene to render help.

HERE IS PROOF AGAIN - IF ANY IS NEEDED - SHOWING HOW THE PNC RULING CLIQUE DESPISES THE WORKING CLASS.

FURTHER THIS INCIDENT SHOWS THAT IN ITS DEALINGS WITH INDIANS IT IS ALWAYS PREPARED TO DISPLAY THAT EXTRA MEASURE OF BARBARITY!

- by IPRA, Guyana

Struggle of the "Miliad 32"

Thirty-two black workers are engaged in a struggle in Toronto, against one of the world's largest transnationals-ITT.

The thirty-two were fired from their jobs at the conglomerate's Ralph Milrod Metals plant in Toronto. The ostensible cause for their dismissal was a refusal to comply with a speed up order, but as the thirty-two revealed in interviews to the press and in hearings before the Ontario Labour Relations Board, submission to the speed up order would have resulted in further injuries and maimings of the employees.

The plant assembles dashboards and other body parts for trucks. The thirty-two (the majority of whom are Jamaicans) worked together on an assembly line which has been plagued with accidents. Ronald Fletcher, a father of four, lost his right hand four years ago due to a malfunctioning of the press he was working on. He was hospitalized for several months, and out of work for a year. Several other workers recounted accidents which resulted in broken bones and dangerous cuts because of faulty machinery.

When therefore, the company ordered a speed up in production, the workers refused. For as the president of the local, Rahim Siraj, pointed out to OLRB, the company was demanding not only a speed up, but that it had been cutting back on the number of people employed. For instance, where five employees used to produce between 1,300 -1,400 bumpers, three employees are now expected to produce 1,800 bumpers, thus the danger to the workers was increased.

CAUGHT IN A TRIANGLE

Several of the fired workers felt that they had been dismissed bacause they were black and because they had been active members of the Machinists Union. There is in Canadian labour history a long tradition of the exploitation of immigrants, and West Indian Workers have had to contend with racism being used as an instrument of exploitation. It is not surprising then that the company should have moved against a group of black workers who demonstrated solidarity in the face of this exploitation.

Ena Smith, testified that the Head Superintendent of the plant had threatened: "I'll soon get rid of all you blacks", and she further testified that while last year she had received from the company a letter of recommendation, the company began to harass her the moment she became a union steward. The day after she accepted this union post she was transferred to working on a piece of equipment with which she was unfamiliar, and without any instructions as to how to use it. She was then "disciplined" for the resulting mistakes she made.

Rahim Siraj said that thirty-four witnesses were present when a plant official told workers "if you don't want to work, go back to your own country."

It must be understood that the 32 black workers were in a situation that is not common to most immigrant workers. They were members of a union - The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace workers. This means that they can confront a Conglomerate like I.T.T. as a union backed by an organization which will provide lawyers and perhaps moral and financial support. (However, the union, in an attempt to avoid a direct mass struggle of all the workers in the plant, has channelled the black workers struggle into the legislative area, thus forcing a split in the workers' ranks along ethnic lines). For most black immigrant workers this is not the case (unionization). Employed usually in small "sweat-shops", "service industries", restaurants, dry-cleaners, and the like, black immigrant workers are caught in a triangle between the hostile employer, the ineffective Ontario Labour Laws and the conservativism of the trade union. Attempts at organ-

izing against the inhuman assault of the employers have been easily defeated in the past by deliberate divisions among workers at any single plant along ethnic lines (in many plants, the work force is so planned and organized that 5 & 6 ethnic groups of workers are hired, each speaking different languages. Workers are also fired or threatened at the least signs of resistance and potential solidarity is usually undermined by promises of advancement to individual workers and by the manoeuverings of the union officials.

Safety regulations in many industries have been under attack for some time now. However, where immigrant workers are employed they are the last to complain because of their vulnerability in Canadian society. The fact that they are unorganized and can be fired at will, weakens the protest and struggle of this section of the working class

The struggle of the 32 black Milrod Workers is in itself new. First, it is the first time in many years that so significant a body of immigrant workers from one ethnic group in one plant in Toronto has come out in open struggle. Second, it is perhaps the first time that so large a group of Caribbean immigrant workers has fought an open struggle. The black Milrod workers seem to open a new stage in the struggle of Caribbean immigrant workers and consequently, workers in general in Toronto. Already, there are reports of rumblings at other plants on the part of black workers.

As we go to press, the black workers struggle is now being fought in the legal arena of the Ontario Labour Relations Board. The 32 black workers are standing firm as a unit and by their actions are challenging the very procedures of the Board and every anti-labour tactic of the company lawyers. A recently formed group, the Black Workers Group, has intervened in the struggle on the side of the 32 black workers, and the Canadian Communist League (CCL - ML) is attempting to intervene. There is no doubt that the entire spectrum of left groups - black, white and black-white, will begin battle to use the 32 black Milrod workers to obtain a foothold of support within the working-class. To wage the struggle for reinstatement of the "Milrod 32" and, at the same time, to lay the basis for the organised resistance of black workers, the black section of the working class and the black community in general must be mobilized behind the "Milrod 32" and confront the company, union and the provincial (Ontario) state. Only with the mobilization of the black working-class and black community would substantial immigrant and Anglo-Canadian support be obtained, and the provincial state be forced to act in the interest of the "Milrod 32" and the Black Workers Group must now call together progresive groups and individuals in the Black Community to launch a mobilization campaign and to mobilize immediate material necessities needed by the "Milrod 32"

32 BLACKS FIRED

CLARENCE IVEY,
one of the fired workers

BANKS (Continued from page 5)

24. Eastern Caribbean Credit and Factoring Bank Ltd.
25. Europa Bank Ltd.
26. First National Bank and Trust of America.
27. Financial Services Bank Ltd.
28. First Union Bank and Trust Co. Ltd.
29. First Commonwealth Bank and Trust Corp Ltd.
30. Heron Landolt Bank Ltd.
31. Hamilton Bank & Trust Co. Ltd.
32. Int. Marine Bank Ltd.
33. Int. Bank and Trust Co. of the B. W. I.
34. Island & Overseas Bank Ltd.
35. The Int. Bank & Trust Co. of the City of London,
36. The Int. Bank & Trust Co. of Singapore and Hong Kong Ltd.
37. The Int. Bank & Trust Co. of the Middle East.
38. The Int. Bank & Trust Co. of the Pacific Ltd.
39. The Int. Bank & Trust Co. of Trafalgar Square.
40. American Int. Bank & Trust Co. Ltd.
41. Int. Monetary Bank & Trust Ltd.
42. Int. Credit & Development Bank S. A. Ltd.
43. Industrial Discount Bank & Trust Co. Ltd.
44. International Bank & Trust Co. of Basle Ltd.
45. Int. Bank & Trust Co. of New York Ltd.
46. Int. Bank & Trust Co. of the Persian Gulf Ltd.

Notting Hill and After

For months before, white residents, Borough Councillors and police officials attempted to stop street carnival '76 in London and to contain the festival within closed doors. They failed. But on Carnival day, thousands of policemen turned out as though a battle was on. At the end of the day 325 policemen were wounded and 60 people arrested and charged after 4 hours of pitched battle between mainly West Indian youths and the police. Below we reprint an editorial view of Carnival '76 in London by Race Today.

Where do we go from Notting Hill? The answers to this question might not be a clear as we would like them to be. However, one thing is certain. The open defiance to our rulers and their representatives, which young blacks displayed on the streets of Notting Hill, shows that a whole period in the history of our presence here in Britain has come to an end. A new stage is about to emerge.

The events of Notting Hill are not the sole reason why we make this claim: Hardly had the cries of that battle died down, when 400 young blacks in Birmingham marched on police stations in that area, on two separate occasions, demanding the release of their arrested friends. A brick smashed through the window of Handsworth police station, and paraffin was at hand to support the threat to burn the station down.

On each occasion, the youth secured the speedy release of their brothers and sisters who were being held in custody.

Three weeks later, black workers - Asian and West Indian - at the Ford car factory in Dagenham, East London, were in the majority of a group of car workers who destroyed equipment in the body plant, to the tune of £20,000. The reason? The Ford management attempted to lay-off the night shift at 2 am, with loss of pay to the workers. Hundreds of policemen were brought to surround the plant.

Side by side with the events described above, we have, in the pages of our journal, recorded the build up to these events, in a whole series of small battles fought by different sections of the black community.

And no one, at least in the black community, will be surprised should any of these open statements of defiance and rebellion repeat themselves in any black community throughout Britain.

Equally, no one can point to any period in the history of our presence here in Britain, when events of the kind described above, have taken place in such rapid succession, and with such uncompromising hostility on the part of the rebels.

What have others said or done in response to these events?

Firstly, the West Indian World has been the only voice in the West Indian Community to publicly oppose the actions of young blacks on carnival day. The point of view of West Indian World on this issue has little support in the black community.

Large sections of the national press, from whom we expect the least support, did not use the opportunity to launch attacks against the rebels. In fact, some of their reports have been quite favourable.

Apart from organised racists - the National Front etc. - we have one resolution from a trade union branch of the printing union, SOGAT, in condemnation. It is the only statement of dissent so far to come from within the white working class.

We monitor these responses because, at every stage in our struggle, it is necessary to identify who is organised for us and who is organised against us.

We turn finally to the government in power, against whom, directly and indirectly, our rebellion is focused. What is Jim Callaghan, our Prime Minister, proposing? What is the Labour Government's policy towards young blacks who are in open rebellion against having to live without a wage?

What have they to say to Ford workers, of whom 60% are black, who are refusing to accept the discipline of the management and the wage freeze imposed on them?

Or indeed, to Bengali workers who demand improved housing conditions in the East End of London? Not to mention the question of police brutality and oppression by the courts.

They have a policy, but they dare not say it openly. To those without a wage, they offer nothing but continued wagelessness in the forseeable future. To Ford workers, it is a freeze to the death. No money for housing, no money at all. And if you step out of line, there are always the police, magistrates, judges and prison, in fact the whole power of

- continued on p. 32

A Generation in Motion

PART 1

THE ARTICLE PRINTED BELOW IS TAKEN FROM "SOUTH AFRICA REPORT, SEPT. 1976"; TCLSAC. PART 11 WILL APPEAR IN OUR NEXT ISSUE.

This article is translated from the Mozambican weekly, Tempo, No. 308 August 29, 1976.

In the auditorium of a school in Soweto, 3000 students gathered to hear the leaders who make up the Black Parents Association (BPA), an association created during the June revolts and accepted by the government as a point of access to the students. A few days later, a delegation of parents tried to meet with the minister Kruger(Minister of Justice). Whether the meeting actually happened is not the point.

The Black Parents' Association was there to ask the students to return to classes, to stop burning classrooms, to "respect their elders" and to accept the representation being offered to them through the BPA and by the recently formed Students Representative Council. The members of BPA and SRC were there to request exactly what the government wanted - order, calm, submission to legal measures.

The first, the second and the third spoke - three hours of appeals for calm and order. From the 3000 mouths of the students continued

a conversation

Abel was returning from the trial in Pretoria where he attended the first part of the judgment of 13 of his companions of SASO and BPC accused of acts of subversion against the secondary schools of Soweto and Alexandria. This was in the middle of August, 1975. Dozens of militants of these two organizations and some from NUSAS have been imprisoned. We put to him the question of survival of the black student movement.

"The death of this movement is impossible. Moreover, these last years give proof that the movement is growing. For the last 5 years the police have taken dozens of students and some have already died in prison. But this contibutes only to the growth of the movement. This is the truth - there are very different conditions for our struggle than those existing for our parents. In the years of the 60's Southern Africa was completely dominated. TOday Mozambique is already free and MPLA shows signs of winning in Angola (August 1975). This has contributed enormously to the growth and improvement of our efforts. Look at what has happened over the last few months; today the police aren't any longer preoccupied with giving a legal appearance to their brutality. This signifies That they are beginning to panic. Our movement today is essentially students; it will only cease to be on the day when millions of workers really take leadership in the uprisings. Then we will be working with a more global consciousness. Moreover, this is already being done by some of us in the trade unions; the unions today are led by puppets of the companies but in a situation of open struggle - mass strikes - they will be taken over from within and will then be extremely useful."

To my question about the position of SASO vis-a-vis the ANC, Abel replied: "There is a lot of confusion about this. We don't hope to be a substitute for the ANC. In any way. The ANC has a long history of struggle, it has the support of the black population and of all progressive whites associated with the liberation movement. What happened was that the ANC was banished and all its leaders imprisoned. After, the meagre structures at the base were destroyed and the many militants not immediately jailed were too well known to continue to operate openly in the name of ANC. The ANC continued to do clandestine work. However, it was necessary to work outside the Movement and from this emerged SASO and all the work of politicization among the students."
And for the future?

"It is difficult to foresee what will happen from now on. All depends on the workers. In my opinion, our work as students but also as militants with a cause, the cause of liberation of all the people of South Africa, will have had at least the privilege of contributing towards creation of the psychological situation favourable to an uprising much greater than those which took place in the past. We see the working class as the vanguard force, but it is also necessary to consider the possibility of urban guerilla activities."

to come accusing words, pointing to the history of failures in compromise solutions.

"The BPA is a puppet."

"The STC too."

"You are sell-outs."

"If they really wanted to fight back, then they'd get out of this meeting and face police bullets themselves."

"We are fed up with crumbs."

"We are fed up with promises and compromises."

"We are fed up with humiliation, with education for blacks, with racism."

"We are fed up."

In South Africa, to be fed up signifies putting the question of fighting against apartheid in more global terms. In other words, either there is a total rejection of the apartheid system or we condemn ourselves to a perpetuation of the system.

It is in these terms that the new generation puts the question of struggle against Vorster's regime, against apartheid

There is a substantial difference between the old and new generations within the non-white population of South Africa. It isn't a difference of interests, for both share the same desire to end capitalist and racist oppression. The difference is in their ideas about the process of that struggle.

On the one hand, the older generation, with its respect for the law, for peaceful ways to reform and build a more just society, protest marches, petitions, letters to senior ministers and parliamentary "opposition", discourses which are more academic than militant, memorial masses for this or that patriot dead from the bullets of the police, rejection of this or that oppressive law. In a word, only partial rejection of the system and the idea of peaceful reforms.

On the other hand, the youth, the new generation, with its hatred of the institutions "for blacks" accepted by the government, its hatred for petitions to senior parliamentarians, its consciousness that the complex of inferiority towards the oppressor is, in fact, a form of self-repression. The new generation with its violence, until now mainly spontaneous, but already prepared for organized violence.

How has this difference come about?

The tens of thousands who, during the last 2 months have provoked a wave of riots never before seen in South Africa have a reply.

STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE IN SOWETO

Mashirini, chairman of the student representative body says "We don't want concessions. We just want to hit at the whole system as hard as possible."

EARLY SIXTIES

In 1960, the pass law was rejected. Petitions, orderly silent marches of more than 20,000 people, fires in the suburbs fed by the insulting papers, with thousands of "passes" burned. In March, Sharpeville occurred, which was followed by more marches and more petitions. For several weeks, the "pass" laws abated and government representatives made pacifying speeches. Little by little the movement of revolt which had been generated disintegrated and then police repression was felt again, this time stronger than ever. The "pass" laws returned as a daily insult to thousands of blacks; the prisons were re-filled and Verwoerd ordered the speeding up of bantustanization. Within a short time, the liberation movement (ANC- African National Congress - and its allies) was completely destroyed.

Thereafter came 4 years of frustration and indescribable anxiety for those even minimally connected with the defeat. It was in this atmosphere that Nelson Mandela and other leaders of ANC contemplated individual action as the only way of continuing the struggle. It was in 1964 that Mandela and others entered into adventurism. Such courage and spirit of revolt was of little value without organization, however. In the same year, all the High Command of the ANC was captured and condemned to major prisons; between 10 years and life sentences. The South African government had an open field to do as it wished. The resistance of the South African people entered again into a tomb of silence.

New Phase

But a new phase was beginning to emerge, along the path of a new struggle, only to be seen clearly some time later. This "later" is today, where already the new generation is rejecting pacifism, and has its eyes fixed on what will be the major force of the revolution in South Africa, the black proletariat.

The new phase began where the government least expected it: in the midst of white students in the English language universities, the Cape, Durban, Johannesburg. In 1968, thousands of these students demonstrated their opposition to the regime in the cities. Hundreds were arrested and the wave of protests was short-lasting. It was followed by the imprisonment of various student leaders who were sentenced to house arrest.

SASO

In 1969, a new wave of protests surged in the universities but died out almost immediately. In that year, black university students gave the first indication of their implantation in the black secondary schools. NUSAS, the movement encompassing students of all races, came to an end, and SASO (Organization of South African Students) was formed. The argument for a separation of black and white students was based on very concrete realities. NUSAS was extremely liberal at its formation and had no possibilities of implanting itself in the suburbs of the major cities. At another level, there was a new factor of great importance in the definition of the struggle against apartheid. The inferiority complex of black South Africans in the face of the oppressor had to be destroyed. Therefore it was necessary that the blacks, those most affected with the complex of inferiority reinitiate the struggle to create a consciousness that racial superiority is a myth, and that whoever pays heed to it contributes to the continuation of racism.

This was the fundamental argument of SASO which, aligned to the Black People's Convention (BPC) began the difficult and painful work of changing consciousness, first in the universities for blacks, coloured and asians, and later in the secondary schools of the "townships" attached to the big cities. In the last two years, the activities of SASO have come to be felt even in the bantustans.

The Early 70's

Between 1969 and 1975, there were various waves of protest by white students against the Vorster regime. The largest of these occurred in June 1972, after the expulsion of Tiro, president of the black students in the university of Turfloop. For 2 weeks, students at the English universities of Johannesburg, Durban and the Cape demonstrated against the expulsion of Tiro from the university, and for an equal system of education for blacks and whites. The students were subjected to violent repression by the police and 800 were arrested, to be released only much later when calmness returned to the university. But in March 1973, the regime took all the NUSAS leaders and condemned them to house arrest for a period of 5 years. A new leadership was created and continued its programmes - literacy in the rural areas and factories, a daily paper for workers in some factories in Johannesburg, a programme of aid to the families of political prisoners and international denunciation of the Vorster regime. Finally, in August 1975, all of this new leadership was jailed and the student movement in the English universities was completely demobilized.

But the police were not able to do the same to the black students. However large the number of students sent to prison, the movement grew. Between 1967-1975, many students at Turfloop and the western Cape were jailed and some of them gave in to the lies of the fascist police. Some died in the prisons - "suicide" according to the police. Gradually the students gained a hold in the secondary schools. During the strikes of workers in Durban in 1973, secondary school students were arrested for the first time, accused of having incited the workers of various factories to strike. In 1974, during the demonstrations of support for FRELIMO, organized by SASO in Durban and Turfloop, yet more secondary students were arrested along with the university students.

Organized Action

In all the secondary schools for blacks throughout the country, small groups of youth began to appear, fully conscious of the need to resist. Their meetings, in principle restricted and clandestine, became larger and more frequent. In 1974 and the first months of 1975, hundreds of pro-FRELIMO slogans appeared in the schools and on walls in the townships. And in January of 1976, when the South African army was defeated in Angola, the rejoicing spread from place to place throughout the townships of South Africa like fire.

Finally in June of this year (1976), students in the various secondary schools in Soweto in-

- continued on inside back cover

STATE REPRESSION
and Political Prisoners

The Caribbean of the 70's is witnessing a type and level of political repression that is unprecedented in 20th century Caribbean history. In Haiti, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, State repression has become part of every day political life. The French colonial state throws progressive people in prison for publicly speaking about independence in Guyane. In the English-speaking Caribbean from Guyana to Jamaica, legislative repression, legalized police violence and barbarism and judicial implementation of repressive legislation have resulted in dozens of progressive activists and workers sent to prison or sentenced to death. These activists and workers are political prisoners of the imperialist and dependent local middle-class in the Caribbean.

In the following articles, Caribbean Dialogue highlights the struggle around four political activists - Eusi Kwayana in Guyana; Junior Cottle in St. Vincent; Desmond Trotter in Dominica; and NUFF members in Trinidad and Tobago.

GUYANA

Eusi Kwayana Vs PNC State

The co-operative Socialist Republic of Mr. Forbes Burnham continues to brutally suppress the democratically achieved freedoms of the Guyanese people. Under the pretense of building a workers-state the PNC is utilizing state arms to subvert all forms of criticism.

The Working Peoples Alliance, the publishers of "Day Clean", have been exposed to severe attacks from the state since they began demonstrating the ineffectiveness of the PNC party to deal with the growing problems of unemployment, inflation, corruption and racism. By printing and distributing a one-sheet information pamphlet, the WPA has shown the workers and peasants in Guyana the true nature of Mr. Burnham's government. They have been successful in countering the rhetoric of the Prime Minister with the facts which demonstrate the political bankruptcy and economic failures of the state administrators. By pointing to the struggles of workers, peasants and students who resist the imposition of the PNC party on their rights to dissent and develop their own organization, "Day Clean" has been a thorn in the side of the regime which claims paramountcy and demands total support for all its policies.

The most recent tactics of the PNC in their efforts to destroy the free expression of opposition were shown at the trial of Brindley Benn, Thelma Reece and Eusi Kwayana. After Eusi Kwayana finally decided to present himself for trial demanding unconditional release from the court, the state proceeded to harrass the imprisoned Kwayana and his supporters. They prevented communication between Kwayana and his lawyer, they barred Brindley Benn's entrance to the court house as they attempted to lock out a large number of citizens who came to support the defendants. The state military dragged eleven Kwayana supporters into the jungle off Linden Highway and left them there at 3:00 AM to find their way back to Georgetown. This is the kind of intimidation, repression and overt denial of basic rights which is sanctioned by the PNC in their aim to defend the righteousness of the Party.

The following articles are excerpted and edited from "Day Clean" which continues to circulate amongst the Guyanese people despite the State pressure. In defiance of Mr. Burnham's State bureaucracy which has the full support of the local press, the Working People's Alliance are not accepting the erosion of their basic rights, of free expression and legitimate dissent.

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE CALLS ON ALL PROGRESSIVE GROUPS IN THE CARIBBEAN AND INTERNATIONALLY TO CONDEMN THE REPRESSIVE ACTIONS BY THE PNC 'SOCIALIST' STATE TAKEN AGAINST

GUYANA

DAYCLEAN On September 14, 1976 a member of the Working People's Alliance, Eusi Kwayana, was served with two charges apparently fixed for hearing in a court on September 17, 1976. Sometime before that former Alliance members Brindley Benn and Thelma Reece were similarly charged. The Working People's Alliance considered the new move of the PNC party Government to use the court to settle political differences. The defendants were not charged with traffic offences, wounding, or larceny but with publication offences, i.e. political offences. The Alliance decided, with the agreement of the defendant Kwayana to make a political issue out of the affair. In the case against Alliance member Moses Bhagwan, the WPA had made a purely legal response and fought the case in court. Bhagwan was convicted and fined a total of $8,400 on several similar offences with an alternative of several months in prison. The WPA had to raise $750 to lodge an appeal against the conviction. The money was paid up very quickly by a wide cross section of the community - workers, and a few concerned professionals. THIS APPEAL HAS NOT YET BEEN HEARD.

In the present case against Kwayana, the WPA issued the following statement in the magistrate's court on September 17, 1976:
"We live at a time in Guyana when old people are forced to exist on a pension of $15 per month, when workers are cheated of trade union rights, and when unemployment and underemployment lead to a state of crimes.

"Instead of attacking these problems, the PNC government chooses to attack the people and the rights of the people. This policy also weakens our capacity to contribute consistently and committedly to the international struggle at the points where human rights are most viciously affronted - as in South Africa, Chile and Brazil. Persecution of the WPA forms part of an assault on those who try to confront the pressing problems of our day. Following upon the recent conviction of one of our members, Moses Bhagwan, for allegedly printing DAYCLEAN Eusi Kwayana has now been charged with a similar offence.

The courts of Guyana still colonial in form, are being used as instruments of political repression. Under these circumstances, Eusi Kwayana will not attend voluntarily at the magistrate's court where the charges are fixed to be heard on September 17, 1976.

The WPA's boycott of the court is directed against abuses known to every man, woman and child in Guyana. The ministers do whatever they like with the constitution, they violate it daily, upset laid down judicial procedures, disobey the law, practice open racial and political discrimination, run a very inefficient administration, interfere in various "legal" tribunals and then try to tell the world that a WPA man is breaking the law by not appearing in court when summoned.

The WPA is launching a broad and continuing fight against one-man dictatorship. It is not fighting against nationalisation. It is

Not fighting against true non alignment. It is fighting against dictatorship, corruption, low wages, unemployment, compulsory national service, mass hunger and imperialism.

This is what the "boycott of court" is all about. The WPA intends to test all the constitutional rights which have a bearing on this case (DAYCLEAN). Guyanese lawyers are giving valuable advice which will be accepted as far as it fits in with the political issue being fought. These lawyers have advised informing some Caribbean political lawyers of the issues involved. The masses who are muzzled by the government, the workers who have been made into beggars, the farmers who are almost ruined, the students of UG who have the police as their leaders all must see the DAYCLEAN case as a chance to rally together, raise issues and voice demands.

THE CONTINUING PNC ATTACK ON WPA

Eusi Kwayana, did attend the court where the case was called September 17, October 1 and October 15. The WPA declared that he would not attend "voluntarily". On October 15,1976 Sister Thelma Reece, WPVP activist did not appear in court. She was on a similar charge, jointly with Kwayana and Brindley Benn of "printing" or "causing to be printed" DAYCLEAN.

When October 15 came and the case was called

GUYANA

Magistrate Alexander, very famous in political cases, decided to issue bench warrants for the arrests of defendants No. 1 and No. 3. The trial was fixed for October 29.

On October 29, 1976, Eusi Kwayana was absent again from the courts, in spite of a warrant having been issued for his arrest. The WPA wishes to make it perfectly clear that this is no game, but a deadly serious matter of interest to all Guyanese. The overwhelming

majority of our people are law-abiding citizens. The WPA has at all times advocated solid change within the framework of our constitution, but we must protest in the most decisive manner when that very constitution is daily abrogated by the ruling class and when the guaranteed freedoms of the people are trampled upon. In the present instance, the regime has sought to continue its onslaught on the right to publish and disseminate information. Having made it impossible for DAYCLEAN to function as a legal entity, it seeks to reduce to the status of common criminals those prominent individuals of integrity who are committed to building a just society. The courts have been called upon to aid and abet this tactic of depriving citizens of their fundamental rights and dehumanising them. The WPA fully supports Eusi Kwayana in his resolute refusal to date to comply with so called "legalities" which are nothing but acts of repression. When Eusi Kwayana appears in court (as he undoubtedly will) there must be full understanding that his struggle and that of the WPA will continue in and out of the courts.

On Wednesday, November 10. Eusi Kwayana and other activists of the WPA were arrested while picketing the Georgetown Magistrate's Court. The trial then took on a new dimension. The battle was taken into a PNC forum (the court) and Kwayana and his Counsel for Defence began a systematic exposure of those whom Kwayana calls the "intellectual authors of a political conspiracy." The PNC regime therefore attempted to make the trial short and secret.

On Wednesday November 10th, in the afternoon session, police locked the gates to the Court to prevent people from packing the court where the case was being heard. The case awakened thousands of Guyanese to the gravity of the situation and the Court room was packed to overflowing at each session. It was not difficult to see where the sympathy of the crowds lay. After a strong protest by Counsel for all the defendants the gates were reopened.

The fairness of the trial was further marred when on adjournment on the afternoon of 10th November, Eusi Kwayana was held "incommunicado" and neither counsel nor relatives were able to communicate with him until the next day when he was brought to court. The police refused to say where Kwayana was being held.

A large and momentous demonstration took place around the precincts of the court on the morning of Thursday 11th November. On the arrival of Kwayana a spontaneous outburst from WPA activists and sympathisers resulted in a one hour demonstration involving chanting of slogans and demands for an explanation of action by the police. All was peaceful though militant and vigorous. Shortly the riot squad armed with batons, horse guards, and armed police were called in. But the demonstrations continued in the face of this show of strength. Counsel for the defense raised the protest in court and the Magistrate conceded an investigation the result of which is not yet known.

On Friday, November 12th Counsel for Kwayana raised the issue of inadequate and inaccurate reports of the proceedings by the publicly owned media (GBS , CHRONICLE AND CITIZEN) and Radio Demerara which has been muzzled even though not Government owned. Counsel cited the issue as a limitation on the right of the defendant to a public trial and pointed out the fact that Radio Antilles and other news media in the Caribbean are giving more comprehensive reports than the local media (except MIRROR)

IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE,

WORKERS' STRUGGLES IN GUYANA

Forces of Evil

The people of Guyana in general and the working people and unemployed in particular are awake to the fact that the state is controlled by a ruling party which proclaims the most advanced rights before the world but denies these very rights to the people of Guyana at home.

We are more and more alarmed not only at the pressures of imperialism on our daily lives, but also by the fact that we are weakened by the government's violations of simple republican legality. While socialism is proclaimed, the working people do not enjoy and have never enjoyed simple republican rights like the freedom to associate or organise, the right to vote or the right to express opinions without risk of victimisation, without which there can be no socialist revolution.

Our dignity and pride are affronted by the following facts: while our government correctly joins with others to demand overdue mandatory sanctions against South Africa, Guyana Airways Corporation is still today advertising itself as an agent for South African Airways, and the state sector of the Guyana economy, to say nothing of the private, is merging with this very South African economy, through both visible and invisible trade. This is done in defiance of the people's wishes and in spite of laws prohibiting trade in goods with South Africa.

All Caribbean patriots and governments of all trends, and especially the relatives of the even innocent victims from our country, are still smarting under the effects of the criminal sabotage of October 6 and the government has promised to record our pain and anger in a monument. The most immediate and concrete step Guyana can take, however, to control the inflow of human agents of imperialism including possible terrorists or intellectual authors of possible sabotage is abrogation of, or at the very least, a struggle against the Guyana-US treaty of May 26 1966. This treaty, the sensitive provisions of which were not published by the present prime minister of Guyana. It officially included Guyana in the United States schemes for "the defence of the Western hemisphere". Under this treaty an unlimited number of persons, carrying certain identity cards, and claiming to be US military personnel or employees of the USA of a certain type may, at least until 1983 enter Guyana without passport, without visa, without obeying Customs routines and stay for an indefinite period, during which time they are mainly under US sovereighty.

The ruling party which boasts of its paramountcy over the state is a minority party in a multi-party and multi-racial country. Its claims are irresponsible. In this situation the PNC has proclaimed that the government and the party are one and the same and it has institutionalised itself in the office of the General Secretary and Ministry of National Development an affront to all thoughtful people.

The paramount PNC has not only used legislation of colonial origin to attempt to silence expression, but it has attempted to use the courts as a means of accumulation of money through libel suits, demanding successfully record damages, notably in the case of MIRROR and Mr. Archie Codrington, the judgement in which case I have criticised publicly and to a lesser degree in the Liberator case. It has denied bauxite workers the right to elect union officers of their choice. It readily made use of Mustafa Ali (producer of ten thousand proxies) who astonished the legal profession with the speed with which his appeal was heard and with his fortunate escape of a trial. It has refused to entertain election petitions by opposition parties after the 1973 general elections. It has in various ways flaunted its pretended paramountcy over the judicial system. The doctrine offends the Guyana constitution and threatens to make judges, magistrates and courts subject to a political party.

- continued on inside back cover

OBJECTIVES OF THE WPA STRUGGLE

1. Because of the attempts of the political government to exercise party paramountcy over the legal system, there must be a symbolic boycott of the courts by the defendant on terms decided by the WPA in the light of developments.
2. To test as far as resources permit all the constitutional rights of the citizens related to the present issues.
3. To make use of the events to raise all the urgent grievances of the popular masses and to generate class consciousness, anti-imperialism, and patriotism.
4. To reveal the true nature of the political charges against the defendant, inside the court with and without legal representation.
5. To build up with all progressive forces at home and in the Caribbean a campaign against personalised dictatorship, bureaucratic dictatorship, undermining of constitutional guarantees, republican illegality, electoral rigging and all anti working people trends, all pro-fascist unenlightening and pro-imperialist trends.

The State Vs Junior Cottle

6th November, 1976

Comrades:

Our tiny island Youlou (St. Vincent) in the Caribbean is fastly becoming the laughing stock of the World by the amusing but yet serious circumstances that occur from time to time. We have witnessed the rape of our constitution by the reactionary pro-imperialist Labour Party Government, to appoint, a semi-illiterate woman (Ivy Joshua, wife of E.T. Joshua member of the Labour Party government) as leader of the opposition in the House of Assembly. We have seen the continued erosion of people's democratic rights in the country in passing some of the most vicious pieces of legislation such as the Public Service Act of 1971, the Emergency PowersAct of 1970 and the Praedial Larceny Act 1976 (this Act gives the police the power to stop and search anyone anytime without a search warrant). Also we have experienced the denial of the fundamental human rights by police brutality, imprisonment and mass victimisation, while our country continues to sink deeper into the clutches of imperialism and the local capitalists causing severe hardships on the mass of exploited and suffering poor people.

Last Wednesday evening was no exception during the political trial of Junior Cottle. A Judge was flown from a neighbouring island, Trinidad, just for the trial, and it came as no surprise to hear him pass a wicked and inhuman sentence on Cottle - "the peoples' hero" - a sentence of fifteen years imprisonment. We have since then filed an appeal to the West Indies Court of Appeal to be heard early next year and we have also re-organised our campaign on a more extensive scale, depending a great deal on the regional and international publicity and support, and to apply pressure on the Government. We pledge to keep you informed on further developments and look forward to your maximum support in our struggle.

In the interest of Peace Freedom and Justice.

Yours fraternally,
Conley Rose (Sec., Defence Fund Committee)

By far the outstanding example of the denial of justice and infringement of basic freedoms in Youlou (St. Vincent and the Grenadines) is the case of Junior Cottle and to a lesser extent his companion, Lorraine Laidlow. Both men were charged with murder of the island's Acting Attorney General, Cecil Rawle in 1973, and following three years of imprisonment, great physical brutality and deprivation, were acquitted on the charge by the British Privy Council in April this year (1976). Despite the ruling of the Court however the brothers have not been freed but have instead been re-arrested and charged with other offences arising out of the original situation.

THE BACKGROUND

The case of Junior Cottle is no ordinary one. In order to properly understand it, one has to first understand the political implications surrounding it, at this point in time, Cottle is no mere prisoner but rather, a POLITICAL PRISONER being brutally denied any semblance of justice.

The years of the 1970s saw a heightening of the awareness of the people throughout the Caribbean. In the international arena the processes of detente were taking deeper root, the African liberation struggle was gaining great victories, the Civil rights struggle and Black Power philosophy had attained a high pitch in the USA and the Cuban Revolution began to unfold its achievements for all to see.

The Black Power uprising in Trinidad in 1970 found expression in the birth of the very vocal and radical youths which sprang up among the masses of unemployed Black Youths. Junior "Spirit" Cottle emerged as one of the leading spokesman for the numerous frustrated and unemployed black youth in the country. Cottle, like millions of other Black victims of the colonialist-capitalist system around the world grew up under the conditions of poverty and backwardness which are so typical of underdeveloped areas in general and rural areas in particular. It is significant that he received a secondary education at the Bishop's college, Kingstown, an Anglican-controlled secondary school which in the same month of May last year had temporarily shut down after student demonstrations against the alleged racism of an English priest. Like thousands of other Caribbean Students, Cottle did not complete school, falling victim to a combination of poverty at home and a racist colonial education system which forces so many youths out of school to join the ever swelling rank of the

COMING IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE - AN ANALYSIS OF THE RECENT ELECTIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN : TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO; GRENADA AND JAMAICA. WHAT DO THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS SHOW? WHAT ARE THE POLITICAL ALTERNATIVES FOR THE LEFT MOVEMENTS? WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? READ THE FEBRUARY ISSUE OF CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE.

unemployed. It is also significant that one of the members of the jury which was to find Cottle guilty of murder was none other than the husband of one of his former tutors at Bishop's College who had contributed in some way to his failure to complete school.

JOB DISMISSAL

Employed for a couple of years by the government first as a police band cadet and later lighthouse operator, Cottle was eventually dismissed in 1971 mainly on the grounds of several clashes with the law which resulted from his growing involvement for the freedom of the oppressed masses of the country. He joined the Organization of Black Cultural Awareness (OBCA) in that same year (1971) and immediately became marked as a target of police terrorist attacks on the orders of the local ruling class. One example of this was the "Cobblestone Incident" that year when Cottle and a few other well known young political activists became involved in an incident at the Cobblestone Inn, a hotel owned by one of the biggest landowning white families. The state could not find enough evidence to convict the brothers on the charges but yet remanded them in custody for a week before dismissing the charges.

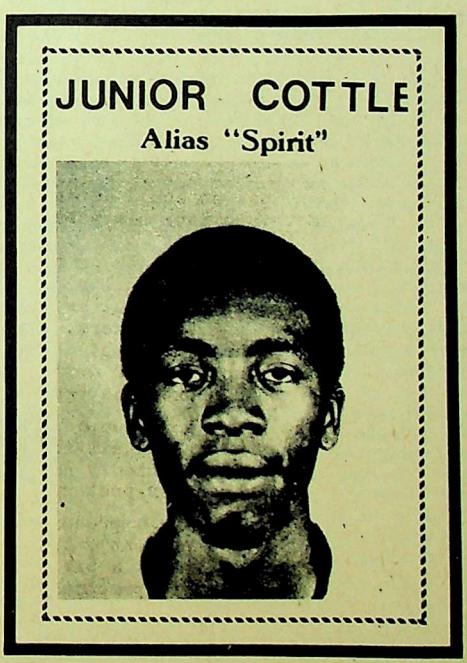
Junior "Spirit" Cottle became a founder-member of another organisation, the Black Liberation Action Committee (BLAC) which was formed in February 1972. That year saw the stepping up of police harrasment against him since he had now emerged as the leading political spokesman of the Black Youths in the urban ghettos. His influence was not just restricted to Kingstown for, travelling throughout the country, Cottle saw to it that the Black Power Movement made a distinct impression on the country's youths in particular and even in the more remote rural areas its influence began to be felt. The beating of drums caught on as did the mimicry of his clean-shaven head.

Touring the countryside regularly, distributing BLAC pamphlets and leaflets, attempting to organise rural youths, Cottle became a thorn in the side of local ruling class. His political activities and fearlessness singled him out for special treatment from the repressive state machinery. The police followed him everywhere and charge after charge was laid against him for possession of marijuana, assault, resisting arrest, the whole lot. He was convicted on two of these charges and was fined $240 or an alternative of 6 months imprisonment on one while he received a 6 month sentence on the other. He appealed against the latter and the appeal was fixed for May 1973.

MAY 1973

On the night of May 11, 1973, the island's Acting Attorney General, Cecil Rawle, was shot at his home allegedly by three unknown assailants. Rawle died within two days in hospital. On that same night too, a supermarket proprietor Allenby Gaymes was shot in the chest in quite unrelated circumstances. Acting on a statement which Rawle was supposed to have made before his death, police launched the biggest man-hunt in the history of Youlou seeking to detain Cottle, another member of the organisation BLAC, Marcus "Raycan" James, and their companion Lorraine "Black" Laidlow.

In the ensuing three weeks the people of Youlou witnessed the most massive onslaught ever on



their democratic rights and freedoms. The Youths in particular suffered. Many were arbitrarily arrested and detained up to 8 days and then released without courtesy of a warrant, searched and ransacked. People stopped and searched on the streets at will and even forbidden to cross certain areas. It was as if an unofficial State of Emergency Existed. The Alliance government headed by James Mitchell justified these blatant violations of human rights by vague talk of a "plot" and alleged, that the names of several other prominent citizens had been found on a list, ear-marked for assassination.Neither the charges of a plot nor the list have been verified to this day.

THE MURDER OF MARCUS JAMES

On Sunday 20, 18 year old Marcus James was shot and killed following a massive police assault on the Edinboro-Cemetry Hill area. His body was not produced until one day afterwards thus strengthening the general belief that James was the victim of a police murder. His theory was given further credibility by the different versions of the circumstances of his death given by various police officers who were trying to make out a case of suicide. James had one of the biggest funerals seen in Youlou with thousands of people turning out in what in fact was a protest demonstration.

Several local militant organisations led by BLAC accused the police of the murder of young James, and so, called on the Minister of Home Affairs to launch an investigation into the circumstances of his death as well as to hold a public inquiry. Inspite of wide support for this call, there was no response from the government. It took a petition signed by hundreds of citizens demanding a public inquiry before the government consented. In April 1974 nearly one year after James' death, an enquiry was finally held. The jury rejected the police theory of suicide and came out with a clear verdict of murder. It was only left for the authorities to bring the murderer to justice.

Instead government disregarded the verdict of the jury and instead held another inquiry with hand-picked jury and in secretive circumstances. This time the jury justified the police claims of Suicide and there lay the end of the story. It was a dangerous precedent to set, the implications of which were to be seen in the following two years.

BARBARIC ACTS

The culmination of the three-week "reign of terror" on May 1973 came on Sunday 27th May when a battalion of about 100 police descended on the Bottom Area where Cottle lived following information that he was in the area. Without warning armed police opened fire, sending bullets and tear-gas hurtling among the huddled-up rundown shacks. The lives of hundreds of men, women and children were endangered by this barbaric act. Old women had to be helped from their homes, gasping for air under the effects of the burning teargas. Children fainted in the melee and had to be helped from the area, while police criminally forced the evacuation of homes. For over 5 hours the residents of Bottom Town had to watch in fright and bewilderment as police shot up, ransacked and tear-gassed their homes in the frantic search for Cottle. It was obvious to onlookers that the object was not to arrest Cottle but to kill him and that the attack represented a REPRISAL for the people allegedly sheltering him. Such actions are denounced internationally and forbidden even in times of open warfare, yet this was being practised in a supposedly democratic society without regard to welfare of human beings. To this day not one cent has been paid as compensation to the residents for the damage caused by police aggression.

DENIAL OF MEDICAL TREATMENT

Cottle was finally captured after being shot in the neck by police. He was also at the time suffering from pneumonia and was hospitalised. However within 3 days, still in a critical condition, he was removed from the hospital and put in a special punishment cell at the Prisons without regard to his health or the fact that he was only a remand prisoner, entitled to all rights accorded to a prisoner of this status.

Within the next four months Cottle suffered immeasurably from the inhuman treatment meted out to him. In his poor physical state and with a bullet lodged in his neck, he was yet denied proper medical treatment. Even a petition to the Minister of Home Affairs, Clive Tannis and a delegation of citizens to the Premier, James Mitchell, requesting that Cottle's human rights be respected, that he be removed from the prison which was dangerous to his health, that he be granted proper medical treatment and guaranteed human treatment, failed to provoke anything but negative responses from the State. Cottle is alive today only because of his iron will, grit and determination. The bullet remains lodged in his head and he now has a twisted mouth as a result of it. Still the pattern of refusing to grant him proper medical attention continues, three years afterwards.

THE TRIAL

The trial of Cottle and Laidlaw began on Monday, October 8, 1973. This was less than one week after the preliminary hearing had finished thus

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depriving counsel for the accused of sufficient time to prepare themselves for such a crucial trial. It was obvious that the state was not playing according to its own rules.

The composition of the jury left little doubt as to the intentions of the authorities for besides the husband of former school teacher, referred to above, it contained several noted government supporters. The jury was headed by a local politician whose floor-crossing habits had earned himself the nickname of "Traitor". An unscrupulous man if ever there was one, "Traitor" has skipped from one party to party, from side to side, whenever it suited his own particular interests. The choice of him as foreman of the jury was a forewarning of what one could expect from the trial.

And so it turned out. The counsel for Cottle and Laidlow, addressing the British Privy Council, had this to say of the local authorities; "THIS IS A CASE WHERE EVERYTHING WENT WRONG FROM THE BEGINNING", and so it was as the state in its anxiety to get rid of Cottle, totally disregarded the rules of natural justice. In the first place it enjoined the murder charge with the quite separate and distinct charge of shooting Gaymes, two entirely unrelated issues. This was unprecedented in British legal history and was to cost the state the case.

Then there was the conflicting evidence of two surgeons who had operated on Rawle as to the cause of his death. There was the clearly confusing statements concerning identification of the accused and the evidence of several questionable witnesses. Then after 8 long days of evidence the jury took a miraculous FORTY MINUTES to reach a decision - guilty of course.

An appeal was filed and heard in the Appeal Court. There, despite the obvious flaws in the case the appeal court judges still upheld the sentence of death. This is in spite of the fact that in referring to the enjoining of the cases, the Chief Justice had said, "THIS MUST NEVER BE DONE AGAIN". Why it was allowed in this case if it was so clearly wrong remains a mystery.

THE REFUSAL TO PAY FEES

Cottle took the case to the Privy Council to seek justice. In so doing he had to make out a case of "in forma pauperis" meaning that he was too poor to pay the legal fees and was requesting that government supply legal aid and pay the fees. When the judicial Committee of the Privy Council granted him leave to present his appeal to that body, it made a strong recommendation that government pay the legal fees, so strong was the merit of the case. Government flatly refused. Requests by Cottle's local counsel Hilary Samuel, pleas by organisations and individuals for the respect of his human and legal rights were ignored by the government. This held up decision on the case for over a year while Cottle and Laidlaw lay languishing in the Prison.

Fortunately the case was of such legal importance in terms of the setting of a dangerous precedent that the Privy Council sat on it earlier this year and April 5, 1976, handed down the historic decision squashing the conviction. Cottle and Laidlow were ordered to be set free and the youths of Youlou breathed a sigh of relief that at last justice was taking its course.

RE-ARREST

But this was not to be for the Cato Regime was just as determined as its predecessor to be rid of this outstanding young comrade and his companion, human rights and justice notwithstanding. When Cottle and Laidlow attempted to leave the prison on Friday May 7, 1976, on their release, two vanloads of policemen, armed to the teeth

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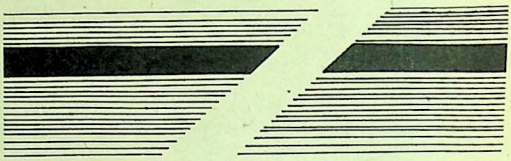
were at hand to receive them. Both men were taken to police headquarters, re-arrested and charged for other offences - Cottle on two charges of "wounding a police officer" and "discharging a loaded firearm at a police officer to prevent lawful apprehension" (both charges stemmed from the arrest on May 27, 1973), and Laidlow on a charge of "escaping lawful custody" (while in prison he had escaped for a month before being re-captured). Both men were taken to the Magistrates Court and remanded with bail being refused. Cottle subsequently applied to the Judge for bail but his application was predictably turned down.

MORE VIOLATIONS

Since that time there have been further developments. After three years Cottle is now being made to serve the 6-month sentence dating back to 1973. Meanwhile the preliminary inquiry into the shooting charge came up. Again because of his financial situation, he had to seek legal assistance. Grenadian barrister Maurice Bishop agreed to act for Cottle but on arriving in Youlou on Tuesday August 24, he was prevented from entering by immigration officials. Mr. Bishop was not given any reason for the entry ban and was refused permission to file an appeal against the decision. He was hustled back to the aircraft bound for Barbados. It was only timely action by YULIMO officials in protesting to the Commissioner of Police and the quick publicity of the incident in the region which forced the government to change its plans and re-admit Mr. Bishop.

The refusal to give Mr. Bishop entry represents yet another attempt by the state to obstruct the course of justice and constitutes another flagrant violation of human rights - the right to freedom of movement. In fact it also violates Cottle's right to have counsel of his choice. Such actions must be condemned by all freedom-loving people, individuals and organisations alike.

The case actually began on Wednesday, September 8, with the hearing of the preliminary inquiry. Counsel's attempt to have both charges tried together was unsuccessful with the magistrate upholding the flimsy reasons of the Attorney General for separate hearing. (Incidentally it is interesting that even if there is a director of Public Prosceutions, the Attorney General himself, a political appointee, decided to prosecute even at the preliminary stage). The holding of two seperate trials for charges arising out of the same incident have an underlying, sinister reason. It is quite simply that the state wants prosecution on one charge so that if it loses it can bring the other thus keeping Cottle incarcerated for a longer period. The Assize Court hearing is set for October.



It is therefore only clear that Cottle is really a POLITICAL PRISONER and that the trend exhibited by the ruling regime is one geared towards keeping the comrade incarcerated for the remainder of his life. Urgent pressure is therefore needed, locally, regionally and internationally, to be put on the St. Vincent government for the release of both young men. The whole history of the case since 1973 reveals clearly the outrageous violations of human rights and disregard for the freedoms enshrined in the U.N. Human Rights Chartor.

YULIMO (the Youlou United Liberation Movement, an organisation formed by the merger of three previously existing groups including BLAC) has for the past two years spearheaded the campaign not only for the freedom of Cottle and Laidlow, but moreover for the respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms within Youlou. It has taken the initiative to set up the Junior Cottle Defence Committee to publicise the case, mobilize public opinion for the freedom of the brothers and to raise funds to offset the legal and other expenses incurred in defending Cottle and Laidlow.

It is the duty of all individuals and organisations to speak out in defence of the treasured rights of man. We take this opportunity to call on all to support our struggle for the restoration of true democracy based on the respect for human rights. We also make an appeal for assistance for the defence of Cottle and Laidlow. Contributions towards the Defence Fund can be sent to:

JUNIOR COTTLE DEFENCE FUND.
c/o Barclays Bank,
Bedford Street,
Kingstown,
ST. VINCENT. The account number is 22-002

FREE JUNIOR "SPIRIT" COTTLE

DOMINICA

THE STRUGGLE TO FREE DESMOND TROTTER

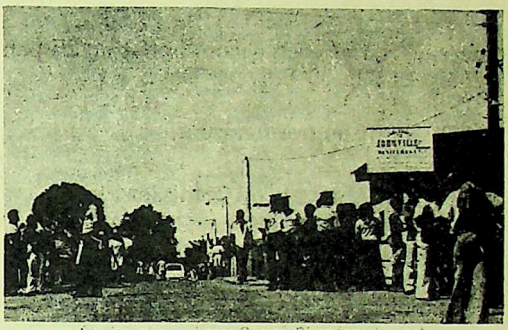
During the 1970's Dominica's Labour government has increasingly depended on its police forces and judicial system to suppress and retard the struggles of workers, peasants and youth to change the backward political, social and economic conditions in Dominica. As the contradictions have become clear between Labour Party rhetoric that it represents the interests of the struggling and dispossessed workers of Dominica and the reality of continually worsening social and economic conditions coupled with the use of the state power to put down all concrete manifestations of the people's growing rejection of the present organization of Dominican society, the government's response has not been to begin to resolve these contradictions, but rather to undertake campaigns of terror to keep the people "in their place"

The conviction and imprisonment of Desmond Trotter on a trumped-up murder charge, the anti-Dread campaign, the frequent recourse to "States of emergency" whenever workers move to militant action - all are part of the government's strategy for holding on to power while basic questions related to the development of the country remain unsolved.

Desmond Trotter and the Dreads presently being held in Her Majesty's Prison Goodwill are political prisoners. Their imprisonment is the result of the Labour Party's strategy a) to discredit and smash any autonomous formations which pose a potential threat to its power, and b) to divert the population's attention from the real causes of underdevelopment and misery in the state.

THE DREADS AND BLACK POWER

The Dreads are an offshoot of the Black Power Movement of the early 70's. The nationalist appeal of that movement drew to it participants from every section of the society (except the plantocracy) students, civil servants and other workers, and unemployed youth. It is important to note that during the 70's the make-up of the unemployed youth sector in Dominica had changed. The expansion of the school system and the shrinking of immigration outlets from the 60's onwards placed "on the streets" a large section of primary and secondary school graduates who could not find employment and could not emigrate. Largely urban-based in the early 70's, they and the students made up the majority of "Black Power" adherents. The remainder came from among returned graduates in various branches of the civil service and professional classes (eg. a few teachers). Ideological direction was provided by the graduates and by activists like Rosie Douglas and William Riviere who were then living outside Dominica.



Section of crowd near Roseau River (new bridge) as police stalled rally on River Bank.

URBAN YOUTH AND THE PEASANTRY

The socio-economic milieu in which the movement developed consisted of the following social groups:
(a) an absentee foreign bourgeoisie who controlled the banks, insurance companies, some estates, small manufacturing enterprises and shipping of export products;
(b) a small plantocracy;
(c) a local commercial and small-scale manufacturing "bourgeoisie" in owner-managed import-export agencies, large retail outlets, hotels etc.;
(d) a salaried middle class in private concerns and public institutions;
(e) agricultural and service workers and a small number of manufacturing workers;
(f) a petit-bourgeoisie of shop-keepers, skilled tradesmen, etc and
(g) a large peasantry, many of whom work part-time on estates.

Given the agricultural base of the country and the absence of an industrial working class, which in its collective experience of the most direct

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and intense forms of capitalist exploitation and discipline inevitably develops some level of organized resistance to capital - and with which progressive forces within the unemployed, the petty bourgeoisie and students can ally in the struggle to transform social and economic relations - the urban Black Power youth looked to the peasantry for allies and to land reform as the major tool for transformation.

So that, from the first stages of the movement demands were made for the distribution of land, to be worked co-operatively by the unemployed. Initially, the then-Premier Leblanc encouraged the movement, but once it began condemning Dominica's dependence on foreign investment and the domination of the economy by multinationals, the campaign to discredit the youth began.

In 1971 the 'Manicou' (Black Power) group started publication of Black Cry edited by Desmond Trotter, then 17 years old. 1972 saw a revolt in the Catholic Secondary boys school St. Mary's Academy, which resulted in the withdrawal of the white U.S. Christian brothers from the school; the struggle of Castle Bruce workers against CDC and the government; and the formation late in the year of the Movement for New Dominica by various disaffected groupings- Manicou, students, graduates and unemployed. Support groups for MND were formed in the U.S. and Canada.

"THE STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA HIGHLIGHTS THE FACT THAT RACISM, THIS OPPRESSIVE AND DIVISIVE TOOL OF CAPITALISM SHALL SURELY BE BURIED BY THE STRUGGLES OF OPPRESSED HUMANITY"

- Desmond Trotter.

MND AND THE DREADS

The leadership of MND was solidly petit bourgeois and the class antagonisms inherent in the alliance fairly rapidly led to the unemployed section developing autonomous groupings which stressed withdrawal from the corrupt society and a return to the land. More and more of the groups which had access to land started small scale farming and building links with their peasant neighbours who farmed their gardens in the hills.

The other tendency in MND posed the question of socialism, but because of the diffuseness of their class consciousness, dependence on orthodox Marxist classification and lack of an indigenous class analysis they remained unable to attract peasants and workers except for individuals from the privileged sector such as civil servants, teachers etc.

1973 brought the intensification of activity by both tendencies and a corresponding intensification of government repression. MND started publication of TWAVAY in April, again edited by Desmond. The originally Roseau-based black power movement spread to other parts of the country principally around large villages such as Marigot and Wesley. The CSA led general strike late in the year gave the government the excuse to step up its propaganda campaign against MND accusing it of being a "third force" which was using the crisis to foment revolution. The police found camps in the hills where "guerillas" were "training". The government's heavy handed response to the widespread dissatisfaction evidenced by this general strike foreshadowed their even more extreme measures in 1974. The country was placed under State of Emergency, CSA executives members were placed under house arrest, the police and defence forces were beefed up by armed "Rural Constables" (volunteers appointed by the government to supplement the regular police in times of crisis). Not coincidentally, the "rural constabulary" was drawn mostly from the pro-Labour Party section of the commercial managerial middle class. From then on harassment of MND and unemployed youth became a matter of routine. By the end of the year, there had developed an almost complete separation between the unemployed now known as Dreads (because of their adoption of the rastafarian culture and dress) on the one hand, and MND on the other.

Desmond Trotter, one of the leading forces in both the Manicou (Black Power) movement and in MND was specially marked for attention. His grasp of the fact that the struggle for socialist transformation had to be made primarily with and by workers in production ie. the agricultural workers and the less privileged section of urban workers, his influence with youth and workers alike made him dangerous to the state.

"BETTER A DEAD MARTYR THAN A LIVE HERO TO HAUNT US"

- statement on Desmond Trotter by Patrick John, Dominican Premier.

RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION

By 1974, faced with mounting economic problems, even greater unemployment, the lessening of popular support in the rural areas which was its stronghold, continuing internal conflicts within its organization, the Labour Party went on an all out drive to stiffle dissent. The murder of an American tourist John Jirasek on

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Carnival Tuesday night and a number of attacks against whites during the season provided the perfect opportunity to whip up anti-black power sentiment. On the following day, before any investigations had been carried out, the then-Deputy Premier Patrick John delivered a searing denunciation of the Black Power movement, squarely placing blame for the killing at their door. Anti-dread and anti-MND feelings were whipped up to fever pitch.

Within days, Desmond and others in the movement were picked up for questioning and Camella Francis, an Antiguan visitor to Dominica, had made the damning identification of Desmond as one of the persons she had "overheard" boasting that he had murdered Jirasek. Between the murder in February and the final arrest and charging of Desmond and another youth Roy Mason on the murder charge in May, the village of Grand Bay exploded, (see Caribbean Dialogue June-July 1976) in revolt against the most visible agent of their oppression - Geneva Estate which adjoins the village and was owned by Elias Nassief, a Lebanese businessman. Estate Houses were burned, cattle slaughtered and trees felled to cut off police access to the estate. The rebellion, led by unemployed youth, got solid support from the villagers whose long-standing frustration and intolerable conditions were given concrete expression. The parish was placed under state of emergency, police and defence forces poured in, the "ring-leaders" arrested and jailed.

THE TRIAL

In mid-May Desmond Trotter and Roy Mason were arrested and charged. Through its publication Twavay, MND immediately began publicizing the case and trying to build support for Trotter and Mason. By then however, the anti-Dread, anti-"Black Power" feeling in the country which had been cultivated by the government, the fact that MND had not been able to build a strong organization (although Twavay was widely read as the only local publication which both exposed the conditions of Dominican workers and peasants and posed socialist transformation as the only way forward)prevented the development of popular sentiment against the political victimisation of Trotter and Mason.

Police violence against the Dreads escalated, to the point where armed skirmishes were not uncommon and the number of Dreads in prison rose sharply.

Prior to Desmond's trial in October, Camella Francis, the government's star witness, approached a lawyer in Antigua and amade a statement that she had been threatened and bribed by the Dominican police to implicate Desmond. However, at the trial she stuck to her original testimony, and since she had not signed the Antiguan statement, her repudiation of it was accepted by the jury. No explanation was offered by government forces of why an Antiguan lawyer with no ties with Dominica would invent a statement by Camella.

The jury consisted of people drawn from the commercial managerial middle class and petit bourgeoise. Inside of the court were signs calling for the hanging of Desmond. Ballistic evidence from the alleged murder gun, said by the police to have been found in Desmond's possession, was a farce. Without Camella's evidence it is unlikely that the state could have won. The trial ended on November 2nd with Roy Mason acquitted (Judge Renwick actually censured the police for fabricating evidence against him) and Desmond convicted. Sentence was death by hanging. An appeal was immediately launched to the West Indies Associated States appeal court. On the day following the end of the trial one of the defence attorneys, Maurice Bishop of Grenada was deported from the island.

THE DREAD ACT

On November 19, the government passed the "Dread Act", one of the most Barbaric pieces of legislation in modern times. This Act defines "an Illegal and Prohibited Society, or Association as any group or body of persons sharing common beliefs, practices and ideologies who unite either temporarily or permanently to achieve a common unlawful objective". Two articles of the Act state that:
No proceedings either criminal or civil shall be brought or maintained against any person who kills or injures any members of an association or society, designated unlawful, who shall be found at any time of day or night inside a dwelling house.

No proceedings either criminal or civil shall be brought against any member of the police force for any action taken in performance of his duties under this act."

The only "society" named in the schedule of the Act as unlawful is "that society or association of persons commonly called THE DREADS."

The Act was passed with complete support of the opposition Freedom Party, and following weeks saw statements of support for the Act from all sections - the Bar association, the Dominica Association of Industry and Commerce, The Civil Service Association etc.etc.

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The Trotter case and the Dread Act brought Dominica international publicity. Defence Committees for Desmond and the Dreads were formed all over the Caribbean, in Britain, France, the US and Canada. Protests poured in from around the world against the Trotter conviction and the Dread Act.

In Dominica the police forces now had official license to kill without fear of consequences. The Defence Force habitually undertook Dread hunting expeditions in the hills, the police attacked urban youth, the Labour Party kept up its propaganda, continually linking the Dreads with MND which in turn was linked with an international communist conspiracy to overthrow the government. This move succeeded in driving the hard core of the Dreads further into the hills, and in putting a lid on urban dread activity. Those in the urban areas were forced to cut their locks, for example.

National elections in March returned the Labour Party to power with less than 50% of the popular vote and a reduced majority. One of the new government's first actions was the removal of the Alien Landholdings Act which had made the acquisition of land by foreigners extremely difficult and which had been a thorn in the side of the function of the party who supported Patrick John in his successful bid for leadership of the Party. Expansion of the Defence Force was also immediately undertaken by the government, and the benefits given to its members became a point of conflict between the Defence force and the police.

In March the West Indies Associated States Appeal Court turned down Desmond's appeal, but because of the dissenting opinion of the chief justice on one point, a further appeal was launched to the Privy Council. During the following months MND intensified its efforts to keep Desmond Trotter/Dread cases before the public and as police brutality against the young unemployed grew, public opinion against the Dread Act grew correspondingly.

In May MND began a series of public meetings all over the country and successfully mobilized people to put pressure for supression of the Dread Act. At least one public meeting was broken up with police tear-gas and batons, MND members were arrested on all kinds of false charges, but the upshot was a limited gain: in July the government was forced to proclaim a 38 day ammesty for the Dreads in order to undercut the positive support MND was gaining around that issue. Under terms of the ammesty Dreads were invited to come down from the hills and all would be forgiven. The hunting expeditions against them ceased and the Dread Act was eventually suspended.

Subsequent to the widespread mobilization around the issue of political repression spearheaded by MND, which had taken members to the countryside and begun an internal debate on how to build a mass organization, the class contradictions which had never been resolved within the movement came to a head and the organization fell apart.

THE MND CAMPAIGN

In the first half of 1976, therefore, public activities of Dominica's left forces centred around the Desmond Trotter case with the Defence Committee in the forefront. The Dreads in the hills concentrated on subsistence agriculture and withdrawal from "Babylon". Overt police activity against the unemployed abated somewhat as a result, but expansion of the Defence Force continued and the Premier assumed the rank of colonel and was henceforth to be addressed as Colonel the Honourable.

In March the Trotter case went to the Privy Council which refused to hear the case after a 10 minute preamble by his lawyers. The Defence Committees immediately launched petition campaign for reprieve of the death sentence and release of Trotter. 14,000 Dominicans signed petitions and thousands more were sent from overseas. In the period between Desmond's trial and the Privy Council decision Dominicans having experienced the police terrors unleashed by the Dread Act, the MND campaign were now not so sure that justice had been done in the Trotter case. Pressure on the government was at such a level that Premier John removed then Minister of Home Affairs Isaiah Thomas from the chairmanship of the Prerogative of Mercy Committee which has the power to grant a reprieve whereas the Premier's reported position when warned of the possible repercussions by an aroused populace if Desmond were hanged "Better a dead martyr than a live hero to haunt us".

THE AFFIDAVIT ISSUE

On March 30th, Camella Francis swore an Affidavit in Antigua recanting the testimony she had given at the trial and again accusing the Dominican police of threats and bribes to obtain her perjured testimony. On April 1st copies of the affidavit were handed to all members of the Mercy committee with a cover letter from Desmond's attorney and mimeographs put out in the street for the public. The Defence Committee led the call for the unconditional release of Desmond and for an inquiry into the case.

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On April 2nd the Mercy Committee met and granted Desmond a reprieve from the death sentence. The Premier in an address to the nation that evening did his best to discredit the legal defence, the Defence Committee and the affidavit. The Affidavit was not acknowledged as either legal or authentic and the Premier represented the reprieve as an act of mercy in no way influenced by claims of innocence. The formal representations made to the Attorney General by Desmond's attorney to investigate charges made in the affidavit brought only a blatant disregard for justice and threats of disbarment to Attorney Brian Alleyne. The government's propaganda machine again went into action casting doubt that Camella had in fact signed the affidavit. The scale of this particular denial of justice prompted the formation in Barbados of the Desmond Trotter Legal Co-ordinating Committee, a group of lawyers from all over the Caribbean who worked on seeking legal ways to free Desmond. What was established was that all appeal procedures had been exhausted and it remained up to the Mercy Committee to release Desmond.

GROWING SUPPORT

In May the Defence Committee met with local organizations (trade unions, youth groups, community groups etc.) and received their endorsement of a proposal to send a representative delegation of Dominicans to Antigua to interview Camella Francis in person and make recommendations to the government. The 13 member delegation made up of respected community members and chaired by Brother Egbert Germaine, Principal of the Catholic boys secondary school, conducted an emotion filled interview with Camella who confirmed the affidavit's authenticity. On their return the delegation drew up a nine point resolution statement calling for an inquiry and a free pardon for Desmond. At their meeting with the Premier he agreed in principle to an inquiry and later repeated his commitment to such a course in a Radio speech to the nation while at the same time casting aspersions on the integrity of the delegation.

The Defence Committee proceeded to hold meetings around the country at which members of the delegation spoke of the interview with Camella and the recommendations submitted to the Premier.

To date no action has been taken by government to set up a commission of inquiry and no move has been made to free Desmond who remains where he was placed at the time of his arrest in the Maximum security section of the prison. A petition to the Mercy Committee for a free pardon submitted by Desmond in August has not been answered. The Caribbean Council of Churches sponsored conference on Human Rights in the Caribbean in September called on Patrick John's government to set up an impartial commission of inquiry into the case. They have not been answered. The Defence Committee's recent attempt in November 20th to hold a Desmond Trotter Solidarity Day ended in 13 further arrests. Early in December the Dread scare has again been revitalized with the killing of 2 Dreads from the Portsmouth area by the police, allegedly for being involved in the kidnapping of two young women and with the advertisement put out by the Government offering a reward of $5000 for the body of Galloway, an escaped prisoner who is believed to be with the Dreads.

In other words the government of Dominica, its recent posture as "socialist" to the contrary, continues to make clear its total commitment to political repression and armed terror as the means of retarding the struggle of the most oppressed classes to forge a new set of relationships in every sphere of economic and social life. Premier John is reputed to have said that he will give Desmond his freedom in 1977 as an independence gift to the people of Dominica (along with 2 days' carnival).

It is the duty of all who would support and further the cause of true justice and the liberation of peoples to struggle to secure the immediate release of Desmond Trotter and the Dreads.

TIME TO LAUNCH A CARIBBEAN AND INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST CAPITALIST STATE REPRESSION AND POLITICAL PRISONERS.

DOMINICA

Press Statement – Defence Committee

The Desmond Trotter Defence Committee condemns the action of the Government as a flagrant violation of our basic democratic rights and freedoms. We condemn the Government's banning of Desmond Trotter Solidarity Day Activities and the banning of Walter Rodney, plus the other Caribbean nationals invited to speak, from entering the island. We see the recent Government action as a deliberate attempt to stifle the call coming from an ever increasing number of Dominicans and West Indians to free Desmond Trotter. The vicious rumours that have been put into circulation: that on the 20th November the Dreads were to come down from the hills to free Desmond; the Government plea for parents to keep their children from any events; the deliberate misnaming of the Defence Committee as the Desmond Trotter "Liberation Movement"; the hue and cry about National Security and Law and Order. All these are deliberate, and well-known, attempts to distort the true issues and to create an atmosphere of fear and terror.

The Government has used exceedingly strong, bullying tactics to prevent the holding of a rally at the St. Mary's Academy, and Cultural Show at the Goodwill Parish Hall. The Bishop was visited by a Government delegation which included the Premier and was subject to intimidation by Government officials who went as far as threatening to withold making further payments to the St. Mary's Academy. The priest in charge of the Goodwill Parish Hall was subject to the same kind of treatment. This vicious and wicked manipulation of organisations and individuals we totally condemn. Also, the Government's dishonesty in releasing a statement over Radio that sought to make it appear as though the Bishop and priest had willingly cooperated with Government and had withdrawn their permission severely questions the integrity of such a Government. Such actions must be exposed to the general public.

Struggle for Rights

The question, as we see it, is one of social and political justice and basic democratic freedom. The Government's action, whether manifested as harassment of Church officials, distortion and misrepresentation of facts or the banning of progressive individuals, is a vicious and well calculated act to stifle the question of freedom for Desmond Trotter because all doubts about Desmond's innocence have been cleared. The delegation of Dominican citizens to Antigua has authenticated beyond doubt the truth of key witness Camella Francis' Affidavit.

In the face of Government's action, the Defence Committee saw it fit to inform the public about the latest developments. A public meeting was therefore held in Roseau on Thursday, (17th November) night; and the truth was revealed to the massive crowd, the erosion of our democratic rights was highlighted and the crowd readily understood the connection between the banning and the stifling by Government of the call for Desmond's freedom. The need to safeguard constitutional freedoms was a major point of discussion. It was felt that our democratic rights could be safeguarded only by the action of the general public. That we as Dominicans had to make it quite clear that we would not stand by and let our rights be trampled on. Another meeting was held the following night (despite delays which prevented the meeting from starting till 10 p.m.). There was a large crowd, the crowd was very appreciative and supportive on the question of defending constitutional rights. And it was on this basis that the go ahead with the Rally (public meeting) was given. The Rally was to take place in the Park adjoining the Jonville Restaurant and the Old Roseau Bridge.

State Repression

On the morning of the 20th, the crowd began gathering in the area. But the Park had been sealed off by the Police and entry was prevented. After entry had been denied the Police began driving people off. At that point the massive crowd, still in very strong spirits, began moving into the river. About 100 people had taken a position on a dry spot inside the river and began the Rally, cheered on by thousands of onlookers, when the Riot Squad was called out and proceeded to gas (Tear Gas) the gathering in the river. They then dispersed, but the huge onlooking crowd remained for some time despite Police action. Afterwards the Police began making arrests. At the day's close, 14 people were arrested, charged and detained, bail being resisted by Police until 9:30 p.m.

They were Bro. Egbert Germaine, Principal of St. Mary's Academy, charged with creating a public disturbance, and hindering a Police Officer in the performance of his duty; Ron Green, William Riviere, Gairy Didier, Glen Ducreay, Cornelius Hyacinth, "Beard" Mills, Lennard Matthew, Egbert Walsh, Roger Sobers, Cyrille Bruno, David Mitchel, and Ezra Dalrymple were all put on three summary charges namely, LOITERING, HINDERING and taking part in an unlawful procession, and one indictable charge, namely, taking part in an unlawful assembly. An old man, Reynold Louis, was also arrested and charged.

Subsequent to the break-up of the Saturday 20th Rally, the Premier has indicated over Radio

- continued on back cover

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

"Free all Political Prisoners" - N.U.F.F

Dear Comrades:

We of the National United Freedom Fighters, extend revolutionary greetings to your organisation.

In order to forge closer links between the oppressed people of our country and other oppressed peoples throughout the world, oppressed by Imperialism and Capitalism, we wish to initiate a systematic exchange of Literature, and Information on the struggles in our respective countries.

As a first step in this direction, attached are: copies of our official newspaper "Freedom Fighter" copies of picture posters of two of our comrades.

We shall continue to send to you all booklets or papers that we publish.

With revolutionary greetings,

Malcolm Kernahan

for N.U.F.F.

Voice of Oppressed Youth

In our country there are over 100,000 young men and women who are forced to live a real scrunting, dog-eat-dog life. These oppressed people, the unemployed, have to hustle, beg or steal to make a living. NO WORK TO DO - NO INCOME.

We look around us and see that for more and more of our people, life is nothing but poverty, misery and hardtimes. Every living day we see our children; our little brothers and sisters crying with hunger. We see more and more young children, hustling, selling newspapers and begging for food all hours in the night. We see parents, worn and haggard, on the same scene. Mothers have to prostitute themselves to feed the little ones, Fathers lose themselves in drinking and in the clubs.

We see more and more old people, who have laboured all their lives, their backs bent; begging on the streets; hunting with stray dogs for food in dustbins; laying on rags on the pavement and scooping up water from canals to cook a handful of rice.

We see more and more young people, freaking out under the pressure and walking aimlessly in the streets - TOTALLY MAD.

THIS IS OUR LIFE.

Those of us who are unemployed see no future, in this society. We rush in hundreds to the factory gates whenever we see the sign "HANDS WANTED," only to be turned back. Throughout the country in the villages and slums - in Fyzabad, on the hills overlooking Port-of-Spain, in Debe, in Point Fortin, in Sangre Grande - throughout the country we manage to survive by living off our already poor relatives and friends.

THIS IS OUR LIFE.

Among those of us who do get work, it is the same dreadness. Young men and women in factories working for just enough to keep on working. Wage-slaves, slaving day after day to make some capitalist employer rich.

At the same time, TEXACO, AMOCO, TATE and LYLE, THE BANKS, all those Imperialist thieves and plunderers, take millions and millions our of our country every year, while our oppressed people get poorer and poorer and more scrunting and desperate.

THIS IS THE LIFE OF OUR PEOPLE _ the poor workers and the unemployed.

It was out of this desperate situation that NUFF was born. The more progressive and militant of the youth, were driven to take up arms to end this dreadness.

Our determination to fight to change the hated exploitative capitalist system grew to a pitch in the 1970 - 72 period.

We all marched and demonstrated in the streets in 1970, demanding a better life, demanding an end to our dread existence, demanding employment.

Our demands fell on deaf ears. We were given instead, bust-heads and broken bones - we were teargassed, shot at and imprisoned.

After 1970, we became clear about the role of the government and the big shots in our society. We saw clearly that the government did not care about us. We saw that their job was not to serve us, as the liars and hypocrites like to boast every election time.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

SACRIFICE

We saw that they make their laws and pass their bills in the interest of the local capitalist and their imperialist masters.

We were young men and women, armed with primitive weapons, but filled with courage and hope - we took to the hills and started to wage war against the State.

All that we had were our lives, and we fought, prepared to sacrifice our lives to liberate our oppressed people from the yoke of Capitalism and Imperialist oppression.

In waging this struggle, we made a grave mistake. This was, that we did not go among the masses of our people and organize for revolution; for the highest form of class struggle - armed warfare. We have learnt that bravery and dedication is not all.

However, our experience has shown up the weakness of the State. We were few in number, and lacking the ideological and organisational base; with no roots among the BROAD MASSES of the people. We did not build the weapons for Liberation. Yet, it took the Imperialist and their hired hands over 2 years, thousands of hired killers, and millions of dollars on weapons, helicopters, increased salaries for policemen and soldiers and on informers - to crush the first phase of the armed struggle of our people.

We have to learn from our experiences. We have paid in blood for these experiences. We have lost 14 of our best fighters. - brave, dedicated and filled with love for our people and our country but overcome, through isolation and our incorrect ideas and methods of work, by the bullets of the paid assasins of American Imperialism

OUR BIGGEST CRIME IS THAT WE OPPOSE THE RAPE AND EXPLOITATION OF OUR PEOPLE AND RESOURCES BY AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

OUR CRIME IS THAT WE DARE TO STAND UP AND FIGHT TO WIPE OUT THE CRIMINAL EXPLOITATION OF OUR PEOPLE BY CAPITALIST VULTURES.

OUR CRIME IS THAT WE DARED TO TAKE UP ARMS TO OPPOSE THE ARMED THUGS OF THE STATE.

OUR CRIME IS WE DARED TO FIGHT AGAINST ALL LOCAL TRAITORS AND THEIR AMERICAN MASTERS TO MAKE OUR COUNTRY BELONG TO OUR PEOPLE.

THE COURTS AND THE JUDGES EXIST TO JUSTIFY THE VIOLENCE OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE.

INJUSTICE

Right now there are 13 members of NUFF in the bourgeois prisons. Three of whom have been sentenced to long prison terms. They are: Andrea Jacob, Tony Alexander, Clyde Haynes. Eight of our "mankind" have been earmarked for death by hanging. Two of our members have recently been sentenced to death, They are: Kirklon Paul, Andy Thomas. Twelve other members of our organisation are out on bail on charges ranging from possession of ammunition, to wounding with intent to murder.

CALL FOR SUPPORT

Brothers and Sisters:

Revolutionary greetings and salutations to you all on behalf of all political prisoners, who are being held captives in our nation's various prisons. I the undersigned am a member of the National United Freedom Fighters. I have decided to write these few lines to you all, in an attempt to forge a closer link between ourselves for future communications.

Our movement is one which evolved out of the doldrums of the 1970 social phenomenon. During the period of 1971-74 we were actively involved in waging a revolutionary war against the interests of the local comprador class and their yankee imperialist masters. As a result of our militant actions the state has, and is still attempting to silence our movement in an attempt to crush the growing revolutionary consciousness of our members in particular and the working class in general. In their attempt to silence N.U.F.F. the reactionary fascist gunmen of the state's security forces have murdered fourteen of our country's finest sons and daughters. At the same time many other young revolutionaries have been arrested and charged with a number of criminal offences, ranging from the possession of firearms to the murder of policemen . At present there are twelve of us whom are being held by the state on so-called criminal charges.

As a result of profound analysis of the historical development of our movement, we have been able to pinpoint and understand the many factors which contributed towards the almost total destruction of our movement. I would now take this opportunity to mention three of the most distinct mistakes which we have made in the past, and are trying to correct at present.

1. The failure of our movement to define a clear-cut revolutionary ideological position, in relation to capitalism, neo-colonialism and yankee imperialism.

2. The failure to curtail the growth of ultra-democracy within the ranks of the organisation.

3. Our inability to recognise and unite with true friends and progressive movements locally and internationally, in our people's struggle to eradicate all forms of exploitation.

PETER CHANDREE DAVID MICHAEL

FACING DEATH PENALTY.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

At present almost all of our work is centred around the ideological front. At the same time our movement is seeking to highlight the plight of those of us who are "political prisoners of war" but have been charged for criminal offences. A number of our members have been placed on trial in relation to these charges and sentenced. We are trying to establish in the minds of our people in Trinago, the Caribbean and the world, the fact that we are indeed political prisoners of war. Due to circumstances the stage for our local political campaign is not yet fully organised. At the same time we who are in prison are aware of the necessity for international support and solidarity, if our "free all political prisoners" campaign is to achieve its desired results. We would be extremely grateful to anyone, especially nationals from the Caribbean, who are prepared to assist us in the heightening of our struggle both at home in the Caribbean, and abroad. I have decided to forward an accompanying document containing information pertaining to the twelve of us who are being held as criminals in our country.

I would now like to take this opportunity to call on all freedom loving people throughout the Caribbean and the world to support the struggle of the working class in the Caribbean. I would also like to convey expressions of love and solidarity to Bros. Desmond Trotter of Dominica and Junior Spirit Cottle of St. Vincent who have been sentenced to death in their respective countries for their militant actions.

One Love! One Faith! One Destiny!

Michael Lewis
Remand Section
Golden Grove Prison
Arouca, Trinidad

LIST OF PRISONERS

A) Peter Chandree - Peter was captured in June 1974 at his parents home by personnel of the state security forces. He was beaten at intervals for two days after which he was drugged. He has been charged for taking part in the execution of P.C. Britto on the 24th May, 1974 at Rio Claro.

*****

B) Lincoln Noreiga - was captured in September 1974 at his mother's home by personnel of the state secutity forces. He has been charged with (1) the execution of P.C. Britto at Rio Claro; (2) execution of a guard at Point Fortin on December 10, 1973; (3) the armed robbery of food-stuff, arms and ammo; (4) shooting with intent to murder.

*****

C) Dennis Fletcher was shot under mysterious circumstances in August 1974. After spending

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

almost three weeks in hospital he was released. During his stay his left eye had to be removed. After his release he was charged with (1) the execution of P.C. Britto; (2) possession of a firearm; (3) possession of marijuana.

*****

D) Roopdeo Chitoo - was captured by the state armed thugs in October 1974 at Rio Claro, he was shot on his left leg which was broken, and spent about thirteen days at the hospital. After being released he was charged with (1) execution of a security guard at Point Fortin on December 14, 1973; (2) possession of a fire-arm and ammo; (3) larceny of a firearm; (4) bank robbery; (5) armed robbery of a firearm and cash; (6) writing threatening letters.

*****

E) David Michael - was captured on the 17th April, 1973, and charged with the murder of a policeman in May 1974. He went on trial at the Port-of-Spain assizes for the said charge. At the end of the trial which lasted six days he was found guilty and sentenced to death. He subsequently filed an appeal against the sentence and spent a year awaiting his appeal in death-row. In April 1975 the appeal court ruled the trial to be null and void and ordered that Comrade Michael be retried sometime in the future.

*****

F) Kirklon Paul - was arrested in September 1973 and charged for taking part in the execution of P.C. Austin Sanker on the night of the 27th August, 1973. In May 1975 he was placed on trial at the Port-of-Spain assizes for the charge in question. At the end of the trial which lasted twelve days, he was found guilty and sentenced to death for the murder, and twelve years for the kidnapping

*****

G) Andy Thomas - was captured in Grenada in October 1973 and deported back to Trinidad. On his arrival he was arrested and charged for taking part in the execution of P.C. Austin Sanker. Andy stood trial together with Brother Kirklon Paul at the Port-of-Spain assizes in May 1975. He was also found guilty and sentenced to seventeen years for kidnapping and to death on the charge of murder.

*****

H) Bunny Gronsaul - was arrested in June 1973 and charged with (1) possession of a firearm; possession of cash knowing it to be stolen; (3) placing of explosives in a Textel building; (4) possession of ammo and marijuana. After spending one year awaiting trial Comrade Gransaul was finally granted bail in the sum of twenty thousand dollars. In September 1974, he was arrested again and charged with (1) attempted robbery; (2) shooting with intent to murder; (3) possession of a firearm. In January 1976, Brother Gransaul went on trial at the Port-of-Spain assizes on a six count indictment. He was found guilty for being in possession of a firearm and sentenced to do two years imprisonment. At present he is serving this sentence at the Correra Island Prison.

*****

I) Anthony Alexander was shot six times by a security guard and police on the 22nd December, 1973, at San Fernando. He subsequently spent three weeks in hospital. On his release he was charged with several offences which included (1) two bank robberies; (2) shooting with intent to murder and thirteen other charges of armed robbery. In March 1975 Comrade Alexander was sentenced to three months for contempt of court. Brother Anthony Alexander was placed on trial on six different occasions. He was acquitted on four of these trials and found guilty at two. He has since been sentenced to do a total of ninety-five (95) years in prison. At present he is being held captive at the Carerra Island prison, and still has to go on trial for the other offences sometime in the future.

*****

J) Clyde Haynes - was arrested on the 22nd February, 1973, and charged with taking part in two bank robberies. In June 1974 he was placed on trial with Sister Andrea Jacob at the Port-of-Spain assizes in connection with one of the charges. At the end of the trial he was found guilty and sentenced to twelve years in prison. At present he is serving this sentence at the Carerra Island prison, and still has to go on trial for the other charge.

*****

K) Andrea Jacob - was arrested in June 1973 and charged for taking part in the expropriation of funds from the Capitalist firm of Barclays. In June 1974 she was placed on trial at the Port-of-Spain assizes with Comrade Haynes. At the end of the trial Sister Andrea was found guilty and sentenced to nine years imprisonment. At present she is serving this sentence at the female prison at Golden Grove.

*****

L) I was shot and captured on the night of the 31st August, 1973. I subsequently spent ten days in the hospital. On my release I was charged with (1) execution of P.C. Austin Sankar; (2) two bank raids; (3) armed robbery of nine fire-arms and one thousand rounds of ammo; (4) armed robbery of a firearm and cash; (5) possession of a firearm ammunition and explosives; (6) possession of a firearm and ammo; (7) three different charges of kidnapping; (8) possession of marijuana and three other charges of armed robbery. I was originally charged jointly with Bros. Andy Thomas and Kirklon Paul on the charge of murder. In March 1975 I filed a con-

- continued on back cover

debating the issues

In the past, Caribbean Dialogue has received letters, commentaries, documents, etc. from various politically active people and groups in the Caribbean and abroad. Most of these letters have been in response to articles published or issues raised in Caribbean Dialogue. Though we have stated many times before that the pages of Caribbean Dialogue are open for debate, many of our readers seem to be unaware that they can send material for publication. This section - Debating the Issues - demonstrate concretely our commitment to open debate and dialogue. You write, we publish.

DOMINICA

Rosie Douglas and the Defense Committee

Notable by his absence from the Solidarity Day meeting was Rosie Douglas, who since his return to Dominica in May 1976 has been campaigning throughout the country for Independence and for Dominica to make formal links with Cuba. It had been an open secret for some time that the Dominican and British governments had been having Independence talks and that it would come soon. Premier John's announcement at the Labour Party convention in September that the island would sever its colonial links with Britain in 1977 came as no surprise.

Rosie's message in public meetings to build support for independence has been: a) the need for national reconciliation and unity in the struggle against colonial domination, (b) the necessity for mass participation in a national debate to determine the direction of independent Dominica, to which end he has spearheaded the formation of Popular Independence Committees in a number of villages, (c) the necessity to set the stage for socialist transformation, and (d) the necessity to make links with Cuba and other socialist states. In pursuit of the latter he has already made one trip to Cuba and has been the driving force behind the recently formed Dominica-Cuba Friendship Society. Presumably in the interest of national reconciliation, he has been careful not to make any open criticism of the present government.

Opposition to independence has come mainly from the opposition Freedom Party which claims not to fear independence, but to fear independence under a Labour Party government, citing the example of Grenada under Gairy, and insisting that a referendum be held on the question. The Trade Unions have given qualified support to the notion of independence, with caveats at every step.

Rosie's justification of his refusal to take part in Solidarity Day has made clear his political strategy of non-confrontation with the government on the grounds that such confrontation provides the opportunity for anti-independence forces to gain support. In a searing denunciation of the actions of the Desmond Trotter Defence Committee, reproduced from a statement by Rosie on behalf of the Popular Independence Committees which was printed in the NEW CHRONICLE of November 27, he condemns the actions as "unprincipled, opportunist and anarchist...not meant to release Trotter but to rather generally oppose the government and gain cheap publicity for individuals".

The Chronicle reports the statement as going on to say that: "On Saturday we had a collision of colonialists, anarchists and opportunists joining together not to free Desmond Trotter but embarrass the government, stall Independence and in fact play right into the hands of the CIA. This being the case we shall work for the freedom of Trotter but only within the context of the independence of Dominica and will not unite with those who are against independence and against socialism."

The CHRONICLE of December 4 carried a report of a meeting held by Rosie on November 23 where he explained the basis of his position:

"He said that a letter was written to the Defence Committee as far back as November 14th expressing concern that the general orientation of the events planned for the 20th left no room for serious discussions on the pressing issues in Dominica today. That the main speakers were not going and were in no position to make the link between the freeing of Trotter and the National Liberation of Dominica." (CD It should be noted that the Defence Committee has denied having received this letter, it should be noted also that the theme for Solidarity Day was to have been Political Repression and Human Rights and that prospective speakers included Walter Rodney as well as, for example, a member of the Antigua Delegation). He further explained that a majority of Defence Committee members had voted against going ahead with a public meeting on the 20th unless the support of national organizations was gained (e.g. unions). Such support had not been forthcoming, yet at a public meeting on the 19th a decision was made to go ahead with the rally.

"He said that they had allowed themselves to be carried away like a bunch of children by rhetoric

DEBATING THE ISSUES

from non-committee members and a Freedom Party crowd who are not concerned with Desmond Trotter; who oppose the independence of Dominica and who oppose socialism and links with Cuba. The action therefore could only further mislead the youth and encourage the drift to wanton lawlessness."

On the matter of the struggle for independence which Rosie sees as paramount, one may ask "What is the struggle really for?" There is very little likelihood that Dominica can be prevented from gaining its independence in 1977. The recent example of Grenada should teach us something - where, in the face of mass mobilisation of the Grenadian people against independence under Gairy, in the face of widespread unrest, a General Strike, appeals to the British government, etc., Grenada nonetheless won its independence. There is at present no anti-independence force in Dominica which can mobilize the scale of support that the Grenadian forces had. Certainly not the Freedom Party. Furthermore, given the severe economic crisis in Britain the British are most anxious to rid themselves of direct financial responsibility for their colonial dependencies, when their experience has proved that whatever gravy is produced can still be skimmed off after independence

If we are correct in seeing the struggle as one for the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' state where does Rosie pose the concrete issues that will advance that struggle? What specific type of economy can and must be built in Dominica? What specifically must be done about agrarian reform and agricultural production? What type of industrialization policy must be followed and how are we going to industrialize the economy? Who must control the land, industries etc. and how? What type of state must be constructed and how should it be organized? What type of organization is required to wage the "Liberation Struggle"? and what must be its strategy in the particular context of Dominica? Who are the political friends of the workers, peasants and youth and who are their enemies? About these and other burning questions we have heard nothing specific from Rosie.

He has received fairly sympathetic and consistent coverage from the NEW CHRONICLE and the substance of many of his meetings has been reported. At no time seemingly have these issues been raised except in a generalized call for "socialism". Why is it that with the abysmal living conditions of the Dominican people, the level of state repression, the continued imprisonment of Desmond Trotter - an innocent man, that the most vicious attack is made on the Defence Committee and none on the Labour government?

Surely the fact that the Freedom Party at this late date has jumped on the Free Desmond bandwagon to gain additional support cannot deter those who struggle for an end to political repression and for Desmond's freedom. Surely Rosie recalls receiving support in his own struggles against the Canadian state from some most suspect sources both within and outside of the black community. Should those of us who supported his struggle because we saw it as ours have withdrawn on that account?

Finally, can Rosie explain concretely what he means when he says that he will work for Desmond's freedom 'only within the context of the independence of Dominica?' We call on Rosie and all who struggle for true justice and freedom to demand the unconditional release of Desmond Trotter NOW.

MARLENE GREEN, December, 1976

NOTTINGHILL (Continued from page 8)

the British state.

Indeed, it is against the background of such a government policy that we begin to formulate the answers to the question, where do we go from here?

Governments concede nothing unless faced with a power as formidable and as powerful as the state which protects them. It is in the realisation of this fact that there is increasing discussion within the black community for a general strike of our workers. Others from a lofty intellectual position proclaim the need for 'peoples war'. We in Race Today rule out nothing.

What we need to do at this stage is to clear away a lot of the remnants of our own community, which tend to confuse the issues, which continue to blur the lines between those who are for and those who are against. We refer to the Bangladesh Welfare this, the Pakistani Association of that, The Jamaican what have you, their corresponding associations in the West Indian community and all those groups from the past, kept alive by the Race Relations industry.

The task now is to build from the ground upwards. Every factory, every community, every school must spawn new organisations. We will make a lot of friends along the way. The objective is simple. To use our power, formidably organised, to win what we want.

RACE TODAY COLLECTIVE ASSOCIATION OCTOBER 1976

ST. LUCIA

Throughout the whole non-socialist Caribbean the class struggle is heightening and everywhere the workers' movement is throwing up vanguard parties and organisations to lead the struggle for socialism.

The latest of these is the newly-formed Workers' Revolutionary Movement (WRM) of St. Lucia. The WRM was formed to give scientific direction to the struggles of the St. Lucian workers and peasants for the building of socialism.

It prints a small news-sheet called "TAMBU", Vol. I No.I of which has reached our news desk. In it, "TAMBU" says it is a "working peoples paper". It seeks to give news concerning the struggle of the workers and peasants against continuing exploitation, high prices, low wages, police brutality, unjust dismissals and other anti-worker action.

Reprinted from Freedom, St. Vincent

CUBAN PLANE (Continued from page 2)

of the imperialist monster that it would be unable to contain. The U.S strategy, therefore, is to contain the revolutionary wave before it breaks on the hemispheric shore. It is the task of all progressive organizations in the Caribbean to mobilize the militant social army of workers and peasants to force the Caribbean states to deal swiftly and effectively with all pro-imperialist terrorists and armed groups. Such a mobilization can only be seriously effective within the context of a sustained anti-imperialist struggle as part of the struggle for Caribbean Liberation.

EUSI KWAYANA (Continued from page 15)

This defendant is willing with the court's assistance to offer official and unofficial evidence in support of these allegations.

No organisation or person who sees genuine multi-racial power of the working people as the only workable solution for Guyana, none who accept the socialist destiny of man resulting from both historical-scientific and moral logic can at this stage practice blind obedience to the forces of evil.

The support of all anti-imperialist popular organisations, of all trade unions of all progressive individuals is invited and welcome. Please send your protest to MINISTER OF NATIONAL SECURITY, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, GEORGETOWN, GUYANA. AND COPIES TO WORKING PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE, 185 King & Charlotte Sts. Georgetown.

SOUTH AFRICA (Continued from page 11)

itiated a protest march against the use of Afrikaans in their schools. In less than a day, more than 10,000 students were on the streets of Soweto. The police reacted with violence against them and all of the violence of the students erupted into a resistance which came to spread throughout South Africa, seriously shaking apatheid at its foundations.

Immediately after the first days of the uprisings, it was said with great frequency that "this" would not last for more than a few days, that it was only student spontaneity, etc. The truth is that the death of 176 people has not intimidated the students. Much to the contrary, it has established a climate of permanent tension throughout the whole country and at the beginning of this month (August 1976), the students came back in response to the police violence with their own violence.

On August 4, the uprising reached Capetown and the police killed 50 people and wounded more than 150. In Port Elizabeth and East London, the suburban populations placed themselves immediately alongside the students and the police returned, killing and wounding dozens of people.

Today a tense atmosphere exists throughout South Africa and James Kruger has already been obliged to make appeals to the white population not to leave the country. The slow and painful work of raising consciousness carried out by the youth throughout the last ten years has borne fruit, even to the point of looking at the fact that Mozambique and Angola gained their independence only through a prolonged armed struggle. It is clear that the decisive force against apartheid rests amidst the millions of South African workers who form the largest proletariat of the African continent. But it is not possible to put aside the very important contribution the youth has been making to the South African struggle.

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Progressive Forces Make Electoral Gains

For the first time since the local middle-class gained control of the state apparatus in the English-speaking Caribbean, the masses have registered a resounding NO to the old economic, political and social organization and they have done so in the most officially accepted and traditional form - parliamentary elections.

On September 13, the people of Trinidad and Tobago demonstrated that they are ready to dislodge the millstone of Eric Williams' PNM and other pro-imperialist, middle-class political parties from around their necks by electing the 18-month old, socialist-leaning United Labour Front (ULF) as the parliamentary opposition with 10 of the 36 seats in parliament. Reports from Trinidad indicate that the ULF might have won the elections were it not for large-scale rigging by the PNM.

Perhaps the two most significant elections held in 1976 were Grenada (December 7) and Jamaica (December 15). It was widely accepted that the only organized force that could defeat Gairy in Grenada was the militant, left-leaning New Jewel Movement (NJM). In mid-November, the NJM joined with two orthodox parties to form an electoral front - The People's Alliance. In spite of "brazen-faced" rigging, political repression and harassment, even during the campaign, The People's Alliance won 6 of the 15 seats. The final results show that only 65% of the electorate voted with Gairy's GULP obtaining 21,106 votes to the People's Alliance 19,667 votes.

The December 15 elections in Jamaica showed beyond doubt that the masses are demanding fundamental changes. After one year of organized violence, sabotage of the economy and massive anti-socialist propaganda and an anti-communist scare campaign on the part of the imperialist and local capitalist backed JLP, Manley's PNP swept the polls with 48 seats to the JLP's 12.

The results of these elections indicate that the masses are ready to bury the old order and the organized political forces that represent that order and are looking to progressive and socialist-oriented organizations for political leadership in the struggle ahead.

ANTIGUA

OUTLET IS BACK

After about 18 months under the heels of the repressive, Walters Newspaper Act, Outlet, Organ of the Afro Caribbean Liberation Movement, (ACLM) is back. It is well known that the notorious Newspaper Act, 1975 was specifically designed to suppress Outlet . The Antigua Labour Party, (now the governing party) led by Vere Bird, made a promise during its election campaign to repeal the Act if elected to govern Antigua. It has implemented its promise and thus laid the legal basis for the renewed publication of Outlet. Caribbean Dialogue hails the re-appearance of Outlet as a victory however partial, however small, for all progressive and revolutionary forces in the Caribbean. We look forward to the sustained publication of Outlet.

Congratulations and a warm embrace to ACLM on the Outlet victory.

Onward with the struggle!

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TROTTER (Continued from page 26)

Antilles (22nd Nov,) that the Desmond Trotter case is a closed one, and all activities concerning the case are therefore banned. These extreme statements, by the Head of the Dominican Government, in whose hands the Desmond Trotter case now lies, is a direct threat to social and political freedom in Dominica. The Desmond Trotter Defence Committee is therefore calling on all organisations, locally, regionally and internationally to condemn the Government's ever increasing repression of the voice of justice, freedom and human rights.

(As CD goes to press, word has been received that the cases against the 13 brothers arrested on Solidarity Day have been adjourned sine die (indefinitely) and their bail returned.)

NUFF (Continued from page 30)

stitutional writ asking that the charge of murder against me be thrown out. I was compelled to pursue this line of action after certain sensitive documents which I had prepared for my legal advisors were taken from my possession by the fascist prison authorities. These documents were kept for four days and then given back to me. As a result of the constitutional writ I was granted a spearate trial, while my two other comrades have been tried and sentenced to death. At present I am still awaiting the determination of the constitutional matter before I can stand trial for the other charges.

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

vol. 3 no. 3 April/May 1977

THE DEBATE ON INDEPENDENCE

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

Caribbean Dialogue is a Caribbean information service published by the New Beginning Movement in collaboration with the Race Today Collective and other groups, organisations and individuals in the Caribbean and in the metropolitan centres of North America and Europe. Caribbean Dialogue is produced by the Toronto chapter of the New Beginning Movement with the active assistance of other organisations and individuals.

Caribbean Dialogue is distributed as a free service to groups and organisations in the Caribbean. Individuals and institutions in the Caribbean and organisations, institutions and individuals in other countries can obtain copies by subscription or at a limited number of bookstores.

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EDITORIAL

The Meaning of Independence Today

Since the mass struggles of 1973-74 in Grenada around the question of "independence", many of the emerging left groups in the English-speaking Caribbean have been articulating positions on the "struggle for independence" within the context of the "struggle for socialism". But the question of "independence" has been engulfed in a cauldron of confusion. This confusion is further aggravated by the fact that positions of left groups have been articulated in such general categories (with rare exceptions) as to make any serious debate impossible.

In this editorial we will focus on the category or term "independence" and on the class basis of "independence".

What is "independence"? What does it mean in the world in which we live? Is it a simple condition or "state of being" or is it composed of a complex of various parts that must be disected in order to understand its full meaning? What really is this thing called "independence"?

It seems necessary to restate what may appear to be a simple notion, that is, there is no such thing as complete independence, total independence. Any person or group that propagates the notion of total independence is an outright opportunist or political infant. In the most general sense, "independence" can be considered as the freedom to think and act; the freedom to make choices; the freedom to determine what you want, how to obtain that want and to take actions to achieve your want. But that is only general and abstract. The world in which we live is a social world composed of a highly complex network of social relationships, a network within which no simple person, group or nation can be completely independent of others. Rather, individuals, groups and nations are inter-dependent on each other to one degree or another, in one form or another. In reality, therefore, "independence" as "dependence" is essentially a social relation of inter-dependence; whether it is between individuals, groups or nations. But for each nation, people or region to be "independent", to possess the freedom to "think and act", there must be a "unity", a "universality" of social interests and an equality of condition and social power within the context of inter-dependency. Consequently, where there is fundamental conflict of social interests, there can be no true "independence"; where there is differentiation of social conditions, there can be no true "independence"; where there is domination and exploitation, there can be no true "independence". That is the general; now let us look at the particular experience of modern society.

The experience of anti-colonial and "independence" struggles in the past and the anti- imperialist struggle being waged today indicates without the shadow of a doubt that the main component parts of independence are:

1. constitutional independence
2. political independence
3. economic independence
4. cultural independence

Whenever a people or country is under the political domination of a colonial power, the immediate concrete political goal of the struggle has been and continues to be the attainment of constitutional independence which is the most fragile and elementary form of "independence", though it is a necessary first step. When, therefore, it is said that this or that country has gained "independence" since World War II (whether it is Ghana or Mozambique; Angola or Grenada; Uganda or Guyana) what is really meant is that that country gained constitutional independence.

There is a strong tendency among political activists to confuse constitutional independence with political independence. Political independence is the power of a people to exercise or effect control over the total development of their material and human resources to satisfy their needs. In relation to political independence, constitutional independence could be termed "paper independence". But in the modern world in which integrated capital dominates society on a global scale, political independence is impossible without economic independence; the two go hand in hand, and it is well-known that the underdeveloped countries that are constitutionally independent are economically and politically dependent. Finally, cultural independence (which is the total way of life of a people; a way of viewing the world and of relating to each other; the "ideology" of a people if you like) emerges in the struggle for political and economic independence. Consequently, the most important component parts of "independence" are the "political" and the "economic", and of the two economic independence is the fundamental basis upon which the other parts fit into a complete whole--true independence.

The dependent character and capitalist organization of the Caribbean economy and political and social structures, the dominant/dependent and exploitative social relations that govern the very fibres of the society and the class character and relations within the society, preclude

- CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

Locals to Buy Holiday Inn

Reports from Trinidad indicate that three local business interests--Mootilal Moonan Ltd.; George Bros.; and a businessman, Mr. M. Hassan--are negotiating with Commonwealth Holiday Inns of Canada for the purchase of the Holiday Inn chain of luxury hotels in the Caribbean. The hotels involved are located in Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, St. Lucia and Antigua and are valued at about $120 M (T&T). It has been reported that after the transfer of ownership, the hotels will continue to be managed by Holiday Inns through a management contract. With petrodollars circulating by the billions in small Trinidad and Tobago, the local capitalists are expanding their operations and strengthening their ties with the imperialists. With the establishment of CARICOM the local capitalists in the Commonwealth Caribbean are not only expanding and extending their ownership and operations, but are developing ties on a Caribbean-wide basis that is leading to the emergence of an integrated Caribbean capitalist class allied to and dependent upon the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Political Murders in Haiti

At least 100 persons have been arrested in Haiti during the past two months, Amnesty International announced January 9. It termed the arrests "virtual kidnappings", because of the lack of legal procedures in Haiti. The recent arrests bring the estimated number of political prisoners in Haiti to more than 1,000.

In addition, it is believed that more than 3,000 persons have been murdered for political reasons during the nineteen-year rule of the Duvalier family. Since relatives are not notified when someone is arrested, they have no way of knowing whether he or she is alive or dead.

Amnesty International appealed for the release of the Baptiste brothers, anti-Duvalier activists who were arrested in 1969. One of them has reportedly gone insane as a result of torture in the Fort Dimanche prison in Port-au-Prince.

Amnesty International also demanded information on the cases of Hubert Legros, a lawyer arrested in 1970; Veneque Duclairon, who was eleven years old at the time of his arrest in 1969; Robert Anthony, who was kidnapped off the street in 1975; and Jean-Claude Exullien, a teacher and actor arrested last year after writing an article on educational reform.

Anti-Allende Book and the CIA

A book critical of the Chilean regime of Salvador Allende was commissioned by the Central Intelligence Agency and published in Britain and the United States. Chile's Marxist Experiment, by British journalist Robert Moss, was rushed into print between Allende's overthrow in September 1973 and the end of the year.

Representative Don Edwards, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, said that the publication of the book could be a "serious violation of the First Amendment," which "guarantees the 'free flow of information', which is entitled to be unpolluted by secret government propaganda."

- TAKEN FROM I.P.

Brazilian Peasants

In the course of construction of a hydroelectric plant on the Sao Francisco River in northeast Brazil, 70,000 peasants were forced off their land without being paid enough compensation to resume farming elsewhere, according to a document issued March 8 by Catholic bishops from the area.

The bishops cited this case as only one of many victimizations of Brazil's rural population by development projects.

- TAKEN FROM I.P.

Abortions in Mexico

An average of 150,000 Mexican women perish each year as a result of illegal abortions. This is the estimate released by Carlos Heredia Jasso, secretary of the Mexican Bar Association, and reported in the February 14-28 issue of the Mexican Trotskyist fortnightly Clave.

An additional 500,000 women are injured each year by butcher abortionists, he added.

- TAKEN FROM I.P.

Working Conditions in Antigua

Jarry Industries (Antigua) Ltd. a recently established assembly plant at Coolidge which assembles electronic components issued Rules and Regulations to its workers.

Among the rules and regulations are the following: "No talking will be accepted at any time" besides an "Employee shall ask permission at all times, if they wish to leave the work area", and this includes asking permission to use the toilet facilities.

One of the principal clauses in the working conditions laid down by the management of Jarry Industries states that any employee who does not "meet the standards set by the company, i.e. exceeding basic salary using group incentive, shall be dismissed by the company at no consequence to the company". This provision like the others above, openly violates labour relations practices in Antigua.

The company pays a basic wage of $37.60 weekly to its employees which is definitely among the lowest basic salaries paid to any group of workers in the island. The basic salary works out at approximately $11.00 U.S. per week or $12.50(?) Canadian per week. Cheap labour could not be cheaper. The company offers an unspecified incentive bonus weekly, to groups of workers who exceed their weekly quota.

Jarry Industries assembles components to be exported to Canada for use in the electronics industry. It occupies a Factory Shell supplied by the government of Antigua, and enjoys other concessions negotiated between the company and the government of Antigua as part of aid to "pioneer" industries.

Several local experts expressed surprise at these deplorable working conditions.

--TAKEN FROM OUTLET, ORGAN OF ACLM, ANTIGUA

CIA and Cuban Livestock

Two years ago after Richard Nixon announced amid great publicity that Washington was renouncing the use of biological and chemical warfare, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) provided anti-Castro terrorists with a swine fever virus that forced the killing of 500,000 Cuban pigs.

The latest account of the CIA's criminal activity was revealed in part by a counter-revolutionary Cuban exile disgruntled by the government's investigation of terrorist activities carried out by his group in Florida.

Reporters Drew Fetherston and John Cummings, who broke the story in Newsday, a Long Island, New York, newspaper, also cited testimony by the American intelligence agent who gave the virus to the Cuban exiles.

According to this agent, the operation began early in 1971 at Fort Gulick, an army base in the Panama Canal Zone where the CIA operates a paramilitary training centre for career personnel and mercenaries. The unnamed agent was given a sealed container filled with African swine fever virus--a highly contagious organism that infects only pigs.

The container was eventually transferred to Cuban territory near the US Navy Base at Guantanamo Bay near the end of March 1971. Six weeks later, the Western Hemisphere had the first outbreak of African swine fever in its history.

The virus, which can be transmitted rapidly through the water or food supply, could have easily gone undetected for months. As it was, 500,000 pigs had to be slaughtered to prevent the spread of the epidemic. The outbreak was labeled the "most alarming event" of 1971 by the UN Food and Agricultural Organization.

Until the article by Fetherston and Cummings appeared, the mystery of how the disease had come to Cuba remained unsolved. Had the Cubans thought of blaming the CIA, they surely would have been accused of paranoia.

An investigation into the incident is being carried out by the Senate Intelligence Committee. "In a case like this, though," an "intelligence source" in Miami explained to Fetherston and Cummings, "they would always give them (CIA officials in Washington) plausible deniability.

--TAKEN FROM I.P, VOL. 15 NO. 4

RACE TODAY
74 Shakespeare Road
London SE24 0PT
TEL: 01-737 2268

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Inland	£3.00
Abroad	£4.00
U.S.A. & Caribbean	$11.00 US.

Race Today is a revolutionary journal published by the Race Today Collective, a Black working-class organization involved in the struggles of Black immigrant workers in Britain as an integral section of the British and international working-class.

Race Today reports and analyses workers struggles in India, the Caribbean, North America and Europe.

The Race Today Collective brings not only a new approach to marxist interpretation of struggles in capitalist society but also adds a new dimension to revolutionary journalism.

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Rival Union in Oil

A "new" union has been formed in Trinidad and Tobago to confront the radical and militant Oilfield Workers' Trade Union (OWTU), led by George Weekes, for leadership of oil and chemical workers. The Oil and Chemical Workers' Union (OCWU) was registered in December 1976 with the following officers: Glen Baptiste (president); Victor De Peiza (first vice-president); Morris Honore (second vice-president); Mrs Vilma Edmund (gen. sec.); George Daniel (asst. gen. sec.) and Homer Quinton (treasurer).

Mr. De Peiza outlined the following plans of the OCWU:

1. to occupy the OWTU buildings in the various areas, replacing OWTU names with OCWU,("because these buildings belong to the oil workers.")
2. to denounce the term, comrade, "because this is a Russian way of life"; members of the OCWU will address each other as brothers, fellow workers or co-workers;

FULL SPEED

3. to remain as members of the OWTU "for the time being";
4. to go full speed ahead with membership drive from January, 1977, and to do away with the blue shirts and wear fawn-coloured shirts;
5. to establish a women's auxillary arm of the union.

This new union is clearly an attempt on the part of the reactionary section of the trade union leadership, the local capitalists and the imperialists (Texaco, AMOCO, US State, US labour movement leadership, etc.) to smash the OWTU and to replace it with a pro-imperialist union. With the energy crisis in the US, the rise of militant nationalism in energy-resource, underdeveloped countries and the wealth of oil and natural gas finds in Trinidad, the Caribbean region is being viewed as a big energy-resource link in the American imperialist chain. Not only do the US imperialist want to maintain full control over the energy resources of Trinidad and Tobago, but, also, the emergence of a popular left government in Trinidad and Tobago would have grave consequences for US hegemony in general in the Caribbean and US control of energy resources of the Caribbean and parts of South America. The OWTU, being a powerful pillar of the radical ULF, must therefore be broken.

Significantly, Victor De Peiza was the pro-imperialist candidate in the 1971 OWTU elections against George Weekes. According to the results of that election, De Peiza polled 905 votes to Weekes' 5,808 votes. Unable to topple Weekes and the "rebel leadership" from inside, De Peiza and his reactionary associates are seeking to split OWTU from inside and challenge the "rebel leadership" from outside. It should be clear that if the OWTU leadership and ULF do not mobilize and pull together the left forces in the country in a popular left alliance to wage fierce struggle not only against OCWU, but all other pro-imperialist forces that come in various garbs including the left garb, they will soon find themselves in dangerous political waters.

Renewed Guerrilla Activity

In early March, over 60 soldiers and policemen were ordered to carry out a joint police-military search--"Operation Manhunt"--of the Point Cumana Hills, Southern Trinidad, after a supposed tip-off from villagers that "strange men" were roaming the hills.

After the operation, police sources stated that they found a "camp-hut", tarpaulins, maps, compasses, boots and uniforms, medical supplies, ammunition and what the State calls subversive literature--books by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Che Guevara, etc.. Also, two young women and one man were "detained for questioning".

The operation was under the command of Randolph Burroughs, Asst. Commissioner (Crime) and head of the Flying Squad. Reports state that the joint police-military strategy was to send advance scouts on foot supported by a helicopter to "flush out" any group that may have been in hiding while the bulk of soldiers and police hid in trees and provided back-up support with "tracker dogs" for the advance scouts.

From reports, it would appear that guerrilla activity is once again on the rise in Trinidad. This is to be expected as the unemployed youth remain unemployed while billions of petro-dollars flow into the hands of the imperialists, local capitalists and middle class and as the conditions of daily life of the masses worsen. The objective situation that gave rise to NUFF in the 1972-74 period has become more acute and the people that formed the social basis of NUFF are still very present in the society.

THE LEFT MUST WORK WITH THE WORKERS TO STRUGGLE AND DEFEAT THE PRO-IMPERIALIST MANAGEMENT OF THE TRADE UNIONS

WPA and Parliamentary Election

REAWAKENING

Nineteen seventy-six was a new re-awakening of popular political forces. Certain events served the class struggle in Guyana society. The Dayclean case, the bauxite strike, the solidarity strike of sugar unions with bauxite union, a working together of a few progressive unions in the TUC, each of these, and all of them together have served to raise class consciousness. The present student strike on the Corentyne shows the trend is still going on. In those conditions, the PNC always uses one appeal - race. "If not Burnham is Jagan," the cry goes out in every direction. "If not Burnham is Jagan", PNC is relying on old jumbies to scare the people. But the old jumbies are familiar. They frighten no one. People are listening to the WPA: "Genuine multi-racial power of (all) the working people". The people are also studying other non PNC positions. PNC knows that a popular struggle is developing on class lines. The PNC has always tried to side step the class struggle. The people are most aware of it. So the PNC leadership has announced elections in 1978. "Each election" they must be arguing, "is a racial crisis. This is how we will kill class consciousness among the people".

CHANGES

The Working People's Alliance is not an election party, though the masses are now expecting it to become one. Election politics may here and there create conditions which are better than they were before. Elections may bring relief or throw a corrupt party out of office, or help the people to get rid of an unpopular government. This happened not long ago in Antigua and a change took place in Barbados. In Grenada the opposition was able to increase its representation, because the ruling party led by Gairy miscalculated. In Guyana The conditions for removing the PNC at a general election do not exist in Guyana. In short, a free and fair election is not possible in Guyana under present conditions.

CLASS QUESTION

This is why the Kabaka, at the PNC's 12th Anniversary, during the bauxite strike and in the heat of popular struggle following the DAYCLEAN trial, decided to give the people FALSE HOPE. "Come and match words" he said, generously. "Win votes and get into Parliament". In other words, the Kabaka was saying, "It is unfair to me, yes unfair to me, the Kabaka, to protest by means of strikes and other action. What will this lead to? It is true that I have four armies, but strikes I can't win. Come and fight on the battlefield which is controlled by the government. Win votes and get into parliament.."

DEFEAT PNC CONTROL FIRST

Election parties in Guyana must realise that they cannot fight an election in Guyana at an election. The PNC's control over the state organs must be defeated first. The "Paramountcy of the Party" was openly announced in 1974. Paramountcy must be defeated by mass struggle before a general election in Guyana would make sense. Therefore it is clear that the announcement of elections by the government is a call to the people, "Be quiet, don't fight up. You will have your chance just now". In asking the people to hope in an election the PNC leader is using last card of a three card dealer.

POLICE

On the police front there is a circular going around which names certain WPA supporters as "threats to security". Among them are Sase Omo and Tecuma Ogunseye, and others who were kidnapped by the police on the night of Dec. 14,1976. What next? Are they to be hunted by the PNC death squad. Are they to be harrassed for daring to think in this graveyard of revolutionary opinion. Are they to be watched at every corner while old women cannot rest in peace? Are they to be teargassed in lockups like the bauxite workers?

COST OF LIVING PICKET

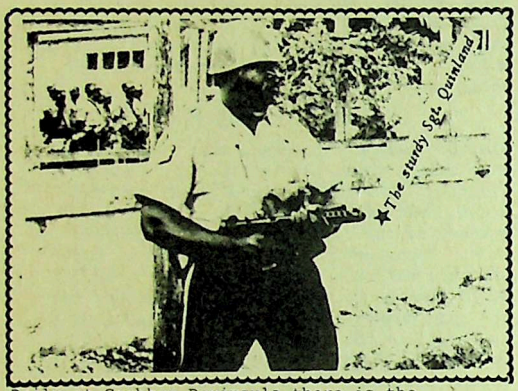
WPA joined with WPO (PPP Women's Organisation) in picketing against the budget. "This budget means hungry belly", said a WPA picket. The picket drew much support from the public.

NEW SYSTEM

Is there an alternative to the PNC rulers? The attack is not against the PNC supporters but the PNC rulers and their system. Is there an alternative? Yes, there is. As WPA says it is " a genuine multi-racial power of the working people. How will this come about? By the unity which the working class is creating now at mass level and industrial level. Which one will be on top? The working people will be on top and race will become a decent word, not open to abuse and misuse.

- BY W.P.A., GUYANA

The Premier Must Explain



Daily at Crabbes Peninsula there is the continuous blast of explosions. The explosions are so continuous that it has caused the people from Willikies through to Coolidge considerable concern. One Coolidge resident checked some 200 blasts on Sunday alone.

Since Monday last week several trailer loads of Defense equipment have been unloaded in Antigua and from all reports no thorough customs check of this equipment has been made.

EXPLOSIONS

The explosions and "sophisticated equipment" are all related to an armament factory which is being established at Crabbes Peninsula and at Devil's Bridge with the blessing of the Antigua Government. The Premier has been strangely silent on these military developments.

What is even more disturbing is that this Canadian based company has undertaken to train the Antigua Defence Force in "security areas". It is definitely unheard of that a private company should be involved in providing military training for any State.

Canadian officials contacted by telephone indicated that it is against the laws of Canada for a private company to be actively engaged in Military affairs in a foreign country and such activities would constitute a breach of international regulations and conventions. They promised to check and verify reports made to them concerning Space Research Corporation, which was first registered in Barbados, and which soon after the Barbados elections decided it would not continue its projected expansion in that country. Instead the company came to Antigua. Suspicions have been aroused because of this strange and sudden move.

The increasing militarisation of the State in Antigua has drawn a response from a cross section of the country. First of all, the Premier's omnipresent "aide" has been named Commandante, and we are reliably informed, that in the event of a civil disturbance he will assume command of both the Defence Force and the Police Force. The law of Antigua states the reverse. The law states that the Defence Force can only be called into action on the request of the Chief of Police, and even so the Chief of Police is fully in charge of all actions taken. This reported change is undoubtedly an ill omen.

TRUDEAU AND LEVESQUE INFORMED

It is obvious then that the Defence Force is being made a tool of the ruling party. Worst still, a foreign company has been "invited" into Antigua to train the Defence Force thus making a direct and military intervention in the politics of Antigua. This is too disturbing an event to be quietly tolerated.

The ACLM feels that this development is so serious that it has written to Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, and Quebec Premier Rene Levesque to inform them of the situation and to register the concern of the people about these unusual military developments from this Canadian (Quebec) based company. Our Premier owes an explanation first, but Canada must be expected to clear the air as well.

Meanwhile there are reports, emanating from usually well-informed sources that the ruling Labour Party will move to prevent the normal observation of Labour Day on grounds of "National security". What constitutes the threat to national security?

MILITARY BUILD-UP

In the context of the military hardware displayed on Monday 21st February, familiarly known as "lock-up-Day", the PLM has squealed to high heaven about the arsenal of guns at the disposal of the Bird regime. The truth is, that it was the PLM administration itself which brought most of the present large and fearsome stocks of weapons to Antigua. Most of the weapons are for street battles including machine guns, SLR's, Grenades etc. These arms were bought by Premier Walter himself in consultation with Chief of Police Wright George.

Both these officials visited Washington in 1975 and purchased these arms. Today PLM hypocritically blames Chief of Police Wright George. The PLM should rightly blame itself.

As a matter of fact, it is reliably reported that the Mr. Walter also purchased a few bullet-proof, breast-plates for Cabinet ministers and it is alleged that he did not return his bullet proof vest to Chief of Police Wright George. It seems amazing that two successive governments could be making such systematic preparations for war with the people. It is certainly food for thought that Cabinet ministers, as one of their official privileges, should be supplied with a bullet-proof vest. Why this preparation for fire and brimstone?

The population has had no reason to confront the Bird government. Certainly all agree that prima facie (to use the legal term) case can be made out against the arrested PLM leaders. Certainly the country has relaxed and waits for justice to take its normal course. Why then these military measures. Why is it necessary to have a Canadian company training Antigua Defence Force personnel being trained in counter-insurgency measures? Why are Defence Force personnel studying the life of the fascist military leader Rommel?

Why is there this virulent personal attack on ACLM chairman Tim Hector and on the ACLM? Why are Defence Force men taught, daily mind you, to regard Tim Hector and the ACLM as the enemy in their counter-insurgency drills? Why is it so persistent in top circles of the ALP and in the country in general that the ALP plans to arrest Tim Hector and other ACLM leaders? Arrest for what?

The Premier owes the country an explanation on these explosions by day and night; on these recent military developments; on the recent militaristic trend of his government; on his Labour Day plans; and the so-called "National Security" measures against the population.

Premier Bird must speak up now. The peace of this peaceful country could well be at issue. The Premier's silence will be interpreted as confirmation of all ill omen.

- TAKEN FROM OUTLET, ORGAN OF ACLM, ANTIGUA

The Present Situation

Former Premier arrested. Resident Judge packs up and leaves. Ministers engage in conflict of interest with impunity. Explosions by day and by night. Searches of motor-cars deplored during former administration now practised by those who deplored them.

RESULTS

Ground-breaking ceremonies are common, results are few. Laurie-Bay is heard of no more. Banks close. 3,000 jobs have been created in a year, yet liming is more common and unemployment more pronounced.

The rate of inflation is unknown. More arrests are threatened. Junior Minister announces existence of Secret Army. Opposition refuses to discuss budget. Huge public debt announced. Organ of ruling party calls for eradication of Rastas, communist and socialist from society.

Tourists land on charters and their baggage is taken from plane straight to hotel without passing through Customs. Colombians caught with millions of dollars of heroin. Attorney General maintains private practice, 10,000 acres planted in corn by an American company, employ less than 100 people. Private company trains state troops. Premier who behaves like a common thief. Man shoots another, police announce that gun-man aiding in investigations. Security guard cuts police throat. Policeman involved in Post Office breaking and massive mail theft. Income Tax abolished. Antigua involved in Space Research. Venezuela welcomed. Commission of Inquiry sits for 27 days. Estimated cost $290,000. Report unpublished.

Euro-American Bank and Trust Company established one week, closed following week. Exchange Corporation replaces bank. Customers nil. Casino in the middle of Town. Church protested coming of Casino in the sixties, silent in 1970's. Opposition launches rabid attack on Dean. Opposition leader suspended from Parliament. Carnival advertised all year round. Girl throws acid in face of another because of politics. The great tug of war.

Political Independence now. ACLM new political Rival. Bird safaris in Nigeria, Tim goes to Cuba. Newspaper laws repealed. Outlet is back.

PRECISE PICTURE

That empirical recitation of events, assembled in no particular order, is a precise picture of the disorder in which we live. Antigua sputters and starts, starts and stops and no one in the ruling party can write 10,100 or 1,000 words as to where Antigua is going.

Antigua voted for a change in '71. Voted for another in 1976. The more things change the more things remain the same. Conventional politics has reached a dead-end. A 90 million dollar public debt boggles the official mind and reminds that no man can build a house on sand. A system creaks, to halt.

The biggest apologist for the existing system of government can find nothing to shout about. And the society known as Antigua wakes by day

- CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

Why Banks Are Closing

Over the past five months, three banks have closed down in Grenada (one in Sauteurs, also Jaegar's bank on the Carenage). The closing down of Chase Manhattan Bank this month drives home the fact of the collapse of our economy over the past few years. For years now, general business conditions have been so bad that many banks have been thinking of closing. Chase has been one of them. In fact, Chase had closed its Carenage branch a long time ago. The closing of its main branch on the Market Square means the total shutdown of operations in Grenada. Another bank is also thinking of closing down soon.

BANKING OPERATIONS

To understand the meaning of the closing downs, one must understand what a bank is. A bank is an institution that borrows money from Tom, Dick and Harry (its depositors) and lends that money to Mr. Davis. It is a middle man. It borrows from savers at 4 per cent (that is, what they pay you in interest) and charges people twelve per cent (12%) for loans. The difference is "profits" for the bank.

Thus, the less money that people put in, the less the bank has to lend out. The more money people put in, the more the banks have to lend.

The trouble is that there is no work in Grenada. Times are so hard that people can't put anything in the bank. People simply cannot save, especially with the high cost of living. In fact, they have to draw out the little that they have in the banks. Therefore, banks are losing the money that they need to lend out.

NO MONEY

Also, when things are bad, banks do not lend people money for fear they will not be able to pay the interest and pay back the capital. Therefore, banks lose business and, after all, the bank is a business, a business there to make profits.

In the past, the banks had been warned not to lend Gairy money for non-productive and reckless spending. They had been told that this feeds the fires of inflation. They were told that they are propping up a corrupt regime in this way. In the interest of being on good terms with a wicked government and of maximising profits, they ignored the warnings. When they tried to tighten up, it was already too late.

Recently, Gairy has gone out of his way to harass the banks. He has forced the banks to turn over a million dollars in people's savings as so-called "dormant accounts". Also by law, banks must turn over five per cent (5%) of all deposits to Gairy. We had predicted that that would cause our brothers and sisters who are bank workers to lose their jobs. This law has disrupted customer/bank confidence and confidence is the watchword of any banking system. There has been a great flight of capital, almost a "run on the banks". This means that the banks are losing business and therefore profits. They are therefore quitting this trouble spot.

WHO MUST CONTROL

The closing down of these banks raises again the question of foreign domination of our banks. Some people say that Grenadians are not capable of owning and controlling our financial institutions. To them this is a science above us, Black people. Yet in most of the progressive Third World countries the people have taken over control of their financial resources and have been running them successfully.

In the world today there is a great fight to control the riches of the poor countries. (It might seem a contradiction but the poor countries do indeed have great wealth). That struggle is being waged in Asia, South Africa, Latin America and in Grenada. The question is, who must control our own riches? To what use must our own bank money (savings) be put? To build factories so that our people can get work? To help our small farmers, fishermen and small businessmen? Must our profits go to Rockerfeller and to Mr. Barclays or must they remain here to build up our country and our people? This is the IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE OF THE CENTURY. (No, don't be afraid of this word "ideology". I know they tell you that it is about the distant clouds, that it is not important, that you can forget "ideology". The truth is that ideology is about bread and butter , about who gets what).

STRUGGLE TO BUILD

Of course, we cannot let down our guard. The agents that stand for foreign domination are quite strong here. We have to press fully on with the struggle to build our National Economy.

- TAKEN FROM NEW JEWEL, GRENADA

Bauxite Partnership

The Jamaica Government and Reynolds Metals (U.S.) recently signed an agreement to form a joint-venture company, Jamaica Reynolds Bauxite Partners, in which the Government will have a 51 % ownership. Prime Minister Michael Manley in outlining the points of the agreement said:

The Government is acquiring a majority 51 per cent of the mining assets of Reynolds Jamaica at a cost of U.S. $7.2 million which is the book value of the assets. The Government is acquiring all the reserve lands amounting to some 65,000 acres as well as the company's farms and agricultural assets. These farming assets I might add, include some 10,000 head of cattle and other livestock, the Lydford abattoir and cold storage, orchards of coffee and pineapple, as well as groves of pimento, coconut and timber. The cost of the land is approximately U.S.$7.3 million. We have not yet determined finally the value of the livestock and crops.

The Government's acquisition will be paid for over ten years at interest rates of 8.5 per cent for mining assets, and 7 per cent for land and agricultural assets. In return, Reynolds are guaranteed reserves to provide bauxite for 40 years at present capacity. The Production Levy is fixed at 7 and a half per cent of the average realized price of primary aluminium for a period of 8 years --retrospective to January 1, 1976 and running until December 31, 1983. The Government will receive an annual return of 12 per cent on its mining investment as well as a dedication fee (Use fee) of 7 per cent of the purchase price of lands reserved for the company's mining activity.

PACT SIGNING:
Chairman and Chief Executive of Reynolds Metals Company, Mr. David P. Reynolds, and Prime Minister Michael Manley

The new venture, Jamaica Reynolds Bauxite Partners will be managed by Reynolds for 7 years in the first instance. And Reynolds and Jamaica will have four representatives each on the executive committee. Reynolds will withdraw its suit against the Government lodged with the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) as soon as the Government passes the necessary implementing legislation for this agreement.

After signing the agreement, Mr. David Reynolds, Chairman and Chief Executive of Reynolds Metals, said that "with optimism for the future, and working together in this new partnership, we can help contribute to Jamaica's future."

Loan from Canada

New measures of cooperation amounting to $100 million worth of short and long term loans and export credits have been agreed upon by Jamaica and Canada. The memorandum was signed by Allen J. MacEachen, Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs and Dudley Thompson, Jamaican Minister of Foreign Affairs, during Prime Minister Michael Manley's visit to Ottawa in late October to discuss a number of international questions with Prime Minister Trudeau.

CIDA has entered into a new loan agreement of $10 million to augment the present program of development cooperation with Jamaica. The loan is for the purchase of Canadian materials and services for the agriculture and manufacturing sectors and for completion of the last two phases of the six-phase bridge building program. The total bridge program involves the building of about 50 bridges which will significantly improve access to isolated rural areas and thereby help in their development.

The largest portion of the $100 million package is a $65 million line of credit established by the Export Development Corporation to provide long-term credit for the purchase by Jamaica of Canadian goods and services. The line of credit will be available for commitment over the next two years.

The remaining $25 million is a short-term loan from the Department of Finance to support Jamaica's economic development program. The loan will be available for drawings for six months from the date of conclusion of the agreement.

Capitalist Mismanagement

The name "Wellco" may have meant nothing to most people a few months ago, though many Jamaicans wear sandals and shoes, especially the popular "HI-PALS" brand made by the workers at Wellco Shoe Co. Ltd, a subsidiary of R. Hanna and Sons Ltd. of Port Royal Street. This is a dry-goods merchant house with some 28 trading outlets scattered all over Kingston.

On the 10th of January of this year Wellco made the news when the daily papers told the public of a decision by the Wellco management to close down the plant because of a lack of sufficient materials and supplies. These supplies--chemicals, leather, etc.--are imported from the US and the public assumed that government import restrictions were responsible for the situation.

NOT SO

"Not so!" said the workers at Wellco. They were presented with this horror when they returned from the customary 3 weeks Christmas holidays and they charge that the management of the factory is guilty of gross mismanagement and sabotage.

They immediately sent a letter to the Prime Minister demanding that government hold an investigation into the operations of the company with a view to instituting some form of worker control or worker participation in order to keep the plant running.

On Friday, January 21st, instead of a shut-down, a "phasing out" process started with 50 out of the 78 workers being laid off. Another letter was sent to the Prime Minister asking for early action and inviting him to visit the plant.

BOUGHT OUT

Wellco was originally a US firm set up in the late fifties to take advantage of Jamaican export-encouragement laws which allowed them among other things to import raw materials free. They took advantage of the "tax holidays" and the very low wages and produced footwear mainly for sale on the US market. Around 1973 the company was bought out by R. Hanna and Sons Ltd. It continued to export to the US but focussed on the local and CARICOM markets. Since that day no improvements were made to the plant and facilities. The biggest improvement in wages came when the minimum wage law came into effect; management-worker relations were very bad and management itself got worse until by the end of 1975 the workers were told that the plant was in the red by some $200,000, or at least--so it was claimed.

MORE WORK, LESS MONEY

New management was brought in. One Stallard, an expatriate, was hired as consultant and he managed to sweet-talk the workers into joining hands with the capitalist managers in a common struggle to make up for past losses. The workers sacrificed wage increases, put their shoulders to the wheel and produced a good product out of cheaper and inferior materials.

By the end of 1976 only $2,000 of the overdraft was outstanding. Yet for all their efforts not a red cent was given to the workers as pay increase for the part they played. In fact since 1976 they have been working without a contract. It should be pointed out also that the wage scale at Wellco is far below what is paid in the rest of the shoe industry in Jamaica. Whereas at Bata, a stitcher would get around $45 a week, at Wellco he gets $20. For sometime the NWU, negotiating on behalf of the workers, has been holding out for a 50% increase and all that management has offered to date is a 25% increase and in two stages at that. As one worker asked, "What can $20 do? After you have paid $10 a week for bus fare and lunch; after NIS, Housing Trust and union contributions is only $8.00 left".

Eight dollars in fact can hardly buy a pair of shoes.

Coming to the end of 1975 the political situation in the country began to change rapidly against the interests of the capitalist class. It is the belief of the workers that sabotage was effected at Wellco Shoe Co. Ltd. so that by the end of 1976 a state of total collapse was reached. In August last year a 3-day work week was introduced for some categories of workers and very bad shortages of supplies set in, despite the fact that workers had informed management of supply needs long ahead of schedule.

HIGH PROFITS

One worker told Struggle that no accurate records were kept of the plant's spending and income. The shoes are sold below cost to Wellco Sales and Service Ltd., also belonging to Hanna. So Hanna can claim losses at the factory end, while ripping off high profits at the distribut-

ing end. In this way he can shift his capital from one enterprise to the next, shutting down those that are less profitable whenever he has already covered his investment plus a good profit.

He went on to explain that this is the same thing practised by the multinational foreign firms with headquarters in the US and branches in Jamaica. Showing how imperialism is just capitalism practised on a bigger scale, he pointed out that the US imperialists exploit us in the same way that Hanna exploits the workers at Wellco.

CHANGE

He pointed to another example of how the capitalists benefit from the system. Hanna would up the price of a line of shoes by some 120% with wages remaining the same and the prices of raw materials only going up by 20% or so. He said the workers were determined not to return to the old arrangement working under Hanna. They want to change fundamentally the nature of their working conditions and salaries. The targets are (1) full worker participation and (2) wages on par with the rest of the industry.

REAL CONTROL

As a result of the latest action by the management, the government has intervened at the workers' request. Management has been given 6 weeks from Thursday, January 27, to get the plant into full production. If the company fails, JIDC is expected to step in and take over operations on behalf of the workers. The workers hope that there will be real worker control. JIDC is currently doing a feasibility study in preparation for this. The workers hope also that success in their struggle to achieve worker control and better wages will encourage the other workers in R. Hanna and Sons' multitude of enterprises to demand a similar arrangement.

- TAKEN FROM STRUGGLE, ORGAN OF W.L.L., JAMAICA.

JLP CALLS FOR RESISTANCE

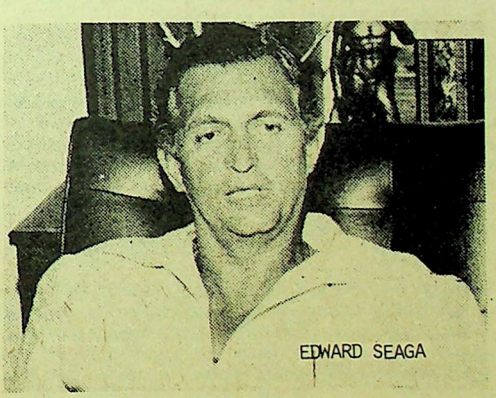
The Central Executive of the Jamaica Labour Party has called on its supporters to mount a national campaign of peaceful, lawful but effective resistance against the Government of the Peoples National Party because of its abuse of human rights, its maintenance of repressive Government machinery and its fostering of disunity and tribalism among the Jamaican people.

The Central Executive has mandated the JLP leadership to enter widescale discussion with the Government which discussions are aimed at creating wider areas of inter-party agreement in the national interest, if the Government takes steps to remove the abuses of human rights and if the Government will dismantle the agencies of oppression and to embark on a genuine policy of national unity.

The resolution called attention to a number of vital issues on which the Government had failed to respond to positive requests by the Opposition aimed at securing basic human rights and establishing a level of national unity without which no strategy for national survival and recovery can succeed. These vital issues include:

FAILURE

(1) The failure of the Government to respond to the JLP's call for a Commission of Enquiry to publicly enquire into the present electoral system so that electoral reforms can be effected urgently, before any future electoral contest.



EDWARD SEAGA

(2) The failure of the Government to respond to the JLP's call for inter-party discussions on ways and means of ending political victimisation - a flagrant abuse of human rights. (Despite the fact that different committees comprised of members of both parties were named for this purpose in June 1976 and January 1977, neither committee has ever met.)

(3) The failure of the Government to respond to the JLP's call to release the many political prisoners on whom no charge can be found but

who are being held in various places including prison dungeons all over Jamaica.

(4) The failure of the Government to respond to the JLP's call to establish an impartial body to administer the Police Force so as to free the police from political interference and control.

(5) The failure of the Government to respond to the JLP's call to establish a fair and impartial system of awarding Government contracts so as to remove political favouritism.

(6) The failure of the Government to respond to the JLP's call to widen the scope of the Public Accounts Committee so as to enable it to enquire into the financial affairs of statutory boards and other quasi-Government agencies which receive hundreds of millions of dollars of Government funds but the financial accounts of which cannot now be investigated by the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament.

(7) The failure of the Government to respond to the JLP's call for the establishment of an Expenditure Committee to monitor public expenditure in the light of the considerable over-expenditure and lack of financial control evident in recent budgets and which have caused ever increasing burden on the taxpayers.

COMPLAINTS

(8) The failure of the Government to respond to the JLP's complaints concerning the abuse of press freedom as demonstrated by (a)the political manipulation and exploitation of JBC and API which are being used to maintain an open propaganda campaign for the PNP. (b)The intended takeover of RJR which is to be added to the list of controlled and obedient political messengers.

In adopting the resolution the Central Executive reaffirmed its unswerving commitment to the task of national reconstruction, but emphasized that such reconstruction could not succeed in a situation where fundamental human rights as set out in the Constitution were being discarded indiscriminately and where a Government maintained institutions aimed at tribalising the Jamaican people by breeding hatred and violence.

The Central Executive noted that the PNP government was interested in representing and promoting only one-half of the population, while demanding the productive effort and taxpaying support of the other half of the population which it is determined to keep under its own brand of "heavy manners".

Members of the Central Executive representing all 60 constituencies have been instructed to mobilise all JLP supporters through their branches to explain the nature of the struggle and to outline in detail the JLP's plan of action.

In Caribbean Dialogue, Vol. 3 No. 2, February-March, 1977, it is stated that the likely political strategy of the imperialists and local capitalists in Jamaica would be one of "containment" and "limited destabilisation". The above resolution and planned action of the JLP clearly confirm that view.

The fascist-inclined, pro-imperialist JLP has declared open the post-election phase of the political struggle to maintain capitalist hegemony in Jamaica. It can be expected that the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie and state, while flirting with Manley and the PNP, would provide material and strategic support to the JLP and the local capitalists.

- MATERIAL TAKEN FROM JAMAICA GLEANER

Greenwich Tow Unites

On February 3rd over 300 people came out to witness the launching of the Greenwich Town Youth and Community Organisation. This marked a big step forward since last year when, during the height of the political violence, the people united to defend themselves.

Since then 112 founding members of the Greenwich Town Youth and Community Organisation have elected an executive, set up 8 committees to run community affairs and established clear aims.

In his opening speech President Freddie Dalberry, who is highly regarded in the community said the main objectives of the organisation were:

1. To promote more community awareness among our citizens;

2. To mobilize and harness all our resources for the benefit of the community;

3. To make our community self-sufficient through self-help programmes such as co-ops, e.g. fishing, vegetable farms and sports complex;

4. To support the government in its overall effort to build a just society;

5. To stand in solidarity with all progressive forces in the fight against imperialism, capitalism, apartheid and any oppressive systems;

6. To build a community through love, unity, self-reliance and dedication free from hunger, oppression and exploitation.

- TAKEN FROM STRUGGLE, ORGAN OF W.L.L., JAMAICA

Political Position of W.L.L.

The following resolution on the political situation was passed at a recent meeting of the Central Committee of the WLL, January 29-30, 1977. All comrades must carefully study this resolution and apply it to their political work.

ON THE PRESENT SITUATION, THE COMING PERIOD AND OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS

1. Since the September meeting of the Central Committee, the acuteness of the national economic crisis and the heightening of political consciousness in the course of the election campaign sharpened the struggle between the main classes and hastened decisions concerning the course of the country's development. In the course of the struggles during this period, a shift has taken place in the balance of political forces in the country towards democracy and against imperialism and reaction. This shift reflects itself in the following main developments:

a) the massive defeat of the JLP under Seaga and the significant role played by the activity of the masses in bringing about this defeat;

b) the rejection of pro-imperialist solutions to the economic crisis by the political leadership of the national movement, in particular the rejection of the devaluation of the Jamaica dollar and the declarations in favour of the dominance of the state sector as well as the development of broad ties with the socialist community;

c) the strengthening of the left, democratic trend in the political directorate, in particular Manley's appointment of D.K. Duncan as Minister of National Mobilisation, the inclusion of a strong progressive element in the newly established Council of Ministers, and the directive role of the Council of Ministers over the Cabinet;

d) the incorporation of democratic, anti-imperialist elements into important positions in the state apparatus, in particular the appointment of Dr. Norman Girvan as Director of National Planning and Dr. George Beckford as Director of Agrarian Reform;

e) the impending state acquisition of Radio Jamaica and official pressure to isolate the Daily Gleaner, the main media arm of the oligarchy;

f) the advancement of plans for a democratic constitutional reform, worker participation and the creation of popular organs including the organised involvement of the citizenry in the discharge of the security functions of the state through the National Home Guard.

DR. TREVOR MUNROE ADDRESSING 2ND CONGRESS OF U&AWU AT MONA. PRESENT ARE DR. JAGAN AND L.BROWN, 2ND V.P. OF THE UNION.

2. Nevertheless the balance of forces has not shifted decisively in favour of the forces of democracy and social progress. The bourgeois classes still retain the upper hand in important sectors of the state and unpatriotic elements enjoy free rein over key institutions in the government.

3. The period into which we are entering is therefore a period of struggle to prevent reversals , to consolidate the shift in the balance of forces towards democracy and to advance the realisation of a state of socialist orientation. The special complexity of the coming period lies in the fact that economic transformations have to be urgently carried through in a situation where popular forces have not established firm control over the state apparatus.

4. Our immediate tasks:

A. Regarding the Economy: The Political Bureau of the WLL must ensure that our League develop, as a matter of urgency, a policy concerning:

a) the existing and new branches of the economy to be embraced within a dominant state sector;

b) the branches of the economy to remain within the private sector and the character of its interrelation to the dominant state sector;

c) the branches of the economy to be embraced

within a cooperative or people's sector;

d) the forms and methods of extending the rights and strengthening the role of the working class and its organisations in all sectors of the economy.

B. Regarding the Political Institutions of the Country:

I. The Political Bureau of the WLL must ensure that the League devote special attention to building mass political organisations of the working people in the various enterprises, communities and professional bodies and, in order to advance this work, to show the greatest alertness in winning the most advanced elements to the WLL. In so doing

a) to ceaselessly engage in the political education of the working people concerning the national political and economic situation utilising public meetings, discussion groups, community bodies, etc., where appropriate. In the course of this activity we need to wage a struggle against harmful petty-bourgeois trends amongst urban and industrial workers, e.g. the desire of workers to own factories.

b) to actively revive, strengthen and provide leadership whereever a basis exists, to the staff associations, trade union sections and other bodies of the working people on an aggressively bi-partisan basis;

c) to bring together members in the same area on the basis of Leninist standards, into embryonic branches to more effectively develop the mass organisations as the main means of building the embryo into a full-fledged branch;

II. The Political Bureau of the WLL must ensure that the League assists and strengthens the efforts of progressive forces within the PNP to develop the democratic, anti-imperialist character of that party--in particular the struggles:

a) to subordinate the bourgeoisie and their political representatives within the party to popular, democratic forces within the party;

b) to reduce and ultimately eliminate the role of patronage, victimisation and corruption within the life of the party;

c) to reduce the "tribalistic" partisanship and broaden the approach to political work of the local organs of the party;

d) to extend the degree of inner-party democracy thereby enhancing the role of regional and local organs in the direction of the party;

e) to develop comprehensive and systematic programmes of political education and ideological instruction centering on anti-imperialism, internationalism and socialism at all levels in the party;

f) to strengthen the democratic character of the NWU and the TUC, enlargening in the process the role of the workers in the party.

C. Regarding the Constitution: The Political Bureau of the Central Committee must ensure, as a matter of urgency, the development of proposals for a democratic constitutional reform basing themselves on amending and extending the existing statements in the League Programme.

- TAKEN FROM STRUGGLE, ORGAN OF W.L.L., JAMAICA

- continued from page 7

THE PRESENT SITUATION

and sleeps by night without goals, without objectives. Production stagnates. Productivity falls. Rewarding of political friends with unproductive jobs is life. Political gimmicks replace economic planning. Income Tax is aboished and there is no development capital to be mobilised. The government has no projects of its own. All projects are foreign. And columnists in the ruling party's newspaper call for a return to the good old colonial days.

In that context the ACLM's call for Political Independence is the first step to building a sense of purpose, a sense of community, a sense of nationhood, a sense of worthwhile future.

ACLM's call for workers and farmers to participate in planning the economy is the very foundation for a new Beginning.

Antigua must begin anew. We can't remain the old time mockery, can't condone the present treachery.

- TAKEN FROM OUTLET, ORGAN OF ACLM, ANTIGUA

The Debate on Independence

Introduction

The articles published below reflect the main positions articulated in the debate on independence that has been taking place in some of the Caribbean territories in the past year.

During the past two years, virtually all the political parties and governments of the smaller islands of the English-speaking Caribbean have made public statements on the question of "independence". In the past few months, government and opposition delegations have been making the traditional trip to the colonial office in England to discuss the issue of "independence" and an "independence constitution". A similar process has been occuring in relation to the Dutch-speaking Caribbean. In the case of the French-speaking Caribbean colonies and Puerto Rico, France and the United States refuse to even consider "independence" and are attempting to compromise and defuse the "independence struggle" by promoting the concepts of "statehood" and "autonomy", concepts that the British implemented in the early sixties under the name of "internal self-government".

The articles reproduced here focus on the debate in the English-speaking Caribbean.

With the explosion of spontaneous mass movements and the emergence of left groups in the Caribbean within recent times, the debate has shifted somewhat from the liberalism of the 1950's and early sixties. Whereas in that period the question of socialism was not even posed, today all left groups see the "struggle for independence" as a part of the "struggle for socialism". The position of some left groups is that the "struggle for independence" today represents an entire "stage" in the "struggle for socialism" and consequently, the primary struggle in this stage is against British colonialism. This position is most forcefully articulated by Rosie Douglas and the Popular Independence Committee in Dominica (we have seen three documents written by Rosie Douglas that seem to have been widely circulated in the Caribbean and Canada. However, Caribbean Dialogue has not received any copies of these documents and has been reliably informed that the documents are not for public consumption. We are therefore unable to reproduce extracts from these documents).

Other left groups hold the position that the struggle today is the "struggle for socialism" and that the "struggle for independence" is by and large irrelevant. The third position articulated by some left groups states that the "independence struggle" and the "socialist struggle" is one and the same struggle.

In the debate that has ensued so far, there seems to be some confusion over the very term "independence". The editorial (page 1) in this issue of Caribbean Dialogue attempts to clarify the issue of independence.

The articles below have been extracted from papers and documents received from organizations that are active in the various territories. We welcome articles on this topical issue and will continue to reflect the debate as it develops, particularly in the French-speaking Caribbean and Puerto Rico.

National Independence: A Perspective

BY ARWEE, ST. VINCENT

This essay outlines some thoughts on the meaning and implications of independence for one country - St. Vincent - but it holds good for the rest of the Eastern Caribbean. It was written in 1975 and is dedicated to young people.

OUR DEPENDENT ECONOMY

St. Vincent has no national economy. Our economic activities are controlled by Geest Industries, Barclays, Imperial, Royal Bank, C.D.C. the MNC's who export to us, etc. The decisions which these corporations make are for their own profit not for the benefit of St. Vincent. It follows that we in St. Vincent have no government as long as we have no economy.

The Honourable boys are mainly the domestic servants singing for their supper and for their friends' supper from the international exploiters and local commercial agents. The post war economic processes in St. Vincent consist of agricultural production for export, and the export of manpower and finance, partnered by more and more imports for the upper and middle classes.

In one or two areas, economic authority has shifted from the old estate plantocracy to the expanding government and private commercial agents - the higglers of imperialism, the new "ruling" class with old-fashioned ideas. The original logic of the colonial plantation operates. All our activity creates profits at the metropolitan centre and a privileged minority at home.

To specify - in agriculture, we have seen the modernisation of some elements of the productive forces. Technical inputs are used to grow our export goods, so that these goods become relatively cheaper for the imperialist. He makes additional profit by selling us the technical inputs - chemicals, irrigation and packaging materials, etc. The picture is shown clearly by these figures from banana field production per thousand holes of bananas.

	In 1954	In 1975	
Labour	$ 60.00	$ 300.00	The % of local labour is reduced from 60% to 21%
Modern Inputs	40.00	1100.00	
Total	$100.00	$1400.00	

Modernisation in agriculture brings benefits first to the imperialists then to the merchants, plantocracy and state who are the domestic instruments of imperialism and the labourer and peasant are pushed back into poverty.

Manufacturers, tourism and finance are a straight case of proven methods of imperialist exploitation. In a small bottle of essence, locally bottled costing twenty-five cents, eighteen cents goes to the imperialist economy just for the cost of the bottle alone. In each dollar spent on tourism, only between eight and twenty cents circulate locally.

Because we produce so much for the needs of the imperialist economy, the needs of the local community suffer. Therefore we have to import a great deal. But our imports go to the middle class salaried section who produce nothing. They lead us to use high priced luxury goods. We therefore import a style of living which further drains our resources and ties us to imperialism. In brief, the modernisation of our agricultural production and other economic activities makes it easier for imperialism to penetrate and profit. The commercial and state sectors become rivals of the plantocracy for the role of domestic concubine of the imperialists to provide access to our resources and market and to restrain and "police" the exploited majority.

The post war political profile of St. Vincent shows the strength and sweep of the militant working masses being channelled into political parties for the glory of the few. The pre-war uprisings, the working man's association, the age-old hardness of heart of the planter class, the Mr. Bentick disputes - all these led the organisers of the working class to follow the line of constitutional "advancement": electoral competition, compromises with the employer class and weakening the true working class struggle. The so-called labourers with low skills, estate workers, were in the front of the early struggles along with Ebenezer Joshua.

Joshua has clearly advanced, the workers have retreated, the ruling class is solid.

What can the workers get? The ruling class is solid because the organization of working class have not been guided by correct analyses and practice. They have become backward.

The Advances of Political Processes since the war has divided and kept back the working classes, it has enriched sections of the professional class, it has failed to challenge imperialism and its domestic helpers and now all political groups are crying out for political independence. This new political advance must not be taken casually. Further defeats and oppression of our working class will not be accepted. Any independence which is merely granted by the Mother power becomes an entrance into deeper backwardness. Independence must be assumed or taken by a people who know their enemies, their allies and their resources. Do we?

The economic elite in St. Vincent is a backward and incompetent class. They don't know how to develop the productive forces. They therefore accept the dictatorship of imperialism as far as economic activity is concerned. Independence has no meaning for them. Also because of their backwardness they can only dominate the workers by political means, by force and by fear.

Since before the war the imperialists had begun to transform the world productive forces so as to dominate the colonial working force more by economic means and less by political force. How was this possible?

The giant multi-nationals each employ up to half a million workers, yet are run by a handful of men. They own and hide away scientific knowledge. They also own innocent little factories and firms, e.g. Imperial Typewriters is a branch of Litton which manufactures deadly war materials. Cable and Wireless and CDC are no different. Every year Barclays International increases its investments in Southern Africa, thus strengthening the fascist regimes of Vorster and Ian Smith. Toyota, Fiat, Ford, General Electric, Nestle, Sunlight Soap, - name it and you are talking about the big names in war tools and exploitation. And they are responsible for the underdevelopment of our production and demand in St. Vincent. When states like St. Vincent become independent, the great productive capacity of the metropolitan centres dominates the manufacturers and the market of the small state, and it is still colonised because its economic activity is dependent on imperialism.

CORPORATE IMPERIALISM

Since 1945, the MNC's have pioneered the export of light industry to the colonies. This has happened in the CARICOM region, especially in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica. We read of T & T that prior to 1950, "there was not much in the way of manufacturing in the economy". In Jamaica, manufacturing industry was in its infancy and of course, "The bauxite-aluminium industry was non-existent in 1950, Today manufacturing is the dominant sector in Jamaica". When MNC like say, Nestle, set up a plant in one of the larger territories in the region, it frustrates the hope of a regional economy.

All the company will do is pay fifty people to sit down in a line and put everything together and mark it NESCAFE, made in St. Vincent, West Indies. In this way the MNC can penetrate the CARICOM trading allowances, escape with profits, frustrate our own coffee industry and divide the region into two - the MDC - which have MNC exploitation - and LDC's which import MNC exploitation at high costs and so have little chance to develop local industries. The imperialism of the MNC recognises us through the great productive capacities which we have helped them to develop.

When massive corporations exploit us backed by powerful governments and advanced technology, can a small island become independent? What is the independence which they are offering us? Can the youth of St. Vincent do anything except passively or cynically accept the world as it is and their role in it as scrunting surplus labour?

For us, for a great part of the people in the world, for the peasants, labourers, domestic workers and youths, independence is a smoke screen unless we relate it to the second great movement in this period of history - the movement for national liberation and socialism.

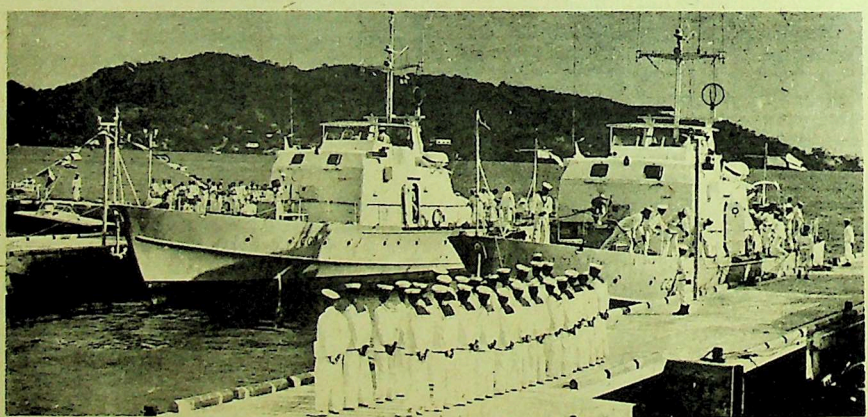
DEPENDENT NATIONALISM

Discussion on independence must not be separated from discussion of class. Imperialist exploitation by interests in the U.S.A., Western Europe, Japan, etc., depend on a "merchant" class who operates in our trade,financial, professional, bureaucracy and production sectors. This class benefits from imperialism. When this class proclaims independence, it is simply importing another commodity from which it can make profit. When imperialist capital further dominates our mode of existence, this class has room to expand. Psychologically, this is the class which oversees the traffic of local funds and exploitation of labour. Politically, this class handles the local institutions, polices the working classes and turns the orders from overseas into local law.

The progressive section of this class will call for nationalization of trade, of land and even of finance. This will increase the wealth of the class and make it more solid, more oppressive, while the majority of people - workers, youth, small peasants, unemployed - will meet more severe hardship. Independence under this class will in fact be a double colonialism, a new colonialism. The example of other nations is proof of this. Since 1945, about fifty countries in Africa have become independent, yet as Walter Rodney contended before the 1974 Pan-African Congress, "The Peoples of the various parts of Africa have scored no victories in ending exploitation and inequality". The independence which our political parties propose is a gateway to greater exploitation of the oppressed groups. We will face a twin contradiction - between us and the expanded ruling class, and between us and the imperialist giants.

The nationalism of this minority "merchant" class is a "dependent" nationalism.

As for the oppressed peoples, it is the producing classes, the labourers and small peasants who are truly capable of leading us into a genuine independence. Their interests are the interests of the whole state, their advance to power and control will enable the state to face the imperialist giants and undertake the changes leading to



LOCAL MILITARY-- LAST BASTION OF IMPERIALISTS CONTROL

a national economy, social justice, cultural renewal and socialism. To establish an independent nationalism, we have to accept the organized and unquestioned leadership of the working classes. Those national liberation movements which are undertaking the true tasks of nation-building have all followed the ideology of the working class.

> THE HISTORY OF ALL INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLES AND REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES IN GENERAL HAS TAUGHT US THIS LESSON : IT IS THE TASK AND DUTY OF THE LEFT FORCES TO BUILD A WORKERS AND PEASANTS MOVEMENT INDEPENDENT OF THE PETIT-BOURGEOIS POLITICAL PARTIES IN ORDER TO WAGE CLASS STRUGGLE DURING THE FIGHT FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND MORESO IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD. THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS IS NOT FOR THE 'INDEPENDENT' STATE BUT FOR THE SMASHING OF THAT STATE.

The working classes are in direct conflict with imperialism. More than any other section of the society, the bulk of our workers and small peasants enrich the imperialist by their labour. The case of the banana industry shows this. The 1974 sales of bananas from St. Vincent directly realized about twenty million dollars in Britain. Growers received one sixth of this or three and a half million dollars. Field labour received eight hundred thousand dollars of this amount, two and a half million go back for fertilizer and materials. Of the twenty million dollars, only four percent (4%) goes for field labour which is the basic productive labour.

INDEPENDENT NATIONALISM

The imperialists get the giant slice, the merchants and higher "management" get a solid cut too. The worker-peasant creates a surplus by producing bananas, the surplus goes to strengthen the two ruling classes - the local ruling class and the international ruling class. So there is a straight case of intense contradiction between the worker-peasant and the imperialists. In order to shake down the imperialist exploiter we have to struggle from the objective position of the worker-peasant. The local auditor who gets seven thousand dollars for checking the Association's accounts receives an amount equal to two thousand days' pay for a field worker, or in terms of current earnings for a banana field worker - 40 years of work in the banana fields. The estates, the professional class and merchants therefore will not struggle to destroy imperialism but rather to improve their gains. Only the peasant worker class has the objective motivation to destroy imperialist denomination and advance to a new socialist system. Only this class can lead us into an independent nationalism.

We need to know that this task which falls to the peasant worker class is not beyond them. They are the only people in a position to undertake this revolution. Furthermore the nineteenth and twentieth century achievements of our state are based firmly on the continuing struggles of this class - the struggle for land, for skills, and for schooling, the push to migrate and the returns from migration, the rise of the black elite - all these processes and more have come from the continuing efforts of the worker-peasant class. The culture of this class is our only historical resource, which has not become totally destroyed by colonialism-imperialism. The tasks of establishing a realistic independence therefore is the mission of progressive forces under the revolutionary leadership of the working class.

To achieve national liberation, our productive forces - man, land, water, equipment, etc. - must be taken out of slavery to imperialism and combined and developed in the interest of our people. This task of converting our mode of production from imperialist control will face many problems. There is the problem of changing our institutions and culture from their racist, colonial and capitalist orientation so that they provide us with the skills, knowledge and solidarity for our tasks. Then there is the resistance which the imperialists and their puppy dogs will put up. It may be doubted that this second problem is real. Remember Chile. Reflect on Angola.

Our experience has taught us that as Amilcar Cabral stated -

"Imperialist domination implies a state of permanent violence against the nationalist forces".

YOUTH

Youth as a section of society has a contribution to make to the Independence movement only when they become a force to strengthen the worker-peasant class in the struggle for socialism. Is it realistic to expect that our youth can achieve this commitment? The pre-war generation fought for the king and the British Empire. The new generation will not. They have grown up to see banks, insurances, stores, Géest ... expanding daily. They know that the reason for metropolitan interest in our country is not fatherly care but naked theft. They see, they know the effect of hunger, powerlessness and the breakdown of community life. Divisions in politics, exploitation and the profit motive, moral emptiness in the ruling class. Today's young people have experienced the society.

Build the Worker-Peasant Alliance

CONDITIONS OF YOUTH

A sizeable portion of young people have to slave, to scrunt, to whore and to lick boots, just to survive. In one generation imperialism has become unmasked and reveals its ugliness. In the face of this criminal ugliness, this generation can never walk the ways of their parents.

There is no work. There is no national economy. Enterprises are opened up or closed down, according to private interests. One thousand youths leave school each year to fill one hundred vacancies. This makes wage labour cheap and profits high. Wageless, ingenuous, victims of imperialism and morally bankrupt leaders, Youth faces imperialism with no weapons, no power and no allies among the privileged sections.

Yet the imperialists and their agents do co-opt and entice the youth into their net. There is no room for young people in production or employment, but at least they can buy. So the consumption ethic is sold by the MNC's and their agents.

"Buy this. Use that. Get the other". The youth subculture is a consuming subculture, spread by imperialism and its instruments and promoted by the shopkeeper ruling class. With no role in production, with their consciousness distorted by a consumer mentality, our youth are caught in a reactionary movement against history.

IDEALIST AND UNSTABLE

Our youth cannot help being unsteady in the cruel tug-o-war of forces which beat upon them. Confused, cynical, idealist at one and the same time.

The consciousness of our youth is in no position to confront and grasp the full reality of imperialism. Although youth exists everywhere as a dependent group, we must admit that a twelve year old who works on an estate is objectively in a different position from the youth who will not work until he comes back from university. Leadership is drawn from that section which is normally more dependent on imperialism and therefore confusion and deceit are spread among the youth. The youth do not therefore represent a consistent progressive force for national liberation.

While we recognise that our youth are placed in an ambiguous position in relation to imperialism, we also recognise that our youth possess a degree of moral conviction which will help them to overcome the barriers in the way of their commitment to national liberation. The existence of a class conscious liberation movement, the growing moral and material forces of socialism on the world scale, the atrocities and inhuman conditions spawned by imperialism, the courageous and enthusiastic peoples who have fought to victory through thirty years of war in Vietnam, twelve years in Guinea Bissau, the clarity and power of working class ideology, the insupportable history of struggle of our people - all these factors to inspire the idealism of our youth, so that they can break from the ideology of the ruling class, love and cling to the dear aspirations of the working class, accept the disciplines of class struggle and become truly one with the makers of history, and progress - the worker peasant class.

WORKING-CLASS LIBERATION

We have daily evidence of the moral resources of our youth. The revolt against white racism in the Caribbean was represented mainly among the youth. The return to "natural" styles of life rather than imperialist consumption is also represented mainly among the youth. The moral resources of our youth must now take them to their truly historical destiny - rejecting all ruling class temptations, they must become "reborn as revolutionary workers, completely identified with the deepest aspirations of the people to which they belong".

This transformation, this moral revolution will enable our youth to see the world correctly, through the eyes of the working class. All their skills and knowledge and abilities will then be developed to advance the class struggle against imperialism and against the local ruling class so that political power will pass into the hands of the working classes. The transformation of the productive forces, the renewal of a human culture, the cultivation of a socialist nation state, the abolition of all prejudices and discrimination, the constant and critical maintenance of freedom, all these are results to be won only through the defeat of imperialism exploitation, colonial plunder and white racism, and the victory of national liberation under working class control.

* * * * * * * * *

Any independence which is granted to or imported by our political merchants is a false and fearful independence. National liberation will still have to be won. 1975 is the year to begin the final chapter of the struggle which our afro-callinago ancestors waged in our name, the struggle for national liberation and socialism.

Build the Independent Mass Movement of the Workers and Farmers through Struggle.

Puerto Rico: statehood would continue U.S. colonial rule

By José G. Pérez

President Gerald Ford's New Year's Eve announcement that he would try to make Puerto Rico the fifty-first state has touched off renewed debate over the island's political future, both there and in the United States.

Ford's proposal appears to have no chance of being passed by the U.S. Congress at this time. But it stirred up much controversy and put the spotlight on the unstable and unjust ties between Puerto Rico and the United States.

Puerto Rico is a nation, separate and distinct from all other nations.

As a state, Puerto Rico would not be another Virginia, New York, or California. It is a totally different country, not just a region or subdivision of a bigger country. Whatever Puerto Rico's formal political status, there can be no question that it is as much a nation as England, Vietnam, or Argentina.

And just as there can be no question that Puerto Rico is a distinct nation, there can also be no question that it is a colony in the most classical sense of the word—a country that is ruled by another country.

That other country is the United States.

United States rule

The United States took Puerto Rico by force in 1898. Using at first the most brazen military rule, the U.S. government has gradually granted Puerto Ricans greater control over local administration. All important powers, however, are retained by the United States.

Just a few of the powers under Washington's jurisdiction include:

- Immigration, citizenship, and customs;
- Foreign policy, international trade, treaties, and tariffs;
- Monetary system;
- National defense;
- Postal system;
- All broadcasting, from commercial radio and television to Citizens Band radio;
- Regulation of most businesses and labor unions;
- Environmental protection;
- Regulation of nuclear power;
- Regulation of all shipping and other transportation between Puerto Rico and the United States or other countries;

. . . and many, many others.

Just about every government agency—from the do-nothing Environmental Protection Agency to the repressive Federal Bureau of Investigation and Central Intelligence Agency—functions in Puerto Rico.

The areas left for the Puerto Rican government are roughly comparable to those under state or municipal jurisdiction in the United States: schools, roads, routine crime, social services. Moreover, all the powers the Puerto Rican government exercises are ceded to it by Congress. And Congress can, at will, revoke them.

Puerto Ricans have no say, control, or veto power over what Washington does to their country. All this is decided by the president, Congress, and federal judiciary. Puerto Ricans don't elect senators or representatives to Congress and can't vote for president.

Economic subjugation

Washington insists on these tight political controls over Puerto Rico because giant U.S. monopolies maintain a profitable stranglehold over the island's economic life.

The overwhelming majority of all trade, commerce, manufacturing, banking, and farming on the island is owned or controlled by U.S. interests. There is no sector of the Puerto Rican

economy where U.S. interests do not predominate.

Each year the profits from these corporations take from Puerto Rico about one-fifth of the island's gross national product—not counting the profits kept in Puerto Rico for reinvesting. This is very good for these giant monopolies.

But it is very bad for the people of Puerto Rico, who suffer from terrible poverty and unemployment.

Already some 2 million of the 5 million Puerto Ricans have been forced to migrate to the United States because there aren't enough jobs on the island.

Most working people left in Puerto Rico can't find full-time employment.

And 40 percent of the potential labor force is totally unemployed, although the official rate is "only" 20 percent. That's because so many people have grown discouraged and given up looking for work. They aren't counted in the official jobless figures.

Wages for those that do have jobs are one-third to one-half those paid in the United States for the exact same jobs.

Yet island prices are higher than on the U.S. mainland because of transportation costs and a greater degree of monopoly pricing.

Widespread poverty

About 70 percent of all Puerto Ricans are so poor that they qualify for food stamps.

Almost half the housing in Puerto Rico is substandard. Tens of thousands live in shantytowns, where cardboard, tin, and plywood shacks are built on stilts above lake, river, or ocean shores. Often there is no plumbing or sanitary facilities. Waste and garbage are simply dumped in the water or on the beach below the shacks.

Unemployment and poverty have led to widespread drug addiction, crime, and other social problems.

Statehood: no real change

This miserable situation has worsened over the past several years, and people in Puerto Rico are looking for more power to deal with their social and economic problems.

Proponents of statehood argue that being a state would shore up investor confidence in Puerto Rico's political stability, make the island eligible for expanded federal aid, and give it muscle in Washington.

Supporters of independence counter that statehood would reenforce U.S. economic and political control over the island, which lies at the root of the problems.

What would change if Puerto Rico became a state? Puerto Ricans would vote in presidential elections and elect voting members to the U.S. Congress (right now Puerto Ricans elect a nonvoting resident commissioner to the U.S. House).

But having a handful of delegates in Washington would hardly give Puerto Ricans control over their own country when hundreds of legislators from a different country make up the crushing majority. Nor would voting for president solve anything, since the overwhelming majority of votes would still come from the other country.

Needless to say, the grip of U.S. monopolies on Puerto Rico would be strengthened, not relaxed, under statehood.

So, in effect, very little of the fundamental relationship between San Juan and Washington would change—just its outer coverings.

What Puerto Ricans want

There is no indication that the people of Puerto Rico want statehood. Ford cited the victory of the pro-statehood New Progressive party at the polls last November as evidence that Puerto Ricans want statehood.

But everyone in Puerto Rico—from all points on the political spectrum—agrees that the New Progressives won in spite of, not because of, their pro-statehood stance.

During the campaign, New Progressive supporters argued vigorously that statehood was not an issue, that the issues were government corruption and the incumbent administration's failure to improve the economy. The New Progressives have specifically promised *not* to try to make Puerto Rico a state until after the 1980 general elections.

1967 plebiscite

There has been only one referendum in the history of Puerto Rico in which the people of that island were consulted on whether and how they wanted to be linked to the United States.

Proindependence forces actively boycotted the referendum, charging on several grounds that it was fraudulent:

- It was not conducted under international supervision. Instead, it was conducted by supporters of the status quo, in violation of United Nations decolonization guidelines.
- It was conducted during U.S. occupation of the island, with both the visible, intimidating presence of U.S. military installations and repression of proindependence forces by Puerto Rican cops and agents of the FBI and CIA.
- It was conducted while U.S. interests dominated all the mass communications media.

Vague alternative

The referendum counterposed two clearly defined alternatives—independence and statehood—to a third, very vague idea of "the further growth of the commonwealth," the present status.

"Further growth" was defined—in a way that could mean all things to all people—as "a maximum of self-government compatible with a common defense, a common market, a common currency, and the indissoluble link of the citizenship of the United States."

Voter turnout for the referendum was much lower than usual in Puerto Rico (66 percent compared to a normal 85 percent). Altogether, half the people eligible to vote (registered and nonregistered) did not vote. In addition, an estimated 60,000 North Americans living in Puerto Rico were allowed to vote.

The results of the plebiscite showed 60 percent of the 707,000 people voting in favor of "further growth"; 39 percent supporting statehood; and less than 1 percent—a little more than 4,000 votes—in support of independence.

How effective the proindependence boycott was will never be known. But one indication is that proindependence demonstrations over the next few years drew up to 80,000 people. Had these people voted, it is likely no formula would have received a majority.

Washington, however, considers the referendum valid. So what has happened to the "further growth" promised in the referendum? *The U.S. government has rejected every single proposal for transferring more powers from Washington to San Juan.*

In fact, Ford's statehood proposal was his response to the latest proposal to transfer some more powers to San Juan, the "Compact of Permanent Union Between Puerto Rico and the United States."

The U.S. government's actions give the lie to Washington's purported respect for the right of the people of Puerto Rico to determine their own destiny.

The United States government is interested in one thing and one thing only: reinforcing its hold over Puerto Rico in order to ensure superprofits for U.S. corporations.

- TAKEN FROM THE MILITANT

Independence and the Worker

As the independence talks dovetail into May Day it is fitting to reflect on the status of the worker in the scheme for independence. It requires very little deductive sense to appreciate the fact that the worker is central to the concept of an independent St. Lucia. The whole notion of independence turns on whether the St. Lucian worker is prepared to produce in order to satisfy the needs of an independent State!

Historically the St. Lucian worker has produced only to escape the whip of coercion. He has worked the sugar, coconut and lime plantations only to eke out a survival wage and to satisfy the whims of plantation owners. But in an independent St. Lucia the worker will have a different motivation and production function only if the aims of the State coincide directly with his own satisfaction of wants and desires.

WORKER APPREHENSION

The current apprehension over independence springs from a deep psychological concern that the loss of Britain will mean the loss of an impartial referee or a final court of appeal when human rights are infringed or when exploitation becomes unbearable. This colonial nexus dies hard but independence would hold no terrors for the St. Lucian worker if only he felt that the governing regime would protect his interests and act in such a way that workers' rights would always be preserved. Today more than ever the enlightened worker is aware that no serious change can take place in Caribbean society unless the worker becomes the centre of the political ethos. At present PROPERTY is king! Property is at the centre of the political ethos but the main thrust of the workers' struggle is to shift this scale of values and substitute the worker at the centre or hub of the Caribbean polity.

CAPITALIST REGIME

The existing regime in St. Lucia is suspect within the context of independence simply because its growth model is unashamedly and consistently capitalistic and every governmental action or legislation seeks to entrench the capitalist relationship and relegate the worker to the status of an exploited class. Every single wage increase has been given in a grudging concessionary manner after serious agitation and protest by groups of workers. Had the Government been in the vanguard of the workers' struggle then

BRO. GEORGE ODLUM

HON. PETER JOSIE

the climate would be different for the assertion of workers' rights.

It is for this very reason that the legitimacy of a government is of paramount importance in the independence exercise. The people as a whole must have supreme confidence in the regime which is taking them on the independence trip. It is only with this implicit confidence that the worker will agree to place his productive capacity in the hands of the Government in exchange for the basic satisfaction of the wants and desires of the worker. There is a deep-seated fear among St. Lucians that independence under the Compton regime would result in the further entrenchment of anti-worker interests and even more purposeful exploitation. Strangely enough this is the dilemma of St. Lucia. Observers who are far removed from the local scene are usually baffled by the fact that St. Lucia appears to be the most "progressive" island in the Caribbean in terms of traditional capitalist investment, but at the same time the St. Lucian Government is the only one of the Associated States which comes nowhere near to getting a mandate for independence from the people.

This appears to be a paradox. Some traditionalists even see this in terms of ingratitude to the regime but the central point is that the worker is no longer interested in superficial development which further alienates him and

Premier Compton

Mr. Louisy

makes him grist to the capitalist mill. The worker is today bent on finding the type of production function which would allow him to realise some of his social and economic goals by the investment of his labour. He wants the traditional bias against labour in favour of capital to be readjusted. He wants a regime that would show human concern for the worker instead of an over-protective attitude to profit-makers.

LABOUR'S ROLE

So the common cry among workers for a general election before independence is not a tactical opportunist move to score one over the incumbent party. It is a genuine desire to change the balance of forces in the community and an honest attempt to find a workable formula for post-independence St. Lucia. The synchronisation of May Day with the debate on independence is therefore very relevant. It provides an opportunity for the unions and the workers in the State to reflect on the struggle for real independence and the total liberation of the St. Lucian worker. It is with this in mind that the entire Labour Movement in St. Lucia must throw its weight against the arbitrary imposition of meaningless independence and insist on the full participation of the workers of the State in deciding what type of independent St. Lucia is desirable and who should be the custodians of this mandate.

The Labour Movement in St. Lucia should let its voice be heard loud and clear above the whispering susurrations of the Conference Table, so that every single worker would join battle to stop any attempt to accomodate the Compton regime in its quest for independence through the backdoor.

- EDITORIAL, CRUSADER, ST. LUCIA

- CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

EDITORIAL

without the shadow of a doubt the building of an independent Caribbean (island state or region) within the context of the prevailing social order (whether maintained as is or reformed). Since "independence" in the fullest sense (constitutional, political, economic, etc) of the term must mean the end of fundamental social conflict, domination and exploitation, the building of true "independence", therefore, is the building of a socialist society. Consequently, the struggle for true independence is at one and the same time the struggle for socialism. Such is the reality of our time--the imperialist stage of capital.

The domestic ruling classes (regardless of whichever section or fraction that holds the reign of political leadership) as the local allies of the imperialist bourgeoisie are incapable of leading the struggle for independence and socialism. The most they can achieve is constitutional independence, and in the 1970's when Britain is saying: "here, have constitutional independence and get off my back", constitutional independence no longer demands a nationalist struggle against British colonialism. If there is any struggle today for constitutional independence in the smaller territories of the English-speaking Caribbean, it is an internal class struggle. It is only in the French and U.S. colonial territories in the Caribbean that an independence struggle is still necessary and even there the struggle is no longer "nationalist" in the sense of the 1940's and 1950's; it is overtly a "nationalist class struggle" for independence and socialism.

As ARWEE and ACLM have articulated in articles in this issue of Caribbean Dialogue, the struggle for true independence today can only be a workers and peasants struggle for liberation and the building of a socialist order. Such a struggle demands of the left the building of an independent workers and peasants movement through struggle. The immediate task of the left is nothing less. In 1977 constitutional independence is an act, the liberation and socialist struggle is an entire stage.

Constitutional Independence Now!

Advance the struggle for Liberation and Socialism!

FORWARD TO SOCIALISM

Two Sides of the Same Coin

Be it resolved that the State of Dominica which is a state in Association with Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom be allowed to proceed to Independence on the 2nd day of November1977, under the provisions of section 10 (2) of the West Indies Act, 1967 on the basis of the draft Constitutional proposals submitted to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs by Her Majesty's Government in the Associated State of Dominica, as amended by the Constitutional Conference on Dominica to be held by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

With the passing of the above resolution at 4.15 p.m. Friday the House of Assembly voted 18 to 3 to give the Government a mandate to seek independence from Britain. A delegation of Government and Opposition will travel to England next month to hold talks on Independence which is expected to be attained on November 2, 1977.

FROM NOTHING TO SOMETHING

The Premier opened the debate on the Independence resolution by noting that no country, including Dominica, has developed under colonial rule. He labelled Associated Statehood "colonialism in disguise" and pointed out the failure of the British government to come to the rescue of Dominica when Guadeloupe and the United States Virgin Islands barred Dominicans from entering their shores. Under Associated Statehood Britain has responsibility for defence and external or foreign affairs. It was therefore obvious, the Premier said, that "we will lose nothing because we have gained nothing. And we will be taking a step from nothing to something."

Among other salient points Mr. John noted that Dominica would never attain Independence if a referendum were permitted, pointing out that a referendum required sixty-six and two thirds of the popular votes and that no single political party had commanded this majority in a general election in the country's history.

NATIONAL UNITY

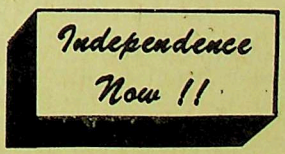
The Opposition Leader, Miss Mary Eugenia Charles addressed the House following the Premier's contribution. She denounced the Labour regime for dividing the Dominica people along the line of "haves" and "have nots" and pointed out that national unity was essential for Independence. Miss Charles said that her people would not accept Independence on November 2, 1977, because the Dominican people had not expressed their willingness to proceed to this giant step, nor had the majority of the people of Dominica decided on a constitution which they considered acceptable.

PREMIER
PATRICK JOHN

OPPOSTION LEADER
M.E.CHARLES

Nevertheless, Miss Charles said that Independence for this country was inevitable, but that the timing and the manner in which the country was going into Independence did not reflect the wishes of the people. She said that Independence should be attained when people have been sufficiently educated to understand clearly what it means to be independent and their responsibilities in an independent country. The Opposition Leader would support Independence only under section 10 (1) of the West Indies Act which makes provision for a referendum.

- TAKEN FROM THE CHRONICLE, DOMINICA



INDEPENDENCE, DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIALISM

Clearly, the outward flow of our wealth, on the one hand, and the separation of the broad masses of our people from their labour and its products, on the other, are part and parcel of the same thing. They both lead to exploitation. COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM HAVE CAUSED POVERTY AND BACKWARDNESS IN DOMINICA AS A WHOLE, AND THE SEPARATION OF WORKERS FROM THEIR LABOUR HAS ENABLED A SMALL FEW IN THE ISLAND TO LIVE WELL, FROM THE CRUMBS LEFT BY COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM, WHILE THE GREATER NUMBER FACE CONDITIONS OF GROSS NEGLECT. Of course, if it were not for the separation of workers from their labour, colonialism and imperialism would not survive. And, today, in the face of mass discontent, local exploitation and its supporting structures look to the forces of colonialism and imperialism for their own survival.

A MISTAKE

It would be a mistake, therefore, at this time or any other time, to say "No independence from Britain". To take that road is to misunderstand history and make a complete mockery of our peoples's long record of struggle. And, it would be a mistake, no less profound, to say "Yes" to independence and separate it from the wider all-time question of how to bring a good life to every single one of our people. It would be a profound mistake because gaining independence from Britain is not one historical stage, and bringing a good life to every single Dominican another, later state. Constitutional independence is merely a small question within the overall question of putting an end to man's exploitation of fellow man.

How will a simple constitutional break from Britain affect the standard of living of our people? What will it mean to our hard-pressed farmers, workers, youth, students and women? Our farmers need land, capital, feeder roads, safe markets and good prices. Our workers need higher scales of more wages and more humane conditions of work. Our students need more school places, a more useful education and increased opportunities for self-development. Will independence fullfil these needs? What of hospitals and clinics, housing and running water, electrical lighting, garbage disposal, day-care centres, roads and other conveniences for the population as a whole? Will these things appear upon receipt of an Independence Constitution? What of the laws, police and defence forces, courts, prisons and other structures that stand ready to take away the human rights of our people? And the system of beliefs and values that close our minds to their real purpose? Do they vanish on independence? If they did, life for the majority of the world's peoples would be different. The experience right on our doorsteps in the Caribbean is enough warning. Jamaica. Trinidad and Tobago. Barbados. Guyana. Bahamas. Grenada. Instead of change, there is talk of change. In place of more food, shelter, clothing and democratic freedoms, the masses of people are fed on corruption, repression and the empty rhetoric of socialism. In Jamaica, a ray of hope has now appeared.

TODAY, YOU CAN TAKE OFF THE MASK OF COLONIALISM. BUT, TOMORROW, ITS REAL ESSENCE, UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND MASS POVERTY, WILL LOOK AT YOU STRAIGHT IN THE EYE.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

We, in the League of Socialist Workers, therefore, welcome constitutional independence for our country. And will fight, if we have to, to secure it. At the same time, we continue to struggle along the road to scientific socialism that will bring a richer and fuller life to every single one of our people. Under socialism, working people will be in full control of the means to labour and the products of their labour. Exploitation of labour will, therefore, come to an end. And the instruments of production will be at a level, as it is in the world today, where food, shelter, clothing and other comforts can be produced to satisfy all our people.

NEW VALUES

This calls for the creation of new men and women, a Dominican people conscious of history and organised to take destiny into our own hands. And a new environment built on structures and institutions, values and beliefs that free, rather than chain, humanity. Not new structures like Land Management Authority that hits farmers and people in search of land even harder than the colonial structure it replaced. Or a Governor General that steps into shoes earlier worn by the Governor. Not new values like homage to a Prime Minister instead of the Queen. Or the right of native Dominicans to exploit labour in place of foreign capitalists. But, structures like a National Association of Small Farmers that brings small farmers together, raises their awareness of their contribution to the development of our country, provides certain knowledge of their real interests and organises them to act in pursuit of these interests. And

beliefs like the right of those who labour to control the processes of production and government.

Of course, the distance from independence to socialism cannot be covered with one step. And one step quite rightly leads to another. But it is equally true that the kind of step taken in the beginning will decide if and how the last is taken. That is to say, even before constitutional independence has been won, the foundation of the struggle for socialism must be laid.

THE TASKS AHEAD

The task of the moment, therefore, is one of sinking new thoughts, expectations and life patterns among our exploited and oppressed farmers, workers, women, youth and students that will bring them together into organisations to fight for their own class interests. And to direct these currents of struggle along a single path. This direction must come from a Party built by oppressed and exploited people themselves, for no class will free the oppressed but the oppressed themselves. There is no such party in Dominica today. Although the Freedom Party commands a large following of working people, it has a leadership drawn from the ranks of big business and, therefore, a program that is openly against the real interests of the working people. The ruling Labour Party has working class base and leadership. But its direction is not set by the interests of its mass base but, rather, by the foreign and local controllers of wealth and, therefore, power. In effect, its program, although filled with promises to poor, working people and pushed with talk of socialism, it is not in the real interests of the working people. The Labour Party is not a Working People's party, but a party working people vote for in the absence of a party of their own. We, in the League of Socialist Workers continue to organise towards the construction of such a Party.

OUR POSITION, THEN, IS THIS. WE MUST GET CONSTITUTIONAL INDEPENDENCE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. THIS WILL CLEAR THE WAY FOR THE REAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FORCES OF IMPERIALIST AND LOCAL EXPLOITATION WHICH HAVE BEEN THE CAUSE OF OUR UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND MASS POVERTY. WE, IN THE LEAGUE OF SOCIALIST WORKERS, ARE COMMITTED TO BUILDING A WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY THAT WILL DIRECT THE COURSE OF THAT STRUGGLE. AND NO POWER ON EARTH CAN SHAKE US FROM THAT DETERMINATION.....

Dated: 12 February, 1977

- BY THE LEAGUE OF SOCIALIST WORKERS

Independence: A View

The Popular Independence Committee has contended right from the start that the key question was not in fact whether or not we should go towards independence and terminate colonial rule immediately but more important - with what sort of constitution. This is based upon both the historically proven impossibility of any country ever developing under colonial rule, the economic decline of Britain herself, the need to take our destiny into our own hands as an independent people and the position taken repeatedly by the United Nations that for colonial people the first and most relevant right to be exercised is The Right to Self-Determination which is the right to be independent - without which true democracy is impossible and social progress is a sham.

WHAT TYPE OF CONSTITUTION

In determining the type of constitution the country requires, the first questions which must be asked are:

1. What fundamental human and civil right which must be guaranteed to prevent an abuse of power; and encourage social progress?

Rosie Douglas

2. What fundamental freedoms are required to ensure the functioning of a democratic state - economic and political.

3. What road to development must we follow in order to clean out the decadent structures of colonialism and build a viable democratic state capable of preserving its sovereignty meeting fundamental human needs and gaining the respect of the international and regional community.

4. What type of institutions must we build and what relationship must exist between the various institutions on the one hand and between the popular masses and those instituons to ensure a

human, democratic functioning of the State.

5. What type of judiciary do we require and how should we proceed in providing a moral authority on a national level to supplant the Colonial credibility of the alien Privy Council.

These are only a few basic questions which must be asked as a priority at this time; and we have raised at public meetings across the country those questions and posed answers.

A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION

We favour the socialist road to development for two basic reasons which are inter-connected. Firstly, to favour capitalism is to completely misunderstand that it is precisely deformed capitalist under-development directed by British Colonialism and imperialism (i.e. Multi-National Corporations like Cable and Wireless, Barclays Bank, Geest, etc.) that have caused Dominica to be in the economic and social mess that it is in today with massive unemployment, high illiteracy, poor housing, social backwardness, great disparity between rich and poor, etc. In the final analysis imperialism will never allow genuine local capitalists to develop in terms of industrialising our economy because they want the profits themselves. Secondly, socialism or what we should properly call the socialist road, recognises the impossibility of ever developing through capitalism and emphasizes the strengthening of the state sector as the main agent for rapid advancement of Agriculture - Agro-Industry and industrialisation without which the growing social needs in employment, housing, education, health, recreation, and the arts, women's equality can never - we repeat never - be fulfilled. If these basic needs are not fulfilled social chaos will be the inevitable result. Finally, historical and present examples throughout the Third World reveal that only those previously colonial countries like North Korea, Cuba, Guinea, Guyana, who had taken the socialist road are able to gradually overcome the deadening effects of centuries of colonial plunder and advance economically. So that the only capitalist road is dead except for capitalist dreamers and CIA puppets. With the Socialist road the private sector still can play a progressive role under state guidance.

BASIC RIGHTS

A constitution that would facilitate the Socialist Road must first of all be a peoples' democratic constitution. It cannot be the brain child of Leo Austin or any clique of Barristers. It must be exposed to rigorous debate island-wide both from organisations and individuals. That debate would bring out clearly that the basic needs which all Dominicans must have met are:

(a) THE RIGHT TO WORK. Without that right all other rights are hypocritical and meaningless. But because this is a difficult right to fulfill given our present level of backwardness, the constitution must allow for a transition of four-five years to allow the means for attaining full employment to be realised.

(b) The fundamental Rights and Freedoms enshrined in the United Nations various conventions must be guaranteed;

(c) Equal rights and opportunity for women including the right to maternity leave with pay must be guaranteed;

(d) Decent housing, free education, health care are among fundamental social rights to be guaranteed;

(e) The machinery of government should allow for a nationally elected President with clearly defined powers as head of state. The elected president with a council having a representative from trade unions, Cooperatives, Village Councils, Youth, Business and other interests would check the use of arbitrary power by the Prime Minister and Cabinet. However, the elected Peoples' Assembly (Parliament) must be given final authority in case of a deadlock between Prime Minister and President. Such power should require a two-thirds majority of the elected Peoples' Assembly.

(f) A government with that kind of credibility must be given full authority subject to locally controlled judiciary to deal effectively with the question of land utilisation without which economic development is impossible.

(g) The constitution must guarantee at least 100 acres of land to each Village Council for village/town extension, communal grazing, school gardening, etc.

CRUCIAL STAGE

We invite readers to begin the necessary preparation to take an active part and in the drafting of the new Constitution. The Popular Independence Committee stands prepared to assist the island and guide the debate and necessary struggle. We view this stage of the struggle as the most crucial requiring the utmost in dedication, discipline and courage. Flexibility is necessary but there are specific areas as THE RIGHT TO WORK and preserving essential rights around which there can be no compromise. Dominicans, particularly our youth must be guaranteed a decent job. If the government proposals ignore this and other questions it will have to be withdrawn by popular reaction in its entirety.

- BY THE POPULAR INDEPENDENCE COMMITTEE, D/CA

ACLM ON INDEPENDENCE

The first and essential purpose of Independence in a territory like Antigua and in world circumstances such as outlined above must be its immediate disengagement from foreign capital. Immediate is the word.

This involves principally two points. Where foreign capital dislocated and disorganised the Antiguan economy creating dependence on foreign food supplies, there must be a reorganisation of the economy by a completely new method of agricultural and industrial production and distribution. This involves the dissolution of the American Multi-National, Corn Production Systems, known locally as Antigua Agricultural Industries, which has taken control of 10,000 acres of the best land in Antigua at pepper-corn rent per acre. It is impossible for Antigua to be independent if it does not, at the very least, control its own land, and in the context of the world food shortage control its own agricultural production. That is the foundation premise of Independence in Antigua and for Antigua.

Secondly, there must be a mobilisation of labour in agriculture and industry around the new concept of social ownership of the means of production. That is to say, the workers in agriculture and industry must feel, in fact, know in truth, and realize in practice, that the age of exploitation is over and that with Independence they are no longer working for "Them" (the elite, local or foreign) but that they are working for Themselves. That is the beginning, the real beginning of Independent history in this island-parish of the Caribbean.

One other point, a crucial point, springs from the above. The political elite in the West Indies following in the footsteps of the colonial masters make a hobby of propounding how lazy, how unproductive, how destructive the Antiguan and Caribbean working class is and will be. Nothing is further from the truth.

The Antiguan and Caribbean working class have created more wealth for America and Britain, than could easily be imagined. After all, it is the Caribbean working class whose labour provided the capital for the Industrial Revolution. Even now, American capital is more than anxious to exploit Caribbean labour to the hilt.

More importantly, a world famous team of economists, The Economist Intelligence Unit had this to say about the working class in the East Caribbean:

"The labour force (in Antigua and the Eastern Caribbean) is readily amenable to training" that remark is pregannt with meaning and is the essence of independence. More on that later. The team of distinguished economists continued thus "The survey team has found that with good management there is no reason why productivity levels in the Eastern Caribbean should fall short of those in Europe or the U.S.A. " (*15) The point is clear. No mistake about it at all. We are as good and as productive as the best.

Nothing impedes production and productivity in Antigua and the Caribbean other than foreign ownership of the means of production. That is an economic and political fact which we must all acknowledge.

However we reject the idea that what is needed is "good management" of Antiguan labour for by "good management" the distinguished economists mean "foreign management".

What in fact is needed to release the creative energy, enthusiasm and productivity of Antiguan and Caribbean workers is a new organisation of production and social relations.

The key point in the new organisation of production is that Workers, by and through democratic discussion and decision, themselves plan production goals for the whole society, and freely organise themselves to accomplish those political and economic goals. That is the meaning of the unity of politics and economics, that, precisely and concisely, is the meaning of Independence in this the last quarter of the twentieth century.

It should be obvious that since we have shown that the nation-state is dying or dead, that Independence for Antigua founded on economic control is only a beginning. A new beginning though.

It is a beginning of that thrust, pregnant in all the Caribbean peoples' struggles, to create a United Caribbean State. A Caribbean Nation including all the nation-states and territories in the Caribbean archipelago be they Dutch, English, French or Spanish.

Such a Caribbean State is the only viable alternative in the world in which we live. Nothing else will do. All else is but petty nationalism and support of imperialism through petty island-states which must bow and bend before the colossus, the juggernaut which is American capital. With that bowing and bending we are finished. Completely finished. That is what Independence must mean.

Moreover a Caribbean State is a prime necessity when once the old colonial economy and its political apparatus have been dismantled. Cuba has made the break. We can do no less, and coming after Cuba, perhaps we can do much more.

Presently we have nothing to lose but our chains of dependence and insularity, and we have all to gain in Self-reliance in a New Caribbean State.

EXTRACT FROM INDEPENDENCE: YES! THE OLD MESS: NO!
BY A.C.L.M, ANTIGUA.

Programme for Independence

Now then, in our particular context, we pose the following as the minimum programme which must herald and announce to the world that we are in the vanguard of colonial peoples seeking to make a break with the foreign-dominated past.

(1) That the people formulate their own Independence Constitution through free and open discussion in a Constituent Assembly.

The idea of an Independence Constitution negotiated between the Antigua Government and the British Government is absolutely repugnant in1976. That we will not accept. The people, and not the British Government, must make the constitution by which they will live.

(2) That a Bill of Rights, written in simple and graceful language, form a fundamental part of the Independence Constitution. Such a Bill of Rights, must at the very least, establish in unequivocal terms (a) The Right to Work, (b) The Equality of women in all aspects of life, (c) The Right of workers to control their labour and the profits from their labour.

(3) This same Constituent Assembly called to frame the Constitution, will, after drafting the constitution, promulgate a decree which will have the force of law bringing all land in the state under popular control and through land distribution to peasants and unemployeds, will lay the basis for the re-organisation of agricultural production. This is absolutely necessary. Without it nothing. With it everything is possible.

(4) That the Constituent Assembly in a special session must draft a plan to secure full employment in 5 years, so that the Right to Work will not remain an abstract constitutional principle. This is of decisive importance.

(5) That a clear strategy of industrial development, aimed at workers control be declared. Such a statement will state precisely and clearly how and when the commanding heights of the economy will be brought under the Independent Control of the people. This is real independence.

(6) That these decisions of, We the People in Council, be publicised as the starting point of mobilisation up and down the State, and up and down the Caribbean as a whole. The Caribbean and the world will therefore take note that a new people, with new ideas and new purposes are on the world stage.

So organised, but only so organised, we will demonstrate to the world that we need not be dependent on others to direct the development of our human and natural resources.

So deciding, and so acting, we will demonstrate that Self-reliance, Self-determination, Democracy, Independence, in a word, Liberation, are not abstract terms, but the warp and woof of our daily existence.

Thus and now must we make clear to the world that we are willing to put our own house in order and establish a social regime whose distinguishing feature is not just the support of the people, but their direct participation in the control of production and decision making. Only upon this basis can we demand integration into the coming world economy. Only upon this basis can we release the tremendous creative energy, the productivity and enthusiasm of the mass of the people. Only upon this basis can we unloose the political currents in the advanced countries which can undertake so vast a reorganisation of the world economy and politics.

This then is our mission. Independence as Liberation. Workers Unite. Liberation Now!

EXTRACT FROM INDEPENDENCE: YES! THE OLD MESS: NO!
BY A.C.L.M, ANTIGUA.

The struggle for national liberation confronts the twin enemies - the colonial ruler and the imperialist exploiter with a revolutionary challenge. The formerly colonised people of the world will not rest until the productive forces of the world function in the interest of and under the authority of the working peoples of the world and not for imperialist profit.

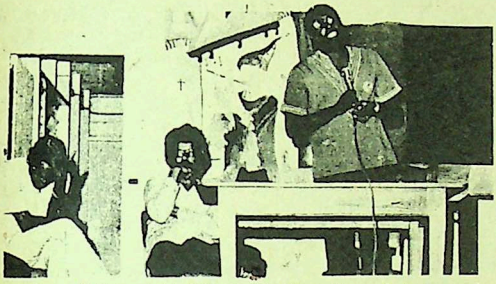
We will struggle until the world ideology and the world institutions reflect the claims the humanity and the history of the whole world community - not the domination of white racism, colonial and capitalist interests.

Independence can never be granted. What we will achieve in such a case is the external format of a built-in dependence.

- BY ARWEE, ST. VINCENT

ORGANIZE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLIES AROUND THE ISSUE OF INDEPENDENCE.

CALL THE REFERENDUM



From left to right, Ellorton Jeffers, Conrod Luke and Tim Hector Chairman of the ACLM,

Today across the Caribbean the concept of Statehood in Association is being laid to rest. Grenada gained its independence in 1974. St. Lucia, Dominica and St. Kitts have all initiated talks on independence and St. Vincent is considering its move to independence.

Antigua, the first of the "Little Seven" to move to Associate Statehood with Britain in 1967, has remained the odd man out and has refused to move up to independence, preferring instead to remain in its semi-colonial status.

Britain has already indicated to the United Nations Decolonising Committee that Britain stands ready to relinquish her colonial role in the Caribbean and to let territories like Antigua, which has been a settled British colony since 1632, have their independence on request and without delay.

Premier V.C. Bird has repeatedly stated that Antigua will not move to independence until a West Indian Federation is re-established. That statement by Premier Bird drew widespread derision and laughter from serious people throughout the Caribbean.

Rather than face up to the challenge of independence the ruling Antigua Labour Party has hidden behind various stratagems in order to avoid the question of independence. Besides Premier Bird's statement that Antigua would only be independent within a new West Indian Federation, the Antigua Labour Party attempted to hide and shield itself from the question of independence by stating that there would be no independence without a referendum. The backward and reactionary Opposition party in Dominica has used the same ALP subterfuge to oppose independence in Dominica. The ALP's stand on independence now stands exposed in all its backwardness.

The ALP stated in its 1976 general election manifesto "The struggle for Statehood in Association with Britain by the ALP was a step of intent that independence would follow at the psychological moment". This statement about "psychological moment" clearly has no meaning, for if after 345 years of uninterrupted British rule Antigua has not yet reached the "psychological moment" for independence it will never do so again. This idea of "psychological moment" is a cheap political trick by the ALP to avoid independence and to remain the last of the British colonies in the now defunct British Empire.

Recognising that these excuses were not satisfactory to escape the question of independence the ALP later declared in its election manifesto "Independence itself is the supreme will of a special majority of the electorate, who must be allowed to consider the subject as a separate issue." Clearly then the ALP was stating that under its government Antigua would only gain independence by a referendum.

NAME THE DATE

The ACLM calls on the ALP government to set the date and time for such a referendum and to save Antigua the shame and disgrace of remaining a British colony, otherwise known as an Associate State of Britain.

It would be to the eternal shame of Antigua if Britain fed up with having to defend at the United Nations her still holding these islands as colonies, were to exercise its right, according to the Antigua Constitution, and free itself of Antigua. It would be the lowest level of political comedy, if Britain were to declare its independence of Antigua. Antigua would be mocked in all the Councils of the world and in all independent countries. The ACLM therefore repeats its call to the Bird administration to name the

V.BIRD

E.WALTER

date and time for the referendum on independence for Antigua.

The "official" PLM Opposition, since its election defeat has stated that it could not support independence under Bird. It claims that the Bird administration has already passed too many repressive laws. It is ironical that the ruling ALP while in opposition made the very same allegation about the repressive laws against the Walter government. So we have a case of pot calling kettle black and vice-versa. What is abundantly clear is that both parties have opposed independence while the other held the reins of power. Their selfish pursuit of power and the pomp of office is all too clear.

FALSE ARGUMENT

The argument of both the ALP and PLM that whichever was in power when independence came would pass arbitrary and repressive laws is both specious and definite nonsense. Walter passed the Public Order Act which ALP then in opposition claimed was the most monstrous piece of repressive legislation. The ALP while in opposition organised a demonstration against the Public Order Act and were ruthlessly tear gassed and shamefully dispersed by the police. Now in power the ALP has strengthened the provisions of the same Public Order Act, and the PLM, which passed the Act in the first place, has denounced it as repressive. The point is clear, both parties did pass repressive legislation without independence. Therefore their falsehood is designed to fool the people.

The ACLM wants to make it clear that within the immediate future the Bird government must announce the date for the referendum. Premier Bird and his colleagues are convinced that the people of Antigua would prefer to vote to remain a colony. On the contrary, the ACLM is convinced that the youth, the progressive workers, farmers and women would vote overwhelmingly for independence.

BARBUDA

It is important to remind, and to draw a conclusion which has not been drawn before. That is, the people of Barbuda voted to reject secession and to become an outright British colony. The Barbudans buried that notion and the ACLM was the only organisation to participate in the 1974 Barbuda Convention and oppose secession, even though the majority of Barbudans then favoured secession. By 1976 Barbudans accepted the position outlined by ACLM and voted for Barbudans to direct their own government and development. Barbuda has clearly rejected colonial rule and secession.

WHAT INDEPENDENCE CAN DO

It should be made clear that the ACLM is convinced, absolutely convinced that independence is the only political means which can establish a sense of real national purpose in this island. Secondly independence alone provides the opportunity for bold policies to overcome the colonial legacies of unemployment and underdevelopment. Thirdly, independence alone affords the opportunity for peasant-farmers and young employed to launch an agricultural programme that will initiate real agro-industrial development in the rural areas and so lift the countryside out of its present depression.

Besides, independence, genuine independence is the only means by which this country could free its workers from foreign domination and allow the workers of this country to participate in a programme of industrialisation aimed at abolishing unemployment in the first place.

It is with that understanding of independence, and based on the programme and policy outlined above, that we call on the Bird government to set a date for the Referendum on Independence. Political independence now.

- TAKEN FROM OUTLET, ORGAN OF ACLM, ANTIGUA

East Indians and Canadian Racism

We live in a capitalist society that has a history of discriminating against minority groups.

Last month, Dr. Bruce Ruland, an Ontario Human Rights Commissioner, made this confession about the history of Canadian society. He said, "We have a racist history--one virtue after another."

DIVIDE AND RULE

The ruling class of Canada has always used race as a tool to divide and rule the working class even before the start of the Confederation. The fur traders, explorers and early settlers, most of them British, were greatly influenced by the people of the North. Sometimes they married Indian women and raised mixed families. Later, they encouraged European immigrants to become Canadians by bribing them with promises of land and riches.

Right now the Inuit in the Northwest Territories are exploited by the Canadian ruling class and stripped of their cultural heritage. Under capitalism, how it and Canadian ruling class is willing to go in the name of profit, thus destroying Canada's life and helping the Inuit of wholesome food.

Last summer, English-speaking Canadians told the Quebecois to go back to Quebec. Right at this moment young people in Eastern Canada are wearing T-shirts with the symbols of the beaver and the frog wrestling, thus demonstrating the severe conflict between English and French speaking Canadians.

SOCIAL DECAY

The discrimination against East Indians in Canada should not be seen as a new isolated phenomenon, but as an exposure of a rotten economy under capitalism. This bankrupt free enterprise system has failed to provide the promised jobs, adequate housing and inexpensive foodstuff. The North American Dream has not materialized yet. It will never materialize under capitalism. Instead, economic and social decay will continue to take place.

One of the signs of social decay is the rapid increase of racism, especially racism against East Indians.

A few months ago Shamshudin Kanji, a Tanzanian immigrant of East Indian origin was thrown on the subway tracks by a gang of white youths. He broke his leg and he is still walking on crutches. He is crippled for life.

On New Year's Eve Indal Narine, a Guyanese East Indian was kicked and assaulted on the subway, again by white youths. There is not a day that passes, when East Indians go free from racial and physical abuse. The police turn a blind eye to such assaults. Some of us, like Indal Narine, try to explain that we are not from Pakistan so we should not be called "Paki". But this explanation does not exclude us from name-calling and physical assault.

FIGHT BACK

All East Indians regardless of where they come from must vehemently condemn Paki name-calling and physical abuse. The Ghandian days of non-violence are long over. Fight back to defend yourself! Let this be a warning to all racists. Hands off East Indians!

The Paki jokes that white Canadians poke at us smell and taste worse than Newfie or Polish jokes. Here is just one example :

- How do you know when a Paki has been in your backyard?
- If your dog has been pregnant.

What an empty mind from a Christian country that has gone bad? I find it very hypocritical and ironical for Canadians to condemn racism in South Africa and in the US and at the same time they are rearing the bitter weeds of racism in their own backyards.

FIGHT U.S. CONTROL, NOT INDIANS

It is a lie that racism is pushed by a handful of mis-informed thugs! Sections of the press, namely the Toronto Sun and members and supporters of the Conservative Party are all helping to sanction race hate against East Indians!

If these racists and facists are not sure of their Canadian nationalism why don't they take out their vengeance on U.S subsidiaries that are daily ripping off the Canadian economy. Why don't they pick on the U.S controlled Canadian trade union bosses who sell the Canadian workers' rights to American interests?

Why don't white Canadian revolutionaries who claim to be so dedicated try to recruit these young white racists instead of going from leftist group to leftist group trying to hunt scalps

- to get more involved in the struggle for our own socialist revolution.

We know Indians are living in a complex capitalist society that is changing very rapidly. What must we do to survive in this racist, class structured society?

- it is impossible for us to change the society all by ourselves.

- To return to Ghana we come from as the Yardies tell us as an impossibility--because we are not going! We came here following the profits made by our exploiters when they cheated our forefathers who laboured as indentured slaves on the sugar plantations, bauxite mines and cotton fields! We have a right to stay here!

The British ruling class who governed and exploited India, shipped our people all over the globe like they did during slavery in the African people. Our people were exploited as cheap labour in such places as South Africa, Guyana, Trinidad, Jamaica, Zanzibar, Surinam, Mauritius, Malaysia and the Fiji Islands. The native British ruling class has used African, Chinese and West Indian workers to these places to divide and rule! The working class in Ghana must learn from this and capitalize from it and do all that is possible to build strong people centred unity.

We, East Indians, will not win on our own. Our religious or our philosophy cannot save us! We have to make meaningful alliances with other sections working class struggle to fight the capitalist system in the streets, in the office and on the factory floor.

We must formally unite, and struggle alongside other sections working class people. We must organize ourselves to help overthrow a decadent capitalist system, the basis that creates racism.

- Part of an article by an Indo-Guyanese

A Critique of Caribbean Dialogue

A desire to be informed on political events in the Continent to learn more about the possible rise of socialism and socialist thinking among our people, and finally to obtain an education myself, led me to subscribe to Caribbean Dialogue.

The choice was influenced by my conversations with a friend and my reading of an NJAC book entitled 'Life and Role of Party Politics in Trinidad and Tobago' by Franklyn Harvey. Both sources I must add, have influenced my thinking considerably over the last several years.

It is unfortunate that after receiving 6 issues of Caribbean Dialogue, my expectations have not been realized. There are several points of criticism which I would like to raise.

1) The articles are unbalanced, i.e. they emphasize positions of situations occurring in the Caribbean. Those articles offer almost no real, concrete positions on these situations. This may be unfortunate, (i.e., I don't believe everything you or anybody else prints) yet no positive solutions to some of these problems appear to me.

2) The format, I have been told so as to appear 'glossy' of a kind to someone going 'yet, it is distracting, it breaks your concentration when you have to 'search pages' it is also unattractive.

3) The non-main features articles seem repetitive and to dilute each. They have non-micro-serial

peoples in our society (e.g. feature stories on Indian, Chinese and Caribbean politics should also be introduced. There are some suggestions:

(i) The articles could be compartmentalized into series as such:

(ii) Commentary - Description of political events in the Caribbean and world (only peoples living abroad). This is already being done, but coverage can be increased in space. It is overemphasized.

(iii) Resource articles - Analysis of trends, e.g. April/May 1970 "At the Crossroads" or Jan. 1977 "A Generation in Review".

2) Further Reading Section could be added. Include a list of books which could be read.

3) Poems and Short Story bubbles, e.g. the words of Bob Marley, Chalkdust, Kwesi, Cesaire.

4) Produce a quarterly if publishing on a monthly basis is too difficult. What may enable you to raise your standards.

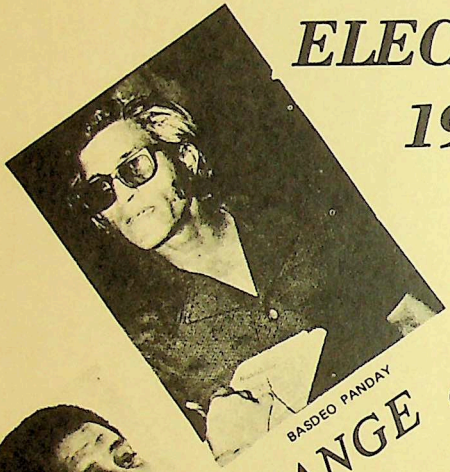
I sincerely hope that my comments will prevade you with the encouragement which you may need.

LETTERS RECEIVED FROM C.D.'s

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

VOL.3 NO.2 FEBRUARY/MARCH 1977

ELECTIONS 1976



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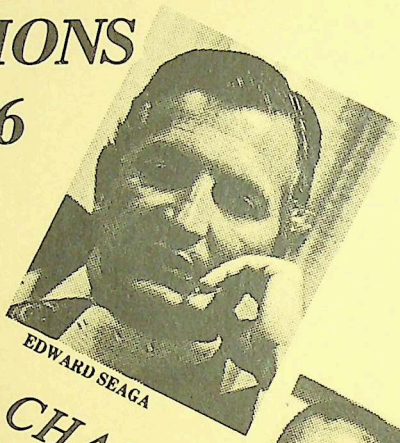

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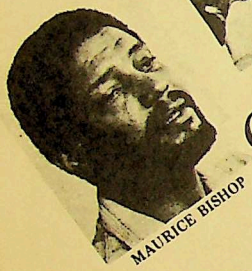

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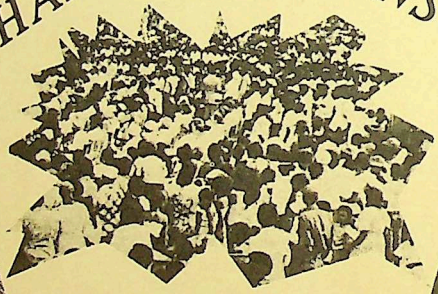

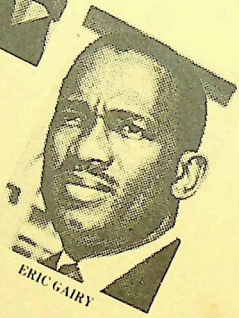

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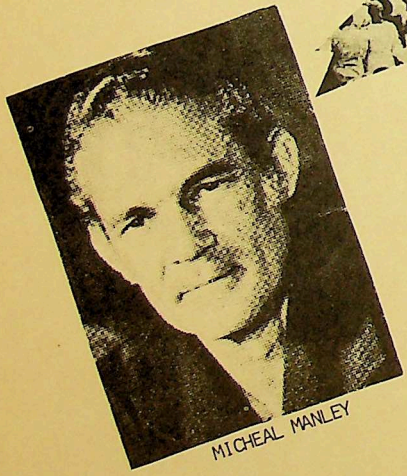
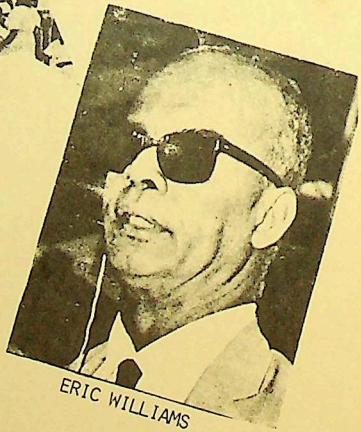


MICHEAL MANLEY

HERBERT BLAIZE



ERIC WILLIAMS

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

Caribbean Dialogue is a caribbean information service published by the New Beginning Movement in collaboration with the Race Today Collective and other groups, organisations and individuals in the Caribbean and in the metropolitan centres of North America and Europe. Caribbean Dialogue is produced by the Toronto chapter of the New Beginning Movement with the active assistance of other organisations and individuals.

Caribbean Dialogue is distributed as a free service to groups and organisations in the Caribbean. Individuals and institutions in the Caribbean and organisations, institutions abd individuals in other countries can obtain copies by subscription or at a limited number of bookstores.

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EDITORIAL

Generally, it can be said that the parliamentary struggle is on the revolutionary agenda today in the English-speaking Caribbean. The great danger that faces the ULF, NJM and other left parties that may enter parliament is that they may find themselves concentrating all their efforts on the parliamentary struggle with other forms of struggle being, in practice, only supportive of the parliamentary struggle. A revolutionary tactic would then be transformed into a "revolutionary" strategy that capital has in the past contained and co-opted and is fully prepared to accomodate though not without a struggle. Because of this great danger, it is essential for a revolutionary party to form a parliamentary wing that must be subordinated to and controlled by the party as a whole. However, in the Caribbean situation, the leadership exercises great dominance over the membership and the party as a whole. The problem is that usually the effective leadership of the party is in parliament and as a result party control of the parliamentary wing becomes that wing's control of itself. It is only when the effective leadership of the party is outside of parliament and rooted in mass struggles and building popular class institutions of power, is there a real counteracting force to the parliamentary tendency within the party. In the final analysis, it is only the strength of the independent, popular class institutions of power that can control the parliamentary tendency and the party leadership in general.

It is the essential task of the parliamentary left in the Caribbean to utilize its parliamentary leverage to advance the implementation of the revolutionary strategy for the building of true socialism.

- F.H

The Left and Parliamentary Struggle

The intervention of left-wing parties suchas the ULF in Trinidad & Tobago and NJM in Grenada heralds a new phase in the political development of the Caribbean that is fraught with both great hope and potential and grave dangers. The great hope and potential lie in the possibilities and new vistas that this development opens for the rapid mobilization, organization and political clarity of the Caribbean workers and farmers movement, and the grave danger is that the present crop of left leaders and their parties could be easily co-opted by capital at its present advance phase of maturity.

* * * * * * *

The character and function of parliament in the Caribbean as elsewhere can only be seriously understood within the context of the character and function of the state. The Caribbean state (meaning the islands' states) has been shaped, built, and organized by the colonial/imperialist bourgeoisie to oversee and secure the hegemony of imperialist capital in particular and capital in general in the domestic social formation. This function of the state can be divided into two main tasks : (1) to provide the conditions necessary for the ever expanding penetration of the economy and the society by imperialist capital and, in the final analysis, for the hegemony of capital and capitalist relations in general within the network of integrated global capital; (2) to exercise control over labour in the process of production and exchange and to regulate and mediate the class struggle in the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the local ruling class.

The performance of such a function by the state demanded the development of a domestic class and the reproduction of that class on an ever increasing scale with the capabilities to plan, manage, develop, expand, reform, etc. the various arms of the state as an integrated whole. The class most of all which by its position in the social division of labour has been nurtured by maturing capital to carry out that function is the professional middle-class (called by many on the left as the new petit-bourgeoisie).

The Caribbean state, therefore, is a bourgeois or capitalist state, and it is a dependent state. Consequently, it can be characterised as a dependent capitalist state. Such a state cannot carry out the task of socialist construction regardless of which class takes hold of that type of state. Parliament, being only one of the arms of the state (and the weakest one), is in fact the Board of Directors of the dependent capitalist Caribbean state.

In light of the above, should revolutionary organizations and parties fight the class struggle in the parliamentary arena? It is the great lesson of the history of class struggles that wherever the masses of workers and farmers are gathered together and in whichever activities they are concentrated in their social, cultural, economic and political life, there also must the class struggle be waged. Class struggle, therefore, must be fought at various levels, in various arenas including the parliamentary arena. There are a number of specific reasons for waging the parliamentary struggle and particular factors that influence the form of that struggle that cannot be dealt with here. Suffice it to say that the waging of parliamentary struggle in various forms by revolutionary parties and organizations will remain a political task so long as the workers and farmers continue to demonstrate their confidence in the ability of bourgeois parliament and state to work in their interest.

Is parliamentary struggle a strategy or a tactic? The revolutionary strategy in the present period is to mobilize and organize the workers and farmers in independent class organizations and to develop their political clarity through struggle (the most important form of struggle being mass struggle) with the political objective of taking state power to build the Workers and Farmers Democratic State and to transform the economy and social relations in the period of the socialist transition. This is the essence of revolutionary strategy today. Parliamentary struggle is only one means of implementing that strategy and is a tactic. What this essentially means is that the revolutionary approach and attitude to parliamentary struggle change as the particular political situation changes. To elevate the parliamentary struggle to the level of the revolutionary strategy, as some left parties do, is to confine the workers and farmers movement within the limits of capitalist relations and the capitalist state regardless of the renovations made to that state.

The parliamentary struggle, therefore, cannot be the essence of revolutionary struggle in the Caribbean today; it is not even the most important form of struggle. It is a revolutionary tactic, the timing and form of application of which depend on the particular political situation and the level and intensity of class struggle, the balance of class forces (locally and internationally) and the relation of strength and political influence between the parties and organizations.

- CONTINUED ON INSIDE FRONT COVER

Why Frome Lost Money

The Frome Sugar Factory in Westmorelandi lost some $3 million this year. The factory fell short of expected production. Different reasons are put forward as to why this happened. The factory workers tell it all.

While the farms at Frome are run by the workers themselves the factory is run by the bourgeois management in the National Sugar Corporation. The workers say it is the wasting of money, poor upkeep of machinery and bad relations with workers which have caused the mess at Frome. Workers point to "(a) the washing plant on which so much money was spent, which did not give the service expected. (b) the new evaporator (c) the clarifier (d) the juicetank (e) the bagasse scale (f) the new road cut across the lawn (g) the 8 foot fence to divide workers from office staff and "to make you look like lion in a pen." This is how the millions of dollars given by the Sugar Industry Authority was wasted".

It is usual at the end of every sugar crop for all the machinery in the factory to be pulled down and serviced. But workers have learned that "not all machines and pumps will be repaired. This tells us that they are not prepared to fix the machines that suffered from so much breakdown last crop. If the machines are not repaired the next crop may be worst than the last." The management further paid out over a million dollars in overtime when they could have paid much less and gotten more production if they had listened to the suggestions of the workers.

Workers say that management "are laying off the younger and more stronger workers and leaving the older ones. Over 187 workers will be paid some $15 and some $20 per week to stay home because the company say they do not have any work to give them and yet they are taking private contractors and give them contract work".

Workers see the laying off which is now taking place at Frome as a move to destabilise the Government by creating dissatisfaction. They say "is no secret that the people who manage the Frome Factory are against Manley and against socialism." The workers also notice that the unions, the BITU and the NWU are silent over all that is going on.

Factory workers reprevent the SWCC newspaper, "Workers Time", from being sold on the factory compound. They will not allow the divide and rule tactics to work. They realise that now more than ever they must struggle for worker management in the factory and for factory workers and farm workers to come together and run both field and factory for the benefit of the workers and the country.

- TAKEN FROM 'STRUGGLE', ORGAN OF W.L.L

Call for Nationalization

The Manchester Parish Council has called on the government to "move fast" in nationalizing the bauxite companies operating in Jamaica. Both PNP and JLP councillors were united in their demand.

This demand was spurred by the latest move by ALCAN. The company demanded that the council pay 60¢ per 11,000 gallons of water to be distributed to citizens of drought-stricken Manchester.

The Council charged the companies with sabotage against the country and the government and called their action "wicked and dreadful." Mayor Charlton of Mandeville stated that the ALCAN "has now shown up their true colours" and JLP Councillor Hall stated that "the government should force ALCAN to give water free to the people of Manchester".

This call by the Parish Council is the latest in wide-spread demands by growing sections of the Jamaican people that our most valuable resource, bauxite, be nationalised. This is the only way this resource can be used for the betterment of our people.

Up until 1973 Jamaica received less than 1 1/2% of the value of the aluminium produced by our bauxite. Out of $540 per ton we received $7.70. Since the bauxite levy we are receiving only $40.50 out of the $540. Yet, some companies have taken the government to court.

These companies own 200,000 acres of Jamaica's best land, while people can't get land to grow food and while we have to import dearer and dearer food.

- TAKEN FROM 'STRUGGLE', ORGAN OF W.L.L

Nationalization is necessary as the first act in the Struggle to Control.

THE MAJORITY MUST BENEFIT

The working people, small farmers, progressive middle clas of Hanover have begun to organise themselves for full participation in the economic development of the parish.

On August 17, over 70 community organisations in the parish came together at a meeting called in the Lucea Court House by the HANOVER PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT (HPM), and formed an ACTION COMMITTEE to press the demand that the community be fully involved in all stages of the Cement Factory to be built in Hanover, starting this month (September).

This was tha latest stage in a struggle which began in March, when members of the HPM met with Prime Minister Manley and put forward various suggestions as to how the majority of people in the parish could benefit from the Cement Factory to be built there.

The HPM discussed with Mr. Manley the conditions in the parish, where most people had to depend on the land for a living. Yet more than three-quaters of the good agricultural land is owned by a few landbarons. There are only two major factories in the parish - one making curry and the other, baseballs. As a result, there is high unemployment, especially among the youth.

Mr Manley agreed that the majority should benefit from any new factory in the parish and that the community should be fully involved in the planning and running of it. The Prime Minister turned the matter over to P.J. Patterson, the Minister responsible for industry.

Patterson wrote to the HPM, telling them briefly that he would involve the community "at the appropriate time".

The people of Hanover are not satisfied with this. And at the meeting, the HPM's proposals were adopted by representatives of the 70 organisations from all over the parish. The people of Hanover:

-Support Government owning 51% of the Cement Factory, "since this would prevent it being owned by big foreign and local capitalists and thereby used to oppress and exploit our people.

-Demand that the people of Hanover should get jobs in the factory first, no matter which party they were from and that workers who were unemployed the longest and had the ability.

-Demand that a training programme be set up to give skill training to especially youth so that they can get skilled jobs in the factory.

-Demand that as many people of the parish as possible get contracts for the building, and not just a few self-seeking individuals.

-Demand that Lucea Harbour be re-opened under Government control to handle imports to and exports from the factory. This will create more jobs.

-Demand that the most modern equipment be used in the factory so that pollution is kept down.

The people of Hanover are moving and organising to better themselves and their parish. That in organisation and unity lies strength, is a lesson for all.

- TAKEN FROM 'STRUGGLE', ORGAN OF W.L.L

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Race Today reports and analyses workers struggles in India, the Caribbean, North America and Europe.

The Race Today Collective brings not only a new approach to Marxist interpretation of struggles in Capitalist society but also adds a new dimension to revolutionary journalism.

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CARNIVAL'77
THE THREAT IS FROM WITHIN

BY DARCUS HOWE

CARNIVAL IN THE CARIBBEAN AND BRITAIN HAS BEEN A CULTURAL AS WELL AS A POLITICAL EVENT WITH MUCH HIDDEN BELOW THE COLOUR AND DRAMA. CARNIVAL '76 IN BRITAIN PRECIPITATED A CONFRONTATION THAT WAS HIGHLY POLITICAL BETWEEN BRITISH POLICE AND WEST INDINA IMMIGRANTS. BELOW, DARCUS HOWE, EDITOR OF RACE TODAY (BRITAIN) GIVES A PENETRATING ANALYSIS OF THE CRISIS OF CARNIVAL '77 AND PROPOSES AN ORGANIZATIONAL SOLUTION THAT IMPLICITLY LAYS THE BASIS FOR A SOCIAL MOVEMENT OF W.I IMMIGRANTS.

The fate of the annual West Indian carnival festival hangs in the balance, and not for the same reasons as it did in 1976. Then, the practice of celebrating carnival on the streets of Notting Hill was challenged by local white residents, the police and the local council. The three groups campaigned to have the carnival removed from the streets and imprisoned in the White City stadium. They lost that struggle.

This year, that particular challenge lies dormant, even though there are those, local councillors in the main, who are making noises of a similar nature.

A new and more serious threat has arisen. A major split between two factions of the 1976 Carnival Development Committee threatens to ruin the 1977 celebrations. The Carnival Development Committee is that body which is responsible for the yearly organisation of the event.

The obvious consequence of such an open break between factions is the fact that the traditional enemies of carnival are poised to exploit the division in order to destroy the event. In another sense, the split makes it possible for the carnival movement to put its house in order.

Over a period of three years the festival has grown by leaps and bounds. There is no single cultural event in the United Kingdom which draws such a large gathering. One quarter of a million people, from all over the country, attended last year's celebrations. The tasks involved in organising such a festival are bound to be immense and much more so when those tasks are complicated by attacks from without, as was the case in 1976.

With the eyes of the world focussed on the celebrations, the carnival festival assumed political implications way beyond the wildest dreams of its organisers.

* * * * * * *

The upshot of all this is the emergence of two distinct and separate committees, each claiming to be organisers for 1977; the Notting Hill Carnival Committee and the Carnival Development Committee. All efforts at bringing both factions together have failed. The editor of *West Indian World* offered his services as mediator, only to be told by one faction that it was not on.

So long as the police, local residents and the council authorities were keeping up the constant attack on the carnival, all matters relating to how the festival should be organised, and by whom, were pushed aside. It was simply a question of unity to defeat the outsiders. To a large degree the outsiders have been defeated. Young blacks saw to that.

Now that the threat of outside intervention has been pushed back, we are faced with ourselves, and those issues which have remained in abeyance. What is the carnival? What are the tasks facing the carnival committee in 1977? Neither faction has sought to clarify either question. The issue, as articulated by them, is simply put: "Who Controls the Show".

* * * * * * *

Last year, some 15 steelbands and their masqueraders paraded the streets in and around the area known as the Grove. The parade remains the central attraction. Beginning in the spring, each band prepares for the day. They are all self-organised entities, all 15 of them. They choose a theme and proceed to design the relevant costumes. Take, for example, the Ebony Steelband. In 1976, their portrayal was titled, 'Things with Wings'. They operated, in the weeks prior to the event, from their 'mas camp', where the costumes are designed and displayed. The potential masquerader selects his/her costume and is fitted out. The organisation of the steelband grows side by side. New pans must be cut, grooved and tuned; old ones touched up. The latest calypsoes from the Trinidad and Tobago festival are arranged and 30 or more musicians practice day in and day out. Original funds come from the pockets of the members themselves, to be supplemented by grants from small Caribbean businessmen, trusts and other foundations. All these transactions are carried out from within the bands themselves. It is, in all cases, a major organisational effort to keep the unit together up to and during the two carnival days.

Carnival has grown only to the extent that these units have developed their organisational capacities from different bases in London. A quarter of a million people are drawn to the area because they are fired by the range of artistic expression on show, a range that is possible only because of a disciplined

- CONTINUED ON BACK COVER

COMMON SENSE PLEASE

The trade union movement is faced with its greatest challenge this month, since 1965. It comes with the annual conference of the TUC, September 23-25. At that conference the ruling party, the PNC will attempt to get its own man elected as president of the TUC in place of Richard Ishmael who has always toed the PNC line.

POWER

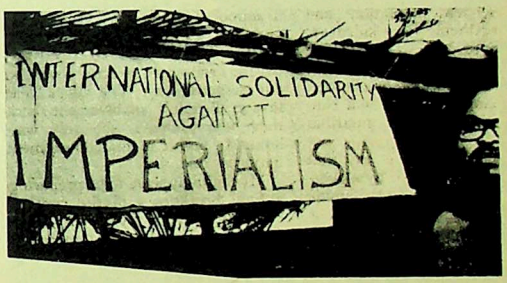
Where does power lie in Guyana? Not power of a section, but overall power? It lies in the government (cabinet) which is PNC. It lies in the army. It lies in the TUC. It lies in the masses, but the masses are divided at present. The PNC has overall power because it controls the public service, the army, the police, and to some extent the courts. The courts have power over matters which are brought to them. PNC also controls Parliament (do not forget that in 1973 it rigged its way to a two-thirds majority at the expense mainly of the PPP and also of the PDM and the Liberator Party. Those elections were so undemocratic that up to now there is no official election report. There is no Jhappan report on the young workers killed by the security forces, and no inquiry into the young police and soldier lads who drowned in the Canje to the greater glory of the PNC).

SOCIALISM

There is no socialism in Guyana. There can be no socialism where the fight is really African versus Indian as in the 1973 election. At no time has the working class taken power in Guyana. That is why it is hungry, fearful, oppressed and daily insulted and reduced to a shadow. A mixed gang, headed by ex-company directors, still practising exploitation, RUNS THE GOVERNMENT. Through the cabinet its exercises the rights of ownership over nationalized property, over the people, and over the people's earnings.

PNC RULE

Look at a few of the other things the PNC has done against the workers and the people: in 1974 it increased bus fares by 70 to 100% for long and short runs. It increased pig feeds by over 60%. It denies people the right of employment. It runs a PNC labour exchange. It increased the salaries of the rulers by over 100% and the wages of the poor by 23% (1973) with the backing of the TUC officials. It put a scraven levy on salaries and wages of government employees, police, and others in August 1975 for the PNC biennial conference. It finances the PNC out of state funds and at the same time takes "self denial" from its members and those it controls. It forces regular contributions from many of its middle-class employees. It promised the publication of leaders' assets since March 1975 and has published nothing up to now. It violated the Guyana constitution by creating the "Office of the General Secretary, People's National Congress and Ministry of National Development," with a vote of $10 M and gives no account to anybody for this vote. It announced a people's Militia and has made a PNC militia. In 1964, the PNC promised a new hospital and now it denies the old hospital supplies of drugs, cheap equipment like syringes, and even such basic items as beds and linen. The PNC elite



ride high in helicopters while the mass of workers, students, housewives must wait from one to two hours for a place in a bus or taxi Every day at 10 a.m. there are those who cannot get to work or to school, waiting at the road sides.

Revolution

The PNC has indeed established relations with revolutionary Cuba. And Cuba has now become the honeymoon hideout of nonpolitical newlyweds who toast each other in "silver chalices" - like President Chung's daughter.

Supreme

The PNC has made itself paramount. It dictates what is to be done in every town and village, who is employed, who starves, who can use fovernment buildings, who can't, who gets newsprint, who is squeezed?

Crimes

The PNC rigged the nominations in the Guyana Mineworkers Union in the bauxite belt. It

boasted that if the misfit leaders it selected to lead the union failed, they would throw them out and put in other PNC people (Vesting Day 1976). It ordered recognition for the GLU at the Georgetown Council. The GLU is "affiliated" to the PNC. This month, on top of all this, the PNC plans to force its candidate on the TUC. It wants to place in this position someone it can handle. Ishmael has run his course. Another official is now acting president. He is also a union president and labour officer from Min. of Labour. He is nominated for the post of TUC president and will, very likely, be the PNC candidate. If such a person becomes president of the TUC, he will be another tool of the PNC. Even the PNC rank and file members do not want such a thing to happen. The ruling party already controls the army officers. It controls the police officers. It controls the National Service officers. It controls the officers of the PNC militia. It controls the managerial class. There is such a class. The head of government called them "functional superiors". Is it common sense to allow the TUC to fall under the control of the ruling party? No. Common sense dictates that the presidency of the TUC fall in the hands of the workers. Common sense demands that a dedicated trade unionist who at all times has fought with labour and represented it, who has no master but the workers interest should be chosen by the delegates. Someone with all round equipment to face the legislation which may be attempted, who has been above race conflict, who has not deserted his union for political office, who is not an official of any party. Someone whose loyalty is first and foremost to his union and to the working class in Guyana and all the world.

* * * * * * *

Labour Democracy

The working People's Alliance believes that the working people are very precious and will become better educated, better skilled, and develop their political wisdom. It believes that the working people in Guyana are maturing but their growth is being stunted by the lack of democracy in the country, by the grip of ex-company directors and imperialist collaborators on state power. It does not believe in and will not accept a dictatorship of either African or Indian petty-capitalists and state millionaires. The country is well on the way to dictatorship of "personally interested" and corrupt groups. WPA calls on trade unionists and working people not to hang ourselves; but to use common sense to see the situation as it is. The PNC absolutely controls the government. Let the unions control the TUC.

Sugar Strike Exposes PNC Socialism

In July 1973 the PNC "broke through" the sugar belt and claimed to have won over the PPP's supporters. Today, September 1976, the PNC is powerless to call an end to the strike in the sugar belt. Today the PNC government is using the RIOT SQUAD, threats, and jail to "persuade" the same workers who, so it says, voted for it in 1973. So according to the PNC's own story of the "fairy tale" elections, the PNC has lost its mandate in the sugar belt.

Issues

Apart from arms and police batons the PNC is again using familiar weapons. Of course, the PNC's real election supporters - the African workers and villagers - have again been told that the aim of the strike is to overthrow the government and that it is a racial strike. Surely some of the issues can be presented racially, and neocolonial politics can do nothing about that, except make it worse. There is discrimination along political lines, in which PNC supporters and PPP deserters are favoured. There is on some plantations political discrimination which appears pro-African and some (on at least one) which looks pro-Indian. There are certain rules to be observed and the serious people must stick to the rules, or be dealt with by the labour movement.

* * * * * * *

"Comrade"

The press and radio are not looking at the facts. oh no. They pretend that the unions were anxious to call a strike. They ignore the fact that management behaviour has not improved, but changed everywhere for the worse. As in the bauxite industry, the workers continue to be treated like nothing, like slaves. Perhaps in sugar it is worse. Mister this became Comrade this. Mister that became Comrade that. Nothing else changed in the structure. Nothing. The same people who held seminars on "productivity" are now holding seminars on "socialism" and the workers are puzzled.

Disputes

Look at the "reports on labour disputes. You will see that the "socialist" arbitrators as in the Crane Report are advised by heavy capitalist advisors, who swallow the robber economics wholesale and create future disputes.

Competition

Finally, look at how the PNC leaders are defeating their own cause. How can an economy heading for "socialism" create racial competition? The workers must reject this false pretence. A socialist economic policy which, in Guyana, leads to racial competition is a stinking corpse. So that is what PNC socialism is - A stinking colonial corpse.

How they see us,
"Guybau Hits Spotlight in Europe Magazine" is the bold title on an article in the Friday, September 3, 1976 Chronicle which quotes without comment passages from Industrial Mineral a European Journal. Unabashedly capitalist, this magazine, according to the excerpts reprinted in the Chronicle, has given a very favourable review of the progress of the guyanese bauxite industry since nationalisation.
That the imperialist capitalist press can express its approval of the nationalised bauxite industry's operations in "socialist" Guyana (stressing; of course, the capitalist obsession with production, profits and marketing) through the government mouthpiece, the Chronicle, only serves to confirm what the workers in Linden have been saying all along - that there has been no qualitative change in the industry since the "socialist" Guyana government has taken it over. The "New Canadians" is the term they use to describe present management.

HELP DAYCLEAN CARRY ON ITS WORK. YOUR CASH DONATION, GIFT OF PAPER, INK, OR STENCILS WILL BE WELCOME. IT WILL BE ACKNOWLEDGED.

WPA - 185 King-Charlotte Streets, Georgetown, Guyana.

- BY THE WORKING PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE, GUYANA

Nurses Strike

A long suffering section of the working class, the nurses at PHG have come out strongly against exploitation and oppression. On Tuesday night, August 3, 76 faced with yet another tasteless plate of rice, the nurses at the Georgetown hospital decided that they had had enough and walked off their jobs.

Over the past years, all their pleas, protests, complaints, requests had fallen on deaf ears. They realised that only by withholding their labour power could they get even minimum concessions from the rulers. Despite great odds - lack of support from the union, strike-breaking activity from petty-bourgeois WRSN, deliberate attempts to divide their ranks, news distortions aimed at turning public sentiment against them - they stayed out for over three days and nights until the regime agreed in principle to give them money to purchase proper meals. Latest reports say that government and the two-faced leaders are claiming that $45 is enough. But right now other unions are rejecting $2.50 as a meal allowance and have won $3.00 per meal. As for the state officials and their relatives, some 40 of them have gone off on a $1M trip to Sri Lanka. This is how the friends of the people love the poor.

As was to be expected during the strike, the enemies of the working class came out in full force. All of a sudden there were cries of great concern for the "poor" patient. DAYCLEAN is not deceived by this show of so called concern by those who refuse to supply drugs and equipment to the hospitals. The "concern" is a new attempt to divide the ranks of the working class, a trick to isolate the nurses in their just struggle. If the powers

that be were at all concerned about the plight of the patients, steps should have been takenn long ago to correct the gross injustices in our public hospitals in Guyana. The poor facilities, the insanitary surroundings, the generally unhealthy atmosphere in these institutions is no secret. The shameful conditions which exist in these places which are supposed to be responsible for the nation's health would be a disgrace to any government, and much more so one which claims to be socialist.

Whatever affects the nurses' efficiency -whether it be non-nutritious, poorly prepared meals, bad administration, an unsatisfactory shift system, lack of promotion and professional opportunity, starvation wages, lack of moral and tangible support from the administration - affects the well being of the patient. So the Judaslike concern for the patient is really a

feeble and unprincipled attempt to confuse the issues and divided the working people. As for the strike breaking actions of the WRSM,YSMUG students and the like--that was anti-working class activity pure and simple..The Struggle of the Nurses, is also a Struggle for better health services. The nurses themselves have said so. And the struggle for better health services has the total solidarity of ALL the working people in Guyana. The struggle of the nurses is directly related to the concrete needs of the Guyanese workers. The strikers, for example took care to organise a skeleton staff to handle emergencies as they come in.

It must also be noted that the state agencies went into action against health workers and doctors who supported the nurses. The hospital administration, the Ministries of Health and Labour made it painfully obvious that the health of the nation and better conditions for working people were not their concern. ONCE AGAIN IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE WORKING PEOPLE CANNOT RELY ON ANY OTHER CLASS TO WIN FOR THEM THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE IN THEIR INTERESTS. Only working class struggle can achieve real gains for the workers in Guyana. This lesson is also clear from the behaviour of the PSU. After attacking the nurses for striking, two hours later they were giving so-called support when they realised that the nurses would not back down. All attempts of the union officials to "order" the nurses back to work failed. The nurses only returned when their initial demands were accepted, money instead of meals, no victimisation, and when assurances were given that talks aimed at improvement of hospital conditions for nurses and patients would continue. THE WORKING PEOPLE MUST CONSTANTLY GUARD AGAINST BETRAYAL OF THEIR STRUGGLE BY OFFICIALS WHO DO NOT HAVE THEIR INTERESTS AT HEART. We must be vigilant against those who tie bundle with the exploiting class. DAYCLEAN has recently heard of silent victimization and of PNC activists putting personal pressure on health workers after the strike.

Despite all the activity aimed at thwarting the nurses struggle, WPA was very heartened by this expression of working class consciousness on the part of the nurses, and the strong show of solidarity demonstrated by health workers of other hospitals and by the mass of the working people.

Further indications of the widespread nature of the problem and commitment to struggle has come to DAYCLEAN from Linden Hospital. Here are some of their grievances:
Promotional Opportunities: At present the hospital has no matron or Deputy Matron. Both of these people resigned because of management's attitude towards them. It is said that a matron is being recruited from England. These recruits have to be taught the run of the institution by the sisters who have been on the job for many years. Why is it that the sisters already within the system, some of whom have acted in the position of Matron, are not given the opportunity to occupy these positions on a permanent basis? Wages: All categories of workers at the hospital are grossly underpaid except for the administrator, CMO, Matron, and Deputy. These persons are given allowances to cover many expenses. Other workers have the same needs yet the only allowance they receive is a shoe allowance.

Transportation: Internal transportation is very poor. Workers were assured that when the buses arrived the transportation problem would have been solved. But instead the situation has become worse. The men who work in the mines are transported to and from work. Aren't hospital workers just as important? Dispensary: An acute shortage of dispensers existed even before the opening of the Upper Demerara Hospital. Now the few dispensers have been divided between the two hospitals. Out-Patient Department: The lone emergency doctor for the period 8-11 sees about 120 patients. There should be at least three emergency doctors. Wards: These are in a filthy condition with flies, rats and roaches. The administration is quite complacent about the substandard conditions existing there-maybe because they and their families can go elsewhere. Students: The students are exploited as a source of cheap labour. They are paid a very small amount but serve as full-fledged nurses. They should be restricted to day duty only so that they can be properly taught and supervised. Starvation at Home: The workers of Guyana are still starving with a government minimum wage of $5.50G per day. Old people are still living on an old age pension of G$15 a month and a death benefit from NIS is still G$100. The nurses and patients are robbed and insulted by high officials and double dealers who say there is no money for food allowances, drugs and medical equipment. Aging Bill Rogers who created the Guyana Shanto has his national award - a medal with no pension, while his music is exploited by the Philistines in power.

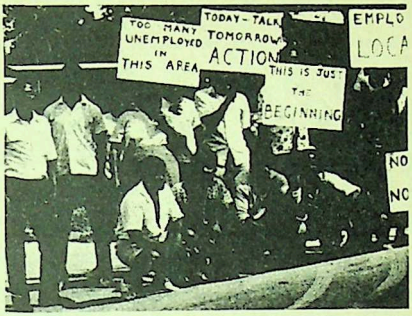
A new type of exploiter is forming rapidly in the Guyanese system. The type is anti-democratic, thirsty, greedy, vulgar, callous, licorish and oppressive.

- TAKEN FROM 'DAYCLEAN',ORGAN OF W.P.A

Away With The Old Mess.

GUYANA

Rampersad Vs PNC State



Arnold Rampersaud, a father of five children and 40 years old, is a member of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana and for many years has been a leading Party worker in the Corentyne area. As a result of his political activities he has been subjected to severe harassment, frequent imprisonment and mental torture. He has, however, held steadfast to his convictions in spite of constant attempts to break his will.

On 18th July, 1974, having concluded his day's work he returned home at 7.30 p.m. where he remained until next morning. About 10.00P.M. the same night a policeman was shot and killed while he was keeping guard at a Toll Station a few miles away from where Arnold lived.

Three Toll Stations were built straddling the Corentyne Highway for the dual purpose of collecting toll from all vehicles which pass the point of the Toll Station and to provide a vantage point for the armed forces in the event of anti-government agitation. The institution of toll fees also smacks of political discrimination as the vast majority of the population in the Corentyne area which forms a large part of Berbice, one of the three Counties in Guyana, have long been strong supporters of the People's Progressive Party (PPP). There have been many political campaigns by the people in the area against the construction of the Toll Stations and the collection of toll fees. There is only one other Toll Station in the whole of Guyana.

There was a vast police operation after the shooting of the policeman and about one week after Arnold went to a police station to take meals for his brother who was held in connection with the shooting, he was arrested, questioned and released. A few days later he was arrested again. The Police refused to release or charge him and two weeks later his lawyers had to institute court proceedings whereupon he was charged with murder. During the two weeks he was subjected to mental torture and was beaten by police.

His trial was deliberately delayed by the Police and the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions even though the Constitution of Guyana provides for a fair trial within reasonable time. Many efforts were made by Arnold's lawyers, the PPP including the General Secretary, Cde. Cheddi Jagan and Arnold himself. All efforts failed. It is only when Court proceedings were taken which gravely embarassed the Government that his case was brought to trial TWO YEARS AND THREE MONTHS after he was charged. During the period of his incarceration he was frequently threatened that he will never get out of prison unless he declares his support for the governing party, the People's National Congress (PNC). He refused.

Just before his trial started the Director of Public Prosecutions applied to the Court for his trial to be transferred from the Corentyne to Georgetown. The reason was obvious. The government has no political support in the Corentyne and they were determined to hang him. Despite the lack of legal precedent and the clear injustice if the trial was transferred, the Judge agreed to transfer it to Georgetown. The reason for the application to transfer the trial was that the Government would have been in a better position to pack the jury with their own supporters and tamper with them. At the trial Arnold's lawyers were given five names for the panel of jurors who were known PNC supporters. The first five persons picked as jurors were the five names given to the lawyers!

At the trial which lasted four weeks the main witnesses were Joechin Francis, a Special Constable, who was on duty with the policeman when he was shot and Nathaniel Douglas. He had given evidence previously that he was a member of the PNC. He stated that he and the policeman were in the Toll Station. The policeman was in a cot and he was on a chair. There was total darkness. Shots were fired at the Toll Station. The policeman returned fire. He was later found dead on the roadway and Francis was shot in the toe. He remained in the Toll Station. He said that a few minutes after the shooting he heard a car starting up and driving towards the Toll

Station. As it passed he looked out and saw Arnold driving the car and three other men inside.

He gave THREE statements to the Police. In the first two statements NO MENTION WAS MADE OF SEEING ARNOLD OR HIS CAR THAT NIGHT. It is only in his third statement made SEVERAL DAYS AFTER ARNOLD WAS CHARGED THAT HE FIRST MENTIONED THAT HE SAW ARNOLD!

The next main witness was Nathaniel Douglas who also previously said that he was a member of the PNC. He was a policeman and was dismissed from the Police Force for taking bribes. After giving evidence at the preliminary hearing he got a job. With high unemployment jobs are difficult to obtain.

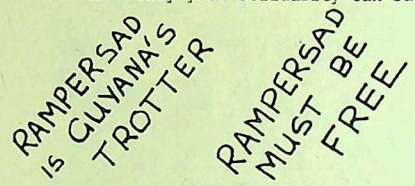
He said he was on his way home when he saw a car parked about 500 feet from the Toll Station. He flashed his torch light as he passed and recognised Arnold in the car. He did not speak to him although he had known him for several years. Twenty minutes after he passed the Toll Station he heard shooting. When he heard the next day that a policeman was shot he recollected that the shooting he heard could have been in relation to the death of the policeman. YET HE DID NOT GIVE HIS STATEMENT UNTIL THREE WEEKS AFTER THE INCIDENT AND SEVERAL DAYS AFTER ARNOLD WAS CHARGED, EVEN THOUGH HE LIVES NEAR TO A POLICE STATION!

A police dog trainer, Roger Mattar, gave evidence that his dog tracked a spot at the Toll Station, where spent bullets and shells were found, to the spot where Douglas said he saw Arnold's car. This evidence was strongly objected to but the Judge allowed it. IN SOUTH AFRICA EVIDENCE OF THIS TYPE IS NOT ALLOWED IN A COURT OF LAW!

The judge was a member of the PNC. He contested a seat for the PNC in the 1961 general elections. All politically sensitive cases in which the Government wants a particular decision are sent to him for trial.

The Jury disagreed about a verdict and a new trial was ordered.

In the meantime, Arnold remains languishing in prison, His youngest child, three years old, does not know him. Arnold can only be saved by international solidarity. The Government is embarassed and afraid of unfavourable publicity outside of Guyana especially since it is courting the support of progressive movements and countries. Only your solidarity can save Arnold.



Please send letters or cables demanding the immediate release of Arnold Rampersaud and the withdrawal of all charges against him to the Prime Minister of Guyana, Public Buildings, Georgetown Guyana, with copies to the Arnold Rampersaud Defence Committee, Freedom House, 41 Robb Street Georgetown, Guyana. Further information and documentation can be obtained from the Arnold Rampersaud Defence Committee.

- BY PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY, GUYANA

The Defence Committee

The Arnold Rampersaud Defence Committee was formed on Monday, 7th February, 1977, on which date its inaugural meeting was held.

The Committee, representing a broad cross-section of prominent Guyanese was formed as a result of wide public interest which has been generated by the history of this matter and more particularly, various issues which have arisen as a result of the trial which was held in November, last year, and which ended in a disagreement by the jury. The purpose of the Arnold Rampersaud Defence Committee is to mobilise Guyanese and world public opinion to focus attention on the trial due to start on 24th February, 1977, to the various issues involved in the case and to mobilise resources and support in the defence of Arnold Rampersaud.

The Defence Committee has already commenced efforts to obtain the services of prominent overseas lawyers to appear at the trial along with a number of Guyanese lawyers who are expected to appear for the defence. Various organisations both local and foreign have also been contacted which are expected to give assistance of various forms.

The Committee in pursuance of its objectives to ensure that Arnold Rampersaud obtains a fair trial met the Chancellor of the Judiciary, Mr. J.O.F. Haynes, on Thursday, 10th February, 1977 during which various matters pertaining to the previous and forthcoming trials were discussed and at which certain fears were expressed to the Chancellor.

A fund raising drive has begun to defray expenses and friends of Arnold Rampersaud can assist by sending donations to the Arnold Rampersaud Defence Committee, c/o Freedom House, Robb Street, Georgetown.

The following are the members of the Committee: Opposition Leader Cheddi Jagan; Dr. Walter Rodney, WPA; Miles Fitzpatrick, Barrister; Reepu Daman Persaud, MP; Eusi Kwayana, WPA; Dr. Clive Thomas, U.G. Lecturer; Father Malcolm Rodrigues; Ram Karran, President, GAWU; Yacoob Ally, United Sad'r Islamic Anjuman; Narbada Persaud, MP; Pariag Sukhai, General Secretary, GAPA; E.M.G. Wilson, General Secretary, RPA; Moses Bhagwan, Barrister; M. Poonai, Barrister; Llewleyn John, Barrister; George Lee, City Councillor; Harry Persaud Nokta, MP; Roshan Ally, MP; Dalchand, MP; Janet Jagan, MP; Feroze Mohamed, MP; Dindyal, MP; Isahak Basir, MP; Lalbachan Lallbahadur, MP.

- STATEMENT BY THE RAMPERSAD DEFENSE COMM.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Trial or Freedom

It is said the Justice is 'sweetest when fresh', also that Justice delayed is Justice denied. Yet, the exponents of Law and Order and Justice, collaborate to deny individuals the Justice they speak so highly about.

David Michael has been since April 1973, detained on a framed-up charge of murdering a policeman. At a trial which lasted eight (8) days one year later, April 1974, he was tried, convicted and sentenced to death, by hanging by Justice Brathwaite, in the Port of Spain Assizes.

An appeal was lodged, and again, after a lapse of one year, April 1975, was ordered by the Appeal Sourt, the "highest in the land", in the interest of "Justice", to stand retrial. Since then, he has been further detained illegally on two occasions, the last being July 1976.

To date, almost two years after being ordered the retrial, he is still being detained, while the legal authorities ignore his plight. Why no retrial? Why the denial of his freedom?

In an effort to either secure a FREE and FAIR trial or his release, David has on numerous occasions, written to the Chief Justice, without reply.

In the interest of 'true Justice' we take this opportunity to request that all efforts be made, on all possible fronts, to ensure that David is granted a his trial or his freedom.

Below is a copy of the last letter sent to the Chief Justice.

Sir,

In no less than four (4) letters to you over the last three mo nths, I have repeatedly demanded that you call an immediate end to my continued detention, without 'trial'. None of these letters seem to have reac hed you, for they have so far, neither been acknowledged, nor acted upon. In this light, I here once again inform you of my plight and demand that you call an immediate end to current proceedings.

I was arrested in April 1973, by some of the most violent elements within the State, and framed with the murder of a policeman. One year later, in April 1974, I underwent a pseudo-trial before the "High Court of Justice", and, understandably, was convicted and sentenced to death. A further year later, in April 1975, a quorum sitting in the Court of Appeal--from which you noticeably absented yourself--directed that the conviction and sentence be quashed, and "in the interest of Justice" (whatever that means), I be made to undergo a new 'trial'.

Today, almost two years after the Appeal Court's ruling, and just under four (4) years since my arrest, I remain detained under the most severe conditions, and yet regarded as legally innocent of any crime; while certain elements, within the Director of Public Prosecutions Office, the Supreme Court's Registry, and apparently, your own office make extremely sinister efforts to ensure that I continue to be denied, the most fundamental of human rights: FREEDOM.

I find support for the view, when I consider the fact that on July 6th, 1976, a representative of the State actually asked that I be committed to prison indefinitely, by Mr. Justice Sonny Maharaj, without being put on 'trial'. This the Justice, no doubt, found to be too extreme a request for him to grant openly. Instead, he issued the somewhat vague instruction that I be 'tried' at the "October Assizes". In effect, he

left it up to the Supreme Court's Registry to decide on what date I should be called to re-appear before a court. Nothing could have been more pleasing to my persecutors, for they have made very good use of the opportunity. In the mean time, you remain fully unaware of these proceedings, despite my repeated attempts to bring them to your attention.

As Chief Justice, you have in the past tried to steer your judiciary and its ancillary offices clear of the political realm. A realm which is rapidly becoming universal, but in the face of the facts, surrounding my own detention, among others, it would appear that you have failed miserably. There is nothing judicial about my continued detention, under the auspices of your judiciary and its ancillary offices. As such, I see no wrong in demanding that you call an immediate end to my continued detention without 'trial'. An immediate end to the arbitrary denial of my right to be free. At the same time, I reserve the right to forward copies of this letter to any person, at any time I choose.

Sincerely yours,
David F. Michael

An Open Letter to the Chief Justice

Sir,
We would like to bring to your attention an issue which involves the basic human and Constitutional rights of certain persons who are being detained without trial, at the State's pleasure, at Golden Grove Prison, for as long as four (4) years.

Numbering about ten (10), they all have one thing in common, they have been charged with a Capital offence, MURDER. In addition to the usual long process of court procedure, these persons are faced with the situation, where an important witness for the prosecution, Dr. David Edwards, is unavailable to testify.

Dr. Edwards you may recall, was from the period 1972-1975, employed on contract as the senior Forensic Pathologist at the Port of Spain General Hospital. During this time, he performed autopsies on the victims in these murder cases. Because of this, Dr. Edwards became an important State witness in each of these trials. He has to testify as to the cause of death and other medical aspects involved.

On expiration of his contract in 1975, Dr. Edwards returned to India to accept a post at the University of India. By this time, many of the accused had already spent as long as three years without ever having their trial set for a particular Assizes. Others when eventually called before the court, had their cases postponed on numerous occasions.

Dr. Edwards' contract was renewed and he returned to Trinidad to assist in clearing the backlog of cases in which he was an important witness for the prosecution. He testified at a few of these cases and nothing more was heard of him to this day. Further enquiry has revealed that Dr. Edwards is no longer an employee of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago.

According to sources at the State's legal department "there is no fixed period for a man in detention to have his matter heard. But if after a certain period" witnesses cannot be located the accused is set free."

WE ask. How long is this "certain period" and what about your famous quotations on the dispensing of justice? It seems that in the interest of justice, immediate action is necessary.

What if Dr. Edwards is not available to testify for the next five years? Will these people have to languish in prison for that period? It is most inhumane to keep people indefinitely detained in prison, when their guilt has not been proved by a Jury in a court of Law. "A man is innocent until proven GUILTY."

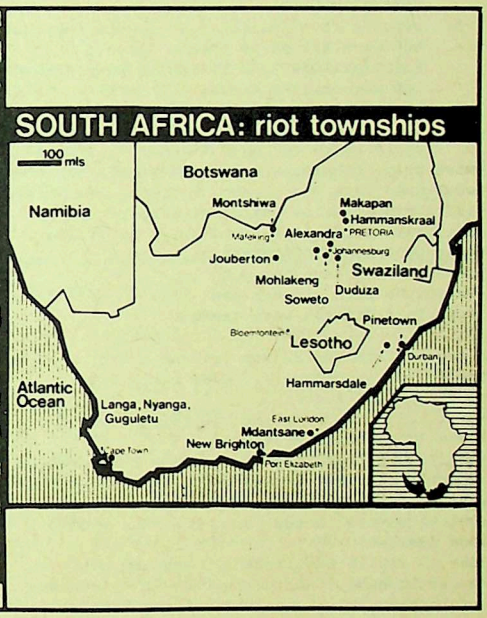
In the light of all these facts, we trust that you will use your good offices to have this matter of delayed Justice rectified.

Copies of this letter are being sent to the mass media, legal bodies and other citizens organisations.

SIGNED: POLITICAL PRISONERS SOLIDARITY COMM.

SOWETO 1976: A Diary of the Struggle

A dead Black man is dragged away in Soweto township



Rev. Bruckner sees the recent event in South Africa as consisting of three phases, each showing an increasing mobilization and politicization of the township residents.

Phase 1	June July student demonstrations
Phase 2	First workers strike of August 4
Phase 3	Second workers strike of August 22
Phase 4	An emerging phase of activities in the coloured townships of the Cape.

PHASE]: JUNE/JULY STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS

-Initially there was a decision that Afrikaans would be used in Soweto schools in the teaching of mathematics and social science.
-In protest, one secondary high school went on strike in early May, others joined later.
-the Rand Daily Mail of mid-june was reporting that the total population of Soweto was 800,000, of whom 168,000 (20%) were school-Children.
-these figures are inaccurate. 1-11/2 million live in Soweto and thus the school population is much higher.
-there are some 250 schools in Soweto and by mid-June the secondary and some of the high schools in Soweto formed a representative body and decided on a protest march for June 16.

June 16 March
-up to 15,000 students were organized to participate in this march
-they sang songs (spiritual hymns, God Bless Africa) as they marched
-they carried posters protesting Afrikaans and Bantu education in general

Interview with Mashirini, Chairman of the Student Representative Body (Mashirini is now in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, with South African authorities having put a price of R500 on his head and wanted him dead.
-A Johannesburg Star interview with Mashirini (3/9) about the June 16 March included the following points:

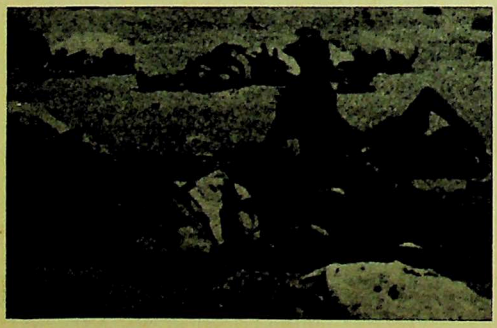
1. The police had stenguns and revolvers and teargas.

2. When the police opened fire, students began throwing stones.
3. There were black police on the front lines who refused to fire, and were then pushed back by white police.
4. Official reports were that more than 300 were killed in this and subsequent demonstrations in Johannesburs, Cape Town, and Port Elizabeth
5. reports from residents in Soweto say that 600 were killed in Soweto alone.. Buthelezi was told by Soweto people that 700 were killed there.

June Damage in Soweto

-more than 70 buses were burned (buses are state owned)
-all Administration buildings were burned
-all beer halls were burned (beer halls are owned by Bantu Administration)
-some clinics were damaged
-Barclay's Bank was damaged
-some Post Offices were damaged

A report from the Sunday Tribune (25/8) reported the following damage all over South Africa up to the end of August
-over 100 Administration buildings burned
-over 100 schools destroyed
-over 200 private cars and police cars damaged (reports say that it was generally ascertained whether vehicles belonged to blacks or white employers, the latter being the ones which were damaged)
-one church in Alexandra (Johannesburg's oldest township) and another church elsewhere were burned (by the end of July and early August, Soweto pastors feared that traditional churches, i.e. those who either actively promote the existing system or keep quiet) would be the next target
-by the end of June, Alexandra was highly involved in demonstrations similar to those of Soweto



-Alexandra is now under a resettlement scheme with the intention of making it a shite area. There are about 35-50,000 blacks in it presently
-by the end of June, similar actions had also spread to Daveytown, and the townships of Pretoria

PHASE II: FIRST WORKERS' STRIKE, AUGUST 4

-on August 4, Soweto youth tried to stop their parents from going to work. This marked the beginning of more general mobilization in the township.
-some of the youth, to prevent their parents from going to work, slept in the railroad stations
-at 4 a.m., small children asked the workers to stay home. There were detentions of children who were 8-12 years old, and many were detained for 2-3 weeks
-road blocks were set up by children to prevent buses and cars from moving
-a railroad station was burned down which normally served 150,000 commuters daily
-on August 4, 250,000 workers from Soweto stayed out of work, this amounting to 60% of the work force of Johannesburg
-on Aug 5, about 40% of the workers stayed out-
-by Aug 6, most came back to work as people had to cash cheques to buy food. After two days of work stay-aways, food supplies were low and workers had to go back
-work stay-aways spread throughout witwatersrand, but there were no actions taken in Sharpeville

Student Demonstratons for Prisoner Release

-in early August, 10,000 students planned a march from the centre of Soweto to John Vorster Square in the centre of Johannesburg to make a public demand for the release of students who had been detained. They were joined by about 10,000 adults who followed behind them
-police used road blocks and tear gas to disperse the crowds
-similar actions spread to Mafeking where students burned schools & administrative buildings
-actions also spread to some of the coloured areas around Cape Town
-in Guguletu and Langa, 33 were killed
-a few days later, 32 were reported dead in Port Elizabeth

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTIC OF PHASE II WAS THAT WORKERS BEGAN TO BE WIDELY INVOLVED IN ACTIONS, PRIMARILY MOBILIZED BY THE YOUTH

PHASE III: SECOND WORKERS' STRIKE, AUGUST 22

-this involved the work stay-aways of August 23-25 in Soweto, and here workers themselves were actively involved in the mobilizing
-there were no road blocks, no burnings of railway stations
-workers stayed out on their own
-in Johannesburg, there were 80-100% absentee rates at this time
-Bruckner says there is a great deal of respect for the youth from their parents who are workers.
"Our children are doing what we should be doing!"
"Agitators? All of us!"

Parents and Children
-parents in Soweto say they are amazed at how their children make decisions of whether to strike or not. One parent told the following story: "I was at the cinema with ny son. On the way home after the cinema, he told me: "Well, we students have just decided to go on strike tomorrow and stay out of school. We've just passed the message around the whole theatre."
-decisions such as this spread quickly about the townships

Zulu Backlash August 24
-there are some 40,000 hostel workers in Soweto, with only 100 Zulu from Mzimpole (sp?) taking part in the backlash
-these people are in transit camps, many being illiterate with no knowledge of the realities of Soweto
-they saw only a loss of earnings if they didn't go to work
-the workers' strikes were thus very threatening to them.
-a few reporters joined hostel dwellers and were undetected by police as they were disguised. They reported that the police asked the Zulu to "kill the tsotsis - the strikers and others."
-hostel dwellers were given food by the police, and were not arrested when smoking dagga (marijuana) in front of the police
-reports say 30 were killed by the Zulu (official reports)
-those who are helping the families of the dead say more than 100 were killed
-in Soweto, funerals have become political events, with black power salutes, freedom songs, political speeches etc.

PHASE IV: ACTIVITIES IN THE COLOURED TOWNSHIPS

-last week, the activities spread to the Cape's coloured townships with a student strike i.e., end of August
-this area is located in the midst of a white area and has been "simmering" for some time
-high school students in other areas joined strike
-in the Transkei, hundreds of coloured students marched into the main streets of the white area
-they were met with tear gas
-shops and banks in the area were closed
-the following day the same thing happened, this time the blacks and coloureds joining together

THE NEW PHASE IS CHARACTERIZED BY SEVERAL THINGS: COLOUREDS AND BLACKS ARE JOINING TOGETHER FOR ACTIONS WORKERS ARE PLAYING AN ACTIVE ROLE. ACTIONS ARE BEING TAKEN INTO THE WHITE COMMUNITIES MORE AND MORE PEOPLE ARE SAYING THE SAME THINGS AS MASHARINI "THERE'S NO PEACEFUL CHANGE FOR SOUTH AFRICA"

- TAKEN FROM T.C.L.S.A.C

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 21

JAMAICAN PARTY POLITICS

bellion that would threaten imperialist interests in the entire region. Further, a direct U.S. invasion would unleash massive protest inside the United States unprecedented in recent American history. The implications of such an internal protest movement should not be underestimated. Third, a joint local military/civilian coup as Frei attempted to implement in Chile in 1973 is one option open to the corporate capitalist alliance, but such a coup would require not only careful and detailed preparation, but, more importantly, a period of planned economic, political and social chaos in the country and strategic and arms support from the imperialist ruling class and states. The fourth option of "containment" and limited "destabilization" with the objective of winning the next election or forcing Manley to resign seems the most likely immediate strategy of the pro-imperialist alliance. However, the fourth option does not negate option three. In fact, the fourth option could be the first phase of a strategy that leaves the third option open as a possible second phase. The post-election situation indicates that option four is being implemented.

With all that has been said above, the most decisive social force in the present period is the masses of workers, peasants and youth. What they do and how they do it will determine the power relations in Jamaican society. The masses have shown by agricultural workers and peasants seizure of land and workers strikes and occupations that they are ready to break the imperialist yoke and the stranglehold of the local "bossman".

A P.N.P LANDSLIDE—

TOWN AND COUNTRY

The Election results have shown that progressive programmes and policies will gain the massive support of the working people in both town and country.

Instead of turning away the people from the polls and from the PNP, as the imperialists and local reaction had planned, the struggles and crises leading up to the election led to heightened political consciousness and a new level of political awareness and activity by the masses.

This was shown by the big voter turnout of 84% as against 78% in 1972 and the strong popular support of 57% for the PNP as against 56% in 1972.

If we look simply at the totals we will only see the strong support for the PNP and will miss highly significant changes taking place in the alignment of classes. These changes are evident in the composition of the vote and the pattern of swings.

In 1972 the PNP got 60.5% of the Kingston and St. Andrew vote and 55.6% of the country vote. In 1976, this relative strength in the Corporate Area was increased to 62.4% despite the economic recession. The rural vote declined very slightly in 1976 to just a little under 55%. This increase of the Corporate Area vote majority played an even greater weight in the overall vote majority. The total number of votes cast in Kingston and St. Andrew as a proportion of the whole increased from 21 to 28%. To understand the full significance of the trends revealed in urban and rural areas, we must look at the class trends which lie underneath these figures.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS VOTE

The elections showed beyond any question a parting of the ways of two sections of the middle class. Despite the efforts of the PNP to retain these elements, to compromise with them and maintain the old class coalition, the liberal capitalists and the upper middle class abandoned the PNP - the majority of them forever. In Munn's, McNeil,s, Bell's and Tony Phillips' con-

Now, What Can We Expect

stituencies there was a massive and uniform swing of 24% to Labour. Bell and McNeil retained their seats by small margins.

Out of this parting of the ways, however, the results have shown that the basis for a new and firmer coalition with those sections of the middle classes who support the progressive changes and believe in democratic socialism is present. These sections have withstood the blandishments of imperialism and reaction and will replace the position of the old elements who by and large will remain neutral or opposed to the PNP.

The PNP vote in middle class constituencies increased between 1972 and 1976 by 10,000. At present the PNP has 27,000 of these votes compared to 23,000 for the JLP. This is a remarkable performance in the light of the known strategic objectives of American imperialism to win away the overwhelming majority of the middle classes. The big liberal capitalists on balance stood politically with the JLP and were hoping and preparing for a JLP victory. This objectively puts them outside the new political alliance shaping up. Despite the temporary flight back to the PNP taking place, the attempt to turn back history and rebuild the old alliances would be dangerous indeed.

SOCIALISM

THE WORKING- CLASS VOTE

The fact that the massive defection of the upper middle class did not lead to a decrease in PNP support in Kingston was due solely to the remarkable upsurge in support amongst the working people.

While in 1972 the PNP got 55% of the vote in working class areas, in 1976 it got more than two thirds (68%). In 1972 the middle class areas contributed fully 30% of the total PNP vote in Kingston, and the working class areas contributed 53%, in 1976 the working class contributed 63% of that vote and the middle class areas just 23%.

The intensity of the ideological struggle led the young, the unemployed and the workers to increase rather than decrease their support of the

DR. D. K. DUNCAN. HUGH SMALL.

PNP. This is most clearly shown in Ralph Brown's, Spaulding's, Portia Simpson's and Coore's constituencies in Southern and Western St. Andrew. That whole belt from Duhaney Park down to West Kingston had a massive turnout. Bogus voting, though intense, would hardly change the overall result.

Comparing the sources of class support for the PNP and JLP, the changes in class patterns is striking.

In 1972, 67% of the JLP vote came from working class areas, and only 12% from middle class areas. By 1976, a massive 375% increase in the JLP middle class vote reduced the importance of the working class vote in that party by 16% to 51%, at the same time that the PNP was increasing its working class support to 68%.

ANTHONY SPAULDING ARNOLD BERTRAM. PORTIA SIMPSON

THE RURAL VOTE.

Despite the appearance of little change in the vote in rural Jamaica, fundamental changes did take place between 1972 and 1976. These changes demonstrate that a tremendous and still largely untapped potential support for progressive programmes exists.

Where progressive candidates carried an agressive and ideological line and programmes were vigorously implemented, the PNP scored impressive gains. Where the PNP programme was unenthusiastically carried forward or where conservative leaning candidates undermined the progressive thrust of the government's policies by compromises with bourgeois and landowning elements, sharp reverses and swings occurred.

In some areas, of course, the severe economic conditions and hardships combined with aggressive JLP work rallied the more backward and conservative elements or caused apathy amongst PNP elements.

THE NORTH AND EAST

In Trelawny, Portland and St. Thomas, areas of significant JLP strength, the land question and a progressive and aggressive approach to it brought about a remarkable increase in PNP support. The overall increase in the vote in these constituencies was 5%, from 51% in 1972 to 56% in 1976.

SUGAR CONSTITUENCIES

While there may appear to be little change in the sugar areas between 1972 and 1976, this appearance is deceptive.

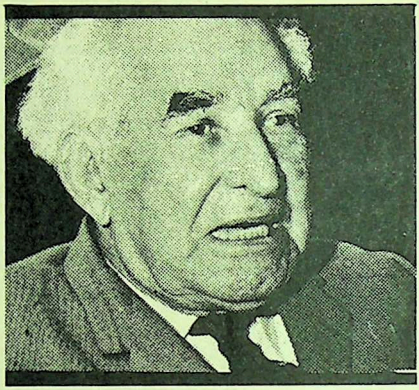
Between 1972 and 1974, the PNP suffered large losses in Westmoreland and Clarendon. The Small seat could have been lost in the local government elections on the basis of the new boundaries and McGregor would barely have won.

The cooperative movement and the great political mobilisation led by progressive forces had the effect of restoring the PNP's constituencies. In Western Westmoreland there was a swing back to the PNP of 7% and for South West Clarendon 12%, between 1974 and 1976.

- TAKEN FROM'STRUGGLE', ORGAN OF W.L.L

FORWARD TO SOCIALISM

The PNP & J'can Party Politics



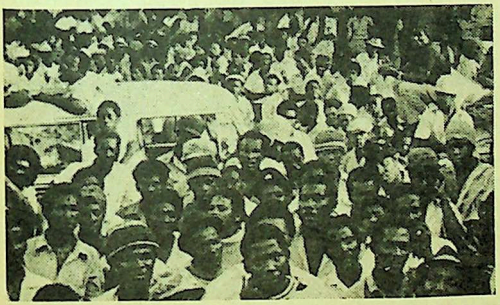
On December 15, the People's National Party (PNP) was swept into governmental power in Western-style parliamentary elections on a "democratic socialist" platform. In a landslide victory, the PNP gained 48 of the 60 seats in the Jamaica parliament. This is the second time in the political history of the English-speaking Caribbean that a leftist party gained parliamentary power; the first occasion was about quarter century ago when the PPP led by Cheddi Jagan swept the polls in colonial Guyana (then British Guiana).
The question that must be asked is this. What are the political implications of the]976 elections and whither Jamaica? Before attempting an answer, it is necessary to place the PNP and JLP within some historical perspective.

THE UNION-PARTY RELATION

In the 1930's, British colonialism was bombarded with political blows from the Indian workers and peasants, the African workers and peasants and the Caribbean workers and peasants. In the English-speaking Caribbean, in particular, the anti-colonial independence movement was launched by the workers and peasants with mass revolts that swept the Caribbean between 1935-38. But British colonial capitalism still strong and powerful was determined to maintain its colonial rule by military force. However, weakened by the devastation of World War II, the British colonial ruling class was forced to come to terms with the question of independence of the colonies. India became an independent state, then Ghana and the independence tidal wave began. It is within this context that the rise of the PNP muat be viewed.

In the heat of class struggle in the 1930's in Jamaica, Alexander Bustamante emerged as the political hero of the masses and founded the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) based on the union. At first, an articulate and brilliant barrister, Norman Manley, joined with his cousin, Bustamante, but soon afterwards, Manley broke with Bustamante to form the National Workers Union (NWU) and the PNP. From the political hero of the masses in 1930, Bustamante and the leadership of the JLP became the political representatives of the capitalist alliance between the domestic colonial capitalist class and the imperialist ruling class.

The leadership of the PNP, on the other hand, was firmly controlled by the emerging professional middle-class (or new petit-bourgeoisie as some call that class) and that section of the domestic capitalist class engaged in the modern sections of the economy. In more general terms, the PNP's political base was in the urban area and the JLP's in the rural areas. So that by the end of the 1940's, Jamaican politics was firmly based on two political parties (JLP and PNP) supported by two trade unions (BITU and NWU). The Jamaican working-class was firmly controlled within these two powerful union-party institutions and no other union or party was able to challenge their position until the 1970's.



NORMAN MANLEY AND THE PNP

From the beginning, the political platform of the PNP was independence for Jamaica with the "Fabian socialism" of the British Labour Party. Almost all left individuals in Jamaicagathered within the PNP to lead the masses in the struggle for independence and "socialism". Whereas Bustamante and the JLP began with a ready-made mass base, Manley, the NWU and the PNP had to struggle to obtain a foothold within the working-class. Independence and Fabian socialism was Manly's answer to Bustamante's populism in their competition for the support of workers and peasants.

In two consecutive elections after World War II, the JLP clearly whipped the PNP at the polls. By 1953 the pro-imperialist, rightist faction of the PNP felt that the party was losing political support because of the growing influence of the left faction within the party. At the same time, the left faction of the leadership--the Hill brothers and Richard Hart--was organizing workers and building a body of cadres to transform the party into a "Marxist-Leninist" party. The left faction had also established links with other left parties in the Caribbean and maintained contact with the Communist International and its trade union arm. The stronger pro-imperialist faction, in alliance with the British Trade Union Congress and the British Labour Party and with the support of Norman Manley (it is said that Manley was previously supportive of the left tendency but was forced to take a pragmatic position in the face of rightist strength in the party), launched a political attack on the left section of the leadership. The Hall brothers and Richard Hart were thrown out of the party and the PNP became a classical nationalist party and dropped its "Fabian socialism". However, pockets of local radical leadership continued to function within the union, but severely weakened after the 1953-55 purge, it was powerless.

The PNP won the 1959 elections on the platform of an independent West Indian Federation, but two years later lost the referendum on whether or not Jamaica must remain in the Federation (the PNP campaigned for a "yes"vote). By then the Federal experiment was proving to be a political disaster. The JLP regained parliamentary power in 1962, led the country to constitutional independence and maintained power until 1972. So that in a period of almost quarter of a century the PNP was only able to hold parliamentary power for five years. By 1970, there was no basic difference between the JLP and the PNP, and the JLP maintained its political hold on the majority of workers and peasants. However, new factors entered into the political situation.

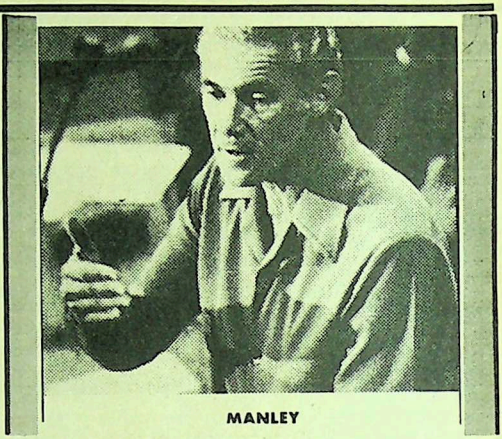
AT THE DAWN OF THE 70's

The late 1960's witnessed the intensification of the Indo-China war and liberation struggles in Africa and the Third World, the upsurge of student rebellions and, most important to Jamaica and the Caribbean, the Black movement in the United States. In the Caribbean, Cuba represented a symbol of a revolution that was made and sustained in one island through little was known in Jamaica about the Cuban revolution. The students and unemployed in the English-speaking Caribbean spearheaded the Black power movement that reached its climax in the 1970 mass rebellion in Trinidad and Tobago. Also, workers' struggles were developing in one island after another. Jamaica could not resist these influences.

Internally, in Jamaica, the working-class had expanded significantly as a result of the expansion of the bauxite industry; the growth of manufacturing, tourism and other economic activities, the construction industry and public services. Also, the middle-class continued to expand. With traditional avenues for immigration (England and the U.S.) closed, the number of unemployeds spiralled upwards. The developing inflationary crisis in the world economysent the Jamaican economy into a tail-spin that had the greatest effect on the workers and peasants. A new wave of workers' and peasants' struggles opened that posed a dilemna for the trade union leadership.

RISE OF A LEFT TENDENCY

Organizationally, the Rastafarian Movement threatened to be an extra-parliamentary resistance but it never really coalesced into a political force in Jamaican politics. However, in the late 1960's two radical organizations emerged --the Abeng Group and the Independent Trade Union Advisory Council (ITAC). The Abeng Group published a regular newspaper--ABENG--and was beginning to exert political influence among workers and peasants, but before it could develop a coherent political perspective and practice it disintegrated as a result of internal dissension. ITAC was an attempt by radical intellectuals, some workers and youth to build a trade union base independent of the two established trade unions--BITU and NWU--and was the precursor to the University and Allied Workers Union (UAWU) and the Workers Liberation League (WLL), both led by Trevor Munroe, a lecturer at the U.W.I. in Jamaica. In addition, the radical New World Group led by university intellectuals (Lloyd Best, George Beckford, Norman Girwan and others) started at the Jamaican campus of the U.W.I. and had some influence on the Jamaican professional middle-class. Also, in 1968 Walter Rodney was banned from Jamaica and riots broke out in certain areas of Kingston where Rodney was "grounding with the brothers". By 1972, left leadership elements were gradually emerging and workers were beginning to rebel against the traditional union leaderhsip.



MANLEY

MICHEAL MANLEY LEADS PNP TO POWER

In 1970, Norman Manley retired and the mantle of leadership was won by his son, Michael Manley, who rose to political prominence through his activities in and leadership of the NWU. Michael Manley, having been reared in a "Fabian socialist" family, educated under the "Fabian socialist" Harold Laski, hgained his prac- practical and organizational experience within the NWU, hand matured politically in an anti-i-imperialist era and experienced in the rebellion and developing political consciousness of the masses in Jamaica and the Caribbean, he was well-prepared to shift the PNP once again to the left. In order to dislodge the JLP from governmental power, the PNP had to win over the majority of workers, peasants and the lower strata of the middle-class to the side of the party. Together with a small group of radicals within the leadership of the PNP, Michael Manley formulated a populist platform with the slogan "better must come", and utilised the popular music and culture of the masses in the electoral campaign of 1972 when the PNP was swept to power.

In the first two years of office, little overt change occured: Manley was Prime Minister; the PNP governed; imperialist hegemony continued and the society continued to function as before. It would appear, in retrospect, that during those two years Manley and the left faction of the leadership were preparing internally for the leftward shift. For, near the end of 1974, at a mammoth rally Manley declared that the PNP would lead Jamaica to "democratic socialism". It is not possible, here, to go into an examination of

"democratic socialism" as a political tendency. Suffice it to say that the democratic socialism of Michael Manley and the PNP is, in general, the political response of the new professional middle-class to the mass struggles of the workers, peasants and youth; the emergence and development of left organizarions and the increasing influence of socialist ideas among the working masses. In fact, democratic socialism can be termed the left-wing of capital led by the new professional middle-class in underdeveloped societies and Western Europe. With that said, we can now turn to the question posed earlier--whither Jamaica?

THE ALTERNATIVES

Manley and the PNP have three alternative directions in which they canmove:

(1) Maintain the present "Democratic Socialist" direction:

To do this the PNP will have to take and continue certain economic and political measures such as (a) "nationalize" the major productive, financial and commercial enterprises, particularly those in foreign hands; (b) intensify agrarian reform; (c) diversify the productive sector of the economy and increase productivity; (d) institute drastic controls on imports and the outflow of foreign exchange; (e) develop economic relations with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Cuba on an ever expanding scale in a wide range of commodities; (f) continue to expand and extend the state sector of the economy; (g) institute orderly "workers' and peasants' participation" with other domestic classes in production and distribution, but place "workers and peasants participation" under the firm control of union, party and state; (h) reform the governmental apparatus (not the entire state) by expanding representation particularly at the lower levels of government while maintaining centralized governmental power in the hands of the party leadership; (i) maintain and develop the present foreign policy.

(2) Compromise with Western imperialist capital:

This direction would be a reversion to the pre-1974 policies of the PNP. Such a reversion could take various forms (e.g. Williams and the PNM in Trinidad; Frei and the Christian Democrats in Chile; etc.). However, a compromise with Western imperialist capital would not include "nationalization" of the "commanding heights of the economy", a foreign policy of "Third Worldism" ("New Economic Order") and economic relations with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

(3) Build Workers and peasants power in every sphere of social life:

The charting of this direction would demand breaking economic dependency and building an independent productive base and economy through (a) a scientific inventory of the country's human and material resources; (b) scientific research geared to new methods of production and new productive uses of material resources; (c) interdependence of the productive sectors of the economy; (d) the modernization of agricultural production; (e) the progressive development of a basic machine and tool industry; (f) the centralization of credit;(g) the establishment of an independent monetary system and (h) the development of production and a wages and prices system based on domestic mass needs.

Secondly, the building of workers and peasants political power demands the dismantling of the present party-parliamentary capitalist state and the building of a workers and peasants democratic state through (a) mass mobilization and organization in independent popular institutions of workers and peasants in the process of struggle; (b) the development of a popular armed force based on those mass institutions; (c) the establishment of a national governmental power based on those institutions and (d) the progressive development of anti-hierarchial, anti-bureaucratic methods and procedures. These are the alternatives, in outline, that face Manley and the PNP. Which direction is the PNP likely to take?

WHAT CAN WE EXPECT

Since the December elections, Manley has announced that the foreign policy of the PNP will be continued and there are no signs to the contrary; the PNP has refused a conditional loan from the IMF; tough controls on imports and the outflow of foreign exchange have been instituted; three of the largest banks in the country are to be "nationalized" and the bauxite industry is to become a mixed state-private enterprise; the PNP has applied for membership in COMECON; and, finally, Manley has committed the PNP to the implementation of a "worker participation" programme beginning this year. It is therefore clear that Manley and the PNP are opting for the continuation of the "democratic socialist" direction. After a humiliating electoral defeat and with the PNP seemingly set on its "democratic socialist" direction, what can we expect from the private corporate capitalist alliance of the imperialist ruling class, the dependent domestic capitalist class and the pro-imperialist section of the middle-class in its attempt to regain complete dominance. First, a local military coup a la Chile is not politically feasible simply because the local military does not have the armed strength and political cohesion to maintain power as an independent force. Second, a direct U.S. invasion (massive or limited) is unlikely in the immediate future because such an invasion would precipitate a Caribbean-wide re-

- CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

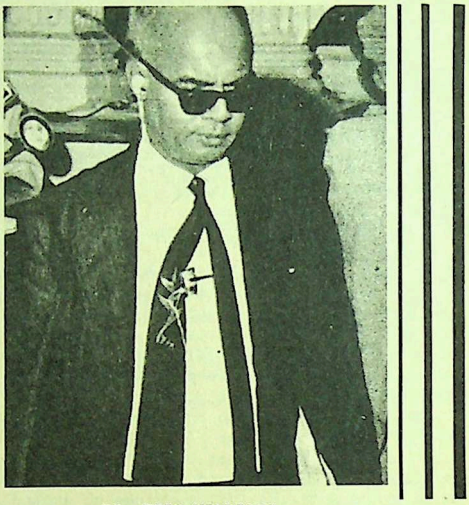
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Race and Class in the Struggle for Parliamentary Power

The Trinidad and Tobago elections of 1976 were the fourth since the middle class led nationalist movement swept into power in 1956 and the third since the formal breaking of political ties with colonialism in 1962. The nationalist movement suffered its first defeat in the federal elections of 1958 and in the general elections of 1961 the principle and practice of race politics came into greater focus than in any previous election since 1946. The two major political parties successfully used race either overtly or covertly in their campaigns with the working class movement making its political choice based on race and hoping that ethnic allegiance and solidarity would secure the advancement of the working class aims.

Again in 1966, racial identification played an important role despite the attempt by the Workers and Farmers party to present an interracial front that sought to transcend race and introduce class interests in the political scenario. But this attempt despite its bravery was doomed to failure for a number of reasons. Organisationally the party was weak with little or no rank and file support among the workers and farmers it sought to represent. C.L.R. James the leading theoretician lacked the experience of trade union activity, and Maharaj the other political leader was for too long connected with the race politics of the past. At a time when the successes of the Cuban revolution received little attention and its immediate post revolution excesses given exagerrated publicity, James' known leftist convictions became a liability rather than an asset. At any rate, in the final analysis, the WFP was rejected and the electorate-working class included--settled for the tried formula of the past.

But by 1970 the African dominated regime was asked in no uncertain terms to give an account of its stewardship and to justify the blind allegiance the African masses had given to the party. Rising unemployment, glaring examples of maladministration, increasing disparities between rich and poor, the obscenely ostentatious behaviour of the black middle class and the obvious inability of the regime to deliver even the simplest goods and services in quality, quantity and consistency to all of its citizens were listed on the indictment sheet. But this attack on the government influenced as it was by the tide of black awareness that was then sweeping the African diaspora and the increasing push of the African struggles for liberation was itself couched in racial terms. It exploded in the rebellion of 1970 revealing the precarious position of the PNM who in a state of panic summoned the armed might of the state and its international allies to ruthlessly seek out and destroy the threat.



DR. ERIC WILLIAMS

The elections of 1971 were contested with not only the 1970 rebellion as background but also the introduction of a matured working class electorate as a new and important factor. For if the 1970 movement celebrated blackness as a political tool, the failure of the movement and its ideology not only raised crucial questions about its conceptual validity but also permitted the development of a much more organised and concrete working class consciousness. The 1970 movement failed not only because of the might of the state and the movement's lack of real concrete organisation, but also because blackness was too vague a concept in the Trinidad situation and no guarantee that another Williams would not emerge. New organisational forms had to emerge to remove the regime that tottered in 1970. The success of the no-vote campaign of 1971--from which PNM emerged with 100% of the

parliamentary seats but elected by 28% of the electorate--is in large measure a reflection of this uncertainty and moment of stocktaking about the electoral process that preceded the elections of 1976.

The consistent struggle of the working class organization in oil and sugar during the decade prior to 1976 contributed to the disintegration of the ruling class forces and gave rise to a new level of political activity from which emerged the ULF. (See Caribbean Dialogue Vol. 2 Nos. 3 and 4). The struggle resulted in a split within the PNM regime allowing for the emergence of a new layer of professionals as the pillars of domination and control began to crumble. This attack on the state by the working class and the unemployed propelled the new breed into reorganizing their class forces with the objective of capturing the state from the PNM. The main new contenders were TAPIA led by Lloyd Best, a university lecturer and the Democratic Action Congress (DAC) led by A.N.R. Robinson, ex-Deputy Premier in the PNM government. These three parties were envisaged as the major forees in the 1976 elections.ready to dislodge the PNM from Parliament.

surgence and new political movement. Then all the rest will follow in economics and politics, in education and sport." Their motto "Building from the Earth" was supposed to be the attraction for the working class. There was no element in the activities of the TAPIA movement which attempted to deal with the struggle of the working-class. As far as TAPIA was concerned, there was in the most simplified fashion a mass of discontented electors in the society who were going through an identity crisis and needed an infusion of the true national culture to reorientate them. Mystified by the Cultural Nationalists rebellion of 1970, TAPIA leaders ignored the class competition of the society and developed a party which had no appeal for the working class. The workers, peasants and unemployeds knew of the existence of the TAPIA movement but could detect no concrete approach to finding solutions for the problems of inflation and unemployment which are working class issues.

The Democratic Action Congress (DAC) emerged as a political organisation after the 1970 mass rebellion. The chairman of DAC, A.N.R.

WORKERS IN STRUGGLE AT ORANGE GROVE SUGAR FACTORY, TRINIDAD

Whilst TAPIA and DAC had been involved in formulating their party structure and strategy for a longer period than the ULF, they lacked the rank and file support and the degree of crude political experience which was embodied in the ULF.

The TAPIA movement was based on a classless nationalist political perspective, organized and directed by professionals. As articulated by Best "What we need is a rising among the people in the form of cultural revival, a moral re-

Robinson had been groomed as a possible successor to Eric Williams. However in the wake of the revolt Robinson resigned from the PNM in an attempt to gain acceptability within the forces that were demanding political change. Preceding DAC was the Action Committee of Democratic Citizens (ACDC), a Robinson formulation which aligned with the Democratic Labour Party led by Vernon Jamadar. But the alliance floundered on the issue of participation in the 1971 elections and the no-vote campaign. The effectiveness of the no-vote campaign could be viewed as a refusal by

the majority of the population to accept electoral politics as a means of reconciling the conflicts which were highlighted in 1970. The outcome of that election was 100% parliamentary victory for the PNM who were supported by 28% of the electorate. Only 33% of the eligible voters participated in that election. Soon after that farce which was recorded as a legitimate election DAC emerged.

The politics of DAC was not significantly different from that of the PNM. As a verbal faction of the professional class it attacked the repressive anti-labour legislation of the PNM and demandedconstitutionalreforms. The essence of their political tendency was a total committment to liberal democracy, and a maintenance of the existing capitalist relationship with a more efficient state bureaucracy. The students of the old school of party politics now felt they were sufficiently well prepared to replace their tutors who had become ultra-conservatives. Although DAC had more appeal than TAPIA and the backing of some influential local capitalists, they had few supporters amongst the unemployed, working class and peasants. Their slate of highly professional candidates was no match for the PNM nor did their party programme and policy hold any attraction for the workers. The working class were demanding change and DAC certainly did not represent any change.

Whereas the other parties were fully supportive of the existing political and economic relationships and only wished to change the party in power, the ULF were openly opposed to the control of the state by the professional middle class and the tendency of this sector to subvert the working class struggle in the interests of the imperialists. However the programme and policy advanced by the leadership did not demonstrate a committment to destroy the existing state and begin concretely the process of social transformation. The main thrust of their electoral struggle was to defeat the ruling party. As a minimum strategy for dealing with the problem of the economy among other things they posed an acceleration of the nationalization programme. To ensure success at the polls the leadership attempted an alliance with DAC on the premise that the disillusioned middle class would support DAC especially in the North where it was assumed that DAC had strong support. This alliance did not materialize because of DAC's reluctance to accept a minimum programme presented by the ULF.

Therefore after months of debate between January 1976 and the publishing of their election manifesto the ULF intervened in the electoral struggle as a party for the working class.

Caribbean Dialogue Vol. 2 Nos. 3 and 4 was devoted to the historical significance of the emergence of the only working class based party which contested the 1976 elections. The United Labour Front (ULF) evolved as the new stage of working class struggle. The workers in oil, sugar and transport brought their organizations together in order to strengthen their forces for continued action against the state and the Imperialist who controlled the economy. By linking the Indian and African workers under one banner, the ULF presented a serious challenge to the traditional political forces.

Despite its shortcomings the party had support amongst industrial and agricultural workers. The predominance of agricultural workers participating in the ULF campaign was of no great surprise given the historic development of the ULF and the prominence of union leaders Panday and Shah who are directly involved in the struggles of workers and farmers.

It would be dishonest to deny or to attempt to deemphasize the role of race in the elections of 1976 as in previous elections. It would be flying in the face of facts and reason to suggest

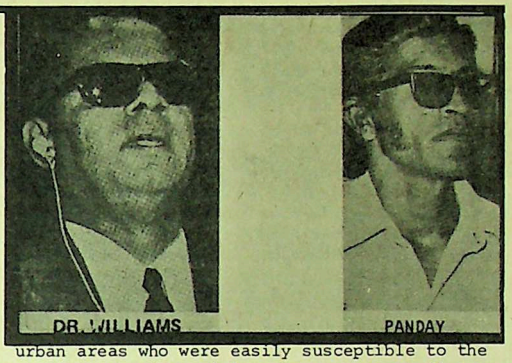
that race was not used once more to divide the electorate. In fact race became even more crucially important in this election precisely because the ULF sought to unite the races not on the basis of a convenient anti-colonial/nationalist identity but on the basis of their common experience as workers and the working class rejection of capitalist exploitation.

It is also naive to expect that over a hundred years of artificial separation of working class struggles, that twenty years of skilfull manipulation of racial animosities, could easily disappear overnight. It is equally naive or dishonest to pretend that a regime with its back to the wall, faced by a clear cut ideological enemy would not use all the state power at its disposal to coerce, bribe and manipulate the electorate and confuse the issues. In fact the threat of a 'coolie takeover' mingled with the traditional 'red scare' to eat away at the fragile base of the embroyonic ULF.

It is also naive to expect that the Indian worker long accustomed to electoral politics as a defense reaction against a perceived threat to his ethnic interests would not have the tendency to respond first as Indian then as worker. But what is important is that this same Indian worker rejected totally the traditional political parties that had for so long claimed (both publicly and privately) to defend his ethnic interests at the expense of his class interests. And this is the greatest ray of hope.

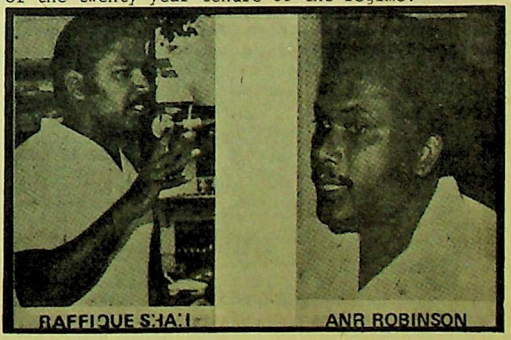
Those who believe that age old problems can be solved overnight by the shouting of new slogans will find ample cause for pessimism in the poor showing of the ULF in predominantly African areas. But they disregard the revolutionary potential and significance of the ULF at their peril.

Yet despite the racial issue, the ULF would not necessarily have won the electoral struggle. Its campaign revealed its political naivete and to some extent its conservatism. The leadership of the party with the sole exception of Weekes lacked any long experience in trade union activity and political organisation. The party concentrated on its known strongholds where trade union activity gave them a natural constituency. But this was union strength and not class strength. It failed to campaign consistently and convincingly in areas where they did not have known trade union strength and sympathy. In the African dominated urban areas where the working class sections of the electorate belonged in the main to unions that were not members of the progressive wing of the trade union movement, theymade only cursory attempts at campaigning. In particular they could not explain and convince the large number of unemployed in the



urban areas who were easily susceptible to the co-optation of special works programmes financed by the new petro dollars, that they were a real alternative to the PNM. The ULF may well have appeared as a curious combination to the African unemployed: their "traditional enemies", the East Indians and their more fortunate brothers in oil whose recent pay increase was falsely\blamed for the current inflationary crisis. Mentally brutalised for so long by the system, since 1970 the object of constant harassment by the police, it would be no surprise if they did not vote; nor would it be any surprise if some of them especially the underemployed on the government projects did vote for the PNM.

With its back to the wall, petro dollars in its hand, internal dissension pulling its pants down to the public view, the leadership of the PNM fought its most crucial campaign in its career. The necessity to reiterate the promise made in 1956 in particular the need for morality in public affairs, the stress on stability completely ignoring the constant use of repressive measures to ensure silence rather than stability, the unashamed search for scapegoats to blame for the inability to deliver the promised goods and services for all citizens, exposed the bankruptcy of the twenty year tenure of the regime.



In fact closer examination of the society revealed that PNM rule despite its early promise and potential merely facilitated the growth and development of all the malignant and cancerous tumours inherited from the colonial era. The professional-middle class party that negotiated political independence on the strength of the working class movement consistently restricted any attempt to advance the struggle along its logical path towards real independence. Instead the party encouraged closer links with the imperialists, and sought to provide with repressive anti-labour legislation the climate to facilitate further exploitation of the country's resources, and used their increased party control of the expanded state bureaucracy to more effectively manipulate the working class in the interest of international and local capitalism.

With the backing of international capital and the support of the local capitalists, the PNM used all the tricks in the book and all the weapons in the arsenal of a regime with state power to corral the middle class, the African working class and the large army of unemployed. The armed might of the state was used to coerce the stubborn and the threat of retaliation employed to decide the minds of the uncertain; the redistributive capacity of the state was used to keep those who had in line and give a false hope to new hopefuls; and the time worn but still potent issue of race served to keep even the have nots in step by again insinuating that the cause of their misery lay in the economic power, real or potential of an aggressive homogeneous East Indian threat.

Significantly, the middle class electorate seemed to have closed ranks and transcended in large measures racial differences in order to effectively pursue common class aims. The failure of Tapia and DAC for example to capture the allegiance of any percentage of the middle class vote, especially the young professionals, that it had banked on is a result of not only the blatant use of race to whip African defectors back into line but also because the middle class saw its interests protected and guaranteed by a PNM government. Even the Indian middle class vote seems to have abandoned the DLP and SDLP who had no hope of winning parliamentary power, ran like rabbits from the ULF who obviously threatened their class existence and found refuge in the PNM.

* * * * * * *

The rebellion of students, unemployed workers and farmers in the period 1956 to 1976 is the manifestation of the regime's inability to deal with the crisis induced by its programme and policy. The working class movement which brought the ULF onto the parliamentary stage expresses the tendency of the workers to confront the class perspective which dominates their lives. By their own independent action the working class is struggling to remove all the barriers which have been hindering their development. The inter-racial conflict which has been used historically to divide the class is being reconciled albeit slowly as the consciousness of the workers develops. The difference between agricultural and industrial workers begins to lose its significance when these sectors are combined in the struggle to increase the return for their labour power. Traditionally these sectors have viewed their struggle in isolation but now within the womb of the ULF there is the opportunity to develop a class perspective which would lead to more cohesive class action. The leadership of the ULF now has the support of two important sectors of the working class, how they develop and strengthen that power base would dictate the immediate political gains of the class. If they concentrate their energies on the parliamentary struggle they will eventually lose their support; for at present the PNM still has a sizeable majority and is therefore capable of frustrating any legislation changes they may try to institute. Therefore the task of the ULF has to be to focus on the development of working class consciousness amongst the rank and file and the expansion of the struggle among the society at large.

- S.H and D.T

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO PARLIAMENT IN SESSION

PANDAY SHAH

U.L.F: The Alternative Gov't! What it Must Mean?

If the ULF is to make the new politics a reality, it must attempt to concretise the idea of being an "alternative government" as against simply being an old time "opposition" party tied to the ancient, primitive, anti-people framework of the present system. An opposition within Parliament and Senate can do absolutely nothing. It can achieve nothing. It can implement nothing at all because it has NO POWER. All it can do is TALK. It can expose injustices, corruption and forms of exploitation but has no POWER to right the wrongs. The ULF must not accept or pigeon-hole itself to such a negative and limited role. The ULF should participate in Parliament only to register and acknowledge and provide recognition to the struggles and activities of the people outside, and counterpose this to the efforts of Capital--i.e. local capitalists, PNM government and foreign Imperialists--to stifle and destroy the struggle of the people for a new day. The PNM government uses the Parliament and Senate to pass laws and formulate policy geared to hold back the people and choke their move forward all under the guise of being the elected representatives of the people who are concerned with the "common good" and "interests of all and everyone". The ULF is in there and can pinpoint on the spot all the legal manoeuvrings to control and suppress the people.

FORM AND CONTENT OF THE ALTERNATIVE GOVERNMENT

If the PNM represents Capitalism and Imperialism, the ULF must maintain and develop further and clearer its anti-Capitalist, anti-Imperialist stance.

If the PNM represents the supremacy of professionals and administrators over the working masses, the ULF in its structure and practice (content) must seek to break this supremacy, it must seek to minimise the separation between mental and manual labour or the "dictatorship" of intellectual labour over manual labour. This is not to say that professionals do not have a crucial role to play within the ULF. What it says is that this role must be performed not at the expense of, but complementary to, the development of workers and farmers as the main creators of history. Once this division of labour is Maintained and extended, Capitalism will remain. If you do not understand this, you understand nothing about Capitalism and Imperialism.

If the PNM represents over-centralisation and dictatorship at the top devoid of the self-activity and direct involvement of the People, the ULF must seek to generate and initiate programmes of activity among the people, programmes over which the people themselves must have control and in which they must be directly involved as the only means through which their consciousness can be heightened.

Prior to the elections (in Dec. 1975) we of the NBM suggested to the ULF leadership, and again in March 1976, this time to ULF as a whole, that the COSSABO's (Conference of Shop Stewards and Branch Officers of OWTU, ATSEFWTU, TIWU and ICFTU) be established as a permanent structure (form) and be broadened to include workers from WASA, TELCO, CANNINGS, etc., civil servants, organised sections of the Unemployeds, project workers, food-crop farmers, housewives, students, etc., so as to make the experience an experience of the broadest sections of the whole population. Arising out of this we saw the emergence of ULF Committees, Councils and Assemblies throughout the length and breadth of the country, all of which could then have been culminated into an "alternative government". The failure to generalise the experience of Oil and Sugar in this way, we are totally convinced, is the major objective reason for the failure to win seats in the North. The North did not experience the COSSABO's, which symbolised the indivisible UNITY of political and industrial struggle. We had seen the rapid development of workers and farmers in the COSSABO sessions. Many who originally came to the COSSABO as members of, or sympathetic to, bourgeois parties were transformed by the experience. Today one such person is a ULF Parliamentarian. So when the NEW BEGINNING MOVEMENT posed the argument for the extension of the COSSABO to encompass the North, we were not talking through our hats, we were talking first of all from our experience as a Revolutionary Organisation in the society, and from the movement and development we were seeing in the COSSABO sessions. WE WERE ALREADY SEEING THE FORM AND CONTENT OF THE ALTERNATIVE GOVERNMENT.

WHAT TO DO NOW- HOW WE SEE ULF

To have stopped the COSSABO's at the point of the emergence of the ULF Party was to lack a feel and sense of the moment. Today after the elections, if the ULF is to pose itself as an alternative government and not an old time opposition, it must grasp that sense of moment. The People are waiting. They have already indicated by the outcome of the elections that they will have nothing to do with the MIDDLE-ROADERS like Tapia, DAC, etc., and in this sense the election was a resounding victory for the ULF. The country is now polarised between those on the right and those tending towards the left. Support for the ULF is growing and will continue to grow each day because Capitalism cannot solve the problems. To hold the support, organise it and develop it, the ULF Party and Party Units (Blocks) must seek to concretise the Alternative Government.

The ULF must reconvene the COSSABO at once. It must initiate and build and institutionalise Committees, Councils, Assemblies, Mass Meetings, etc., all over the country. NBM says, Cover the Country with popular organisations, relative to people's daily activities and demands. Then pull all this, together with the COSSABO, into a permanent functioning alternative government--the Conference of Shop Stewards, Branch Officers and People's Delegates.

This body must take positions on all International issues with the assistance of the Party. It must take positions on Angola, South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Portugal, Ireland, the Middle East, etc. It must work out its own Foreign Policy. It must advance proposed positions as regards OPEC, European Common Market, the International Sugar Agreement, Caricom, etc. It must register its positions on all issues being debated in the United Nations whether Williams' Regime has done so or not. It must send people abroad as delegates to all International Conferences of importance and establish International contacts. It must pose its own conception of a Five Year Development Programme as a counter to that of the Williams' Regime. It must pull together a team of technical advisers to present technical papers as regards the view of overall development. It must, most of all , organise people to deal with specific local problems or to confront the present Regime with demands if the specific problems are beyond the limitations of the alternative government.

The point is that this body, the Conference of Shop Stewards, Branch Officers and People's Delegates, must function as an alternative government based on the self-activity and organisation and involvement of the people. In fact what we are saying is that the Alternative Government must be the ORGANISED MASS MOVEMENT, the Organised People. If this is done soon there will be "DUAL POWER" existing in the country--the Organised People and the 29% Williams Regime, one based on the power of the people, the other based on the power of the GUN, the middle-class and local and foreign capitalists. Then the major question will be settled once and for all.

THE PARTY

We can almost hear the many voices shouting their disagreements. NBM and "this Assemblies and COSSABO's talk again!" Listen carefully, and listen well, the ULF Party cannot by itself be an alternative government. The role of the Party is to bring the Alternative Government, the Organised Mass Movement into being. That must be the fundamental purpose of the programme of the Party Blocks. The Party is central to this Mass Movement, to this alternative government, but is not in itself an alternative government. If the ULF Party, by itself, is the alternative government then the form of government will be the same as the PNM and the content will soon degenerate despite all the "nice talk". It will be the same form of government of the professional and advanced over the rank and file, over the worker in production. The Party is a careful selection of the highly disciplined advanced conscious elements, organised with one clear revolutionary theory. Everybody cannot be in the Party, in the working-class Vanguard Party, that is the iron-tempered leadership of workers and farmers in class struggle. The Party is not the Mass Movement, and the Mass Movement is not the Party.

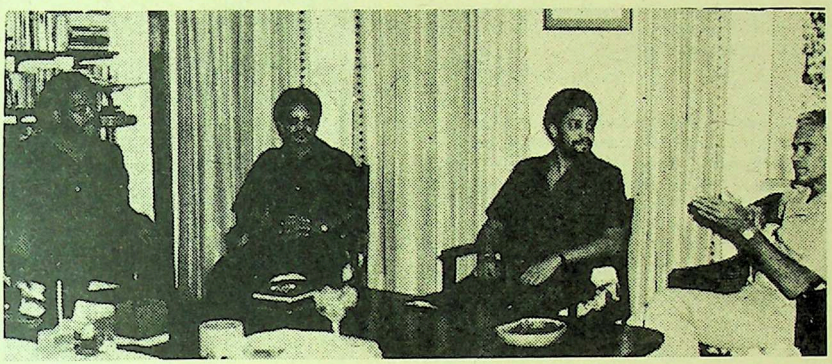
The greatest weakness of the ULF is its confusion of the Party with the Mass Movement. The nucleus of the Organised Mass Movement (COSSABO) was halted and the title "Party" was attached to almost the very same content that was/is the Mass Movement. So logically we end up with neither an Organised Mass Movement nor an Organised Vanguard. If this confusion of concepts is not cleared up, ULF shall not move one foot in any fundamentally new direction. Far less will we be able to establish any alternative government that is an alternative.

- BY NEW BEGINNING MOVEMENT, TRINIDAD

The party must build and strengthen the mass organisations of the people

GRENADA

THE END OF AN ERA



NJM LEADERS, BISHOP, WHITEMAN AND COARD MEETING WITH MANLEY IN JAMAICA, 1977

On December 7, 1976, Eric Mathew Gairy, the "modern Bonaparte" of Grenada, the British colonial version of Papa Doc Duvalier, faced the first serious electoral threat to his undisputed dominance of Grenadian politics since 1951. In a straight electoral struggle between Gairy's Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) and the People's Alliance, a coalition of the New Jewel Movement (NJM), the Grenada National Party (GNP) and the United People's Party (UPP), Gairy was able to retain parliamentary power by naked electoral graud. The final results showed that Gairy's GULP obtained nine seats and the People's Alliance 6 seats.

THE ELECTION RESULTS

In the aftermath of the open struggle that ensured between 1973 and 1976 and the politically charged campaign, it was expected that the 1976 election results would show a record voter turn out of over 90%. Instead, the official results showed that only 65% of the total electorate (63,153) turned out to vote, with the GULP gaining 21,106 votes (or 52%) and the People's Alliance 19,667 votes (48%). In the 1972 elections between the GULP and the GNP, there was an 80% voter turn out at the polls, with the GULP gaining 59% of the popular vote and the GNP 41% (the GULP gained 6,034 votes more than the GNP).

It is important to note that there was 21,669 more voters in 1976 than 1972 mainly due to the addition of the 18 - 21 year olds to the voters' list. These new voters were expected to solidly support the NJM, and consequently the Peoples's Alliance, for the open struggles of the previous years had shown the youth to be in the vanguard of struggle. However, the 1976 popular vote increased by only 6,486 over the 1972 count with the GULP gaining a meagre 944 votes above its 1972 popular vote.

It is clear that the closeness of the election results was due to the entrance of the left-wing NJM in the Parliamentary struggle. For example, the three leading members of the NJM - Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman and Bernard Coard - won their seats in urban working class constituencies (these three seats were won by Gairy's GULP in 1972). Also, four out of the GULP's 9 seats were won by a margin of between ten and 40 votes. Reports from Grenada indicate that if NJM candidates had run instead of GNP candidates in three of the seats won by the GULP, the GULP candidates would have been beaten.

The same reports also indicate that local branches of the NJM in certain rural areas refused to campaign for the GNP candidates in the People's Alliance because the local NJM members were convinced that the GNP candidates, coming from the local middle-class, would lose against Gairy.

RIGGED ELECTIONS

Notwithstanding the internal conflicts within the People's Alliance that weakened its potential capacity to mobilize the masses, the anti-Gairy forces were confident that the People's Alliance could win a landslide victory if the elections were "fair". However, both the leadership of the People's Alliance and the masses expected Gairy to rig the elections to the greatest extent possible. The main question

was how to reduce the extent to which he could rig the elections at the different stages of the electoral process.

Events that occurred and information obtained prior to and during the elections show clearly that Gairy rigged his party to victory. Some of the blatant forms of repression and electotal fraud that were practised are outlined below.

1) The voters' list was not revised and only six days were allowed for registration of new voters. Registration officers were given the power to decide who would finally be on the voters list. On most occasions when supporters of the People's Alliance requested "claim forms" for those left out of the voters list, they were told that the supervisor's office had run out of forms and expected to get more in a few days. When they returned, they were told the same A' nancy story. On the other hand, Gairy's supporters were able to obtain stacks of "claim forms". Even in cases where voters submitted claims for their names to be included on the voters list, their claims were not processed.

2) The voters list was rigged to such an extent that the names of many people who were dead and others resident abroad were included. The names of several Gairy supporters appeared two and three times on the list. The People's Alliance claims that the names of 5,000 of its supporters were finally left out. On election day in one constituency with about 4,000 voters, 513 voters on the list were not allowed to vote, 104 voters were listed more than once, 125 were dead but voted, 162 had left the island but voted and 122 had left the constituency but voted in the constituency. In other words, at least 1,026 votes could be considered fraudulent.

3) During the few weeks before the elections, police carried out almost daily searches of the homes of NJM members.

4) Police refused NJM's application to hold public meetings and banned the organization from using P.A. systems at public meetings. One of Gairy's tactics was to announce his public meetings at the same locations as and about one hour before previously scheduled NJM meetings.

5) Gairy used Radio Grenada (the only radio station in the country) as his personal radio station and used government articles and personnel openly throughout the campaign. He also utilized the government printery to print party material complete with the National Coat of Arms, etc.

6) One week before the elections, Gairy's political lieutenants began to wage a "stay-at-home" campaign on the grounds that NJM was planning an armed coup.

7) Finally, foreign press reporters were barred from covering the elections. Tony Cozier, reporter for A.P. and the Financial Times of London, was deported; Nizam Ali of the Trinidad Express was allowed to stay in the country for as long as two hours and reporters from the Nation (Barbados) were given 24 hours to leave the island.

In light of such massive rigging of the elections and the declared results (48% People's Alliance to 52% Gairy), it can be said that the People's Alliance won the election but Gairy was the victor.

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The main organized political force in the 1976 electoral struggle against Eric Gairy and his party-in-name-only, the GULP, was the NJM led by Maurice Bishop and Unison Whiteman. To grasp the historic significance of NJM's emergence and popularity, as with all new political organizations in the English-speaking Caribbean, it is important to summarize the political polarization that characterised Grenadian politics cince World War II.

THE BASIS OF GAIRY'S POLITICAL DOMINANCE

Class forces and struggles in the 1950's and 1960's in Grenada were concentrated in the competition and fight between the GULP and the GNP for parliamentary power and management of the local colonial state. Gairy rose to political prominence as the leader of working class struggles in late 1950 and early 1951 when a general strike of workers crippled the economy and the colonial state. Gairy was arrested and detained on a British warship. In retaliation, the workers destroyed estates, seized commodities from stores and shops and burnt symbolic buildings to the ground (an attempt was made to burn the capital, St. George's). In the aftermath of the struggle, Gairy formed the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers' Union (GMMWU) and the GULP, and in the first elections held under adult suffrage in 1952, the GULP swept the polls. Since then the GULP has been based on the employed working class, mainly rural agricultural and public works workers, the unemployed and a section of the peasantry.

The GNP, on the other hand, was formed in the mid-1950's as a political challenge to Gairy by the plantocracy and the commercial and professional middle-class. The GNP was based on the peasantry, the old petit-bourgeoisie of artisans and shopkeepers, teachers, nurses and a

section of the urban working-class. The fight, therefore, between the GULP and the GNP was essentially the class struggle in "organized form"; a fight that the GNP could not win and that Gairy has consistently won. But with the increasing dominance of the single political figure of Eric Gairy; his escalating victimization of anyone who opposed his views and position; his brutal use of police violence and the collapse of the economy under his political rule, more and more people gathered behind the GNP as the only political hope.

The GNP, however, being a middle-class and old petit-bourgeois party, was unable to effectively challenge Gairy for parliamentary power. Gairy's political methods were bold, daring, decisive brutal. Besides, he exploited the religious ideology and practices in which the masses were steeped. Throughout the first 15 years of his political career, Gairy was at constant war with the local middle-class and the British Colonial State. Not only did the masses perceive him as their hero and their champion, but through his leadership they gained material benefits and some upliftment in their daily life. The GNP, on the other hand, true to its colonial character and ideology, sided on every occasion with the British colonial state and feared mass struggle even on the part of its own peasant base. By the beginning of the 1970's, GNP members and supporters were clear that the party was in its death throes, but the old middle-class, small and weak, was unable to provide a new leadership or a new party.

RISE OF NJM

As with the rest of the Caribbean, Grenada was influenced by the mass struggles and new political consciousness that were sweeping the globe in the 1960's. The greatest influence was exerted by the African and Black American struggles. Black power groups were formed by the youth, but these had little effect on the workers, farmers and petit-bourgeoisie. But between 1968 and 1972, mass struggles burst to the surface throughout the Caribbean, the most dramatic of which was the mass rebellion in Trinidad and Tobago in 1970. It was not until 1973 that a new organized political force emerged on the political scene in Grenada - the NJM.

The NJM was formed in March 1973 by a group of young professionals, teachers, students and a few workers, small farmers, etc. The birth of the NJM was as a result of the merger of two existing groups - the JEWEL and the Movement for Assemblies of the People. From its inception, the NJM's strategy was to mobilize and organize the "people" through mass struggle. In the four years of its existence, it has led all mass struggles in Grenada and organize three people's conventions, each of these conventions consisting of 15,000 - 20,000 people. As a result of NJM's bold and militant leadership, Gairy threw the full repressive force of the state and his "Mongoose Gange" against NJM. NJM's leadership and members were victimized, harrassed, beaten, disfigured, shot and murdered. The movement's weekly organ - the New Jewel - has been virtually banned and has to be printed and distributed underground. But the NJM leadership showed its steel-like political fibre by standing up to Gairy's state repression and counter-attacking with mass tactics. It is not possible to outline and analyse the numerous mass struggles that NJM led and the repressive actions (legislative and physical) that it had to withstand (see Caribbean Dialogue, Voll No.1 and Vol.2 Nos. 5 and 6). It was such boldness, militancy and daring combined with its mass appeal and tactics, that sustained NJM as an island-wide popular political force in opposition to the Gairy regime.

By 1976, with general elections approaching, the focus of attention of NJM and the masses turned to the question of electoral strategy to defeat Gairy and his GULP. The key question was this: would NJM run independently or form an alliance with the other opposition parties?

THE PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE

From the inception of NJM, the GNP attempted to attach NJM to its tail in some form, but without success. Whereas the GNP needed th- NJM for its

political survival, the NJM had no such need for the GNP. In the previous 3-4 years of struggle, the NJM had effectively replaced the GNP as the popular-based opposition force to the Gairy regime. In the approaching struggle for parliament, the GNP was convinced (and correctly so) that in order to survive it had to form an alliance with NJM. The question that faced the GNP was: how could the party dominate the alliance?

During the previous four years of struggle, the NJM leadership was unable to win the masses over to its side and so establish an independent popular base distinct from the GNP's it was unable to convince the masses that its political perspective, programme, strategy and organization was in direct opposition to that of the GNP. Consequently, virtually all of the GNP supporters (small farmer, shopkeepers, teachers, nurses, some workers, etc.) were also supporters of NJM while maintaining some unknown degree of electoral loyalty to the GNP. The basis of this duality of the masses seems to be threefold; (1) the almost total political dominance of Eric Gairy in the general social life of the society; (2) the political weakness of the masses as a result of the extreme backwardness of the productive forces, the low level of capitalist production and general social relations without any other existing mode of social relations (e.g. Africa) to fall back on, and the lack of a tradition of mass struggles; (3) the internal political weaknesses of NJM.

The NJM leadership was convinced that in a straight, "fair" electoral struggle with Gairy, NJM would be victorious. However, if a three-way struggle ensued (NJM vs GNP vs Gairy), Gairy would win. With this political view and the call for an alliance on the part of the masses, NJM attempted to forge an electoral alliance with the GNP.

Discussions towards the formation of an alliance broke-down on many occasions. The main issue as far as the GNP was concerned was the sharing of seats (the GNP wanted 2/3 of the seats, leaving 1/3 for NJM); while for the NJM, the main issue was more the policy and programme of the alliance; the sharing of seats being secondary. For example, the NJM manifesto called for the nationalization of banks and insurance companies and state control of all import/export trade. The GNP, being the party of the plantocracy, commercial middle-class and the pro-capitalist professional middle class opposed such a programme. When NJM put forward a compromised policy and programme and a method for determining constituency allocation, GNP refused to budge. It was only when NJM took the conditions for an alliance to the masses at public meetings and in a people's convention that GNP backed down (a third party, United People's Party - UPP, led by an ex-Gairy lieutenant was involved in the alliance discussions on the side of the GNP, but this party does not worth serious mention). On November 5, 1976, the same day that parliament was dissolved, the terms of the alliance were agreed upon. The electoral struggle was to be a two-way battle between the People's Alliance and Gairy; a battle that Gairy and his GULP won by massive electoral fraud.

Of the six candidates elected on the People' Alliance ticket, 3 are NJM, 2 GNP and 1 UPP and the popularly recognized leader of NJM, Maurice Bishop, has been appointed Leader of the Parliamentary Opposition. Not only has NJM replaced the GNP as the popular opposition; it has also eclipsed the GNP in its traditional role of parliamentary opposition.

WHICH WAY NOW?

The course of the political struggle over the next year or two depends to a great extent on the NJM and the leadership it provides the masses. It can either become a left-wing parliamentary party, on the one hand, or a National Liberation Party as the vanguard of a National Liberation Movement that prepares the way for the socialist transition, on the other hand. The latter involved: (i) the creation and political development of a modern working-class to lead the class struggle for socialist transformation; (2) class suicide on the part of the professional middle-class leadership of NJM or a significant part of it; (3) the building of a socialist vanguard within the National Liberation Party and the National Liberation Movement, in general, and (4) the building of popular mass organizations (not simply or only committees or small groups) of power (as alternative institutions of political power) within which the class struggle could mature and be fought and class clarity could develop.

At the present political juncture anything can happen. The People's Alliance is challenging the results in three constituencies where the margin of Gairy's victory was very slim. The issue has been taken to the High Court on the basis of electoral fraud. Informed sources in Gairy's camp have stated that Gairy will lose all three cases. As we go to press, speculation is high in Grenada that Gairy will call new elections rather than face a High Court decision against his electoral victory. We may yet witness a swift turn in the political situation. The end of an era is upon us, but the character of the new era is unclear. Which way, now depends on NJM.

DESTABILISATION!

Today more than ever we have to be vigilant. Our country, T&T stands at a crucial point in its hisotry as we have indicated clearly to the world and to the foreign Multi-National Corporations that we demand change, that we intend to break away from the domination of our human and economic resources by those who do not have our interest at heart; The task has been placed squarely on the backs of our Youth and our Workers and Farmers to break with the old order. This task is a most difficult one and it demands from us the greatest discipline and a clear practical understnading of the of the forces that are against us . . .

Just as Capitalism in its necessity to expolit our labour and natural resources (Oil, sugar, natural gas etc) needs on a national level, the State (the Government, police, army, civil service and Law), to "police" the people of T&T, so to Capitalism on an International Level needs a force to "police" the Nations of the World. America, since 1945, emerged as the "police" for International Capitalism. Without America, International Capitalism cannot stand. America with its gigantic, overwhelming power and its worldwide reach keeps the old order intact and allows for Capital increase itprofits while keeping the millions and millions of people of the undeveloped countries on their knees, begging and grovelling in poverty and degradation. It is the battle to survive, to better our standard of living and instill some pride and dignity in our people that has brought us time and time again face to face with the forces of Imperialism, spearheaded by the United States. America used its Marines to "police" the world until the heroic Vietnamese, on behalf of all of us, taught America a lesson it will never forget.

But let us not fool ourselves. Not because American Imperialism was defeated in Vietnam, does it mean that Imperialism is dead. All that has happened is that America's direct military intervention has been lessened and instead they have stepped up their behind-the-scene tactics, indirect intervention and "sneaky" "underhand" methods to control the peoples of the world and prevent us from seeking national liberation to determine our own destiny. When the US realised that the people of the world were becoming more aware, and more so, since 1969, when they realised that they could not win in Vietnam, Imperialism was forced to accelerate new strategy, a new approach to world domination.

For the purpose of clarity, we can divide this new strategy and approach into 4 major branches:

1. A massive and systematic build up of the local reactionary forces in the undeveloped countries. Finance them and equip them, give them modern sophisticated weapons. In T&T after 1970, the police dumped the ancient 303's (rifles) and got modern American weapons — SLR.s and SMG's. The Americans also stepped up the military training of local police army personnel. All top personnel go to the US and Britain to be trained in forms of TORTURE, SABOTAGE, ASSASSINATIONS, EXPLOSIVES etc, also different methods and means of crowd control and dispersal. Out of this emerged such Police terror groups like "Oyo por Oyo" (eye for an eye) and "La Mano Blanca" (the white hand) in Guatemala, "La Banda" (the band) in Dominican Republic, and "Death Squads" in Brazil, Uruguay, Trinidad & Tobago etc. The aim of the Imperialist in this case is to guarantee that the local re-actionary, pro-Imperialist forces are capable of delaying or stifling national liberation. So FNLA and UNITA were financed and equipped against MPLA in order to deter National Liberation in Angola. If such reactionary forces could guarantee defeat of the revolutionary, progressive forces, then the American marines "could stay at home" and according to the Americans strategists, "Asians will fight Asians", Africans will fight Africans, Latin Americans will fight Latin Americans, and Caribbean people will fight Caribbean people all to the benefit of the Imperialists. But if this worked for Imperialism, it also served to intensify the class nature of our struggles

2. The granting of greater freedom to local capitalists, local middle-classes and petit-bourgeois elements, to run the political and economic affairs of the country and the roping of these people as "partners" to Imperialism e.i. 51% State Nationalisation & "partnership" with multi-National Corporations etc. Imperialist relations mould whole social groups of local people for this precise purpose. This was necessary since the Imperialist desired to strengthen the local State against the forces of liberation.

In T&T specifically, the coming of the REPUBLIC is only an extension of this new Imperialist strategy and thrust (just as colonialism, neo-colonialism and "Independence" represented different Imperialists strategies in the days gone by.) Once Capital, i.e. local Capital in "partnership" with Imperialism, establishes its best political shell, THE REPUBLIC, then it entrenches its power over society so firmly and throughly that the battle to stop exploitation becomes ten times more difficult.

3. The follow-up to this is the tactic of using what can be called "SUB-IMPERIALIST" nations, built up and strengthened by US Imperialism to police entire nations. Because of the rapid development, growing importance and economic and military power of some of these CAPITALIST REPUBLICS they are effective as battering-rams of repression and counter-revolution. For example, Isreal and South Africa in Africa, Iran in the Arab region of North Africa, Brazil and Venezuela in Latin America, and there is every sign that T&T in the small English-speaking Caribbean region is being, and will be, used in the same way, precisely because of its economic importance in the area.

* * * * * * *

In 1969 the United States National Security Council came up with a plan for Africa called OPERATION TAR-BABY (the name is only as obnoxious as the Plan itself). The plan was to tighten relations with the racist regimes — Israel South Africa and Rhodesia, suppress all African armed struggle, support Portuguese Colonialism (of course using NATO as cover) foster co-operation or "detente" between white regime and black regimes that are pro-Imperialists — in other words, use certain Black Regimes in Africa as stumbling blocks to liberation struggles! e.g. Malawi (Hastings Banda), Kenya (Jomo Kenyatta) and most of all Zaire (Mobutu), the African country in which the Imperialists have pumped the most Capital, also the country from which the counter-revolution against Angola was launched. If Zaire and Kenya can be used as part of the strategy of "SUB-IMPERIALIST POLICING" T&T fits the bill for the Caribbean and will be used most effectively. And we see this even more clearly in the next aspect of the new Imperialist strategy since it applies more readily to the present Caribbean situation.

4. DESTABILISATION: This is the tactic of putting pressure on the economy of a country that is attempting to break

DESTABILIZATION

with or minimise the US Imperialist stranglehold. This strategy was used against Nkrumah in Ghana and further tested against Allende in Chile. How is this pressure applied? (a) The US Multi-National Corporations cut back production thereby cutting down government revenue, increasing unemployment and inflation. In Jamaica recently ALCAN (American/Canadian Corporation) cut back production by 25%.

(b) They put pressure on the contury's major products on the International Market by manipulating prices and organising boycotts and embargoes (e.g. Cuba). Ghana depended heavily on Cocoa, Chile on Copper — the imperialists manipulated the prices of cocoa and Copper downwards, throwing the economies of Chana & Chile into chaos thereby creating hardship as the first step towards removing Nkrumah and Allende.

(c) When the economic hardship is created, the Imperialists use middle-class professionals, liberals, petit-bourgeois (pro-imperialist) political Parties, re-actionary Trade Unions and re-actionary unemployeds to put political pressure on the government (e.g. Chile, and presently Jamaica where violence is being organised against the Manley government). In other cases, the Imperialist fan the "expansionist ambitions'. of certain neighbouring "subimperialist" states and encourage them to threaten and/or attack the government that the Imperialist wish to de-stabilise. Presently they are using Venezuela and Brazil against Guyana.

It is clear to many that presently the Imperialists are attempting to destablise the Guyanese and Jamaican governments for talking Socialism, for their Anti-Imperialist sentiments (so far it is only sentiment) and their support of the African Liberation movements. What is not clear to people is the pro-Imperialist role of the T&T government in this whole effort. If the Imperialists are not sure as to where the Guyanese and Jamaican people are headed, it means that T&T the other major English speaking territory, will have to be ensured as a bastion for US Imperialist penetration and domination in the Caribbean. If Williams can further pull Jamaica, Guyana, Barbados, etc into a tighter Caricom relationship using OIL and PETRO-CHEMICALS as blackmail then US Capital to which Williams is now a "junior partner" can regain political and social dominance of the entire Caribbean. This is what Williams' so-called AID TO Jamaica is all about. It is not aid, it is an investment for the future. T&T and its Imperialist partners stand to gain millions of profits from Jamaica's importation of Mack Trucks (Motilal Moonan) buses and cars from Trinidad's Assembly "screwdriver industry" plants. In addition BWIA becomes the regional Air Carrier etc. etc . . That was the spirit of the loan to Jamaica. It is geared to re-affirm the hold of US Capital on Jamaica via T&T. It is clear blackmail. It reminds us of the loans from US and Britain. Williams according to plan is also attempting to establish T&T dominaance in the Caribbean — it is clearly the strategy of a "mini Sub-Imperialist State" to police Jamaica, Guyana, etc. on behalf of US Imperialism. When T&T is proclaimed a Repuolic its scope for "policing" the other islands is extended tremendously.

And if that is not clear the US began war games and monoeuvres in Caribbean waters and the countries or Republics that were listed to be involved were as follows' Chile Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Uruguay, Columbia, Venezuela and Trinidad and Tobago. What is common to all these countries is the dominanpe of US capital. These countries were chosen to suit a particular strategy. Of this there is no doubt. Involved in the games are a US guided missile destroyer, a frigate (destroyer) and a nuclear powered submarine. Because the strategy was becoming too glaring Williams pulled T&T out of the War GAmes. It is as though the Imperialists were telling the people "vote for PNM again, because if you vote for ULF that wishes to break with the old order, we will unleash all our forces and nuclear ships against you." The time has come, we say, for rigid discipline, total commitment and most of all, VIGILANCE. Those who stay asleep may die in their sleep!!!

- BY NEW BEGINNING MOVEMENT, TRINIDAD

CARNIVAL '77

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

Once the show is ready for the road other issues present themselves. In relation to events of 1976, the major issue has been the question of over-policing and the route to be taken by the steelbands. These are serious political questions. The Metropolitan police have indicated that they want us off the streets, and failing that, then, we are to be ushered on a route chosen by them. To enforce the latter and to lay the basis for the former, they chose, in 1976, to flood the area with policemen. These are not matters for individual bands and sound systems. They can only be dealt with, by whom? The organisation in charge of the event, with a clear policy for winning a low police profile, retaining the celebration on the streets, and along a route that is convenient and proper for ourselves. For this, there must be a clear strategy for winning what we want.

Only an organisation directly and intimately representative of the different organised units will suffice. Any other form and we are heading for trouble. Any other form and we are bound to be plagued with those problems that have subverted the smooth running of the event to date.

Within the very womb of carnival itself, the organisers of the steelbands, of the mas camps, of the sound systems have shown, have demonstrated their organisational talents. It is a source waiting to be tapped. Only they, those with a direct interest in the event itself, are capable of taking the organisation of the event to a higher and qualitatively different stage. Only the manoeuvrings of political opportunists and hustlers stand in their way.

On both committees there are those who have grown up on the hard terrain of building a particular unit from scratch. It is for them to get together now. The task is to mobilise the autonomous units for the consolidation of the carnival movement into a solid organisation. They will invite individuals and community groups to join them, within clearly defined principles of organisation. But the leadership is theirs and this is the moment for grabbing hold of the reins. It is for that organisational base to step forward and bring order to the disarray in which we find ourselves. Seize the time.

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

VOL 3 NO 4 JUNE/JULY, 1977

FEATURE ON GUYANA

Guyana's Economy and the Working People

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

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EDITORIAL

the latter two are the most important for once the worker/peasant alliance is developed

and maintained and the organizational relationship between leadership and mass is in harmony with the socialist objective, the economic question can be appropriately resolved in the particular phase of development of socialist transformation. In the final analysis, when everything else fails, the organizational relations between leadership and mass become the crucial issue. What is being proposed here is that in the initial phases of socialist transformation (within the context of a capitalist world) priority must be given to the question of the organization of political and social power of the masses in order to deal with the economic mess.

No amount of shouting for greater production, for patience on the part of workers and peasants; no amount of promises; no gigantic hydro-electric project can resolve the crisis that has taken hold of the Guyanese economy. The crisis is not simply an economic crisis. The problem is essentially a question of political and social power in the hands of workers and peasants to deal with the economic crisis. Not even the short-term programme put forward by the four progressive unions can alleviate the economic crisis. Only a revolutionary change in the organization of power relations within production and in the state can resolve the crisis. Either that or state totalitarian capitalism.

WORKERS'AND PEASANTS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION AND THE STATE. NOTHING LESS WILL DO.

EDITORIAL

Economics & Power in the Transition

The feature article in this issue focuses on the performance of Guyana's "socialist" economy over the past few years and particularly the 1977 budget of the People's National Congress (PNC) government led by Forbes Burnham.

Such an analysis is timely as the PNC Government was the first (outside Cuba) in the Caribbean in the post-colonial period to boldly and clearly state that it is about the task of building a socialist economy and society. Since then, to be socialist has become a new fad. Today, Patrick John in Dominica, Manley in Jamaica, Bird in Antigua, etc. have all declared that they are socialists. Besides, the main opposition forces in the various territories consider themselves socialists. An analysis of Guyana's economy at this time can help to clarify the question of the economic transition to socialism in the Caribbean.

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The article shows clearly that the budgetary strategy of the PNC state is not socialist. The transition from a dependent capitalist economy to a socialist economy is a complex question. In the past two to three decades progressive and left writers have produced millions of pages on the question. However, in the first phase of socialist transformation it is necessary to transform and expand production to satisfy the needs of the masses of workers and farmers; diversify the productive economy and service sectors; gradually expand research and the development of technology and a machine industry to serve as the foundation of an independent economy; nationalize the major productive units, import/export trade and the domestic financial market; centralize the accumulation of the social surplus under the control of the state; reduce imports in relation to domestic production and exports; reduce the public debt in relation to the social surplus; etc. . Necessary as these measures are, they are not the foundation upon which and only upon which socialist transformation can be seriously undertaken. They are the trunk and branches of the tree, not its roots.

What then is the foundation and consequently the fundamental problem of transformation ? The article touches on the question : "with the working-class and the peasantry not directing their own affairs the economy cannot move --------the bureaucracy and the service sectors expand on the backs of the producers." In general, that is the key to the problem of transformation.

Most if not all of the measures outlined above that are necessary in the first phase of socialist economic transformation can in fact lead to the strengthening and advancement of a capitalist economy. The two all-important factors that make the real difference are (1) the prevailing or developing social relations within production and the society as a whole, and (2) the organization of power within production and exchange and the state. These two factors are not independent. The transformation of social dependence and inequality into social independence and equality must of necessity be an integral and central part of the process of socialist transformation Secondly, the transformation of the organization of production and the state to give expression to the changing social relations is the king-pin of the transformation process. In fact, organizational transformation must precede any real transformation in social relations. These two factors form the essential roots of socialist transformation. Without them either the capitalist economy will be further expanded and developed or the transformation process will become stultified, frozen and eventually turn into its opposite - state totalitarian capitalism.

In the context of these two factors, there are three inter-connected sets of dialectical relationships operating in the transformation process; (1) the relationship between economic development, on the one hand, and the transformation of social relations and organization, on the other hand; (2) the class relation (e.g the relations and alliance between workers and peasants); and (3) the relations between leadership and mass in the process of organizational transformation. The former is important because with no real economic expansion, development and transformation, all attempts at transformation of social relations and organization will lead to a collapse of the political process. Similarly, with all emphasis on economic expansion and development and no organizational transformation, economic crisis and collapse will result. A balance must be maintained between the two so that expansion and development of production and distribution can sustain the transformation of social relations and organization and satisfy the expanding needs of the masses.

Of the three sets of dialectical relationships,

CONTINUED ON INSIDE FRONT COVER

JAMAICA

Cutbacks, Layoffs and Speedups

The Management of the Jamaica Railway Corporation has been carrying out a 'programme of reorganization'. Since November of last year, 124 workers, most of them young workers, have been reorganized out of their jobs. Another three hundred workers will get the same treatment if management is allowed to have its own way. Because of the layoffs some workers are now doing three jobs instead of one.

The layoffs are a direct attempt by the JRC management to avoid a $20 per week pay raise won by the workers in October 1976. Appeals by the BITU and NWU to the Prime Minister to step in and stop the layoffs have not brought any answer until now. In the face of the worsening capitalist economic crisis, the capitalists are up to their old tricks: They are laying off some workers and working the rest brutally. Workers must resist these layoffs with militant worker action. It is vital that rank and file workers organize themselves in their unions to defend their wages, their living standards and their jobs. FIGHT THE LAYOFFS. BUILD RANK AND FILE WORKER ACTIONS.

-TAKEN FROM FORWARD.

Port Workers Fight to Keep Jobs

March 1975, January 1976 and March 11, 1977 have seen the struggles of the water-front workers to maintain their jobs and a decent standard of living.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED

On March 11, 1977, 35 forklift workers got letters saying that from March 24 they would have no jobs. They are to join the ranks of the unemployed. Management has said there is not enough work as no ships are coming into port. But the workers said no, that is not so. There is work. Workers saw management's argument as an attempt to maintain their profits and, most important, to stop them from changing the unions they now have. The workers have said they do not want the BITU or NWU. They want the DMWU. Also, the trade union mis-leaders told them that their contract with management is an "indefinite" one and cannot be broken. Workers say that it is because of this that management and the unions have agreed to lay off 35 workers. They are asking who will be next.

WHO WILL LOSE THEIR JOBS NEXT????

Workers must continue their struggle in support of their comrades who have been laid off, because with Sea-Land pulling out its 100 containers a week Trinidad transhipment it means Kingston Wharves port workers will soon be laid off. Kingston Wharves have already said that business is slow. We must defend our jobs all the way. Struggle must be organized for real worker's control of the trade unions that represent them. The real battle is for workers control of the wharves alongside the fight of workers such as the Paradise Estate workers who are pushing for workers control of the land.

FIGHT THE LAYOFFS!!
DEFEND OUR JOBS!!!!

Build Worker Councils to STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF THE UNIONS, THE LAND AND ALL THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION.

-TAKEN FROM FORWARD.

Secret Police Request Funds

A September 1975 memorandum to Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet from the head of the country's secret police--the Direccion de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA)--requested a supplementary budget allotment of $600,000 for the final three months of the year.

The memo gave four reasons why DINA needed the extra money:

1. To increase DINA personnel stationed in diplomatic missions in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Belgium and Italy.

2. To pay "additional expenses" involved in the "neutralization" of the Chilean junta's main opponents abroad, "especially in Mexico, Argentina, Costa Rica, the United States, France and Italy".

3. To pay expenses related to "operation in Peru--aid to our supporters in the Peruvian navy and press...."

4. To continue financing counterinsurgency training in Brazil for DINA officers.

A commentary on this memorandum issued by the Phoenix Committee for Human Rights in Latin America noted the success DINA has had in the job of "neutralizing" junta opponents abroad. The committee listed the murder of Chilean General Carlos Prats in Argentina, Socialist party leader Orlando Letelier in Washington, and the attempted murder of Christian Democratic leader Bernardo Leighton in Rome.

Chilean authorities claim the memo is a forgery. However, syndicated columnist Jack Anderson re-

ported in the May 3 issue of the Washington Post that "A DINA defector now in asylum in the Italian embassy in Santiago...has confirmed the authenticity of the memo." Anderson added, "We have also had access to other DINA documents, which the Chilean government has acknowledged are authentic. These resemble the disputed document in every detail."

-TAKEN FROM I.P.

BRAZIL

10,000 Students March in Sao Paulo

Student protests have suddenly erupted in Brazil seriously challenging the military dictatorship headed by retired Gen. Ernesto Geisel. Correspondent Bruce Handler reports in the May 7 Washington Post that student demonstrations have recently taken place in Rio de Janeiro, Porto Allegre, Belo Horizonte, Recife, Campinas and Ribeirao Preto.

The biggest protest took place May 6 in Sao Paulo, where about 10,000 students marched through the downtown area carrying banners reading: "Democratic Freedoms", "amnesty", and "Free Our Prisoners". Leaders of the protest read an "open letter to the people" that called for free elections and "an end to torture, arrests and political persecution". It also criticized "economic exploitation" and "the high cost of living".

The Sao Paulo demonstration was called in response to the arrest of four students and four workers who were detained for allegedly belonging to a left-wing group, the Workers League. Handler reported that the police used tear gas, but there was no serious violence and no one was arrested.

-TAKEN FROM I.P.

GRENADA

Bank Workers Union Launched

Last Monday, the Bank and General Workers Union, registered on April 18 last, was publicly launched at a press conference. According to the Union's president, Mr. Vincent Noel, the union was formed as a result of some twenty bank workers search for a body to represent their interests. At launching, about fifty per cent of the employees of four banks were members of the union which has since applied for recognition to the four banks concerned. Letters have also been sent to the TUC and its affiliated unions as well as to the Labour Commissioner.

Nine officers have so far been elected from bank workers, but the posts of president and grievance officer have been filled by non-bank workers. The reason for this, Mr. Noel told the press conference, is that bargaining and the handling of disputes take a great deal of time and the workers will not be able to devote so much time from their day's work to this side of the union's activities.

Noting that the cost of living has risen some 300 per cent in the last six or seven years, unlike the salaries of bank workers which have not risen in any comparable manner, the union aims to work for a salaries increase for its members. It also hopes to negotiate better terms and conditions of service such as maternity leave, pensions, overtime and promotion. The sixty per cent of the banks' employees are women, who feel that they are discriminated against in times of promotion.

The union hopes to get the banks to accept the policy of no discrimination against a worker because of sex.

-TAKEN FROM TORCHLIGHT.

Fight for Recognition

Last Friday the Bank and General Workers Union came under fire from some of the staff members of the Barclays Bank when news began to circulate that the union had a majority of workers.

In an after-work meeting which was summoned by senior staff members, it was understood that two main points were made. It was first suggested that a union would reduce rather than enhance workers salaries and working conditions and secondly, it was hinted that those workers who join the union could get into "hot water". Many of the workers have interpreted this to mean the possible loss of their jobs or other forms of victimisation. Significantly, none of the three management personnel were present.

The union, feeling it was their duty to respond, sent an open letter dated May 8 to Barclays workers. The first point made in the letter was that under the laws and constitution of Grenada and also under the International Labour Convention, all workers have the fundamental, legal and human right to join a trade union of their choice, without threats, intimidation or victimisation. Secondly, the BGWU wants to make it abundantly clear that it will fight against and expose to all of Grenada, the regional and international press, the entire trade union movement of Grenada, any attempts to intimidate or victimise workers for exercising their legal rights to join a trade union of their choice.

-FROM TORCHLIGHT.

ANTIGUA DIVIDED

Labour Day this year, observed on Monday 2nd, passed into history leaving the pundits to ponder its significance. However, both union party combinations left no doubt to the observer that the working class was clearly divided down the middle.

The government party and union virtually had a monopoly of all the steel bands that were on the road. It has now become a pattern, that whichever of the two parties is in control of the reins of power, that it alone controls the steel bands in the Labour Day parades or charades. 1977 was no exception, the old pattern continued. Both demonstrations were undoubtedly massive. However, the demonstration of the ruling ALP in conjunction with its union defied estimate, since its supporters were largely disorganised and disorderly. The ALP marchers refused to keep to the demonstration route, and it is doubtful whether some of the ALP supporters marched even for half the route. It was a very sad reflection on the organisational capacities of the ruling group that it failed to organise an orderly march of its supporters on Labour Day 1977. This is also consistent with the Antigua pattern in that the party in power usually seems to be "going through the motions" for Labour Day caring little for organisational requisites, except when in an election fever.

SEA OF BLUE

The opposition PLM, obviously surprised and impressed with its massive turn out, described its own gigantic march this way: "The people came by bus. They came by foot. They came by car. They came by lorry. Thousands of them. And, as the morning wore on there was a massive sea of blue and white."

A Section of the Birdites on Labour Day.

There can be little doubt either, that the AWU/PLM leadership were themselves surprised by their massive turn out on Labour Day. They expressed their amazement in an editorial in the Leader of Saturday, May 7th, 1977 thus: "Despite all the ranting and raving about lock up; despite the blatant victimisation; despite open threats to fire all government employees who marched with the "Blues" on Labour Day; despite all the obstacles which were placed in the way to prevent the AWU/PLM from effectively organising their strength on Labour Day, Labour Day 1977 was a tremendous success for the AWU/PLM. To all those who thought that the confidence of the Blues in their leadership was on the wane, the massive demonstration must have come as a thunderous surprise."

TALKING POINT

Indeed, the AWU/PLM demonstration was, and still is, the major talking point. Like the ALP/ATLU when they were in opposition, the AWU/PLM were well organised, in strong tight rows, all of 13,000 strong, with an average age of about 35. It was noticeable that their youth contingent, that is those under 20, were not as strong as those in the ATLU parade. But it was also clear that the AWU/PLM had a high percentage of working class stalwarts, many male but mostly female, marching in their ranks.

Crucially, most observers were in doubt as to whether the huge throng of AWU/PLM supporters came out in support of the leadership who now face criminal corruption charges, or whether they came out to show their implacable hostility to the Bird regime. The distinction is important. If they came out in support of their leadership, heedless of their alleged corruption, then it can clearly be concluded that the personality cult has reached the point that the cult leaders are right when they are wrong, and still right when they are doubly wrong.

If the impressive crowd which turned out in support of AWU/PLM on Labour Day came out to show their opposition to the Bird regime, then it was clear that the polarisation of the working class will continue, proving that while Bird and Walter can divide the working class, that they

most definitely lack the will, the capacity or the ideological means to unite the country. Therefore, the personal struggle for power between Bird and Walter will become even more intense, but always to the detriment of the working class as a whole.

However, it is to the credit of the Bird regime that having campaigned against the use of school buses during its period in opposition, it firmly resisted any temptation to use school buses or government vehicles in its Labour Day demonstration. They deserve full marks on this score.

ONLY ANSWER

Notably, neither demonstration concerned itself with the question of independence. The opposition union/party faction seemed set on their course of not supporting independence under Bird while the ruling union-party faction seemed equally set that Antigua would remain the odd man out in the Caribbean, joining Montserrat and perhaps Anguilla as the last of Britain's colonies in the area. In the context of independence Labour Day 1977 deepened our sense of shame as the odd man out.

Notably too, neither Bird or Walter had anything of note to say to the workers of the country on Labour Day. There were no significant resolutions, no policy statement for the workers in this trying economic time. A programme for full employment was totally ignored.

In striking contrast in Barbados, the Barbados Workers Union on the very same day in its Labour Day proceedings, passed this significant resolution:

"Whereas it is becoming generally acknowledged across the world that workers participation is the only answer for removing the serious injustices which exist in our society:

Be it resolved that the workers, here assembled at Mangrove Park, St. Philip, Barbados, call on the government to initiate the process for making meaningful workers participation a reality in Barbados."

Labour Day 1977 made it abundantly clear that in Antigua only the ACLM has taken a firm stand in support of both independence and the reorganisation of society to unite the workers, by making them effective participants in the process of national planning and national production.

Naturally then, on Labour Day in Antigua, all that was left was the worship at the Bird and Walter shrines. The personality cult reigned supreme. Labour Day confirmed that Antigua's political leaders, in both government and official opposition, are determined to keep the people in backwardness. A better day is coming, nevertheless.

-TAKEN FROM OUTLET, ORGAN OF ACLM.

All Fools Day Closure

On April 1st, 1977, also known as All Fools Day, First Pennsylvania Bank will definitely cease its banking operations in Antigua.

The banking operations of First Penn will be incorporated in the banking firm of the Antigua branch of Royal Bank. To date none of the First Penn staff members have been hired by Royal Bank and as if to emphasise that the First Penn workers are being made fools of, Royal Bank recently hired several untrained clerks who held jobs at other commercial firms, with a view to extending their banking operations.

Since announcing that the Bank will definitely close, Government has taken no interest in the fate of the workers who are to be severed from First Penn as of April 1st and the more than 30 workers will no doubt swell the already bursting ranks of the unemployed.

As if to emphasise that its decision to close was calculated to displace Antiguan workers and disrupt the Antigua economy, First Pennsylvania Bank recently announced from its headquarters in Philadelphia, on January 17th, 1977, to be exact its financial results for 1976. In its releases First Pennsylvania Corporation, through its President Jim Bodine, said to its employees "we feel all of us should take pride in our performance--net income of $23.1 million, an increase of 27% over 1975."

Continuing to boast about the financial health of the bank itself, the First Penn release said, "The Bank's position was considerably strengthened during 1976. The margin between the Bank's interest income and cost of funds is up, fee income is up and non-interest expenses are down." In spite of this financial buoyancy, Antigua workers are to be severed and the Government has responded to the plight of the workers with calculated indifference.

-TAKEN FROM OUTLET.

Budget Exposes Regime

The 1977 Budget marks a major turning point in the history of Antigua. A statement concealed in the Budget, escaping the attention of the official opposition, can present considerable problems for Antigua in the near future.

Finance Minister, Reuben Harris, in delivering the 1977 Budget speech which was virtually undebated because the PLM opposition absented itself from the crucial debates, made this ominous statement:

"Steps will be taken during 1977 to pass legislation to introduce the concept of Exempt companies with a view to attracting the registration of certain types of influential companies."

MAFIA

These so-called "Exempt" companies are American companies mainly which, in order to escape American corporate taxes had first sought a haven in the Bahamas and then latterly in the Cayman Islands. These companies were sent packing from the Bahamas after the progressive Pindling regime took over from the white colonial administration in the Bahamas. These "Exempt" companies, known in business circles as "brass-plate companies", also include many Mafia organised companies whose major function is to launder money obtained by crime or narcotic sales in the American criminal underworld. Through these overseas "Exempt" companies, such underworld money is passed and can then be banked in various commercial banks as "laundered" or "clean" money. Well known Mafia operatives used these companies in the Bahamas until Pindling chased the money-dealers out of the Bahamian temple.

PIECE OF THE ACTION

Finance Minister Reuben Harris, no doubt aware of the real nature of these "Exempt" companies, claimed in his Budget speech that these "influential companies will provide jobs for our people and are capable of attracting large sums of capital to our island. The legislation will also provide for all registered companies in the state to pay an annual fee to remain on the companies Register." This enactment of a registration fee is an obvious device for government to get its "piece of the action" from these "Exempt" companies.

Through these "Exempt" companies Antigua will now succeed the Bahamas as the centre of American underworld activities in the Caribbean. A few of these companies have already taken shelter under the ill-famed Gairy regime, and a Grenada based Exempt company known as the "National Lottery" has been known to be carrying out "dubious" business ventures in that island.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Almost as a cruel blow, the 1977 Budget contains no programme for dealing with or relieving unemployment, and expenditure on public works has been increased by only a fraction of one per cent. Meanwhile, $190,000 will be spent on military training while not a single dollar has been allocated for training unemployeds for the job market.

Another notable point in the 1977 Budget is the extremely small contribution made by companies, foreign or local, to revenue intake in Antigua. The total intake from company taxes in Antigua amounts to the comparitively negligible sum of $2 1/2 million in 1976. In fact, then salaried and weekly-paid workers in Antigua contributed three (3) times more to the revenue of Antigua by income tax, than did the business community. Most companies in Antigua however, operate with tax concessions and at the end of the legal tax-holiday period change ownership, thus the government is unable to accumulate revenue capital from these companies to undertake development projects of its own. So that despite the high rate of exploitation of local workers, these foreign companies make little or no contribution to the island.

DECEPTION

Glaring also in the Budget was the substantial increase in revenue from Import duties and Consumption tax, which combined reached a grand total of $10.8 million in 1976 with Consumption tax being nearly half that amount standing at the staggering figure of $4.3 million. Those figures would clearly indicate that there has been a considerable increase in the cost of living and the inflationary spiral. The Finance Minister ducked the question of the level of inflation in Antigua and confined himself to the superficially glib statement that "according to available statistics some countries reached a phenomenal level of 17% inflation." Mr. Harris did not give the percentage level of inflation in Antigua.

That figure was of crucial importance, because it is the only means by which the policy of abolishing personal income tax can be judged, in that the general increase in taxes would have had a direct effect on inflation and the rising cost of living. The refusal to give the inflationary level is tantamount to deception.

-CONTINUED ON PAGE 10.

In Search of Justice

The Arnold Rampersaud murder re-trial ended on Thursday, April 21, in a stalemate after 25 trial days. The jury were deadlocked over a decision after deliberating for over nine hours. As a result the 35-year-old Arnold Rampersaud is committed to stand trial for a third time at the Demerara High Court.

This is the second occasion on which a Demerara jury came out with a non-decision in the history making trial against the Corentyne PPP member. At the previous trial before Justice Claud Massiah, the jury failed to arrive at a verdict after deliberating for eleven hours, which was the longest period a jury ever retired for the purpose of considering a verdict.

Each new trial, however, is adding to the dimensions of the accused, making of him a legendary figure and a symbol of a people searching and fighting for justice. Since his arrest and imprisonment three years ago, the name Arnold Rampersaud has become a household word in Guyana, while his fight for freedom has become a focal point for solidarity actions nationally and internationally.

POLITICAL OVERTONES

Even Chief Justice Harold Bollers conceded that the Rampersaud trial has political overtones. The Defence raised this charge at the very outset, and declared that Rampersaud was framed-up because he is a member of the opposition People's Progressive Party.

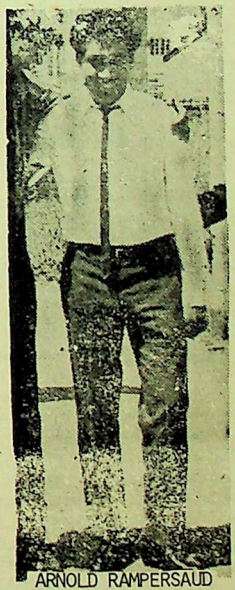
The Prosecution, on the other hand, is trying to make out that the gun attack on the No. 62 toll station had something to do with a campaign on the Corentyne against the imposition of toll fees, and in which campaign the PPP was involved. There was no evidence, however, that the PPP or any other organisations in the broad based Anti-Toll Committee ever advocated the killing of policemen in protest against toll fees.

In his summing up which lasted eight hours, Chief Justice Bollers observed that no evidence was led by the Prosecution to establish that the accused was seen with a gun on the night of the shooting, nor was any evidence led to the effect that the accused was seen in the act of shooting at the toll station. Evidence was led to establish a case that the accused was seen in the vicinity of the toll gate shortly before and five minutes after the shooting.

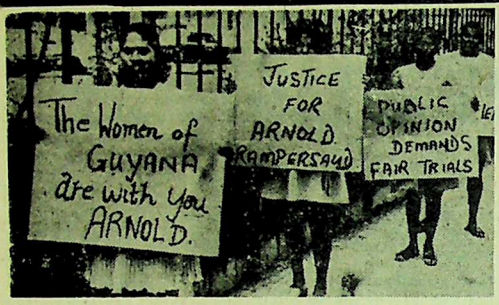
INDUCEMENTS

Nathaniel Douglas who was dismissed from the Police Force for taking a bribe, testified that he had seen the accused in motor-car HN 819 which was parked 530 feet north of the toll station on the night of July 18, 1974. Douglas gave his statement after the accused was charged with murder. Shortly before he testified against the accused at the preliminary inquiry, he was given police clearance and a job as a security officer at the Guyana State Corporation.

Joechim Francis who was in company with the deceased at the time of the shooting testified that he had seen the accused drive past the toll station five minutes after the shooting. Francis admitted that he had told a police officer who visited the scene of the shooting that the men ran away. This witness against whom suggestions have been made that he might have done the shooting, gave three statements to the police. In the first two statements he made no mention of seeing the accused driving past the toll station after the shooting. He stated that he had heard a car start up but he did not look to see,



ARNOLD RAMPERSAUD



as he was lying on his abdomen on the floor of the toll booth.

The third statement of Francis was made after the accused was charged. The statement was made after he was spoken to by the Police Crime Chief who, according to the Defence, had made some inducements to Francis. In that statement Francis mentioned for the very first time that he had seen the accused driving past the toll station.

In giving his directions to the jury, Chief Justice Bollers told the eight men and four women in the panel that they would have to ask themselves whether the evidence against the accused was fabricated because the accused is a member of the PPP.

FRAME UP

The position of the Defence is that the case against the accused has been made up because of his political affiliation. The accused, the Defence contended, was framed-up.

The police did not have any clue as to who might have shot the police guard at the toll gate. "They were groping in the dark, arresting persons wholesale," the Chief Justice summarised when he referred to the case for the Defence. And it was only after the accused was unlawfully detained for two weeks that the murder charge was slapped on him. Having charged the accused, the police then began to collect statements against him. The statements of Douglas and Francis are among those collected after the accused was charged.

One of the persons who was arrested "wholesale" was taxi driver Mohamed Jahoor. The police had alleged that Jahoor was connected with the shooting as his car was seen shortly before the shooting in the vicinity of the toll gate. One Lee Hooper, the police told Jahoor, had seen three men coming out of his car who walked towards the toll station. Gunshots were then heard. Jahoor, according to the police allegation, was seen behind the driver's wheel.

This testimony is in direct contrast to that of Douglas who said that he had seen Rampersaud behind the driver's wheel, and that the car he had seen belonged to the accused and not Jahoor as the police alleged.

EXPERT EVIDENCE

The Defence led evidence from several experts to rebut the Prosecution's case. Guyanese physicist, Errol Fraser, who carried out certain experiments, testified that Douglas could not have recognised the number of a car and the driver if indeed Douglas ever passed the toll gate on the night of the shooting. The night was dark and Douglas said he had seen the accused and the number of the car with the aid of a torch-light when he was four to six feet away from the car. The physicist said that Douglas was riding at 10 feet per second. In one-half of a second he would be long past the car and on a dark night it is not possible to recognise both the driver and the car number in one-half of a second.

Pathologist, Dr. Balwant Singh, referred to the post mortem report of the deceased, which stated that blackening was seen around the edges of the bullet wounds appearing on the body of the deceased. Dr. Singh said that this could only mean that the weapon was discharged at a distance of two to three feet, and not the 40 feet distance which the Prosecution has alleged the bullets were fired from.

MANSLAUGHTER

Faced with a formidable Defence, the Prosecution in a surprise move virtually abandoned the case of murder against the accused. The Prosecution instead emphasised the possibility of a manslaughter verdict against the accused. In his address to the jury Prosecutor McKay submitted that there is no evidence to the effect that the accused knew that James Henry was in the toll booth, and had gone with the intention of killing him. It is more probable that the shooting was done to terrorise the occupants of the toll booth, in the process of which James Henry was killed. In this case, McKay said, the accused would be guilty of manslaughter and not murder.

This is the first time that the idea of manslaughter was injected into the case. The Prosecution did not alert the mind of the jury to a manslaughter verdict during the previous trial. The accused is charged with murder.

In retiring, the jury was asked to consider a verdict in respect of murder or manslaughter. It is difficult to say, however, whether the non-decision was in respect to murder or man-

slaughter or both. Observers have opined that the jury might have only been divided on the manslaughter issue alone. This issue would have been cleared up had not the trial judge overruled an application by the Defence that the jury be asked what was their decision on each count.

MENTAL TORTURE

The jury was discharged late Thursday night. The jurors were on the panel for a period spanning seven weeks, during which time they heard evidence from a total of thirty-one witnesses. Tensions rose high during their nine hours of deliberations, both inside the crowded courtroom and in the precints of the court where an unusually large number of people converged, eagerly awaiting the outcome of the case. It was a gruesome nine hours of alternating moods of hope and disappointment.

The accused who has grown pale due to his lengthy confinement greeted the non-decision with stoic calm. He has been a monument of patience in the dock over the seven weeks of the re-trial and has concealed his anguish and the mental torture he had to experience over the past three years. With his fist clenched in solemn salute to the many who are concerned with his safety and liberty, he was led away to prison where he will await his third trial.

SOLIDARITY

The appeal for the freedom of Rampersaud is reverberating within and without the four corners of this country. From overseas have come six lawyers who participated in the defence of Rampersaud as an act of solidarity with a man seeking justice. Scores of protest cables have been sent from abroad to Prime Minister Burnham.

And at home, a battery of defence lawyers rallied to the side of Rampersaud. The defence team was headed by Senior Counsel, B.O. Adams, and included Barristers-at-law Ashton Chase, Doodnauth Singh, Ralph Ramkarran, Miles Fitzpatrick, C.L.M. John, Moses Bhagwan and others who have become active participants in the work of the Defence Committee.

To date the Arnold Rampersaud case is the most significant trial that has ever taken place in Guyana. The outcome of this trial will qualitatively influence the cause of judicial proceedings in Guyana.

-BY ARNOLD RAMPERSAUD DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

WPA's May-Day Appeal

The Working People's Alliance greets the working people on May Day, 1977, and makes the immediate necessary demands. This year the Alliance directs public attention to the organisation and transport needs of workers and makes the following appeal for immediate action.

Working people of Guyana!

1. The new society is not a string of words dangling from the future. It is not a gift from above. To win the new society the working people must fight for daily improvements in the economic, political and cultural conditions of work and life of the people.

2. The WPA appeals to all workers to join trade unions and become active trade unionists. It is the Union's duty to organise each worker as a person with a place in the economy. Only so can the class begin to lead the revolution.

3. The WPA appeals to all unions to organise regular branch meetings at which workers are free to discuss affairs and make decisions. Lack of regular branch meetings leads to general lack of discipline in the working class movement. This is a situation that will not help working people. Do not allow the trade union to get a bad name. Let workers' democracy live!

RISE AGAINST ADVANTAGE

4. Workers should be free to enter fully and freely into trade union activity in their own interest. Trade union activity is legal activity. Let no one introduce political bans in trade union activity.

5. Workers! WPA appeals to you to close ranks as one, against victimisation, retrenchment and discrimination. No employer, state or private, respects a labour force which sells out a victimised worker, or which consents to retrenchment and discrimination. Rise like lions against advantage!

6. WPA demands that employers must give at least 3 hours with pay per month within working hours for the monthly branch meeting. Workers need and deserve this time because of the many hardships they face to reach home after work. Any employer who cannot grant three hours a month for the branch meeting is a saboteur in

the economy. Any trade union leadership that refuses to fight for this or some equal right, is an agent of capital in the ranks of labour. No socialist party can deny the workers this simple right--a guaranteed right of meeting.

7. Working people! Do not forget that in the bauxite belt the workers have no freedom to elect the executives of their union. The Guyana Mineworkers' Union has been taken over by the ruling party and company officials are the true bosses of the union. The whole labour movement must demand free union elections in the bauxite belt--now!

8. Working people of Guyana! Regard yourselves as part of the working people of the whole world --Caribbean, Latin America, the socialist countries, the capitalist countries and all countries. At home, whatever your race, regard yourselves as one class. An organised, united and educated working class cannot be defeated. In the face of all the deception, the working class must become a class for itself.

9. Urban and rural, African and Indian, working people of all races! Your day to day relations are politically important. Positions on a platform are not enough. Political advance depends on the race relations at the mass level. Workers' advance depends on that also. WPA appeals for a start in organised labour. Let workers support workers regardless of race, industry or region. Let worker support worker in a just cause on the job regardless of race and creed, regardless of party affiliation. Do not trifle with the interests of the whole class and the whole people. No group of workers can be deceived. Let class consciousness and class solidarity be seen in all your actions!

10. Finally, WPA appeals for a recognition of rank and file policemen, soldiers, national service and militia personnel as "workers in uniform". Workers who want a socialist future must inject them with class consciousness in place of militarism and try to win them away from their anti-labour and anti-people functions.

DEMANDS

1. Payment of a travelling allowance to all workers because of the sharp increases in fares over the past year up to April 1, 1977.

2. That food supply for the people be treated as something of the highest importance. There should be no official lying and pushing around over food, which all need in order to live.

3. WPA repeats the call for a cost of living allowance and shows how subsidies have been rudely withdrawn from the working people at the command of the government.

4. WPA supports the decision of the last TUC conference (on a motion by NAACIE & CCWU) for a minimum wage of not less than $75 per week. Workers must now agitate and fight for the right to this minimum wage.

-BY W.P.A., GUYANA.

-CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6.

CORRUPTION

Mr. Harris in his Budget speech also made a revelation about corruption in the public service claiming that "It is known that government materials are utilized indiscriminately for private gain, that government vehicles are abused and used for private purposes and that petrol and lubricants end up in private vehicles." Mr. Harris then indicated that since his ministry has taken over issuing petrol and lubricants "a saving of about 45% of government resources" has been effected.

In general the 1977 Budget raised so many issues that the refusal of the Opposition PLM to debate the Budget must be characterised as a serious dereliction of their duty to their constituents. Perhaps the Leader of the Opposition, George Walter, thought that in view of the pending criminal corruption charges against him that he was no longer a fit and proper person to take part in the debates. He subsequently changed his mind without any explanation to his party and the public.

No censure motion has been passed against him in his party, and in spite of the corruption charges he still continues to noisily occupy his seat in the House. It is customary the world over, with Japan being the most recent example, that whenever a political leader is charged before the courts on a criminal offence, for him to be suspended from leadership in the party until found innocent. However, the PLM seems to have lost all traces of political integrity and continues under its discredited leadership as no other political party in the world has done.

However, the 1977 Budget will no doubt have serious consequences for Antigua, and the working people of Antigua will have to conduct a determined struggle in the future to rid it of these "Exempt", mafia-type companies waiting in the wings to descend on Antigua. The Bird regime now stands exposed as opening its arms and legs to the Mafia and other underworld business ventures.

-FROM OUTLET.

National Mobilization

The decisive parliamentary victory for socialism was won on Dec. 76. Now begins the urgent task of consolidating this important victory and advancing the Jamaican revolution to win the battle of economic reconstruction, cultural reorientation and the transformation of the bureaucratic capitalist state machinery. This task requires the most massive and thorough going economic and political mobilisation Jamaica has ever seen.

EDUCATIONAL MOBILIZATION

There is need for both a quantitative and qualitative leap forward in the ideological as well as the organisational fields. The masses must now gain a thorough grasp of socialist theory--because without socialist theory, socialist practice is left to grope in the dark. A great cultural and educational mass movement is necessary to purge the nation of reactionary theories and superstitions which plague our society at all levels. The old ideas of capitalism and imperialism must be replaced with new progressive socialist ideas of the working class in order to prevent a return of the old capitalist class or the emergence of new bourgeois elements who may emerge from the ranks of the workers and government functionaries as a result of bourgeois ideological influence.

POLITICAL MOBILIZATION

The following immediate steps should be taken to advance the political mobilisation of the nation:

1. Expand the JAMAL programme, and intensify its ideological contents.

2. Begin systematic education programmes for workers in factories, fields and offices.

3. Establish a Workers and Farmers Education Institute for the purpose of training hundreds of first rate socialist cadres.

4. Teach the basic principles of socialist theory and practice at all levels of our educational system.

5. Promote the local film making industry, and make increasingly large numbers of socialist films and literature available to the public.

6. Make use of mobile propaganda units to systamatically service given areas in close coordination with the local organisations.

7. Revolutionise and reorientate the advertising industry, and make immediate use of the media of large bill boards to propagate socialist ideas.

8. Build the nationwide united front of all patriotic, progressive and socialist forces, and build the vanguard organisation of the working class and small farmers which are indispensable organisational weapons in making socialist revolution.

ECONOMIC MOBILIZATION

Only the united and politically conscious masses can break the back of the economic crisis once and for all. The masses are an inexhaustable source of inventiveness and creative power; not the bureaucrats who are usually divorced from reality. A more resolute programme of nationalising the basic means of production and of revolutionary land reform is needed if production is to increase significantly. Workers participation and workers control is most essential in industry, and bureaucracy must be fought if not a new parasitic class of bureaucratic managers and technocrats will emerge and instead of building socialism, we will end up building state monopoly capitalism.

Production must meet the primary goal of improving the living conditions of the poorest sections of the masses, and community production brigades should be launched in all communities so that all unemployed labour can be immediately harnessed and brought into the national productive effort.

COMMUNITY PRODUCTION BRIGADES

The basic aim of the Community Production Brigades is to mobilise the unemployed labour force in our community for the production of goods and services in order to build a more self-reliant and prosperous community and to support the national effort to overcome the present economic crisis. The brigade shall consist of all unemployed and other workers registered through the organisations which constitute the community council.

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Liberation Views

This feature is a direct link with the magazine Liberation Views previously published by the RML. The aim is to expose and comment on the struggles within the prisons as well as provide an opportunity for (cultural) expression and development to oppressed people who are in captivity. We publish below important sections of the constitution of the Prisoner's United Liberation League (PULL), parts of a PULL recommendation to the Minister of Justice and poems.

St. Catherine District Prison Prisoners Council
Prisoners United Liberation League - PULL - Constitution of Council.
Preamble:

This League was established in March 1975 by prisoners serving sentence in St. Catherine District Prison, to discuss among other things matters pertinent to the general development of all prisoners throughout the various penal institutions. This League was formally recognised by Government in July 1976, in keeping with the spirit of Government's policy of rehabilitation and reformation of prisoners. Prisoners full participation in the government's programme was invited through a duly elected Prisoners Council at each institution.

OBJECTIVES

Prisoners at the St. Catherine District Prison, in keeping with development through participation, endorsed the Prisoners United Liberation League, through the polls, as the Prisoners representative body and generally elected Council. The objective of this League is as follows:

1. To promote an atmosphere conducive to human development and rehabilitation in St. Catherine District Prison.

2. To ensure the development of the social, intellectual and cultural potential of all prisoners.

3. To ensure the implementation of constructive working, studying and recreational programmes in the institution for all prisoners.

4. To ensure the observance by members of the prison staff of the human and institutional rights of all prisoners.

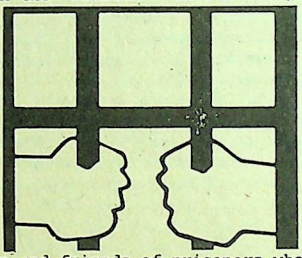
5. To acquire books, correspondence courses, other literary and recreational articles and to ensure the distribution of the same to any prisoner who may so require them.

6. To redevelop and maintain the prison library for the constructive use of all prisoners.

7. To work towards the establishment of programmes to assist ex-convicts who may so need help to constructively re-adjust themselves in society.

MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS

All persons signifying their general agreement with the objectives of this League, by taking PULL's oath of allegiance, are eligible. PULL is also allied to a Coordinating Committee of people on the 'outside'--ex-convicts, parents of



prisoners and friends of prisoners who are very concerned and desirous of assisting us with our aims and objectives. Furthermore, the following corporal bodies which we hope will ascertain their general agreement with the objective of the League, are hereby invited to make tangible contributions to help us to help ourselves to bring about our aims and objectives:

a. All educational, industrial, professional and social organizations and friendly societies.

b. All religious and non-religious bodies.

c. All youth organizations and school societies.

PULL'S ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

1. General Council:

a. PULL's General Council comprises of elected representatives from each block. The General Council meets and discusses any questions or matters relating to the welfare of prisoners or functions of any committee of PULL.

The General Council is the main deliberative body of PULL. Working with the General Council is the Coordinating Committee.

b. The Coordinating Committee comprises of appointed members to the Council. The Coordinating Committee is the main administrative body of PULL.

On the recommendation of the Central Executive new members are admitted to the Coordinating Committee. The main areas covered by the Committee are Discipline, Education, Industry, Art and Crafts, Recreation, Sanitation, Food and Food Handling, and Medical.

Each member has one vote in the General Council. On ordinary matters a decision is reached by a simple majority of those present and voting, and on important matters by a two thirds majority.

2. Central Executive:

The Central Executive body comprises of:.

a. The General Secretary and one other Administrative Secretary appointed by the General Secretary.

b. The Chairman and one Disciplinary Committee member appointed by the General Secretary.

c. The Treasurer.

d. Member(s) of the Coordinating Committee appointed by the General Secretary.

The Central Executive acts on behalf of all members of the Prisoners United Liberation League, all of whom agree to carry out its decisions and to make available to it at its request, all data relating to the administration of specific organizations of the Council. Decisions are made by a simple majority.

3. Speaker:

Meetings of the General Council are regulated by the Speaker who:

a. must be a member of the Executive Body.

b. must be elected by the General Council.

c. must ensure that each member of the Council is given full opportunity to participate in the meetings of the Council.

A Recommendation on Human Development within St. Catherine District Prison.

Human relationships within the institutions: Programmes to encourage the establishment of good human relationships within the institution should be encouraged, so as to facilitate the lessening of tension and the desired tranquil atmosphere that is conducive for the smooth administration of the correctional institute. We recommend that:

a. An immediate in-service training programme be implemented in areas such as psychology, human-behavorial patterns, penolgy, academic and vocational training of staff.

b. That the prisoners council be allowed to recommend recognition of members of staff who have been significant in contributing to prisoners development and rehabilitation.

c. That an acknowledgement of meritorious service--certificate of merit, extended vacation, etc.--be granted as recognition of significant contribution to prison reform and the rehabilitation of prisoners.

d. That government's aims and objectives in the field of penology be outlined to both warders and prisoners, so as to facilitate a general understanding of the desired change of attitude towards imprisonment and the desired response from both warders and prisoners to such. That this be achieved through lectures provided by representatives of government and through literary articles, etc.

e. That a call be made upon the voluntary and patriotic service of staff so as to facilitate a three shift system.

f. That the services of the prisoners council be utilized to assist the warders in the maintenance of duty, should the three shift system be implemented.

g. That immediate programmes be implemented so as to keep the individual prisoner meaningfully occupied. That recreation and entertainment, such as films shown by the API film unit on a weekly or monthly basis, musical entertainment by pop bands willing to enter the prison to entertain and entertainment provided by individuals or youth groups and social organizations, be implemented.

h. That there be immediately established a public announcement system within the institution so as to foster greater and more effec-

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The Plan and the People

Firstly, the Plan will not solve the problems of most concern to working people. These are layoffs and unemployment, land reform, the cost of living and shortages. Instead, the Plan is going to make many of these problems worse.

LAYOFFS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The Plan does not put imperialism and the big man under tighter controls. It gives in to their demands. It gives them what they want and relies on them to get production going and stop layoffs. The government is going to try and borrow $200 million to give the capitalists in raw materials. Devaluation is also going to increase their profits. The people cannot be happy with this because the government has been relying on the capitalists for years, lending them money and all they have done is lay off workers and ship $300 million out of the country. We need to put the capitalists who get the country's money under tight control and make sure they get production going and stop layoffs. There should be a law against layoffs.

The Plan says it will not trouble the big landowners. It will ask them to put 10% of their land in food. It plans to use public funds to finance farms which will be managed by capitalists. The other measures put forward to assist farmers, that is land lease and loans, do not go far enough. The people should be mobilized to identify lands and the government should cooperate with them to get them into production.

COST OF LIVING

The devaluation of the Jamaican dollar will cause the cost of living to rise greatly. Although the basic food prices will not be directly affected, even these will be affected indirectly. All goods which are imported and are not food, petroleum or fertilizer will rise in price about 40% or forty cents in the dollar. For instance, spare parts for cars and machines. In addition raw materials will increase in price and since raw materials are a big part of the things we buy, the price of locally manufactured goods will go up in price by about 15%. These include clothes, household items and furniture.

This will also be true for services, especially for companies like Jamaica Public Service which have borrowed a lot of money from abroad and now have to pay back more. Light bills, telephone and even water rates are likely to go up. On top of all this there is a wage freeze for most workers. Shortages will continue as the government has taken no step to control tightly the manufacture and distribution of essential goods. Committees should be set up to carry out this task.

WILL THESE MEASURES WORK?

These measures will not deal with the people's problems. The crisis will reoccur as it has year after year. What is more, is that now the capitalists have got some of their demands they will not be satisfied, they will demand more. They will call for full devaluation, laws to freeze wages, higher prices, more loans, an end to controls over foreign exchange, removal of progressive people in the government and the civil service.

IS THERE AN ALTERNATIVE?

The alternative is greater government control over the capitalists.

1. Capitalists who get foreign exchange and who produce essential goods must be placed under the tightest control--reduce layoffs, the sending of money abroad and hoarding.

2. Only reliable people who support change must be put in charge of these responsible areas.

3. Immediate steps must be taken to develop our relations with the socialist countries right now not in the so-called "near future". This is vital for getting new sources of raw materials.

4. The tax system must be reformed, especially to catch the capitalists who benefit from the devaluation and to relieve the burden on small landowners.

5. The people must be rallied to identify and put into production idle land.

6. The burden on the backs of the people must be lightened by a rent rollback of 25%, reforming the National Housing Trust to get benefits quickly to the people at a lower interest rate.

-FROM STRUGGLE.

Land for the Farmers

The Prime Minister and other government ministers are trying to pass off the Production Plan as what they call a "people's plan". They would have us believe that it sufficiently meets the needs of the people in the present situation.

Agriculture is put forward as the foundation on which the economy is to be "revived". As the

main thing that is going to create the jobs in the countryside and in the city indirectly. The development of agriculture is supposed to make us self-reliant and save the badly needed foreign exchange. With this in mind we think that what the government would do is to at least put some of the people on the 120,000 acres of idle land. Instead, the government is still putting its trust in the parasitic land gods, calling on them to put 10% of their land into use. At the same time 10,000 small farmers are to get 30,000 acres.

Who are the backbone of our agriculture, the land gods or our small farmers? Everyone knows the answer to this question, even the big people in the Ministry of Agriculture--it is the small farmers.

It is no excuse to say that because co-ops cannot be set up the people cannot get the land. Proper irrigation, supply of seeds and adequate marketing arrangements is sufficient to get the small farmers moving. How is the $5 1/2 million on irrigation going to be spent? Will the co-ops and small farmers be helped? Many small and middle farmers now have to buy water from the land gods who have no use for it. One Minister also said that the land could not be given to the people because there would not be enough agricultural officers to service the new farmers. Many farmers would have "fits" laughing at this statement.

It is because of the hand of the big man in government why it cannot firmly uphold the interests of the people. This is why it is "if-ing" and "but-ing" as to whether to give back the people their birthright--or to use the Prime Minister's words, "their patrimony". This is why we say the Plan has little or nothing for workers or the rural poor.

-FROM STRUGGLE.

Working People Must Defend their Rights

The Jamaica Union of Tertiary Students (JUTS) has called upon the working people to stand ready to defend their rights against the imperialists and their local friends, who wish to continue our exploitation. This was part of the Resolutions of the Special National Conference of JUTS, held from April 15 to 17. Attending the conference were delegates from teachers colleges, nursing institutions, the Cultural Training Centre, UWI, CAST, the Jamaica School of Agriculture and community colleges throughout the island.

The Conference recognized that "It is impossible for the government to adequately improve educa-

-CONTINUED ON PAGE 27.

Teachers' Union Formed

Teachers who want to work for real change in the education system are now organizing a teachers trade union.

On Saturday, April 23, over 200 teachers from 60 schools launched the National Union of Democratic Teachers (NUDT). The union was launched at a meeting called by the former Teachers for a Democratic JTA (TDJTA) at Mico College. The launching of the NUDT brought to a new stage a two-year struggle by progressive teachers in the Jamaica Teachers Association (JTA). At the same time, the launching also marked a new stage in the many-year struggle of sincere and patriotic teachers in the JTA for change in the anti-people nature of the Association.

In early 1975, sincere and progressive teachers formed themselves into a grouping, the TDJTA, to actively struggle for changes in the JTA and to build the sort of education system which benefits the majority of our people and not just the children of a privileged few.

PERSECUTION

The reactionary leadership of the JTA responded by harassing, persecuting and slandering the TDJTA and its leading members. Some were called up for disciplinary action by the Association. Some lost their jobs. John Haughton, for example, was fired from his job at the Haile Selassie School and could not get a steady job throughout the two years. Joan French was barred from running in the President-Elect elections of the JTA in 1976, despite the fact that over 3000 teachers had voted for her the year before. And last month, eight progressive teachers were expelled from the JTA.

Amidst all this persecution and intimidation, however, the teachers organised other teachers. They researched the real workings of the anti-people education system and made the facts known. They published a book--"A Common Sense Look at Education in Jamaica". And they have submitted proposals to drastically improve the education system over five years.

MEASURES

These include a massive literacy programme which takes literacy to the people and not the other way around. Compulsory 10 years of continuous education for all children. For teachers to be permanent in their jobs after three months--among other measures.

-FROM STRUGGLE.

Guyana's Economy and the Working People

THIS FEATURE ANALYSIS OF GUYANA'S ECONOMY WAS PRESENTED TO THE TUC BY THE FOUR PROGRESSIVE AND MILITANT TRADE UNIONS IN GUYANA - THE CLERICAL & COMMERCIAL WORKERS UNION, GUYANA AGRICULTURAL & ALLIED WORKERS UNION, NATIONAL ASSOC. OF AGRICULTURAL, COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYEES AND THE UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA STAFF ASSOC. CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE UNDERSTANDS THAT THE ANALYSIS WAS PREPARED BY DR. C.Y. THOMAS, THE WELL KNOWN CARIBBEAN ECONOMIST.

1. Objectives

There are three major objectives behind our representations:

i. We seek to stress the urgency and seriousness of the current economic situation and the consequent need for equally serious, informed and penetrative analyses of this situation by the Trade Union movement. We believe this would be one effective way of influencing the direction and quality of economic management in Guyana. This is an important task since the major economic targets for the economy have been set by the managers themselves and as we shall show, most of these major targets have not been achieved. There is, therefore, a dire need for critical evaluation of the quality and level of performance of the management of the economy, as that performance is fundamental to the standards of living of the working people.

ii. We seek also to make specific recommendations on the 1977 Budget. And

iii. We seek to merge these recommendations into a basic programme which we feel should constitute the priorities the T.U.C. should struggle for when targets are set by the managers of the economy.

2. The 1977 Budget

As far as the working people are concerned, three aspects of the 1977 Budget stand out:

i. The first of these is the cut in public expenditure from $795m. to $546m. This is a decrease of 30%. This policy measure is the classic capitalist stabilisation program which reduces the level of government expenditure in order to bring about balance in the balance of payments. We believe such an approach is inconsistent with any conceivable socialist inspired economic program. Irrespective of the way it is put, this measure is aimed at, and can only lead to, retrenchment, cuts in workers' incomes and increased unemployment. The policy measure is deliberately deflationary and aims at reducing incomes and employment in order to reduce imports and thus to restore foreign reserves level. It is the type of austerity program that every capitalist party secretly hopes it would be politically strong enough to introduce.

ii. The second aspect of the budget which stands out is the removal of subsidies on such items as transport, poultry feed, flour, water (metering) and electricity. The removal of these subsidies is wrong in principle. The first line of defence in an economic crisis cannot be the removal of those very defences the working people have struggled for to protect them from economic hardships. The removal of these subsidies are certain to lead to increases in the cost of living. As we shall show later, such increases are already overburdening the working people.

iii. The third matter is the public debt. To finance the public debt for 1977 it is projected that $116.4 m. will be spent. This total is over 25% of projected current expenditure of $411.2 m. Out of these debt service payments, $26 m. will be interest and $44m. principal (to give a total of $70m.) on the external public debt. Expenditure on "nationalization payments" will be $32m. On top of this, next year it is proposed to borrow a further $57m. from overseas.

The burden of payments on the external public debt diverts a substantial sum of Guyanese resources abroad. This raises a number of questions. What are the terms and conditions of these nationalization agreements? What are these sums in relation to the profits of these enterprises? What of the claim that these sums will only be paid from profits? A vigourous analysis of these nationalizations requires that relevant data be forthcoming. The Trade Union movement unanimously supports nationalization. But such support cannot be blind support for what appears to be purchase arrangements with foreign companies of which we know little. To be informed and effective the T.U.C. must have access to all the relevant information. On the surface, and as things stand, to nationalize by way of purchase agreement is to convert assets located in the nation (and which belong to the nation) into foreign debts and obligations. This has never been and can never be the principle of a socialist nationalization program.

3. The F.C.H. Program, the 1972-76 Development Plan and the Budget

The Budget has to be evaluated in light of the performance of the economy. We focus principally on the period 1972-76 because this coincides with the period of the last development plan and because the economic targets set for 1976 were to house, clothe and feed the nation. We shall demonstrate that these economic targets were not achieved. We shall also demonstrate the large margins by which production fell short of these targets. We shall also in the course of doing so expose the fundamental areas of mismanagement of the economy in both target setting and production.

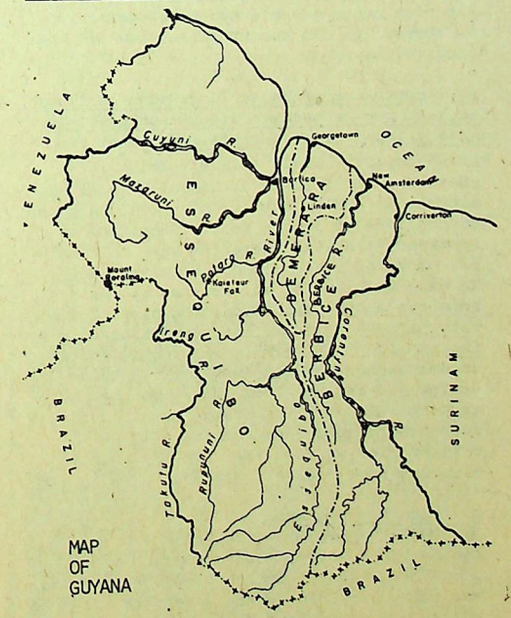
i. Feeding Program:
In 1976 the nation was supposed to be fed from local production. What has been achieved? We do not have to recount the spectacular failure of the potato crop, the white sand farming, etc. These are sufficiently well-known. Let us look at the major items of production.

In 1976, using the government's own ridiculously inflated estimates, the country produced 25lbs. of poultry per head. This was equal to 8ozs. of poultry per person per week. Remember this was before the present rise in chicken prices came into effect. In eggs the country produced one egg for every person every 8 days. That is less than one egg per person per week. Fish production, despite all the highly publicized "sales", amounted to 14 ozs. per person per week. The output of milk was only 4/5 of one pint per person per week. Beef production was also equal to only 3-4 ozs. per person per week. Even in the case of the traditional ground provisions we only produced 1 1/4 lbs. per person per week.

MALNUTRITION

All the above figures used are averages. And, because the income in the country is not evenly divided, it means that the poorer sections of the community (the working people, peasants and the unemployed) had even smaller amounts of local production allocated to them. It is not surprising that malnutrition is still rampant in Guyana. The amount of protein intake is too small. Indeed with milk at nearly 55 cents per tin it would cost a family of seven persons $33 per month to have two tins of milk available for the whole family each day! How can the working man then afford his rent, transportation, other food, clothing, fuel, electricity and so on? He can only afford these things by starving, that is, by eating less than is nutritionally desirable.

A survey by the Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute shows that in 1971 18% of children under 5 years had moderate to severe signs of protein and calorie malnutrition. 43% more had mild signs. As much as 54% of urban households had inadequate protein intake, while in the rural areas the figure was 60%. Further, 66% of urban households had inade-



MAP OF GUYANA

quate calorie intake, while in the rural areas the figure was 74%. In this circumstance we can see the serious effects of the removal of subsidies. The poor people are bound to suffer most. To the working people feeding the nation is not simply replacing imports and saving foreign exchange. Particularly when the levels of these imports are low. What the poor man wants to achieve is a proper diet and adequate amounts of protein. That is the way to feed ourselves. We cannot be feeding the nation with malnutrition rampant.

In the 1972-76 Development Plan the government projected wildly optimistic targets of agricultural output. The result was inevitable. Government estimates show that at the end of 1976 ground provisions output was 9m. lbs below the target. Vegetable production was nearly 2m. lbs below the target. Fruit production was 14m. lbs below the target. Pulses and nuts production were 6m. lbs below the target and oilcrops (mainly coconuts) were nearly 5m. lbs below the target. This gives a total shortfall of these crops of nearly 36m. lbs!

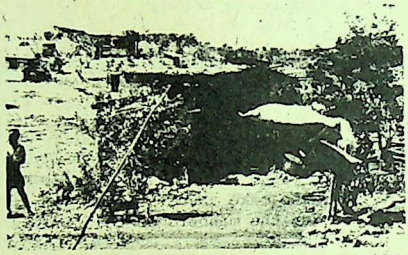
On top of this situation there were many shortages over the year. Government outlets in the middle of last year actually had the sign up "No rice, no sugar". And remember that rice and sugar are our major agricultural crops. We can therefore see how bad the situation is.

The importation of basic foods such as flour and milk occurs because production plans to satisfy local needs have failed. That is why we import. Until this situation is overcome, until there is adequate local production to end malnutrition we will be bound to continue to import food. Subsidies on imported food will therefore have to continue. This situation cannot be wished away. We have to plan for it. But as we can see from the above discussion, the plans begin with targets that have no conception of what the problem is. From there on bungling and mis-management follow inevitably. These follow not because individuals do not want to do better, but the system as it is conceived does not permit better. It is to this problem we feel that the Trade Union movement should direct itself.

ii. The Housing Programme:

The 1972-76 plan, in terms of the resources devoted to housing, also contained wildly optimistic targets for housing construction. For the years 1972-76 the government planned to produce 5,000; 8,000; 13,000; 17,000 and 22,000 housing units respectively for all income levels. By the end of 1976 they had built 6,000 houses. They were also additions to a further 6,000 houses. Given that a house would accommodate 1.5 dwelling units the rate of building was still less than sufficient to match the rate of current increase of households. The result is that the backlog of households with inadequate housing is not only being neglected, but is also being made worse.

On top of this the lack of pure water supply, electricity, proper drainage and refuse disposal, sanitation and transportation to work make the living conditions of the Guyanese masses intolerable. Indeed the malnutrition combines with poor sanitation to make gastro-



enteritis a serious scourge among children. Given the level and distribution of medical services, particularly public health, this situation is very serious indeed.

iii. Inflation:

Everyone in Guyana feels the squeeze of rising prices. Despite this the government refuses to take steps to prepare a proper cost of living index. The index used is based on a household budget survey completed twenty years ago in 1956. And after half-hearted criticisms from the TUC, the government came out with a new base year: 1970. But no new household budget survey was conducted for the 1970 base. The data therefore remain unreliable as they are badly out of date.

The truth is that the cost of living index has now become a political index. By failing to secure the updating of the index, the TUC is weakening the working people's struggles. By all accounts there is no doubt that the present index understates the rise in the cost of living. One only has to look at changes in the Price Control List to realize this. The result is that all employers, including the government, are wrongfully claiming that we have a very low rate of inflation or price increases in Guyana.

COST OF LIVING UP

But even when we use the government's political cost of living index, this is what we find. Between 1970 and December 1976 the price level in Georgetown had increased by 62%. For food, beverages and tobacco the increases in price were as much as 98.7%. While for clothing the increase was 70.1%. Nowhere has sufficient wage increases occurred, for lower income workers to match these inflationary increases let alone to compensate them for increases in worker productivity and to permit for an improvement in their standard of living.

Using the government's own data in its statistical digest we find that between 1970 and 1975 average earnings in the sugar fields and factories were increased by 45%. In bauxite mining and quarrying, the increase was 20%. In the distribution sector, earnings actually fell by 2%. Only on the wharves did actual earnings increase by 60%. We must remember that these data refer to earnings. Which means a great deal of it has been earned by forcing the working class to work longer hours at overtime rates. Because the increases in earnings were largely wiped out by rising prices, the working class could not improve its standard of living, although worker productivity in all these industries has been increasing.

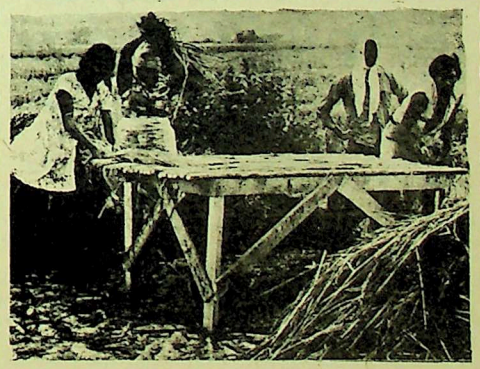
The rising prices have therefore helped to reduce the standard of living of the working people. It has exposed them to the brutalities of foreign and local capitalism because a great deal of the price increases has occurred through rising import prices. Instead of more food, clothing and housing, the masses of Guyana as a whole have been made relatively worse off. In conclusion, let us consider the government's minimum wage. In 1964 this was $4 per day. Today it is $5.50. This is an increase of about 38% over the past twelve years. Yet price increases, as we have already indicated, were over 60% between 1970 and 1976.

iv. Money, Public Debt and the Balance of Payments.

Mismanagement of the economy is sharply revealed in the area of financial management. During the 1976 Budget the government could boast of the large foreign reserves which they had. Sugar prices were booming and during 1975 the net foreign reserves reached over $210m. But mismanagement had resulted in the net foreign reserves being about minus $50m. at the same time of the 1977 Budget. For 1976 the government estimated that the foreign trade deficit would be as high as $250m. It must be realized that this run-down of reserves was deliberate. This is what the Minister of Finance said in the 1976 Budget: "after two successive years of reserves accumulation, 1976 would see substantial use being made of these reserves to finance the capital imports that are implicit in the large development programme being proposed for 1976". How can it therefore be a surprise that our reserves have run out? How can it be said that flood and drought brought about this situation when it was deliberately planned for in the 1976 budget?

The fall in reserves has been accompanied by massive borrowing and printing of government money. Between December 1972 and December 1975 the money supply more than doubled. There was an increase of 125%. Between December 1974 and December 1975 alone the money supply increased by more than one half. How can anyone expect otherwise than that such unbelievable increases in the money supply would lead to inflation and a depletion in our reserves?

The Public Debt was $267m. in 1970. By 1976 it was about $900m. That is an increase of about 230%. The external debt increased from $160m. in 1970 to $488m. in 1975. When we take into account the recent purchase of Bookers the increase in external debt will be even larger. The major cause of this increase in public debt is the so-called nationalisations. Instead of heeding the call to confront the companies to demand compensation for the exploitation of Guyanese people and resources, the government has negotiated to buy back what was ours. The result was inevitable. The people's assets were instantly converted into national debts. In 1976 payment on these was nearly $32m. For 1977 we have to add in the Bookers payments which will probably average about $9m.



IMPLICATIONS

When we compare these external nationalization payments to surpluses earned in all the public corporations for 1976, (this was given by the government as $40m.), we can see some of the serious implications of the nationalization "deals". Thus the Times of London on June 7th carried the following report:

"Jessel Securities, the sorely troubled financial and industrial group has defaulted on interest payments due to holders of 9 3/4% unsecured loan stock and has declared that despite large scale realizations liabilities exceed assets. But Phoenix Assurance, trustees of the stock, are not calling for repayment pending a Jessel reconstruction scheme. In a letter to shareholders, Mr. Oliver Jessel, the Chairman, says that disposals have raised 17.5m. plus a further 1.9m. in Guyanese government deferred notes, and adds: 'The stage has not been reached when most of the easily realizable assets have been sold'. The disposals have enabled the company to repay virtually all the secured creditors."
(our emphasis)

In this situation the TUC should demand an independent examination of these nationalization terms. The data cannot be treated as "secret" when our enemies (i.e. the companies themselves) know the full details. Indeed, the data are only "secret" for the Guyanese people, as among capitalist circles the terms are fairly well-known.

v. Unemployment:
On top of all this there is no evidence of any change in the unemployment situation. The most conservative estimate would still make unemployment no less than 25% of the labour force. Among young people between 18-23 the figure is probably over 60% in the urban areas. Imagine one out of every four workers, two out of every three young people want a job and cannot find it. Throughout the post-independence period the government has never published regular statistics on the condition of the working people. The unemployment statistics are treated almost like state secrets.

In a socialist society priority is given in published statistics to the social conditions of the working people. This is in direct contrast to the situation in Guyana. Even the presentation and form of the budget is capitalist. The government's programme in no way resembles a statement of a programme for working people.

vi. The Neo-Colonial Basis of the Economy:
Despite all the claims to the contrary the basic colonial structure of the economy has not changed. Sugar, rice and bauxite still account for 38% of the gross value of output. In 1976 these industries earned 87% of the value of all the country's exports. They are also still the main sources of employment.

All three products are primary products. That is, they are not processed beyond a relatively low stage in Guyana. All these products are also produced and sold abroad as exports. The economy is therefore not geared to satisfying the needs of the Guyanese people. But, like a typical colonial economy it is geared towards satisfying the needs of capitalist countries. Our resources and their use are linked to the growth and behaviour of the capitalist economy.

MANAGEMENT'S TASK

Selling primary products on the capitalist world markets is the worse thing a country can do. These prices fluctuate all the time. Capitalist merchants speculate on them. Moreover, every time there is a boom or recession in capitalist countries the prices of these products are hit the hardest. The result is that the incomes earned by these products also fluctuate in Guyana. It is in this sense that the economy is still colonial. It is integrated into the capitalist economy. How can you have socialism with such a colonial economic structure? How can you have socialism with so much of the working class unable to find work? It is because the economy we have is still basically colonial that crises will always occur. In an economy such as ours crises are inevitable. The basic task of management is therefore to change it and in the process of changing it to give priority to the needs of the broad mass of the working people.

Let us look at the performance of these three major primary products last year. The rice industry produced 110,000 tons of rice. This was about 50,000 tons less than the mid-1960's and 40% below output for 1975. The weather was blamed for this--both flood and drought! But as the Guyana Rice Producers Association has pointed out, their costings show that at present prices rice farmers lose about $162 per acre. The cost of producing rice is about $510 per acre. This covers the cost of all items: transport, labour, rice bags, fertilizer, fuel, etc. The income earned from one acre of

rice is only $348. That is, if we assume that the acre produces 3 bags of White Rice B grade, 1 bag of White Rice broken, 3 bags of Bran and half bag of chip. How can the rice industry thrive if the farmers suffer losses to produce rice?

SUGAR AND BAUXITE

The sugar industry also produced less. For 1976 the estimate is an output of 340,000 tons. This was below the output for years as far back as 1967 and 1969. This fall in sugar output was combined with a fall in prices from the unusual levels reached in 1975. Everyone knew that the level attained then was freakish. Yet the budget seems surprised the prices did fall. Primary products always behave that way. You cannot plan a socialist economy on the basis of producing primary products for capitalist markets. Yet the government's plans call for increasing the capacity of the sugar industry to 500,000 tons! In the process they plan to use up more of the best alluvial soils in Guyana--almost all of which is situated near the coast.

In bauxite it was the same thing. Dried bauxite output fell from 1.4m. tons in 1975 to 1.1m. tons in 1976. That is a fall of about 1/5. Calcined bauxite output fell from 778,000 tons in 1975 to 741,000 tons in 1976. That is a fall of about 5%. Alumina production also fell from 313,000 tons in 1975 to 274,000 tons in 1976. That is a fall of about 12%. Again flood, drought and workers' laziness were being blamed for all this.

The truth is that if we produce such products, and if we continue to sell them in capitalist markets as we do, such fluctuations are inevitable. The situation is also worsened when, as we have it, the industries are tied down with backward social relations. The bureaucracy in all these industries is top heavy. Complaints among the working people are many. They talk about so-called fat jobs for party favourites. Discrimination in employment. Squandermania, incessant rumours about fraud and misappropriation of the people's money fill the air. There is no need to sweep this under the carpet. Whether true or not, large sections of the working people believe it. The task therefore is for a quality and structure of management to be created which makes these rumours impossible. Thus the TUC must struggle.

The beginning must be a Code of Public Management. In agriculture the land tenure arrangements are backward and feudal. Yet no land reform program has been introduced. In this situation the economy is really a morass which is tying down and sinking all the efforts of the productive workers. No shouting for more productivity can overcome this liability. That is the experience of all regimes which use a neo-colonial state, to run a neo-colonial economy, while preaching "socialism".

vii. Planning:

Despite all the propaganda about planning, the economy of Guyana is not in any meaningful sense planned. The last Development Plan 1972-76 was published as a Draft in mid-1973, just before the elections. Since then a revised version has never been put to the public. Now at the end of 1976 we are being told that the plan will be "rolled over" for 1977 and 1978. How can you roll over a plan which is still being finalised? Moreover, how much of a plan is it if none of the major policies of the government in the last two years was ever mentioned or anticipated in the 1972-76 Plan?

WATCH FOR OUR SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER ISSUE

* W.P.A ON THE SUGAR STRIKE IN GUYANA
* P.P.P CALLS FOR NATIONAL FRONT GOVERNMENT
* SUGAR AND THE WORKING-CLASS IN THE CARIBBEAN

BUREAUCRATIC ELITE

In the absence of planning, and with the policy of purchasing overseas assets held locally, public industries are being put in the hands of a bureaucratic elite with no clear indications of their tasks. In the Public Corporations there are no planned achievement targets. No indication exists of what penalties will be applied to them for failing to meet these tasks. No methods are clearly stated for evaluating their performance. The consequence is that there is no rational basis for guiding economic activity. This is a structural weakness which cannot be changed without the injection of massive working people influence on this situation. The technocratic planning class which exists in these circumstances are not well enough positioned themselves to challenge "wildcat schemes". They cannot point out the basic social ills of the society which is the

source of many problems. Particularly if they fear that their "loyalty" will be questioned. The consequence is to develop the dependant attitude of simply doing what one is asked to do.

As the state grows in this disorganized and unplanned way, the inertia of its size will certainly hold back the momentum of the economy. The country gets the worst of both worlds. Statism run on capitalist principles destroys the initiative of the workers and peasants. Further, whatever private enterprise exists will not invest. Its object is to get rich quick and get the money out of the country if possible. With the working class and the peasantry not directing their own affairs the economy therefore cannot move. When this situation develops, the bureaucracy and the service sectors expand on the backs of the producers--the farmers, the bauxite workers, forestry workers, etc. The real producers of the economy are pressed to yield surpluses for the state to support itself. But unless the state is subject to working class control they will believe that these surpluses are not used to support their interests, but to support an elite.

4. Recommendations:

At this juncture we believe that the TUC must have three basic objectives. The first of these is to see that the tax increases in the Budget are removed from the working people and shifted to those classes who can afford them. The second is to develop a short-term priority programme for public expenditure which speaks directly to the conditions of the working people. The third is to improve its own capacity to monitor the economy and act independently on behalf of the working people to influence the direction of management of the economy.

i. Shifting the Tax Burden off the Poor Man:
The effect of the removal of the subsidies will be a significant increase in an already rapidly increasing cost-of-living. We believe that the subsidies are vital to the working people. To remove them is to remove one of their major lines of defence against economic crises. Consequently, we argue that the subsidies should not be removed and further, they should be expanded in the ways indicated below. We believe that if revenue is to be raised it should be raised from non-essentials. The top targets here are:

a. Increased Taxes on Alcohol. At the moment about 50 million pints of beer and stout are produced. These are clearly non-essential items and should be taxed before subsidies on basic food and services are reduced.

b. Increased Consumption Taxes on Luxuries. Some items of consumption e.g. air-conditioners, motor cars about 1200 c.c., families with more than one motor-car, owners of private swimming pools, exotic toiletries, expensive audio equipment should be taxed before subsidies are removed. These taxes can often be made very substantial if they are directly linked to the improvement of the poor people's living standards.

c. Increased Fees for Licensing the use of Luxury Items. e.g. The second and third motor-car in a family, service tax placed on each person eating in luxury eating places, e.g. Pegasus, Tower Hotel, etc.

d. Drastic Cuts of Super Allowances. These refer to travel and entertainment allowances. These should not be commutted and should only be granted for approved expenditure.

e. Cuts in the Public Debt. This will mean both the downward revision of nationalization purchases and vast reduction in interest rate payments to commercial banks and insurance companies which hold government securities.

f. Property Taxes should be revised Upwards. In particular these should penalize strongly all persons who own more than one house, or who rent houses whether they own one or more.

g. A Special Levy should be placed on all Large-scale Domestic Capitalist Concerns. All these concerns depend upon government protection. Prime candidates are companies such as Banks D.I.H., A.H. & L. Kissoon Ltd., Toolsie Persaud, Mahazarally, etc.

ii. Spending on the Priorities of the Working Man:
Increased taxes raised from (i) above have to be directly and inextricably linked to spending on the priorities listed here for the working people. To raise taxes as in (i) above and to continue the same unscientific and wasteful patterns of public expenditure would worsen and not improve the situation.

a. Cost of Living Allowance. As Clive Thomas recommended in his report to the TUC since 1973, there must be immediate payment of cost of living allowances to all workers. As the prices rise, the working people's standard of living is reduced. Everything becomes more expensive. The pay packet is

worth less. To protect them cost of living allowances must be paid automatically to compensate for all price increases. To ensure this works properly and fairly, an up-to-date cost of living index must be prepared.

b. Family Allowances. To support their families and to prevent the spread of malnutrition, the working people must demand that family allowances be paid. These allowances should vary with the size and age structure of the family, their combined incomes, housing conditions, etc. They should be paid to all working people whose combined income is below $500 per month.

c. Pensions. There must be at least a doubling of the existing national minimum pensions. These together with the family allowances will contain an escalator clause. That is, if prices rise these pensions will automatically increase by the same amount, in order to maintain their real value and so protect the standard of living of the pensioners.

d. Unemployment Benefits. No self-respecting society, let alone one with pretensions to socialist equality and justice, can tolerate unemployment. The most basic socialist principle is the right to work. But as we have seen in our colonial economy over 25% of the working class are without jobs. In this situation the TUC must demand unemployment benefits to be paid to all those members of the work force who do not have jobs. Even in capitalist societies like Britain and the USA welfare payments are made to the unemployed. Yet in Guyana this has never been considered, let alone struggled for. But the payment of unemployment benefits is a must for all the working people of this country. Surely we can pay unemployment allowances before entertainment allowances and travel allowances, etc.!

e. National Minimum Wage. The minimum wage paid by the government to public servants is $5.50 per day. This is a scandal. Imagine a family of 6-8 persons living on $5.50 cents per day! Recently the TUC has passed a resolution for a $75 minimum weekly wage. We endorse this. Such a wage would barely keep a family's head above water, but it is the least the society can do for those whose backs bear the burden of others. This national minimum wage should contain an escalator clause. Thus, when prices rise the wage rises automatically in order to protect its real value.

f. Subsidies. In the last budget subsidies were reduced. We have already pointed out that this brings hardship to the working masses. It is true that when subsidies are removed and prices rise everyone is affected. But the poor people are affected most because they have the least. Subsidies are a means of helping the poor. It is only just therefore to ask not only for the immediate reinstatement of the subsidies recently removed, but to have these extended. Subsidies on transport, electricity, housing, etc. for the poor people is a must. To make the system just, the system of subsidies must be so arranged that the poor is given more of these subsidies than the rich. We therefore recommend a scheme of giving welfare stamps to all poor people who earn less than the proposed TUC national minimum wage of $75 per week or who do not qualify to pay income tax.

g. Rural Standard of Living. The standard of living in the countryside is worse than in

the towns. This is reflected in the malnutrition statistics, the levy the sugar farmers pay, the price of agricultural goods compared with imports and goods produced in the towns. Socialism demands the balanced development of town and country. To ensure that this takes place it is necessary that the rural masses be guaranteed a minimal standard of living. This means that the prices of agricultural output and the level of services available to the rural people must increase. The burden of this increase has to be borne not by the poor and unemployed in the towns but by the well-to-do in town and country.

h. Minimum Nutritional Budgets to Children. Because malnutrition is such a scourge we must protect our young. Medical evidence has shown that when the young are suffering from malnutrition not only do they die young, but their brains are damaged. They are less

-CONTINUED ON PAGE 31.

Address by Premier Patrick John

"For me and the delegation it proved a very satisfying effort. By our hard work and understanding, and also due to the expertise of the leading members of the British delegation we were able to bring the conference to a successful conclusion. The hard work devoted to the Constitution and the ready flow of documentation and ideas from our government was a great contributing factor.

We have been able to get included in the draft Constitution most of the points we felt should be included in it. We were able to arrange for a liason between the Foreign Office, the immigration authorities and the East Caribbean Commission to ease any difficulties that may confront our brothers and sisters in England on independence when they seek registration also as United Kingdom citizens. I am happy to say that in providing that citizenship should be derived through both father and mother, Dominica is ahead of Britain who has now made proposals for adopting this in its nationality laws. This shows that given a fair chance, Dominica can lead the way.

GOVERNOR GENERAL OR PRESIDENT?

We have proposed changes which would modify the rigours and harshness of certain provisions in the fundamental rights and freedoms, without letting in lawlessness, lack of security and disorder.

At the Constitutional Conference in London, the government and the opposition were unable to agree as to whether we should have a governor-general or a president. If we were to have a president, then Dominica would become a republic. We did not think that government should propose a change of this sort at this stage, since in the minds of very many people a republic was conceived as a place where governments were toppled overnight by sudden armed rebellion or coups where lawlessness prevailed, and a climate of opinion of this sort would damage the image of our country abroad and impede its development.

Government has always held and still holds the view that the present conventions governing the Head of State as Governor-General should continue on independence. In other words, the president should not hold a position whereunder he would be able to dictate to the government and control the prime minister. If the proposals for a president put forward by the leader of the opposition in London were followed in full, this would inevitably be the case; and we would be merely setting the stage for future battling and wrangling between the president and the prime minister. Her proposals would also create further delays in our date for independence, if we had to agree, as we would have to, as to what duties a president should have under the scheme of things.

The Under Secretary of State has advised us that we must return and try to resolve among ourselves as to whether we should have a governor-general or a president. Should we fail in this, he proposes to send down someone who would consult the people of Dominica to ascertain their wishes in this matter.

In our view such a scheme of proceedings is unnecessary, would prove divisive and could be long drawn out. It would deprive us of the valuable time we should be spending in preparing the institutions and doing those things that we must do early if we are to embark on independence in the forseeable future.

REPUBLIC

Since then we are all agreed that the head of state, be he governor-general or president, should undertake duties; and since the British Government has informed us that conventions would not allow the governor-general to undertake any duty which might bring him into the arena of political confrontation and conflict; since also our esteemed party chief has always been in favour of a president, government will agree that there should be a president and that Dominica, like Trinidad, should be a republic in the Commonwealth, acknowledging the Queen as head of the Commonwealth. I wish to take this opportunity to give warning that being a republic does not mean that lawlessness, disorder and strife shall be tolerated. I can assure you that they shall not be.

I propose to inform the Under Secretary of State and the leader of the opposition of this decision as soon as possible.

In selecting a president, provision shall be

made for consultation between the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition. If there is agreement as to the person to be selected then Parliament would pass a resolution appointing the person selected president. Should there be not agreement, then Parliament by a simple majority would elect the president.

Provision will also be made for the president to perform those duties which our draft constitution would now have the governor-general perform, together with such other duties as are considered necessary by Parliament from time to time.

Government has agreed to these proposals since they are not so fundamentally different from government's concept of a working governor-general; and also since we have been asked by the Under Secretary of State to have this matter resolved between the government and the opposition. I believe also that at this time partisan wrangling should now cease and we should address our minds to the tasks of creating the institutions and making sound provisions for independence.

One other matter that created a major difference was the composition of the House of Assembly. Government would wish that its proposals for nine nominated members should stand and that the provision enabling the House to adopt the system of proportional representation in selecting membership for the House, proposed by the leader of the opposition, should be inserted in the Constitution in such a way that it shall be open to Parliament at a future date to adopt it by an alteration to the Constitution, requiring a simple majority. Beyond this, government is unable to go, since any system of proportional representation would be a major departure from our present constitutional proposals.

The British Government has offered to assist us in training diplomatic personnel for representation abroad. We have been pleased to accept this offer.

We held discussions on the international agencies like WHO, UNESCO, the OAS, the Inter American Development Bank, the EEC, the Lome Convention and other agencies and institutions that we must join. Again the British Government offered their assistance to us in getting the appropriate attachments and affiliations with these bodies.

We on our part assured them that we intended to remain members of the Commonwealth, to join the European Common Market and the United Nations and become respectable members of the international community. We shall accept the laws of the international society, shall accept treaty obligations concluded by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for Dominica and avoid confiscation of property.

-FROM NEW CHRONICLE.

FREEDOM PARTY SPEAKS

One of the largest crowds ever to assemble in Roseau for a political meeting heard the Freedom Party delegates at the London Constitutional Conference explain the fundamental differences between the Government and the Opposition. Opposition leader the Hon. Mary Eugenia Charles, Hon. Lennox Honychurch and Hon. Anthony Moise addressed a crowd of approximately five thousand people on Wednesday night at Lagon. The opposition delegates to the Constitutional Conference returned to the state last weekend.

Miss Charles and Mr. Honychurch explained to the mammoth audience that government and opposition were far apart on the "form" of the republic the country is to become when it assumes independence.

Mr. Honychurch and Miss Charles told the meeting that the Freedom Party wants a president who shall be elected by the people. The Freedom Party's position is that the president should exercise some checks on the powers of the Prime Minister and shall preside over the National Assembly.

The Freedom speakers told the audience that former Premier, E.O. Le Blanc, openly opposed Premier John at the Constitutional Conference on the issue of the republic. The Premier's position against a republic was challenged by Mr. Le Blanc at the conference.

Among the points of major disagreement between the government and the opposition are the composition of the House of Assembly, the powers of the president and elections. The Freedom Party proposed that the National Assembly shall consist of 21 members, thirteen of whom should be elected by thirteen constituencies having such boundaries as may be prescribed by Parliament. According to the Freedom Party proposal, the other eight members would be elected by proportional representation. However, the final posi-

tion which the conference adopted was that the House of Assembly would consist of 30 members, 21 of whom would be elected. Of the remaining nine, four would be nominated by the opposition and five by the government. The nine nominated would be called "Senators" even if there is no Senate!

The opposition also called for the establishment of a permanent Elections Commission which should function as an autonomous body. This proposal was not accepted. There were also demands for an independent Director of Public Prosecutions who would not be under the influence and control of the Attorney General. According to Miss Charles, Attorney General Leo Austin fought this suggestion vigorously. The British Government did not support the latter proposal even after the opposition pointed out that an independent Director of Prosecution was necessary to ensure that the law applies to all despite social standing or political affiliation.

The Freedom speakers criticized government, and in particular Hon. Michael Douglas who claimed that the first time the government had heard of suggestions for a republic was at the London talks. The opposition had in fact issued a green paper in which they had advocated a republic with a working president. Reports of the Freedom Party's position on a republic were widely publicized in the regional press.

Miss Charles charged that government had not done enough to educate the people about the financial burdens of independence. The cost of membership in the United Nations and the costs of mounting diplomatic missions at key foreign countries are likely to run into millions, the leader of the opposition told the large audience

-FROM NEW CHRONICLE.

Caribs Meet Premier

The Caribs have added their share of excitement to the process leading up to independence with a near confrontation with Premier John early this week.

Some sixty Caribs from Atkinson and Salybia descended on Roseau determined to hold a demonstration to express their grievances over a number of unsettled issues with government. The showdown was set for Tuesday but a last minute move by the Premier to grant the Carib delegation a hearing, prevented open confrontation.

The Caribs had applied to the Commissioner of Police for permission to hold a demonstration on Tuesday. They were forbidden by the police to hold the demonstration--no reasons were given. According to reliable reports, Parliamentary Representative Darroux of Salybia, himself a Carib, managed to persuade Premier John late Monday night to grant an audience to the angry Caribs.

The Caribs were seeking an audience with the Premier to settle some long outstanding matters before the official delegation leaves for England this weekend, for constitutional talks with the British Government leading to independence. The Caribs claim that their treaty with the British under which they had been awarded 3700 acres of land, which now constitutes their reserve, had been violated in 1930. The British in that year marched its troops into the reserve to put down an uprising and in the process killed one Carib and, according to the Caribs, the British revoked the treaty in that year.

The present concern of the Caribs is that if independence is attained without a legal recognition by government of the right of the Caribs to their land, they will have no further claim. Reliable reports reveal that the Premier was attempting to evade the issue on the grounds that it was a purely legal matter that the court alone could decide.

However, in a long negotiating session with the Caribs, government agreed to draw up a legal document on the treaty question which would in fact recognize the right of the Caribs to their land. Government also promised to look into a boundaries dispute in which the Caribs claim that outsiders had managed to infiltrate the reserve and now hold lands which traditionally belong to them.

A spokesman for the Caribs has revealed that the Caribs have plans to establish a Caribbean museum at the reserve and are seeking advice in the drafting of a five year development plan for the area.

-FROM NEW CHRONICLE.

Students Form Federation

A group of students from the different high schools and colleges in Dominica have recently formed the Dominica Federation of Students.

At the founding meeting they discussed the present social and political situation in Dominica with a view to defining a relevant role for students. The students felt that with Dominica on the verge of becoming independent and a national debate on the road to take Capitalist or Socialist, it was necessary for the students to prepare themselves for the important task of nation building.

SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENCE

Out of the discussion came unanimous support for the move in Dominica towards national liberation starting with political independence. The students called for an extensive programme of actions including the following:

a. To solicit work brigades which will undertake voluntary work in the service of development. These work brigades would engage in work camps which would enable them to play a direct role in agricultural development. It would also allow them to get free schooling, board and lodge and this would be supervised by government officials.

b. To work with other youth organizations at home and abroad.

c. To ensure the democratic participation in matters affecting the smooth and creative functioning of the schools.

d. Supporting independence for Dominica and the building of a Socialist economy for Dominica.

They are hoping to approach government on a new pioneer program in Dominica. The program called work brigades, involves having groups of students form brigades to engage in voluntary labour during holidays. Such projects would assist in building national unity and create a voluntary attitude among students towards National Service.

PORTSMOUTH STUDENTS

The Charter of the Portsmouth Secondary School will request that their work brigade be given material and technical advice in order to construct a Science Lab. and for government assistance in other academic needs.

The Federation hopes to hold its first Congress at the end of June, to which government officials and prominent people at home and abroad would be invited to speak. The Federation will seek cooperation of the government and school administration. Gabriel Christian of D.G.S. was elected chairman of the Steering Committee with Agnes Esprit of the C.H.S. as secretary.

-FROM NEW CHRONICLE.

-CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15.

tion as long as our national resources and main industries are owned and controlled by imperialists and big local minorities who are in the main responsible for the continued backwardness of our country through their exploitation of our people. It is against the interest of imperialism and the big local minority class to see our people well-educated, skilled and trained, since then we would be able to run and manage various sectors of our economy."

With this understanding, the conference resolved that the struggle for the improvement of conditions in the learning institutions is part of the wider struggle of our people to change the social and economic system which oppresses us--part of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The conference also pledged to strengthen the JUTS to struggle for improvement in the conditions in the learning institutions. For the abolition of backward rules and regulations which create undue hardship and embarassment for students. For aid to needy students. For more and less expensive housing for students. For the unity of all sections in the education system to implement a programme of progressive and far-reaching changes in education.

Messages of solidarity to the conference came from the Central and Latin American students organised in the OCLAE, the Jamaica Union of Democratic Youth (JUDY) and the National Secondary Schools Council. The conference was chaired by JUTS President, Robert Bryan. Education Minister, Eric Bell opened it and one of the main speakers was Mobilization Minister, D.K. Duncan.

-FROM STRUGGLE.

-CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11.

This will include both men and women, and there shall be no political or other form of discrimination practised. The brigade must immediately identify sources of local raw materials and work projects based on the most urgent needs of our community and of our nation as a whole.

Through the community council the brigade must be recognised and registered at the KSAC, Public Works, National Housing Trust, UDC and other Government Ministries and Agencies. This system of democratic work distribution must take the place of the present corrupt system of political favouritism and work distribution through corrupt local officials and political henchmen.

The brigade must begin mutual aid projects, that is to organise voluntary communal labour for members of the brigade or community who may be in need. The brigade must also engage in cooperative and community projects, and strive for the all-round economic and cultural upliftment of our community as a whole.

The brigade must be ready to join with other brigades for work on large national projects, and must be a model of hard work, discipline, and devotion to the principles of building.

-FROM UNITE.

The Pressures for Liberalization in Brazil

When Severo Gomes resigned, many people thought the government had finally decided on an economic plan to deal with the crisis. With the departure of the bourgeois liberal from the cabinet, the government would immediately be putting into practice a well-defined--and right-wing--political plan. Finally, dismissing the minister who was playing off-key would put the governmental orchestra in perfect tune, and it could impose its wonder working political and economic plans and solutions on the country.

While the entire press and innumerable rumours were predicting a rightward trend and fooling big sections of the population, the February issue of Independencia Operaria stated clearly that the bosses' government had been weakened and that the most probable outcome would be a relaxation of the dictatorship. To think otherwise would be to totally ignore the direction and working of the contradictions engendered by the economic crisis and the class struggle. It would be the same as believing that when a boiler keeps getting hotter, the operator would make the mistake of closing the valves and preventing any steam from escaping.

THE REAL SITUATION

The present situation of near-equilibrium in the relationship of forces among the various bourgeois sectors and the slow revival of the mass movement, give the government a strong tendency toward economic and political immobility. Finance capital, the strongest sector and the most arrogant creditor, has been working through the International Monetary Fund to force the government to adopt a series of classical methods for resolving the crisis: slow down production, eliminate the balance of payments deficit, and control inflation.

Modern Brazil - Sao Paulo, population 9 ½ million.

To apply these measures the government must increase exports, cut public expenditure, restrict credit, hold down wages even more, and promote unemployment--in other words, create a recession. But, as the saying goes, you can't make an omelet without breaking some eggs. When the government began to put these measures into practice, it aroused hostility in almost all sections of the population, bourgeois and non-bourgeois alike. In other words, it made new enemies and further offended the old ones.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SIMONETAS

The simoneta episode (compulsory loans) illustrates the situation the government is in. As the banks were preparing to snap up the fat profits they would get from the deposits, Geisel was forced to retreat and to yield to pressures from the automotive industry, the oil and gasoline distributors, and almost all other sectors, including the workers. The same thing is starting to happen with interest rates. Decontrolled by the government in order to force cutbacks in industrial production, the rates triple , leaving the bankers wallowing in money. Then the outcry of the merchants and of the small, the middle-sized and some of the large industrialists, obliged the government to reconsider and try to restore controls on interest rates.

What we see in the economic field is that the government has been taking one step forward and one step backward--in military terms, marking time. In the political arena everything has been going the same way--the government doesn't have a political plan, or if it has one doesn't have the strength to apply it.

During the American elections we said that the policy of the Democrats was to support and encourage bourgeois democratic governments, as opposed to the Republican policy of clear support to dictatorships--the results of which had been disastrous for imperialism. One could quite correctly say that they are both imperialist governments. In fact, Carter and Ford are

two sides of the same coin. What must be understood is that the imperialists don't have a single policy, they use various tactics according to the situation. Underlying the pressures on the Brazilian dictatorship are the contradictory economic interests of Yankee imperialism and its conflicts with other imperialist countries such as West Germany.

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

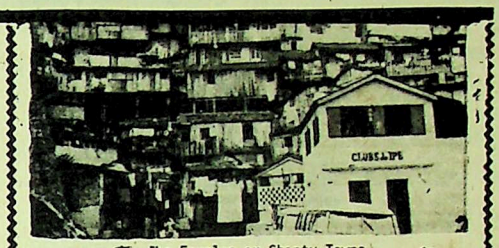
The truth is that the United States is now beginning to put economic pressure on the Brazilian government, and this pressure will likely be stepped up. More than half the Brazilian foreign debt is held by American banks. So the brawl has only just begun.

March marked a resumption of expressions of bourgeois sentiments for and against a relaxation of the dictatorship. But this time, the favourable opinions were well received, while the contrary ones were rejected--even by the former patrons of such views. The statements by Einar Kok of the Brazilian Industrialists Association supporting democratic freedoms were praised by the general who heads the Second Army, Dilermando Monteiro. And when the banker Melo Flores (from his looks, not a very fragrant flower) proposed a hardening of the regime, this position was disavowed by the Chase Manhattan Bank, of which he is a director, and by the Bankers Association.

THE BOURGEOISIE

In Sao Paulo the capitalist sectors that became active in February created the IDEM [Instituto Democratico - Democratic Institute]. In a number of other states (Pernambuco, Parana, Bahia) the bourgeois sectors also began to make their views known, increasing the support for a relaxation of the dictatorship. In general terms, the bourgeoisie breaks down into three different camps. This is not to say that one or another sector as a whole has lined up behind one or another solution, since there are different opinions within a given sector.

One solution, the most right-wing, is supported by certain bankers, financiers, reactionary military figures, and sectors of the construction industry. They want to put an end to elections and maintain the state of emergency--an eternal dictatorship. The second solution, which has the support of a large majority of the capitalists, is that of the centre-right, or the liberals. With various nuances, they all want a liberalization--more power for parliament, several political parties, a freer press; opinions differ as regards direct elections, repeal of AI-5, and so on. A third group, which could be called the centre-left, began to gain some momentum



The Favelas or Shanty Towns

with the visit of Mario Soares to Brazil, and with the conflict with the United States. This is the Social Democratic sector; it defends democratic rights and has the support of petty-bourgeois layers, the middle class, intellectuals and others.

The governors of the states of Rio Grande do Sul and Alagoas delivered proposals to Geisel suggesting, among other things, the legalization of the Socialist party. This shows the intention of some bourgeois sectors to let the Social Democrats have a run, which doesn't mean that they themselves are Social Democrats. Finally, Brazil wants more exports and Europe, a good trading partner, is a Social Democrats' paradise. In any case what we see among the bourgeoisie is division, discontent, the effects of the economic crisis, and the pressures of imperialism. All these factors, combined with the revival of the mass movement, demonstrate without any doubt the tendency towards a relaxation. Such an opening would not mean the end of the dictatorship, but rather the beginning of its end, the door through which the mass movement will emerge to bring down this anti-worker government.

THE MASS MOVEMENT

The most active sector continues to be the middle class, particularly the student movement. The reconstruction of the Central Student Board of Directors at the Pontifical Catholic University, the struggle against excessive fees in the private schools in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (which in Sao Paulo is leading to the reconstruction of the State Union of Students), the campaign of the bank workers for a 30 per cent wage increase, the strikes by the medical students--all this shows that the revival of the mass movement, still centred in the middle class, is accelerating.

In the workers movement, the absence of leadership and the lack of clarity among the vanguard layers has kept the revival from being more rapid. But the strike at White Martins in Rio, the slowdown of the 5,000 miners in Santa Catarino, and the slowdown staged by the bus drivers in Bahia are examples of a combative mood on the part of the workers, of steadily growing bold-

ness. This shows how important it is to have an audacious policy of mobilizing actions, which is the only way to broaden the scope of the inevitable liberalization. It is necessary to reinforce the class struggle oppositions in the trade unions--to build them into mass movements, to ensure that they participate in all the struggles of the workers for wages and all the other demands. It is necessary to rebuild the student organizations on the local, state, and national level, and to mobilize all sectors for their most strongly felt needs and for democratic rights. Only in this way can we widen the democratic opening and hasten the fall of the military dictatorship.

-TAKEN FROM I.P.

BOSCH: Venezuela Agreed Attacks on Guyana

Anti-Castro Cuban exile leader, Dr. Orlando Bosch, has claimed in an interview from his Caracas jail that the Venezuelan Government had concurred with the inclusion of Guyana among targets for his organisation's terrorist attacks.

Dr. Bosch is in jail with a number of other men on charges linked to the October 6 bombing last year of a Cuban airliner in which 73 persons died when the plane crashed off Barbados. Eleven of them were Guyanese.

The interview by New York freelance journalist, Blake Fleetwood, has been published in the May 13 issue of New Times magazine, copies of which have reached Georgetown.

Dr. Bosch said the government of President Carlos Andres Perez gave him permission to use Venezuela as a base on condition there would be no action in Venezuela, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, according to the lengthy report.

He went on to claim Venezuela had sought to include Panama and Guyana, but he refused, and it was agreed that apart from the original three countries he could do what he liked in all the others.

During last year's spate of terrorist attacks in the region, Guyana suffered twice--through the Cuban air disaster and an earlier blast at its consulate in Port-of-Spain. Government spokesmen in Georgetown would not comment on the magazine story. One remarked only that it had been brought to their attention and they were studying it.

Dr. Bosch is known as the principal spokesman for a coalition of anti-Castro revolutionary groups established last year and popularly referred to as "CORU". He said he was born in Cuba the same year as Dr. Castro. They were at university together, jointly resisted the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and were still together in the first post-Batista government, with Bosch as Minister of Communications. Shortly afterwards the split came and Bosch has been battling the Castro regime ever since, he told Fleetwood in what was said to be the first interview since his arrest last year.

INVITATION

In the section where reference was made to Guyana, he said he had been invited to Venezuela to make a deal by one Orlando Garcia, described as security adviser to President Perez and a top officer in DISIP (the Venezuelan Secret Political Police). According to the report, Dr. Bosch said: "Garcia told me that he had been jogging with the President--he exercises with the President every day--and that Perez had told him to invite me to Venezuela to make a deal. I didn't pay any attention, but after he called me three times, and sent me a visa, I came." He was met at the airport and taken to a luxurious government apartment in the Anauco Hilton "and we made a deal."

"I agreed there would not be any action in Venezuela, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic. In exchange they would let me live in Venezuela under an assumed name and organise other terrorists' action elsewhere. They wanted me to include Panama and Guyana. I said emphatically, no. I agreed to include Costa Rica, but I didn't want to include Panama because it is a (leftist) dictatorship. And I didn't want to include Guyana. We had already attacked Guyana. The CORU already blew up the Guyana embassy in Trinidad. Finally they said, 'alright, we'll just include the three countries. You can do what you want in all the others.' They offered me use of weapons, but I refused, saying that we already had all that we could use". the report

PRESIDENT CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ

quoted Dr. Bosch as saying.

The report goes on: "So Bosch had found in Venezuela a seemingly secure base for his terrorist activities. Then within a two-week period last fall, two terrorist incidents put the Cuban exiles on the front pages--and landed Bosch in jail. The first was the September 21 assassination in Washington, D.C., of Chilean exile leader Orlando Letelier, whose car blew up as he drove past the Chilean embassy in Sheridan Circle. Cuban exiles were immediately suspected of carrying out the crime as hit men for the Chilean junta. The second was the October 6 explosion in flight of a Cuban airliner shortly after take-off from Barbados. All 73 persons aboard were killed. The next day, two Cuban exiles, Hernan Ricardo and Freddy Lugo, were arrested in Trinidad. According to secret court documents obtained by New Times, they confessed to planting a bomb on the plane--and implicated Orlando Bosch."

The story said Dr. Bosch explained that "up till that point, the pact with Venezuela was going perfectly well. In fact, I was supposed to meet with President Perez on October 10, but then the plane blew up on the 6th and all the trouble started." He said he had been told by Garcia everything would be all right, but was later taken to police headquarters where he was assured "you'll be safe". "But I have been under 'protective custody' for several months now, and the President has said on television that I was a member of the CIA and trying to destabilise his government." He had been assured too that he would have been released as soon as the publicity blew over, but had now grown impatient, the story said.

The terrorist leader went on to make strong allegations against President Perez and said that despite being in a Caracas jail "I am going to declare war on the Venezuelan government in the name of the Cuban cause."

"If they want to put me on trial they will also have to accuse the Minister of the Interior, the DISIP director and the President. These people conspired with me. They should be put in jail as well," Bosch was quoted as saying.

-TAKEN FROM I.P.

-CONTINUED FROM PAGE 23.

active. They produce less. They live in the shadow of death. This should not be the fate of the working man and his children in a socialist society. The working people should therefore demand adequate levels of protein and other nutrients to all children. Milk, protein, minerals, vitamins, all these must be distributed to all young people to ensure that they are healthy. These can be distributed in school canteens, places of work, etc.

iii. Improving the TUC's Contribution to Economic Management:

Unless the TUC builds up an independent capacity to monitor, analyse and make recommendations about economic management, it cannot serve the long-term interests of its membership. The TUC cannot see itself simply as an arm of the government and meekly accept government targets and not question them. At the Matthews Ridge discussions with the government, the 1972-76 Plan was accepted by the Executive. Yet, this Plan has not been followed and the TUC has failed to make any serious agitation on this. In these circumstances we feel therefore that systematic efforts should be made to build up a research capability within the Trade Union Congress and that this should be independent of the government structure.

-CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13.

tive means of communication between prisoner and staff and prisoner and prisoner.

i. That urgent psychiatric treatment be secured immediately for all those of unsound mind. That a competent medical doctor be assigned to the institution. That an immediate medical check be made on all inmates to ascertain their mental and physical health.

j. That prisoners be encouraged to set up a tuck shop to facilitate warders and ultimately prisoners who would use a ticket system.

-FROM FORWARD.

CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE WILL NOT BE PUBLISHED IN AUGUST. OUR NEXT PUBLICATION WILL BE THE SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER ISSUE. WATCH FOR DOCUMENTS ON THE CURRENT POLITICAL CRISIS IN GUYANA.

JAMAICA

Too Much for the Capitalists

The Workers Liberation League and the workers of Jamaica cannot be satisfied with the Production Plan because it gives too much to the capitalists and has little or nothing in it for the small people who put the present government in power.

The Plan gives to the IMF and the foreign capitalists a big part of the devaluation of Jamaican money, which they were demanding, and promises another $150 million to the same Jamaican capitalists who have already sent over $300 million out of the island and who are still doing everything to sabotage the government and the progress of the poor people of the country. Furthermore, by ending the State of Emergency and by agreeing to set up a new elections commission, the Plan gives Seaga and the imperialists what they have always been asking for.

POOR MAN

Yet by comparison there is nothing in the Plan for the small people who put the government in power. There is nothing to put a stop to the big people closing down the factories in order to turn the workers against the government, nor is there anything to take the land from the land gods and give it to the country people. The Plan is not going to prevent the conditions of the poor man from getting worse, and devaluation is bound to raise up the cost of living even more.

This is why the big people in the private sector --the Manufacturers Association and the Chamber of Commerce, are so happy about the Plan. But the WLL warns that the Private Sector Organisation, the JMA, and the Chamber of Commerce are not going to be satisfied with what they have gotten. The capitalists are going to continue laying off workers and raising up prices to pressure the government:

CAPITALIST LAWS

a. To pass a law to prevent workers from getting adequate pay increases.

b. To cut back the crash programme and other people programmes.

c. To kick out or clamp down on the more progressive people in the government and in the PNP itself, as well as on the anti-imperialist movement in general.

The WLL calls on progressive forces in the government and in the country, particularly on Prime Minister Manley himself, not to give in any more to the pressure from the imperialists and the capitalists inside and outside the PNP who will always be against socialism and who are against the present government, regardless of how much they pretend otherwise. We further call on the working people to demand:

a. a special tax on all those big export manufacturers who are going to pocket even bigger profits from devaluation;

b. direct and strict regulation of the big capitalists who will get foreign exchange from any loan secured by the government;

c. the harshest punishment of capitalists still guilty of pushing up the cost of living;

d. and land in the country for immediate take over by the government for the small people.

-FROM STRUGGLE.

ST. LUCIA

Youths Must Become Politicized

Brothers and sisters, to speak on a subject such as "The role of youth in a developing society" is a great task. It imposes a strong compulsion to transmit a variety of things--things which our young people already comprehend. But I believe that you invited me not only to share with you some of my thoughts on the subject, but more critically to outline a new path if not a new direction for organizations such as yours.

To speak of the role of youth, invites me to comment first on the problems which beset our youth and indeed the broad masses of our people. We cannot, in my view, discuss the role of youth in our society if we do not relate it to the broader environment in which our youth find themselves. The problems are many, and you know them, but bear with me as I enumerate a few significant ones merely to illustrate some points.

The major problem which confronts our youth is unemployment, the inevitable disease of all cap-

italist systems. The unavailability of jobs and property has forced many of our young people into a life of begging, crime, loafing and prostitution. Inevitably, this response has invoked police surveillance, intimidation and in some cases, outright brutality. All of this is occuring at a level unheard of before. In the midst of this, corruption is rampant in "high circles", while a minority of local individuals joined now by a steady influx of foreigners continue to "roll in wealth" at the expense of the sweat of our people.

VICTIMISATION AND REPRESSION

The fundamental point is this: the type of socio/economic system we have i.e. CAPITALISM, has in part created the myriad of difficulties of which we have spoken. This in turn has led to massive disillusionment, anger and dissatisfaction which has now reached an unprecedented level. This had irked the establishment--and by that I mean the ruling capitalist clique and their political supporters--and to stabilise the situation, they have resorted to victimisation and repression at all levels.

But it is not only the youth who are plagued with problems. We need to recognise and understand this, for it has become very tempting for some of us to see only our problems. In fact, the reality is that the masses of the people are also plagued with difficulties which are sometimes even more serious than our own. It is artificial thinking if we believe that our problems are peculiarly your problems. My own view leads me to believe that the source of the problems to both young and old is in fact similar, BUT our young people express their anger with greater intensity and in different forms.

POLITICAL SOLUTIONS NEEDED

To illustrate what I am talking about in a very general sense, let me briefly refer to the Rastafari Movement. The entire Rasta movement, despite its infancy, is a positive reaction against the oppression and injustice of our society and particularly against the system of Capitalism. Now, our older people, the broader masses of the people, will not, understandably, resort to Rastafarianism to tackle the system, despite the fact that they too suffer from precisely the same things which led our youth to be attracted to the movement. The fact is, it is the way our youth see the solutions to the difficulties of the society which is the principal cause of the differences between young and old. But in the very final analysis, both young and old are suffering from the same problems caused by the same system.

The nature of the problem, plus the fact that they are inextricably connected to the broader problems of the masses of our people, imposes as I see it, a historic role for the youth of our society and it is in this context that I see the role of Youth. And here, I must be specific. Our youth can never hope to solve their problems unless they recognise that their problems are linked in a direct political sense to capitalism and therefore, require political solutions. Unless this is understood and accepted, then there will continue to be the endless youth conferences, youth seminars, and youth advisory bodies as well as the endless disintegration of youth groups who claim to be trying to solve the problems. And it is here, that I want to urge your club to strike out in a new direction. It is vitally necessary now to try and locate the cause or causes of our problems and work at a political level to solve them. As long as our youth remain unpoliticised, and do not take their problems to the political arena, so long will their cries remain unheard.

SUICIDE

Now, before I examine this proposition in greater detail, let me make some cautionary points.

When I suggest that our youth need to become politicised, I do not in the least mean that they should campaign for any of the political parties. That would be suicide. Specifically, I am suggesting that our youth must seek to defend and advance the broad interests of our people, participate in fights to democratize our society, denounce the blatant and covert acts of injustice whenever they appear and fight against the tendency of the state to use violence against our people. In other words, our youth need to identify their problems with those of the masses and integrate themselves in the struggles of our people.

I know that what I am suggesting may sound disturbing to many of you present here today. Our political tradition has been that we must shut up. You know, "we are suppose to hear all, see all, but say nothing." And I suggest that this is precisely what all systems of exploitation thrive on. For too long now our people, including the youth who must equally share the blame, have remained respectful and docile while people's rights are violated and abused by politicians, businessmen, policemen and others in authority. The rapid exploitation of yourselves and our people generally could only be stopped if we move to deal with those who do it in a very decisive manner.

POLITICISE MEMBERS

Let me give some concrete examples of what silence can do. Take for instance, this independence issue--a vital national issue. I have not

read one single statement from any youth organization in the island either supporting or condemning independence. Not one organization has had the guts or concern to come out and tell the Government that they agree to independence but that the Government is too undemocratic in its approach. Similarly, I cannot say when last any youth organization has ever expressed publicly a word of sympathy or solidarity for any cause, for example, a strike by a group of workers. If such situations continue to persist, then I think we would gradually pave the way for an even more undemocratic society. This is why I am suggesting that we as young people have to completely reexamine our political role in this society.

Any move towards the direction which I am suggesting will have to mean certain changes in the character and outlook of youth generally, and youth clubs specifically. In this regard, I will make some brief observations.

First, youth clubs and organizations must shift their emphasis from being a purely sporting or a cultural organization. They must shift to include in their programme the broader political interest that I am talking about. They must seek to politicise their members by seeking to educate them on political issues, etc., such as the merits of a development ideology, capitalism vs. socialism, or indeed an economic strategy based on foreign investment.

TALKING SHOPS

Secondly, and this is consistent with the first observation, our youth clubs must cease to be "talking shops" and avoid this senseless preoccupation with minutes and things like that. Attempts at greater unity among the members of the club need to be forged if such clubs are to withstand the institutional pressures which the role I have suggested will inevitably invite.

Thirdly, such clubs need to integrate themselves solidly in the communities they operate. This further implies that our youths must consciously seek to get rid of their intolerable attitudes to the older generation. We have to breakdown the pattern of "youth chauvinism" i.e. the tendency to believe that only the youth can do it, for no change can ever occur in our society without the active assistance of the older generation. And I suspect that the task of winning their support and assistance will be made easier once they see that you are really and genuinely concerned with their problems. Your task is to go to them, reason with or educate them through discussions, plays, poetry, meetings or by whatever vehicle of communication you use. In fact, I am reminded of a comment by the Jamaican Prime Minister, Michael Manley, who in speaking about youth in Jamaica, wrote: "Our society cannot afford the luxury of inter-generational squabbling." I think this is important advice for all of us.

Fourthly, all youth clubs who decide to adopt this suggested strategy, need to evolve some kind of programmatic consensus. Such consensus and unity is vital in the interest of self-defence and indeed in the type of influence likely to be projected throughout the island. The political boundaries which temporarily divide our communities, must not be allowed to divide the masses of our people, and our youths are the best equipped to dismantle these boundaries.

A VANGUARD ROLE

Let me now make some concluding remarks. Essentially, I see the need for youth to assume a more involved political role. I believe the youths have to play not only a guardian role in defending our rights, but a vanguard role in advancing our society--a role which should ultimately aim at dismantling the present type of socio/economic structure with all its inherent inequalities, and replacing it with socialism--the system based on the principles of complete equality in all spheres, including the economic, political and social.

-TEXT OF AN ADDRESS BY KENNY ANTHONY
TO SOUFRIERE ASSEMBLY OF YOUTH

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CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

A QUARTERLY INFORMATION SERVICE

Vol.4 No.1 June, 1978

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Mother protests rising prices

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CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE

Caribbean Dialogue is a Caribbean information service published quarterly by the New Beginning Movement in collaboration with the Race Today Collective and other groups, organisations and individuals in the Caribbean and in the metropolitan centres of North America and Europe. Caribbean Dialogue is produced by the Toronto chapter of the New Beginning Movement with the active assistance of other organisations and individuals.

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STATEMENT BY THE PUBLISHERS

The present issue of Caribbean Dialogue is our first publication since July, 1977. The lapse of one year in our publishing efforts was not a rest period, but rather one of great difficulties. First, we had to move out of our "home" with great hurry and we were unable to find an alternative inexpensive base of operations for sometime. Second, almost all our equipment was stolen. Consequently, we were forced to use our scarce financial resources to purchase new equipment. Third, our financial resources were very low and we had to reassess the frequency of publication. Fourth, we lost our part-time assistant and the available time of a number of volunteers was considerably reduced due to the intensification of exploitation at their full-time jobs. In the circumstances, we decided not to rush headlong into publication without seriously assessing our capabilities and resources.

We have decided to produce a quarterly publication beginning with the present issue. Also, the page size has been changed and the number of pages per issue has been increased. We intend to produce occassional bulletins when circumstances demand, and in the near future we intend to prepare educational kits exclusively for groups and organizations in the Caribbean

Our determination to maintain Caribbean Dialogue is firm and we look forward to the assistance of readers, friends and associates in continuing our work.

COMMING IN LATE 1978 A SPECIAL 100-PAGE ISSUE OF CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE ON THE HISTORICAL PERIODIZATION OF GUYANESE POLITICAL ECONOMY AND A STRATEGY OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION. THIS PUBLICATION IS A JOINT EFFORT OF THE W.P.A OF GUYANA, N.B.M (T'DAD) AND CARIBBEAN DIALOGUE.

GUYANA AT THE TURNING POINT

A crisis of profound proportions and significance has engulfed the economy of Guyana and Guyanese society to the extent where the progressive advance of the working people and the gains they have made and the very survival of human and democratic rights that have been won through bitter struggle, are threatened. Indeed, the present crisis inGuyana threatens to reverse the progressive trend that has characterized caribbean politics in the 1960's and 70's.

After ten years of political rule by Burnham and the People's National Congress (PNC), after nationalization through purchase of 80% of the economy, the Guyanese economy is now bankrupt and up for sale to the highest bidder in the international money market.

COUNTER ATTACK

What has Burnham and the PNC been doing in the face of this severe crisis? Their first counter-attack has been to place all responsibility for the economic collapse on (a) the WPA and PPP who, it is said, are seeking to sabotage and wreck the economy in order to create chaos and overthrow the "socialist" PNC government, and (b) external forces that see Burnham's "socialist" advance as a threat and want to frustrate that advance so that capitalism could regain hegemony in Guyana.

The second counter-attack has been to purge the state bureaucracy and the entire political system of all elements in opposition to "Comrade Burnham" and Burnhamist socialism through victimization, to silence the political opposition through state repression and PNC gangsterism and build a huge military apparatus and nazi-type secret service network in order to keep the working people in their position of dependence and subservience to the "paramountcy of the party" and it's leader. This strategy of counter-attack has become crystal clear in recent months.

During the past few years, the PNC regime has been implementing a programme of naked victimization of all those in the state bureaucracy, who are or are suspected to be members or sympathizers of the WPA and to a lesser extent the PPP. Within recent months, anyone who shows the slightest opposition, overt or covert, to Burnahmism is fired. Most readers would be familiar with the Rampersaud frame-up and the legal repression of Eusi Kymana and Moses Bhagwan over the Dayclean case. With the growing severity of the present crisis, and increased agitation on the part of the progressive opposition forces, PNC thugs have been unleashed on members, supporters and sympathizers of the progressive parties and organisations. Squads of PNC thugs on trucks have been physically breaking up public meetings held by the PPP/WPA coalition. Military and Police forces have been using bullets and tear gas in their attack on bauxite workers during demonstrations.

P.N.C DICTATORSHIP

In his most recent political move, Burnham is seeking to pave the way for a PNC dictatorship of amending the constitution to delete entrenched human and political rights. The most blatant amendment intended is to remove the requirement for a referendum whenever, the clauses of the constitution dealing with human and political rights and the structure of governmental institutions are to be changed. The amendment proposed would give the PNC government constitutional authority to change any section of the constitution. It is expected that the PNC will prolong the life of itself in government (postpone national elections indefinitely) and change the structure of governmental institutions so as to purge the opposition from parliament and incorporate PNC groups into the parliamentary and political system. Truth to tell, the political climate in Guyana today depicts that of a society on the verge of a dramatic event that may mark a decisive turning point.

CONFUSION

The unfolding of "Burnhamist Socialism" in Guyana since the declaration of the Republic and particularly in the past two years may be turning away a large proportion of working people, small-owners and sympathetic professionals from the socialist path, not only in Guyana, but throughout the Caribbean. In a situation where the socialist objective and project of transformation remain vague and unclear, where the masses of working people are not organizationally involved in directing socialist transformation and where the contending political forces are all talking socialism as in Guyana, large sections of the working people and their potential allies become confused and frustrated, moreso when political, economic and social actions and conditions do not reflect and are in conflict with socialist rhetoric.

ROOTS OF THE CRISIS

There are four major factors that characterize the crisis in Guyana today

1. Structural dependency of the economy. Notwithstanding the fact that the PNC state has "nationalized" through purchase over 80% of the Guyanese economy, the economy has remained, as it has always been, structurally dependent on and tied to the international capitalist market. this feature of the economy has been further accentuated by the fact that the production of agricultural products and mining for export (sugar, rice,

- continued on back cover

Unfolding U.S. Strategy in the Caribbean

Over the past 6-10 months, at least a dozen conferences on Caribbean affairs have been held in the United States. U.S. Banking giants, multi-national company executives, State Department officials, officials of various international institutions, academics from the U.S. and the Caribbean, Caribbean business interests, politicians and government officials have all been in attendance. At the recent Miami Conference on Caribbean Trade, Investment and Development, over 700 delegates attended. In addition, the International Relations Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives held a Hearing on Caribbean Problems in July 1977. Further, U.S. Multinationals and the State Department have been setting up various types of Caribbean Committees, such as, aid-consortium, World Bank Group, etc., to "strengthen U.S.-Caribbean ties". It is important to note that in December 1977 and January 1978 over 1/4 billion U.S. dollars were loaned by Western Governments, the C.D.B. and Caribbean Investment Corporation.

Why this sudden intense interest in and focus on the Caribbean particularly by the U.S. capitalist interests? Clearly a modified imperialist strategy for the Caribbean is unfolding. Below Caribbean Dialogue reproduces a number of reports on the above recent conferences, committees, etc. These reports are taken from various periodicals and newspapers.

Miami Conference

The Second Caribbean Conference on Trade, Investment and Development, held in Miami recently is another manifestation of the rising spirit of co-operation between the United States and the Caribbean region over the past year.

Frank exchanges of views, including critical but constructive comment aimed at further tightening of ties, marked the two day meeting, which was co-sponsored by the Florida Department of Commerce, and the U.S. State Department.

The increasing interest in Caribbean region issues was reflected by the attendance, a larger-than expected gathering of nearly 700 business executives, academic leaders and government officials from the nations located in the Caribbean and around its edges.°

HEAVY TURN OUT

The heavy turn-out from the private sector required the rescheduling of several events into larger rooms at the hotel site of the conference. Governments, for their part, also made it clear they attach special importance to an improvement in regional relations. Their speakers at the meeting included Presidents, Deputy Prime Ministers, Governors, Cabinet Members, and high-ranking diplomats.

In his address, President Joaquim Balaguer of the Dominican Republic said the Caribbean region is interested in offering foreign investment "every facility needed to attract it into joining our effort toward the exploitation of our natural resources and in developing our maximum productive capacity."

Costa Rican President, Daniel Oduber, in speaking to the group, praised the Carter Administration for supporting capital increases for the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank, which will permit these institutions to increase the flow of funds to the countries of the region. President Oduber, however, criticized what he called U.S. protectionist policies in international trade.

PREREQUISITE

U.S. Undersecretary of Commerce Sidney Harman told Caribbean nation representatives that a prerequisite to an increased flow of direct investment from abroad is a "favourable investment climate." He was equally candid with businessmen, whom he urged to act responsibly and make certain that their commercial ventures are "good for the people" of the region.
U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter American Affairs Terence Todman said the United States is committed to policies for the Caribbean "that will foster an environment in which public and private sector decision-makers can plan and invest in the future with confidence."

OPTIMISTIC

Although the conference was pervaded by an optimistic note, the problems of the region were not ignored. Robert Slighton, Vice President of New York's Chase Manhattan Bank, predicted a worsening of balance-of-payments situations for regional countries during the next two years. He foresaw an increase in sugar and bauxite prices, but said this would be offset by rising costs of oil imports. He added that low economic growth rates in the United States and other industrial nations would hold back increases in Caribbean exports.

Several conference speakers said the positive atmosphere evident at the Miami meeting was in part, an outgrowth of an unusual number of visits to the area by prominent Carter Administration figures, including Mrs. Rosalyn Carter, who toured there in May and June of last year. In addition, other Caribbean visitors

included such high-ranking U.S. officials as Secretary of State Cyrus Vance; U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young who was accompanied by a virtual task force of colleagues from other government agencies; Undersecretary of State Phillip Habib; and Ambassador Todman.

MUTUAL ADVANTAGE

Other signs of the rising U.S. interest in the region were the hearings on Caribbean problems held in July of last year by the Sub-committee of Inter-American Affairs of the House of International Relations Committee, and several other conferences focused on the one held in Tampa and another in Kansas City. The United States also took an active part in the World Bank Conference on the Caribbean which convened in Washington last month. The World Bank Conference laid plans to create a Caribbean Group for Co-operation in Economic Development that will involve numerous international assistance agencies.

In this context, the Miami meeting emerges as yet another phase of the continuing effort by nations in and around the Caribbean region to, in President Balaguer's phrase, "find formulas to overcome obstacles" and "open doors" for "mutual advantage."

World Bank Conference

The World Bank convened a conference of Caribbean countries on December 14 and 15, 1977 in Washington. Also invited were rerpesentatives from countries such as Canada, Columbia, France, West Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Spain, Britain, the United States and Venezuela - donors or potential donors of aid to the region. Representatives of international institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank, the Caribbean Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Commonwealth Secretariat, attended as well. In all 15 Caribbean states, 10 major aid donor countries and 10 international agencies were present.

The purpose of the meeting was to examine the development needs of the Caribbean and consider a proposal for establishing regular machinery for consultation on economic matters. The idea of a multi-lateral or consortium approach to the region's difficulties was put forward by Trinidad and Tobago Prime Minister Dr. Eric Williams some months ago. Early in December, Dr. Williams expressed disappointment to his House of Representatives because his idea had not met with any formal response and announced that the country would go ahead with its own aid programme for the region. The Prime Minister said he wanted to avoid the traditional types of assistance tied to conditions to the benefit of the donor countries. His scheme called for the establishment of a fund of US$800 million made up of contributions from the United States, Britain, France, the Netherlands and members of the Caribbean Development Bank to which Trinidad and Tobago would contribute $200 million. The fund would be administered by a special team of public officers in Trinidad and Tobago under the Governor of the Trinidad and Tobago Central Bank.

The December meeting, however, was called by the World Bank but was held largely at the instigation of the United States, as part of the Carter Administration's policy of renewed interest in the Caribbean. A United States special Caribbean task force which spent four months identifying and analysing the region's problems concluded that foreign aid in the Caribbean is not being fully and beneficially utilised because of lack of co-ordination in the economic assistance programmes. The meeting agreed to the establishment of a Caribbean group for economic co-operation which would consist of the member countries of the World Bank in the region and the international agencies interested in making substantial contributions to the economic development of the area. This group, to be formed in the spring of 1978, together with sub-groups, will carry out a series of studies to identify Caribbean problems and make recommendations as to how they can best be met. It will also co-ordinate external assistance to the Caribbean and review national and regional activities related to economic development. The consortium effort will be spearheaded by the World Bank with the Caribbean Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Inter-American Development Bank playing important support roles.

Barbados' Minister of External Affairs, Henry Forde, who spoke on behalf of a number of regional governments called for a five-year programme of development assistance involving sums in excess of $1 billion (US). He also said that donors must be prepared to "untie" aid and to offer favourable conditions for trade in both primary and manufactured products from developing countries. The meeting has been welcomed throughout the region although journalist Mohamed Hamaludin in the Guyana Chronicle has noted that a regional approach can be used to ensure continued western hegemony over the area.

World Bank Group

The newly created Caribbean Group for Co-operation in Economic Development will mean more effective economic aid for the region, according to a high U.S. official.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Sally Shelton said in a recent interview with IPS writer, Mo Garcia that the new World Bank group fills the need for the "co-ordinating mechanism" that was recommended by a recent State Department task force that studied Caribbean problems.

The task force was set up following a 10 country tour of the area last August by US Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young. Ms. Shelton whose primary responsibility in the State Department includes the Caribbean area, was one of several high-ranking US officials accompanying Ambassador Young on his trip.

On the question of human rights, Ms.Shelton said, "we are satisfied with the progress that has occurred in certain areas" in the Caribbean and Latin America.

Ms. Shelton said there are some differences in emphasis and focus over human rights between the United States and its neighbors, but noted that these generally concern procedural questions such as "the rate of change and how to bring these changes about. Our objectives,"she said,"are the same."

International Loans

Governments and international financial institutions are continuing to make substantial loans to the region. Here is a list of those concluded over the past two months.

EC$3 million lent by the European Investment Bank to the Caribbean Investment Corporation for investments in small and medium-sized industrial, agro-industrial and tourism enterprises in the LDC's.

$10 million lent by the British Government to the Government of Guyana for sea defences, water transportation, public sector vehicle maintenance and the Tapacuna water supply project.

$52 million lent by the Government of Britain to Jamaica for purchase of essential goods and services from the United Kingdom.

EC$4 million lent by the Commonwealth Development Corporation to the Dominica Mortgage Finance Company for construction of middle income houses.

$2.2 million lent by the Government of Canada to the Government of St. Lucia for a fisheries project.

Can$11 million balance of payments support grant by the Government of Canada to the Government of Jamaica for purchase of food from Canada and Guyana.

US$9 million lent by the Inter-American Development Bank to the Barbados Development for financing of medium and small scale projects in the industrial a and tourism sectors.

US$49.5 million lent by the IADB to the Government of Guyana for construction of flood control, irrigation and drainage works in the Babary River basin.

US$1.5 million by the IADB to the Caribbean Development Bank for pre-investment purposes.

US$12.5 million loan IADB to Jamaica for drainage and irrigation works.

US$29 million lent by the World Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) to Guyana fo for improvement of drainage and irrigation facilities and agricultural development on the Essequibo coast.

US$30 million loan extension by the World Bank to Jamaica to finance minimum level of imports and to support the Government's investment programme. Likelihood of two further loans of $18 million and $20 million.

US$40 million lent by Citicorp (New York) to Government of Jamaica.

US$8.6 million loan from US AID to Jamaica for importation of raw materials and capital goods.

US$1.9 million loan by the Caribbean Development Bank to St. Lucia for road construction and expansion of industrial estates.

US$2.1 million loan by the CDB to Barbados for new processing and warehousing facilities for the Barbados marketing Corporation.

US$6.5 million loan by the CDB to Belize for a deep water port, abbatoir and farm improvement credit.

Sugar Agreement

During the first week of October an international sugar agreement was reached at the United Nations Sugar Conference in Geneva. This was the result of 6 weeks of negotiations in April and May and four more in September and October. In addition to this there were many shorter consultations involving smaller groups of countries.

About 80 countries took part in the Geneva conference. About 30 of them are exporters. A country's delegation usually is made up of government officials and industry advisors. Generally speaking, there were no labor representatives at this conference. Perhaps as a result of this the draft agreement omitted the section, included in previous agreements, calling for just labor conditions.

Executives of multinational sugar corporations and of sugar trading firms were there in full force. Industry advisors from the same corporation would sit on the delegations of several countries. These men were there to make sure no measures were adopted against the interests of their companies.

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The sugar agreement goes into effect Jan. 1, 1978 for a period of 5 years. It aims to raise the present low price of sugar to a profitable level by 3 means: price range, export quotas, and reserve stocks:

(1) The price range is 11¢ (minimum) to 21¢ (maximum). The aim is to stabilize the price around the mid-point of this range (16¢). The price range will be reviewed regularly during the agreement.

(2) Quotas (the amount of sugar a country is allowed to export) are given out according to traditional market share and production capacity, taking into account the amount of sugar importing nations will need from year to year. When the price is too low, export quotas will be reduced by up to 17.5%, in order to force the price up. When the price passes the mid-point of the range, export quotas are suspended.

(3) Reserve stocks: A reserve stock of 2.5 million tonnes will be built up over the first 2 1/2 years of the agreement, to remove surplus sugar from the market. Loans for financing these stocks will be made from a fund collected by the International Sugar Organization from a levy of 3/10 cent per pound of sugar traded after July 1, 1978.

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Cuba, Australia, and Brazil were the principal spokesmen for the exporters, while the U.S.A., Japan and Canada were the leading importers. The U.S.A. pushed very strongly for an agreement for domestic political reasons. (There are many U.S. sugar growers, both cane and beet who want the government to do something about the low prices. The U.S. government has subsidized domestic sugar growers in the past and if an international agreement is successful in raising prices it would save them a lot of money). This is why an agreement could be concluded in spite of many obstacles. The European Economic Community (EEC) played an unhelpful role, refusing to agree to export quotas, and doesn't intend to sign the new agreement.

Many knowledgeable observers have serious doubts about the chances for successful working of this agreement. Few people expect the price to reach 16¢ before 1979.

Redeployment and the Working People

In the past few months, the PNC "Cooperative Socialist" state of Guyana began implementation of a policy of labour redeployment. Both the policy and the method of implementation have come under heavy attack by trade unions, workers' organizations and the opposition People's Progressive Party. Workers have launched a struggle against redeployment seeing it as a guise for retrenchment, political victimization and "labour rationalization" to satisfy loan criteria of Western capitalist financial institutions. Below we produce reports on workers' struggles and a lecture by Dr. C. Y. Thomas of the Working Peoples' Alliance.

Workers Fight Retrenchment

Workers represented by the National Union of Public Service Employees (NUPSE) and previously employed by GUYWA, and the Ministry of Agriculture are among the groups most cruelly affected by the "Redeployment Exercise." NUPSE Secretary R. B. Singh told the Standard that more than 250 workers have been laid off from GUYWA's operation, and that dozens of workers have been coming to the union's offices on Fort Street to complain and seek help in their predicament.

PREGNANT WORKER

One young woman seven months pregnant went to the union office with the directive from the Secretariat directing her to seek a job as a general agricultural worker at LBI Estate. Although she could not possibly do cane cutting she would have to take the offer and qualify for the NIS help during her confinement.

The union officials also mentioned the case of two other young women employed at the GUYWA central stores who also reported being redeployed as agricultural workers with Guysuco, and numerous cases of men with up to 15 years service who have been offered cane cutting as the only alternative to unemployment.

They also reported that groups of workers employed by the Ministry of Agriculture had still not received their January salaries or the promised retroactive pay increases for 1977, while workers on the Mahaica-Mahaicony-Abary (MMA) project had had their subsistence allowances (paid for the extra costs of living away from populated areas while on the job) cut off altogether since the beginning of January.

Union officials also reported writing to the Ministry of Agriculture urging a prompt meeting with the Union on the situation and requesting lists of the workers who are being redeployed. Up to now the union has not received any lists of the workers affected.

On the other hand at the Ministry of Information which is the only official Press source for information about the situation an information officer reported Cde Malcolm Giles as declaring recently that the Redeployment

Secretariat will not redeploy any workers whose union whose union has not agreed to their redeployment.

The officer also said that Unions are receiving full lists of the workers they represent who are to be redeployed for them to make any representation before workers are actually redeployed or retrenched.

Scores of workers finding themselves out of jobs and with little or no action whatever by their unions to protect them, have organised themselves into a fearless action Committee for Workers' Rights formed on the insistence of redeployed workers and other trade unionists at the Open Class Room Session on Redeployment held at NACCIE Headquarters last week Tuesday.

The Action Committee launched a series of pickets to protest the treatment of workers by the Redeployment Scheme on Friday, outside Parliament on Saturday morning outside Bourda Market and on Wednesday morning outside the Redeployment Secretariat on Camp Street.

In the hand-out given to hundreds of other concerned Guyanese the workers denounced "redeployment" as merely a trick for hiding "retrenchment" ending job security and the right of workers to choose the type of job and place of employment.

Among the 40 placards carried by the workers during the picketing were attacks on redeployment as "cruel", "slavery", "unemployment", "a nightmare" and calls for unity among workers and unions to fight cuts in subsidies unemployment and retrenchment.

While 30 workers picketed and chanted slogans like "Redeployment is Sufferment" outside the Redeployment Secretariat on Wednesday morning, the Standard spoke with several of them.

One of them was redeployed from GUYWA and offered a cane cutting job at Diamond Estate which he refused. "I have my City and Guilds qualification in plumbing and five years experience on the job" he said. "It's terrible and embarrassing after working so many years at a job I know to do, to be told go and beg for a job somewhere else," another declared.

Pickets on this occasion were also handing out invitations to other redeployed and concerned workers to a meeting the following day (Thursday) at 5 p.m. at NACCIE Hall on High Street, Kingston.

WHILE the only figures so far released by the Redeployment Secretariat reveal that up to 150 of 2,500 workers singled out for redeployment have accepted alternative jobs, the unhappy reality for many other dozens of workers is that they have been abruptly deprived of their jobs and are now among the unemployed.

C.Y. Thomas on Redeployment

Dr. Clive Thomas

What should be "redeployed" in Guyana are the non-human resources like property and wealth which are in the hands of the parasitic, bureaucratic-capitalist ruling elite. The workers ought not be the first line of defence in the economic crisis.

But according to left-wing economist Clive Thomas the situation could not be otherwise, given the kind of social arrangement we have in Guyana, and the class character of the PNC state. The Marxist President of the University of Guyana Staff Association, a TUC affiliate, placed his arguments in support of this contention in this historical perspective:

The central factor in the development of a society is the way in which the surpluses in that society are being produced, and the way in which they are being distributed. In the case of slavery and indenture, by law the slave master was permitted to own slaves, and by law the indentured immigrants were compelled to work for the planters. There was a clear legal basis on which the extortion or exaction of a surplus was established.

LEGAL CONDITIONS

The struggle of the slaves and the indentured workers was a struggle against those legal conditions. At that time one of the ways to break up some of those legal conditions was to struggle for the freedom to choose the particular job they would want, in other words, the freedom to choose where they would like to work...

But what is the state of labour in this country 140 years after the abolition of slavery? Freedom of choice of occupation no longer exists. It is being undermined by the process of redeployment! Redeployment means the direction by the state for the use of labour. The Constitution protects the worker by giving him the right to choose the place and manner of employment. It can be argued that the worker still has the right to choose; he need not be redeployed. But if the alternative to redeployment is retrenchment, then in truth and in fact the worker has no choice!

The slaves and indentured immigrants struggled to create a labour market in order to remove the legal restrictions imposed on them. But while the legal restrictions were removed, the labour market did not in fact bring the workers freedom. The freedom the worker had was the freedom to sell his labour or to starve.

The cruel fact was that the power of the slave owner, the power of the planter, was the power that derived from his control of the dominant means of production within the society. And so long as he exercised the monopoly over those means of production he would be able to direct all other social groups to work at his behest and to produce surpluses on which he can then subsequently live off.

NATIONALIZATION

Dr. Thomas proceeded to look at the situation during the post independence period where it is being argued that to the extent that foreign property was being nationalised, to that extent was the working people producing and distributing the surpluses. In other words, that nationalisation was the basis for the establishment of socialism. But the truth of the matter is (which is what we are clearly becoming aware of now) that nationalisation cannot be socialism.

State property in terms of the social content, has to be defined in terms of the social class that controls the state. Not even the most wildly optimistic supporter of the ruling party would claim that what we have in Guyana is a worker's state! The state is clearly not run by the working people.

It can also equally be said that the state is not directly run by the capitalist....What we have locally controlling the state is a bureaucratic political elite which is in process of becoming a capitalist class. We can see, if we look around us, the passion that

- continued on inside back cover

THE GRENADA – CHILE CONNECTION
a Danger to the Caribbean

The gangster regime of Eric Gairy in Grenada, with its back to the wall, has begun to develop international ties that pose a grave danger to the working people of the Caribbean. With the economy in shambles, a bankrupt treasury and the intensification of political struggles, Gairy has found it necessary to develop essentially military ties with the most notorious fascist regime in the Americas - The Chilean Junta. The articles below are written by the New Jewel Movement and other progressive groups and expose the danger of the Grenada-Chile ties.

At the 1976 conference of the Organization of American States Gairy, on a state visit to Chile, publicly came to the defence of Chile on the question of human rights. Shortly after this OAS meeting, Gairy announced over Radio Grenada that the Chileans had agreed to train and equip Grenada's police and defence forces.

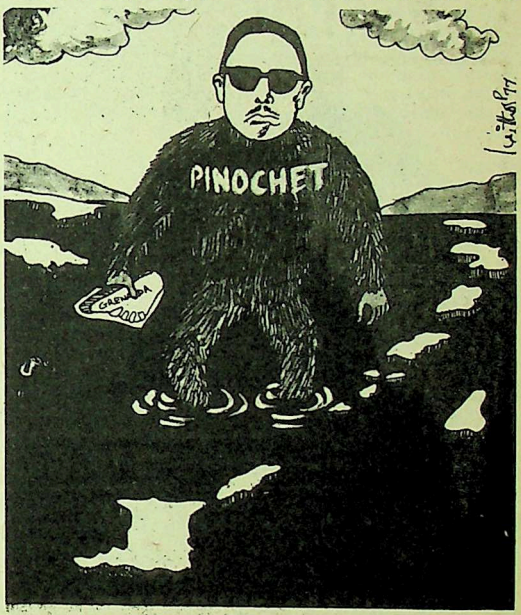
Despite considerable protests from the Grenadian people, as well as those of the Caribbean, these arrangements have gone forward. In January of this year, Lieutenant-Colonel Zamorano of the Chilean armed Forces visited Grenada for discussions with Prime Minister Gairy, and on 27th August the "ESMERALDA", a Naval Training vessel- and former torture-chamber (see the 1974 report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights) of the Chilean navy sailed into St. George's harbour, remaining there until 31st August. During this time, high-ranking Chilean officers visited the Governor-General, and held discussions with the government. At the end of this visit it was announced that Grenadian policemen will be sent to be trained at the Chilean Police Training School.

While in Grenada the Chileans also made a determined propaganda offensive, showing our people copies of the Chilean "constitution" and pointing out its "democratic safeguards"(which in practice are ignored), showing our reporters photographs to prove that they had been well received in other countries, photos showing "progress in Chile", etc. - and meanwhile taking pictures (still and T.V.)of their reception by the government of Grenada to prove to other countries how well received they were here. It appears to us that this visit was both aimed at cementing military ties between Grenada and Chile, as well as being part of a strategy to improve Chile's image throughout the world, and in particular in the Caribbean.

MILITARY CONNECTIONS

However, there is a more ominous aspect. Apart from taking pictures of reception the Chileans were also engaged in taking pictures of strategic sites and buildings in the island (for example, police stations, bridges, harbours etc.) and took "sound tests" to establish the depth etc. of the seas in our harbours, ports and territorial waters generally. Also, on the evening of the 5th September, 1977, a Chilean plane arrived in Grenada but was unable to land at the airport due to the accidental absence of the radio operator. More than 50 members of the police and military forces and staff of the Ministry of External Affairs were at the airport awaiting the arrival of this plane.

Since the visit of the "Esmeralda" to Grenada there



THE CHILEAN MENACE IN THE CARIBBEAN

has been a spate of condemnations of the diplomatic and military connections which the government has established with Chile. Protests have come from the Grenada Council for Human Rights, the New Jewel Movement, the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union, the Grenada Assembly of Youth, and others. Releases of these bodies have pointed out (1) The situation in Chile, where in November, 1976 the Chilean Junta admitted that it was holding more than 3,300 political prisoners in jails and concentration camps (Chilean magazine "Que Pasa", November 23rd, 1976); where it is estimated that over 2,500 persons have been kidnapped by the Chilean secret police (DINA) and have subsequently "disappeared"; and where the use of torture is widespread;

(2) The worldwide condemnation of the Chilean regime on the basis of the facts regarding mass murders, kidnappings and torture by the Pinochet regime discovered by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Such condemnations have come from the United Nations General Assembly (February and March, 1977), as well as the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization, the Commission on Human Rights,

the U.N. Economic and Social Council, the World Council of Churches, the International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International and many international bodies.

(3)The concern of Grenadians as to the type of training in torture and brutality which Grenadian police would receive at the hands of the Chileans, and the effects of such training on our local armed forces and secret police which have already proven their capacity to display brutality towards our people under the instructions of the Prime Minister in his capacity as Minister of National Security (See the Duffus Report, 1974, also recent press reports of the shooting at unarmed civilians taking part in a peaceful march on June 19th, 1977)

(4)Grenadians' concern at the possibility of the expansion of Chilean influence into the Caribbean area, together with the legitimizing of the brutal Chilean regime in various countries of the world, particularly in the Caribbean, as a result of 'friendly ties' being established between Grenada and Chile.

APPEAL TO GOV'TS AND ORGANIZATIONS

That Grenada already has a Human Rights problem is now widely recognized throughout the region.

The Opposition People's Alliance, although winning 48.3% of the popular vote last December (including 87% of the youth vote) is allowed no radio time on the government-owned radio station, the newspaper of the New Jewel Movement is forced to operate underground as a result of the Newspaper (Amendment) Act of 1975; and only on rare occasions are Opposition members of Parliament granted permission to use a microphone at their public meetings. All these conditions, moreover, obtained during last December's election campaign. In addition the election campaign itself was fraudently conducted (se Alliance document entitled "Unfair and Unfree Elections - Grenada,7th December, 1976".)

The Report of the Duffus Commission of 1974 exposed the personal recruitment of secret police by Prime Minister Gairy. Since this report, the secret police force was disbanded but many of them were promptly recruited into the Defence Force, and the Grenada Voluntary Constabulary. These are the elements who on June 19th this year shot at unarmed civilians peacefully demonstrating against the violations of human rights currently occurring in Grenada. One

ERIC GAIRY

man Allister Strachan died as a result of this incident and hundreds were chased and beaten through the city of St. George's on that afternoon of terror.

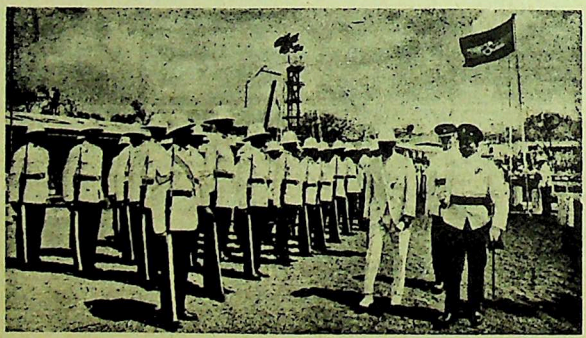
Only the lack of training of Grenada's 'army thugs' prevented mass slaughter on the 19th June. The training of the criminal elements in the military which Gairy is now proposing to allow the Chileans to undertake is an idea which therefore strikes horror into the heart of Grenadians, who realize that such training can only mean mass murders on any future occasion when the army is called out. Such training in murder- and in torture- will in addition provide Gairy with the military backing to run an open and unashamed dictatorship on the basis of repression and terror.

Should the plans for the training of the Grenadian armed forces be realized the last nails will be struck into the coffin of Grenada's already ailing democracy and a situtation will be brought about which may well pose a threat to the peace and democracy of the Caribbean as a whole.

We are therefore appealing to all Caribbean governments and organizations to publicly condemn in the strongest possible terms the ties between Chile and Grenada. The future of one island affects the future of all !

TOWARDS PEACE AND UNITY IN THE CARIBBEAN

Send resolutions and expressions of condemnations to Prime Minister Eric Gairy, Mt. Royal, Grenada; and to the Regional Press.



On the Chileans

— NJM release

The NJM condemns in the strongest possible terms the recent 5-day visit made to Grenada by "the ESMERALDA", a Chilean naval training ship.

We remember the numerous barbarous atrocities committed by the Pinochet regime after the illegal and bloody seizure of power from Salvador Allende in 1973.

We note that these atrocities and crimes against the Chilean people, including mass murders, mass detentions of political prisoners, numerous disappearances of persons and the use of torture are still continuing.

We recall also the official visit to Grenada in January 1977 of a top Colonel in the Chilean Ministry of Defence, and Prime Minister Gairy's announcement at the time that the Chileans had agreed to train and equip the Grenada police and military forces.

It is significant that the 1974 report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights found that in the days following the overthrow of President Allende the Esmeralda was used by the Pinochet junta as a prison and torture chamber for political prisoners.

the P.R.O. of the Esmeralda stated, during the ship's recent visit here that "this is a goodwill visit designed to strengthen the links between Chile and Grenada."

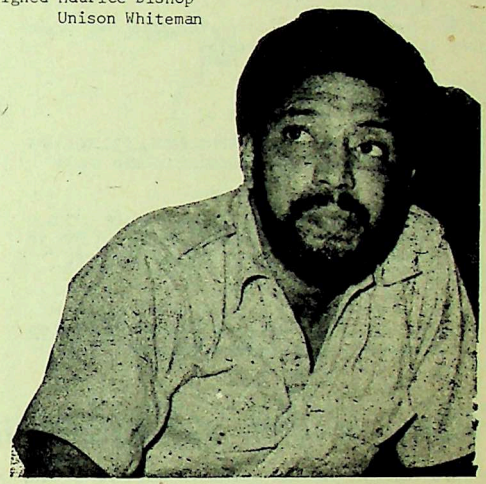
We wish to make it clear to the world that the people of Grenada, already oppressed by a local dictator, feel no desire whatever to establish or strengthen links with barbarous foreign dictatorships such as that existing in Chile.

We warn the Gairy regime and in plenty of time for them to heed the warning - that we will not sit idly by and see any more Chileans come to our shores whether by ship or plane. Neither will we sit by and allow criminal elements from our police and defence forces to go off to Chile to be trained in the latest methods of torture and brutality, only to return and use these on our own people.

The people of Grenada would rather die than allow the last remaining shreds of our freedom to be destroyed.

We call for an end to all ties between the Gairy government and the Pinochet regime, and further call on all the governments and organisations of the Caribbean to join us in openly condemning the establishment of any such links, which pose a danger to both Grenada and the Caribbean.

Signed Maurice Bishop
Unison Whiteman



Chilean arms in Grenada

Grenada's Opposition leader Maurice Bishop, has challenged the Gairy government's denial that the island has not bought arms from Chile.

"There is absolutely no doubt about arms being received from Chile," he told CANA.

Mr. Bishop was commenting on the denial by the Gairy regime that arms had been received from Chile or any other country.

Mr. Bishop who is also leader of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) said that following last year's visit to Grenada of the Chilean Torture ship", a Chilean aircraft landed in Grenada with 10 crates marked medical supplies.

"We have absolute proof that no medical supplies came and we know it was arms" the lawyer politician said.

Mr. Bishop said the Opposition knew exactly where the "arms were taken, and that some of the crates had been moved from the original location during last week."

He stated that arms were the major reason for the "connection" between Chile and Grenada, apart from the training of Grenadian soldiers in the Latin American state.

— CANA, Georgetown, Guyana

Chilean Butchers get out

It is with HORROR and concern that the Grenada Assembly of Youth (GAY) views the presence of a Chilean Military Training Ship in our harbour.

When one views the history of the Regime, it is one o of MASS REPRESSION, MASS BRUTALITY AND MASS MURDER.

The Chilean regime came into power by the bloody overthrow in 1973 of the popularly elected Government of Salvadore Allende, and since that time TENS of THOUSANDS of workers, teachers, students, Priests, Nuns, journalists, trade union leaders and people from other walks of life have been machined-gunned by THREE HUNDRED at a time; TENS of THOUSANDS have been imprisoned AND TORTURED; and TENS of THOUSANDS have DISAPPEARED without trace.

All self-respecting Governments and Organisations throughout the world have CONDEMNED the criminal regime of General Agosto Pinochet of Chile. The United Nations, Amnesty International and the last O.A.S. Conference have all passed resolutions condemning the Chilean Government for its gross violation of Human Rights. Even the American Government which has admitted using the CIA to put Pinochet into power has passed a law banning any Military and Economic aid to Chile!'

WHAT THEN CAN THE CHILEANS TEACH THE SOLDIERS OF GRENADA BUT MURDER, BRUTALITY AND TORTURE?

THE GRENADA ASSEMBLY OF YOUTH DEMANDS THAT :-

1. The Government of Grenada immediately cancel ALL MILITARY AGREEMENTS WITH THAT FASCIST JUNTA.
2. The Government break all Diplomatic and Economic ties with Chile and
3. The Government join all other countries and Organisations in condemning that regime.

CHILEANS GET OUT OF GRENADA!
BUTCHERS ARE NOT WELCOME HERE!

ONWARD TO A SOCIETY OF PEACE, DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM AND GENUINE RESPECT FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL GRENADIANS!

WE CALL UPON ALL THE CHURCHES, ALL THE TRADE UNIONS, ALL YOUTH AND WOMEN'S AND COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS TO JOIN US IN OUR CALL TO KEEP THE CHILEAN BUTCHERS (FASCISTS) OUT OF GRENADA.

- Grenada Assembly of Youth

Sever all ties with Chile

The Grenada Council for Human Rights strongly protests the presence of the Chilean Naval Training Ship, "ESMERALDA", now tied up alongside the St. George's pier.

The present Chilean regime, under the notorious President Pinochet, has been condmened by the United Nations General Assembly, the Organisation of American States, the International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International, the World Council of Churches and many other Human Rights Organisations throughout the world, for its blatant and relentless violations of Human Rights. These include mass killings, systematic torture of its citizens and continued detention of Political prisoners without trial.

The Prime Minister has recently announced that the present Chilean government has agreed to train and equip the Grenada Police and Military Forces. We shudder to think of what could have happened to our Brothers and Sisters on January 21st, 1974 (Bloody Monday) and on June 19th, 1977, had the Grenada Military Forces the type of training and equipment now being provided by the Chilean government.

We call upon the Grenada government to sever all ties with the present Chilean Government and we urge all Human Rights Organisations and other concerned bodies throughout the Caribbean and elsewhere, to support us in this stand.

The Grenada Council for Human Rights,
St. George's, Grenada

Wider View of Human Rights

There is a tendency in some circles, however, to view human rights narrowly, to take them to mean civil liberties only. For instance, one prominent person told me last week that in whatever country he can go and freely say that the President is a jackass, with or without cause,human rights exist there. Is there not more to it than that?

The truth of the matter is that human rights is much broader than civil liberties. While civil liberties deal with the sacred freedoms of speech, assembly, religion, press, association, privacy, demonstration, opinion and conscience, human rights include many economic, social, cultural, and national (collective) rights and freedoms as well.

What are these additional rights and freedoms? In the old days of the cave man or in the so-called "state of Nature" man could fend for himself and reap the fruits of his labour. However, with the increasing complexity, concentration of economic power - and specialisation of modern society, it is clear that human beings have a RIGHT to work, to work under proper conditions, to organise trade unions and to receive social security or pensions at the end of their working lives.

Closely related to this is the worker's right to reap the fruits of his labour, his right not to be exploited. This is the essence of economic democracy. Where all the LARGE businesses are in the hands of a few, (a small elite class), there exists a contradiction. Working people are denied their rights to participate fully in economic life (and political life too). Moreover, the maintenance of such a class system ensures the continuation of severe social inequality.

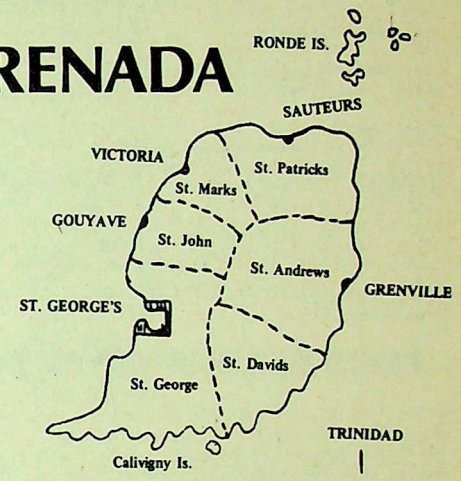
Apart from economic rights, citizens clearly have a right to health care based on needs, a right clearly linked with the right to life itself, and also to the opening up of educational and cultural opportunities to them.

It goes without saying that a people have the natural right to free themselves and to decide the nature of their society. This must mean national ownership of their resources. It must also mean equal treatment, including trading relations, among states.
Of course, whether we take the narrow or the wider concepts of human rights, one problem still arises. The mere declaration of rights, in the constitution or elsewhere, is never enough. These may just remain words or rhetoric, devoid of substance. There must be a far and more positive approach..Machinery must be set up to make these rights effective, with concrete steps being taken to enforce them.. In other

- continued on page 34

HOW MUCH WORSE CAN IT GET

Gov't refuses wage increases



The Grenada Government has refused to implement salary recommendations of the Public Service Salaries Revision Commission for wage increases. The Commission, which submitted its report to the Government on November 8, recommended pay hikes of 70% to 14% retroactive to January 1, 1977. The last salaries revision took place in 1970 and there was a small interim increase in 1975. Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy called the recommendations "malicious and wicked" and said the government simply does not have the EC$11.3 million in back pay required to comply with the recommendations and the $900,000 per month more to continue paying the higher salaries. The Prime Minister said that for the last ten years, the Government had never been able to collect enough revenue in any month to meet its payroll and that it has had to depend on financial assistance from friendly countries. Mr. Gairy said even if the Government had the money it would not pay because increases of such magnitude were "treacherous to the citizens of this State."

During December, meetings were held between the Government and representatives of various categories of workers. The Prime Minister offered increases ranging from 10% to 25% and reminded workers that the last time civil servants went on strike, 31 persons lost their jobs. So far, "minor salaried" public servants, policemen and nurses have accepted the Government's offer. Higher salaried workers, represented by the Civil Service Association, the Grenada Union of Teachers and the Allied Workers Union are holding out for the full increases recommended in the Commission's report. The unions consider that since both parties agreed to the appointment of a salaries commission to resolve their wage dispute, the recommendations must be accepted as tantamount to an award. In addition, the Prime Minister agreed in October 1976 "to meet whatever increases are recommended by the Commission". The Commissioners' Report states that the increases are the "barest minimum" necessary "to restore some semblance of value to the pay of Public Servants". The original demands made by the unions were for increases from 40% to 65%. On January 7, the Civil Servants decided to hold a series of meetings to measure the reactions of Association members to the Government's offer.

- Caribissues, Barbados

Gov't can pay

The issue many people are faced with in Grenada is that of Salaries increase for Public Servants and that includes you. None of these workers can duck and hide from this. It is an issue of what is RIGHT and JUST. But what do we notice today in Grenada? What are the main things in this Salaries struggle?

COST OF LIVING RAPIDLY RISING

The cost of living rocketing up and up everyday, and this is for everybody. The squeeze getting tighter and tighter. We feeling it everyday. We see sugar go up from 15¢ in 1971 to 67¢ in April 1977; rice from 21¢ to 75¢; ordinary flour from 13¢ to 49¢; kerosene from 54¢ to $2.03; Lactogen from $1.72 to $5.85. And since then things got worse.

What does this mean? It means that the money we are getting is real chicken feed. It means we are bursting we skin for next to nothing. The hours of work behind a desk, on duty, teaching, or whatever it is, is not justly rewarded.

WAGE INCREASE IS JUSTIFIED

The dollar in 1970 was 100 cents. Today it is worth 31¢! Just imagine this! Just imagine that you are a constable and in December 1969 you got $110 and now getting $325, in fact you are really receiving $102; as a Corporal in 1969 getting $174, now $440 - your real wage is $138. And so it goes for all of us. The bread just can't buy what it used to buy before. Is real pressure!

With all that has been mentioned, wouldn't you say that a wage increase is badly needed? The Commission Report strongly supported a wage increase because the facts show that we really struggling to make it day after day. The weighted average increase is:- 83.5% for low income bracket, 75.0% for middle income bracket, 68.2% for upper income bracket.
The Prime Minister on 1st October, 1976 said: "We are committed to meet whatever increases are recommended by this commission and this will be from 1st January 1975. We the G.U.L.P. Government have that irrevocable committment to the Government workers.

So those were the Prime Minister's words. What will the recommendation cost government?

Gross Cost.....	$11.40 million
Less Interim.....	$ 3.10 million
	$ 8.30 million
Less Income Tax.....	$ 3.42 million
	$ 4.88 million

So government has $4.88 million for us, for the sweat of we brow.

But government say they can't pay this. They can't make? Let us look at facts, because facts is our WEAPON - Your WEAPON too. Facts stand above all propaganda. The government says that they collect $900 thousand every month. But how so, when the Customs alone for 1977 collected on average $1.5 million monthly? The monthly difference is $600 thousand; yearly difference $7.2 million. Don't you see that they can afford to pay us poor workers the money, man?

POLICE MUST GET THEIR JUST INCREASES TOO

We hearing all kind of old talk that Police don't want the money the Commission recommended. That you voted for less money and against the full amount. But we know the truth. We know that you did not exercise a democratic, free vote. You were actually told that you have to take the FLYBITE. Because no right thinking person in Grenada will say they don't want money that rightly belongs to them. Is we money - all of us. Things too hard for government to give us less. For government to turn down the just demand of a scrunting people. What do you say?

GOV'T DOES NOT CARE ABOUT THE WORKING PEOPLE

What we are going through must teach us more and more about this government. Just imagine this. The Prime Minister has said that even if he has the money he won"t pay. He won"t pay us scrunting workers. What does he do with the money - where does it go? Brothers and Sisters the money goes in his pocket and those of his Big Boys. The government is not for us poor people. Whether we opposition poor or Gairyite poor the government does not think or care about us. They just ain't care. Is the FEW RICH they concern about. What do you think of a government that pays its ministers between $1.5 to $2 thousand a month but won't raise t the pay of a scrunting Constable? What do you think of a government that does not tax the Big Companies but pour heavy tax on the small man tail? What do you think of a government that won't take over the importation of Sugar, rice and other important goods so it can get the extra money to pay us and at the same time drop the cost of living? Such a government can only be against we POOR WORKING PEOPLE, even if they like to say they for the poor. Their ACTIONS speak louder than their WORDS. Government DEFENDS and SUPPORTS the foreigners (like Haack, South Koreans, etc.) the Big Companies, Banks, the Big local businessmen, etc. AGAINST all of us POOR WORKING PEOPLE! THE GOVERNMENT IS A GOVERNMENT OF THE RICH CAPITALIST CLASS!

FIGHT ON FOR WHAT IS JUSTLY YOURS, STRUGGLE

By now you have heard that government has been given up to the 3rd February to agree on giving us the WHOLE HOG and not the TROTTERS. If not we striking on the 6th, February. Policemen, Policewomen, this is a JUST DEMAND. Is for the benefit of those who sweat to make their daily bread. Is we HUMAN RIGHTS we fighting for. The people of Grenada are behind all of us. STAND FIRM!

ORGANISE TO STRUGGLE TOGETHER FOR YOUR INCREASE!
UNITE WITH EACH OTHER FOR YOUR JUST STRUGGLE!..
REMEMBER - ORGANISATION AND UNITY IS STRENGTH!
YOUR STRUGGLE IS ALL WORKERS' STRUGGLE!

OUR GOV'T IS BIG BUSINESS GOVERNMENT

On Friday last government workers were not paid their salaries. Gairy even stated on Friday night (on radio) that he would be reducing the public servants salaries-taking away their interim which they have been receiving since 1976, if they do not accept his shameful and unjust proposals. Public servants may get their salaries very late because pay clerks will have to work out new salaries, tax deductions, etc.

This kind of intimidation and victimisation is not being done by Gairy alone. Last year Hubbards fired seven workers during their cost of living allowance struggle, the Shipping Agents tried to starve the dock-workers by making the boats by-pass Grenada. Douglas (Central Sales) fired six workers for joining a union, and this year Juliens fired 10 coke factory workers in an attempt to lessen the union's vote at a poll.

What is the connection between Gairy and these Businessmen? Why are they behaving in exactly the same way?

It is because they are both operating like big businessmen when faced with the just demands of their workers. Remember, their aim is to make as much profit as possible- they can only do this by paying us low wages. Higher wages for us, less profits for them.. When we are smiling for them, they are thinking of how best to sweat us more, how best to crush us.

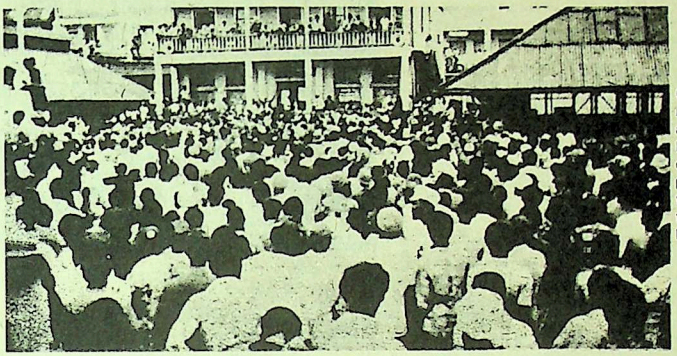
Brothers and sisters we are seeing our government not only defend and support the Big Shots - Government itself is acting like a big Businessman - Government itself is a Big Capitalist! What we really have here is a Ruling Class of persons made up of a Big Businessman's government, and the Big Capitalists (Gairyite and anti-Gairy).

This government once used to be a poor peoples' government. Some still think so, but more and more poor and working people - when we see their actions, are coming to realise that this government is a Businessman's Government, and always stands firmly and consistently against workers and poor people.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS - DO NOT BE INTIMIDATED!
POOR PEOPLE - UNITE AGAINST THE BIG COMPANIES!
OUR UNITY IS OUR STRENGTH!

- O.R.E.L, St. George's, Grenada

Grenadians Getting Poorer



One of the mammoth crowds attracted by the Peoples Alliance during the campaign. This picture was taken at the St. George Market - Square.

HELP! MURDER!! HELP!!!
The cost of living is killing the broad masses of our land. Every day our working people, our workers, our farmers, our unemployed, our youth, are seeing their little income being eaten away by a cost of living that keeps getting higher and higher. Every day buying power of the dollar in your pocket is getting smaller and smaller. The value of your money is disappearing ..disappearing.....disappearing.

Let us compare the price of a basket of goods today with the same basket twelve (12) years ago (mid 1965). Look at the following figures and see for yourself.

UNITS	ITEMS	PRICE IN MID 1965	PRICE TODAY
3 lbs.	Brown Sugar(13¢each)	.39¢	$1.92
2 tins	Condensed milk 36¢each	.72¢	2.12
1 lb.	Saltfish	.60¢	2.85
1/4 lb.	Cocoa powder	.60¢	2.70
1/2 box	Back & Neck Chicken	.88¢	1.80
5 lbs.	Flour(mixed).15¢per lb.	.75¢	2.40
3 lbs.	Rice (17¢ per lb.)	.51¢	2.25
2 ozs.	Cooking Butter	.14¢	.36¢
1 bottle	Cooking Oil	.78¢	2.50
4 lbs.	Fish (low quality)	$1.20¢	5.00
1/4 lb.	Onion	.06¢	.35¢
1 lb.	Tomato	.30¢	2.00
1 lb	Salt	.04¢	.23
1 Bar	Soap	.19¢	.48¢
1 small box	Soap Powder	.15¢	1.17
1 bar	Blue	.02¢	.12
1/2 gallon	Kerosene	.14¢	1.10
1/4 lb.	Baking Powder	.10¢	.48¢
1 Pint	Strong rum (White)	1.44¢	3.00
2 Loaves	Bread (large)	.36¢	3.00
2 (8 mile)	Bus rides	.50¢	2.00
		$9.87¢	$37.83

That basket of goods now costs you more than four (4) times what it cost you a mere twelve (12) years ago. The only how you can buy the basket of goods is if your pay has gone up by four times also. Which worker or group of workers can boast that their pay has gone up by four times over the past twelve years? Without an equal rise in wages, workers nave to settle for three-quarters or half or even quarter of the basket of goods that they used to buy for their families.

In fact, some people's income has hardly risen at all. A sister told me yesterday that her pay of eighty dollars ($80.00) per month has not risen since she started working over four years ago. In the meantime, her bus fare has gone up from fifty cents (.50¢) to two dollars per day. Transportation is taking forty-eight ($48.00) per month, out of eighty, not to mention food and clothing. Her boss keeps jacking up his prices but he is refusing to increase her pay to meet her increasing costs. So she had to leave work this week. She can't even afford to work!

What is the meaning of all this? Comrade, you are getting poorer every day...unless you happen to belong to the "5% clique" like Ben Davis or Sir Denis Henry or Sir Leo De Gale. Your standard of living is dropping. You are becoming less and less well off; worse and worse off. You can no longer afford to enjoy the amount of goods and services as in the past.

Of course, for a certain handful, "the clique , cost of living can't stop them. They create the cost of living. They live off the cost of living; the higher it is, the better they live. They are the meat peltters. One of them boasted in a cocktail party the other night (we have heard) "you all can never burst my bar. Never....Hey, Bartender go downstairs and bring up another case of scotch, and one champagne too." Yes, that's the clique there in action. They are the white-suited "stick up men."

Is there a way out? Yes. Here are NJM's proposals. They are as solid as ever. What's more they are working well in all the progressive countries of the world:

1. End to private profit-making monopolies. Basic items must be brought in by National Importing Agency and sold to shopkeepers and retailers at cost. Result: Big drop in prices to shopkeepers and for the public.

The people will gain by lower prices and only Ben Davis and about ten or so other big shots (big importers) and parasites will lose their super profits.

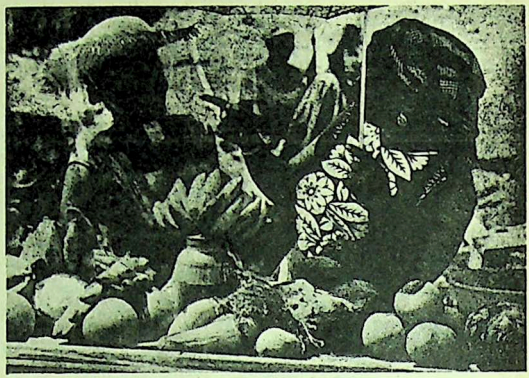
2. Development of trading links with Socialist Countries. We have to pay higher prices for every new shipment that arrives from Britain, Canada, and U.S.A., on the other hand, prices in Socialist countries over the past twelve years have been stable. Let us start importing more from them, rather than continue to import inflation.

3. End to one-sided enforcement of price-mark ups by government. Mark ups must be enforced regardless of politics.

4. Wiping out of oppressive taxes on goods: import duties, stamp duty, foreign exchange tax, consumption duty etc. etc.

5. Economic development plan to transform the economy: agriculture, agro-industries, fisheries, education, New Tourism.

As comrade Whiteman put it in the last Budget Debate: "Where in the Budget, Mr. Speaker, is the government's battle plan to cut down the cost of living?"



Brothers and Sisters, the answer lies with the coming government. Let us continue to struggle hard to get that new government.

BELMAR MURDERED BY GAIRYISM

"Innocent" Belmar was, in his lifetime, Gairy's chief Ba'John. He was Gairy's man, body and soul! Why then do we say that it is the same system of government which he served so faithfully, which, in the end, murdered him?

Belmar was the staunchest defender by violence of Gairy's violent system of government - a system where very few get work, while most poor people, Gairyites and Opposition alike, scrunt and suffer. A violent system where only a few can buy enough food and most of the people, government and opposition supporters alike, crawl on empty belly. A brutal system where hardly any of us get decent housing, medical attention or education, while for most of our people life is constant hardship, fear and suffering. A corrupt system where Gairy take all, and the people get none.

Living under such a system, the people must, at some time, seek to get rid of it, and so it was that when the people of Grenada cried out in 1973 and 1974 that "Gairy must go," a Belmar was needed by this system to beat and shoot and crush the people to silence their cries. This is why Belmar was sent out by Gairy to terrorize the people, to beat up and shoot up the youth and to encourage other policemen to do the same. This is also why, when the Duffus Commission recommended that Belmar should be dismissed, he was instead promoted - given a safe seat in Parliament!

Up until recent times Belmar continued to harass, exploit and even fire his own Gairyite La Force estate workers from his position as second Vice-President of the GMMIWU, as well as to beat up, pistol-whip and terrorize the people of his own parish.

But with each act of brutality Belmar made more and more enemies, and with each brutality he also became more and more of an embarrassment to the very man who created him, and who is now trying to whitewash himself and his government with phony doctorates, Privy Councillorship, and O.A.S. Conference. By the end of his life Belmar was living surrounded by enemies, including the very man who originally sent him out to do his dirty work, and who has not shed a tear over Belmar's death!

Brothers and Sisters, the individual who murdered Belmar is still unknown, but what is very clear is that Gairy's system of violence which Belmar served and promoted has been his real murderer. Brothers and Sisters, to get rid of violent death from our society we must step up the political struggle to defeat Gairyism. For it is Gairyism, which brutalizes our people, and then stiffles their cries of protest by the use of more terror and brutality, which is the source and the cause of violence in our society.

Brothers and Sisters, at this time we must also make sure that Gairy does not succeed in turning one half of our working people against the other half, with lies that "is Alliance do it." We must continue to rap with Gairy's people in a spirit of friendship. We must show them that we are not a party of violence; that we have never answered the violent deaths of Brothers Rupert Bishop, Harold Strachan and Alister Strachan with violence of our own. Let us show Gairy's people just WHO is to blame for the violence in our society. Let us show them that we are working towards a society free from victimization, injustice, exploitation, oppression and violence, and towards the unity and betterment of all our poor people.

Let us at this time step up our work to win the Gairyites, for the unity of our people is essential to the defeat of Gairyism.

WHY WE WALKED OUT OF PARLIAMENT

Only 5 meetings of Parliament in 15 months! That's one sitting of Parliament every 3 months! The Standing Rules of Parliament require at least one meeting per month to transact the Nation's business.

The CONSTITUTION demands that the ESTIMATES be presented on or before the 31st December of each year. Gairy once again has refused to do so and up to now the Estimates have not been laid before Parliament.

Fiannce Committee of the House should have met long ago to consider the Nation's Estimates and Budget. Up to now no meeting, and none planned.

The Constitution requires the Government to move a motion in Parliament at the earliest opportunity following a general election setting up the Public Accounts Committee. This Committee is comprised of Backbenchers from both sides of the House, under the Chairmanship of the Leader of the Opposition. This Parliamentary Committee is responsible for checking very carefully whether the Government is spending the people's money in accordance with the law and the decisions of Parliament. 15 months later, and despite protests in every sitting of Parliament, this Committee has still not been set up by the Government.

The Auditor-General of Grenada is supposed to check the expenditure and revenues of the Government and satisfy himself that the people's money is not being stolen from the treasury, "misappropriated" or "SQUANDERMANIAED" by anyone. The Auditor-General's reports have to be submitted to Parliament each year for Parliamentary scrutiny. THERE HAS BEEN NO AUDITOR-GENERAL'S REPORT LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT FOR OVER SIX (6) YEARS! - despite repeated protests and demands by The People's Alliance. THIS MEANS THAT THE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE, ANDthe people as a whole, HAVE NO IDEA WHETHER SOME OR ALL OF THE PEOPLE'S TAX monies have been or are being stolen by a few crooks in the Government.

To make things worse they came before Parliament on Friday last, asking for 2 million dollars to be borrowed from the Banks and refusing to say what the money was required for. (Arms from Chile? Cocktail Parties? More Police Stations? More Ministers salaries? More trips to New York to deal with UFOs?)

Government refused to permit, as required by the Rules, debate on their 1977 Throne-Speech, setting out Government's Economic and Social policies for the country. In 1978, they abandoned the Throne-Speech altogether. So the people have no idea what their "Plan" or "Programme" for the country is. This is of course because they have no plan or programme for the country, so they ignore or break the Rules of Parliament once again to coverup their bankruptcy.

Brother Bernard Coard's motion calling for reduction in electricity and telephone rates refused to be debated by the Government for 12 months and then removed from the Order Paper without debate!

The Opposition continues to be denied proper notice of Bills to be passed into law. Nearly every time we receive Bills the night before. The next day they are passed by Parliament through all stages, suspending all the Standing Orders of the House - something which is supposed to be done only during an Emergency.

The Gairy gang reached the height of contempt for Parliament and the People's Representatives last Friday (17th February). They presented 17 Bills and one Finance Motion - all to be passed into law in three hours- through all stages. THEY REFUSED TO LET US SEE COPIES OF THE NEW BILLS EVEN AFTER WE REACHED PARLIAMENT, EVEN AFTER ONE AND THREE QUARTER HOURS OF DEBATE INSIDE PARLIAMENT WE HAD STILL NOT BEEN SHOWN ANY COPIES OF THESE BILLS!!

In addition to all these above reasons, we walked out of Parliament to dramatize our strongest possible protest against the following fundamental violations of the People's Political and Human Rights:

Complete ban on the use of loudspeakers by the Official Opposition and all other organisations, including trade unions, except the Ruling Party. (Brother Maurice Bishop has written the Commissioner of Police repeatedly about this as well as raised it in Parliament).

Complete ban- without legal authority - on peaceful demonstrations by citizens of the state. (GBSS students forcibly prevented from demonstrating in January).

Stepped-up searches of people's homes, invasion of their rights to privacy of their homes;

Seizure of books, pamphlets and literature of the people, contrary to the Constitution. The Gairy gang now wants to tell the people what they can and cannot read like in Hitler's Germany and Vorster's South Africa and Pinochet's Chile.

Continued denial of Radio time to the Official Opposition. Brother Bishop has written to the Manager of Radio Grenada about this and raised it repeatedly in Parliament.

Continued suppression of Newspapers under the Newspaper Act.

Continued refusal to enumerate voters - required by law in 1977; and revision of the list in 1978. Brother Bishop has repeatedly written the Supervisor of Elections on this matter also.

Continued links with Chile, including the purchase of arms and the training of Defence Force men. It is for

this reason that Britain has cut off economic aid to the Government.

The crushing of the Public Servants, threats and intimidation to their lives and livelihood by Gairy personally.

ALL of this adds up to a rapid advancement towards Fascism (rule by guns, intimidation, fear and terror) by the Gairy regime. We are now closer to what life is like in Chile and South Africa.

MURDEROUS TAX INCREASES ON THE BACKS OF THE PEOPLE. These measures represent a budget without in fact presenting a budget. Here are some examples:

Stamp Duty up from 5% to 7.5% on all imported items. (All goods will now cost a great deal more).

Foreign Exchange Tax up from 2.5% to5% whenever you buy foreign money or import any goods. (Another big increase in the cost of living).

Bank Deposits to be placed in Government Treasury up from 5% to 10%. (This means more Bank charges for the people and interest on savings may disappear altogether. Also there will even be less money available for loans to Farmers, Fishermen and small Business people).

CAR, MOTOR CYCLE, TRUCK, BUS AND DRIVERS LICENSES, up 50%! (This means bus fares will go up and even less money in our pockets. And no roads to show for it!!) This law is retroactive to January 1st!

Airport Departure Tax from $3 to $5 every time you leave Grenada, and ticket tax from $5 to $10 for outside the region. (More blows for the traffickers and Grenadian travellers).

Increases in Hospital Charges. Many people who did not have to pay before will have to now. And you still won't be able to get aspirins, bandages, medicines, etc.

Purchase Taxes on all Radios and T.V.s - 20% of selling price. (That is on top of what you have to give to Joe Pitt).

Land Taxes, Insurance Registration Fees both on the Companies and on every salesman and 5% increase in Company Tax.

WORKERS UNIONS CRUSHED: PORT AUTHORITY ACT AND ESSENTIAL SERVICES ACT. The right to strike or take any form of Industrial action is effectively abolished by the above two laws for all the following categories of workers: Electricity workers, Water workers, Public Health and Sanitation workers, Nurses and Hospital employees, Airport workers, Firemen, Lighthouse workers, Air Traffic Control workers,Telephone, Telegraph and overseas telecommunication workers, and Dock workers.

The penalties are fines (of $500) and/or imprisonment (for 6 months) of the workers, their leaders, and any other workers or members of the public who lend their support.

What all of this means is that the Gairy Gang has abandonned all pretence of democracy.

IT IS NOW RULE BY NAKED DICTATORSHIP.

THE PEOPLE MUST PREPARE THEMSELVES FOR THIS NEW AND HIGHER level of struggle.

STOP PARLIAMENTARY ABUSES!

DEMAND AN END TO MURDEROUS TAXATION MEASURES!

DEMOCRACY YES! FASCISM NO"

Shadow of El Condor over Grenada

The anti-Castroite Cuban exile group, El Condor, which has claimed responsibility for terrorist acts in various countries, is likely to shift its base to Grenada, Grenada's Opposition leader, Maurice Bishop charged.

Mr. Bishop, here on a four-day visit, said the El Condor terrorists were under pressure from the Carter administration because of President Jimmy Carter's accent on human rights.

The group was therefore finding it difficult to operate from its traditional base in Miami, Florida, he said.

President Carlos Andrez Perez was also pressing the terrorists to quit Venezuela where they had gone, he added.

El Condor is an alliance of Cuban exile groups dedicated to the overthrow of the Fidel Castro government.

They have adopted a terror programme against personnel and property of Cuba, as well as countries friendly to Cuba.

PRESSURE

The group has been implicated in the bombing of the Cuban aircraft which plunged into the sea minutes after leaving Barbados on October 6, killing all 73 persons on board.

Mr. Bishop said that with pressure mounting from America and Venezuela, "Grenada recommended itself" as a base.

The Grenadian lawyer-politician alleged that there was "continuous erosion" of human rights in the country.

The internal problems were being made worse, he said, by the external links of the government, such as its ties with Chile, and with South Korea, and now the possibility of the El Condor group moving to the island.

"We are very much on a powder keg situation. The government has an undeclared and unofficial state of emergency in the country," he said.

- CANA, Georgetown, Guyana

Warren Hart and the R.C.M.P.

Earlier this year, Blacks in Canada were stunned by the revelation that a Black American, Warren 'General' Hart, was recruited by the RCMP with the assistance of the FBI to infiltrate Black groups in Canada and political organizations in the English-speaking Caribbean. Hart effectively got close to Rosie Douglas and other Black activists in Canada and through them established links with political organizations in the Caribbean. The revelations were made during an enquiry into the illegal activities of the RCMP. Below we publish the full text of a statement by the Black Education Project, Toronto, on the Hart revelations.

The expose on Warren 'General' Hart's infiltration of Black Community Organizations in Canada and the Caribbean is only a minute indication of the extent to which the Secret police has developed as a connected global force for the purpose of provocation, subversion and repression of working and exploited people and their organizations.

Hart's description of his activities links the FBI and RCMP with Black Organizations in the U.S., Canada and the Caribbean. We read, heard and saw Hart relate in vivid terms how, on instructions from his employers, the RCMP, he got close to the 'leaders' and got to know everyone involved in the Black Organizations. He was sent to the Caribbean to "train" guerillas during which time he was required to uncover links between radicals in the Caribbean and students, visitors, and immigrants living in Canada. Hart reported all his findings to RCMP and CIA officers, some of whom travelled with him.

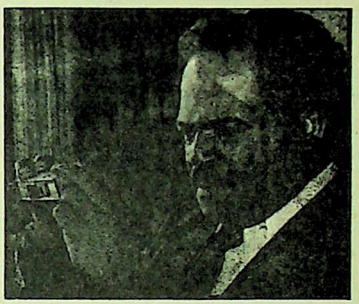
Hart's operation in Canada was an extension of activities begun in the U.S. After receiving training in the military forces he was recruited by the FBI to infiltrate the Black Panter Party where he attained the position of Captain. It was on the basis of his success at subversion within the Panther movement that Hart was employed by the RCMP to undertake similar tasks in Canada. The American and Canadian security forces were very concerned about the relationship between the Black American movement and their Canadian counterparts and the developing relationship between Black Organizations in North America and the Caribbean Liberation Movement.

ROLE OF THE R.C.M.P

The RCMP's recruitment of Hart to subvert Black Organizations in Canada and the Caribbean is a clear demonstration of official Canadian racism, repression and imperialism. From its inception in the early 1900's, the RCMP has been employed in harrassing, spying, deporting and interning people. After the war its activities included strike breaking, propagandizing, spying on and harassing union members, socialists and other assorted political activists. Its history clearly illustrates that the RCMP has been impelled to unleash its repressive forces particularly at times of economic crisis when people are organizing themselves to protect their human and civil rights.

The present roster of activities are indicative of their repressive action during a period of crisis. With the rise of nationalism in Quebec, the RCMP was empowered to gather information on subversives, socialist sympathizers and members of the Partis Quebecois.

Between 1970 and 1973 the RCMP was reported to have broken into the Praxis Organization in Toronto and steal documents. With the assistance of the Quebec



Warren 'General' Hart

Provincial Police and the Montreal City Police the RCMP illegally entered the offices of L'Agence de Presse Libre du Quebec, a radical news agency, also violated the offices of the P.Q. in Quebec and the NDP in Ontario. Its activities became even more sinister when RCMP agents stole dynamite from a construction company implicating "terrorists", and burnt a barn to prevent a meeting between the FLQ and the Black Panther Party. Last week's disclosures of infiltration, spying and bugging of Black Organizations and individuals in Toronto and Montreal are all consistent with the pattern of operation reported to the Commission.

The fact that Hart's activities in Canada and the Caribbean was the result of a RCMP/CIA/FBI link up should not be surprising. The RCMP was only learning from its more experienced and senior partner - the CIA. With the rise of the Black Organization in the Sixties, the FBI intensified its activities against these groups through the implementation of a special program titled COINTELPRO with the aim to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize" the Black Movement. J. Edgar Hoover outlined specific goals for his agents and insurgents that resulted in the smear campaign against Dr. Martin Luther King, the assassination of Black Panter leaders and the framing and imprisonment of many other leaders. As a result of a successful mission against the Black Panther Party in San Diego, four panthers were killed and four other Black activists wounded. The tactic incorporated in this case was to deliberately provoke a feud between the Panthers and another Black organization forcing an open confrontation. A memorandum to Hoover boasting about the success of this operation stated "as a result of our efforts the Black Panther Party in San Diego is no more."

Against the Chicano movement in New Mexico the FBI and CIA combined operations to disrupt the growing social protest movements. In Northern Mexico, the ALIANZA movement had their headquarters bombed, a

co-op clinic burnt to the ground, a member's house dynamited. The Minutemen, a rightwing organization was used by the FBI to promote terrorism against the movement. In Los Angeles, Eustacio Frank Martinez was used as an agent provocateur in the Chicano moratorium committee to incite violence at an antiwar rally. Martinez' job was to provide a pretext for police violence at demonstrations by shouting provocative slogans and throwing rocks.

THE C.I.A

The U.S. House Select Committee on Intelligence chaired by Otis Pike produced the most damning report to date on the CIA and FBI. The report makes it clear that the CIA is a ruthless force working directly in response to the needs of the executive branch and the vested interest of Multinationals. In its clandestine activity the agency has provoked, financed and supervised civil wars, assasinated heads of state, trained mercernaries, infiltrated unions, directly intervened in the affairs of other countries and exposed the world to biological and chemical warfare. In the report the committee noted that thirty-two percent (32%) of covert operations reviewed involved interference with elections in foreign countries. Twenty nine per cent (29%) dealt with support of friendly media major propaganda efforts, insertion of articles into the local (Foreign) Press and distribution of books and leaflets. Twenty three per cent (23%) of cases studied involved "Secret Armies", financial support to groups engaged in hostilities, paramilitary training and advisors, and shipment of arms, ammunition and other military equipment.

In addition, the CIA was heavily involved in Angola supporting Portuguese colonialism and later the FNLA/UNITA coalition. In 1972, the CIA provided 16 million dollars to the Shah of Iran as military support of the Kurdish Nationalists in Iraw. It is well known that the CIA financed the right wing local capitalists and middle class in Chile, supported para-military forces and co-ordinated the bloody overthrow of Allende.

CONCLUSIONS

These barbaric activities and methods of the RCMP, FBI, and CIA force us to arrive at clear and vital conclusions:

1. The Canadian, American and, without doubt, European Secret police are operating on a global scale as one connected international police.
2. Their aim is to maintain the international political domination of the imperialist states and economic power of capital through the multi-national corporations. To achieve this objective they draw into their network the armed and security forces and capitalist regimes of the underdeveloped countries.
3. They use any and every method to carry out their brutal and inhuman deeds - assassination, murder, destruction of food and crops, provocation of civil wars, disruption of groups and events, stealing, lies etc.
4. By their acts and operations they show clearly that democracy is, at least, a farce, at worse, a bloody fascist dictatorship.

On the local Canadian scene, the RCMP has demonstrated the above and more. Hart's activities prove that the Canadian State has joined with the American State to dominate the Caribbean people, and that they would use any means necessary to do so. Further, the Multicultural propaganda has been shown to be only words. The mouth shouts niceties, the left hand gives grants to ethnic groups and the right hand and legs engage in destruction by provoking divisions within groups and in ethnic communities, by promoting racism, etc. Bill C-24 will now make all brutalities legal. It is now clear. We expect more agents, more lies, more violence, more provocation. But we will be stronger, more experienced. THE BELL IS RINGING.

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New Political System

voluntary associations and so on -- once they hold office above a certain level.

(b) to ensure unimpeded public access to national as well as local data. Since independence there has been a progressive narrowing of the data made available to the Guyanese public, even though such data are routinely given to organisations e.g. World Bank, with which our enemies and potential enemies have direct access.
(c) to ensure that there is no discrimination in employment and so to "police" constitutionally entrenched equal opportunity legislation.

To ensure compliance with the above, the Commission should be empowered with adequate investigative powers.

8. Finally, the comprehensive replacement of market criteria and capitalist forms of economic organisation would require far-reaching and comprehensive Planning Mechanisms. The principles on which these are established should be so formulated as to ensure the widest national participation.

The WPA proposals deal mainly with the central and local government structures of the state. Four major areas of the state's functioning have been ommitted - the security, judiciary, legislative, and ideological apparatuses of the state - and as such our proposals are incomplete. Yet, we believe that enough has been indicated here to inform us of a state structure more in harmony with the concreteness of Guyanese conditions, the level of maturity of the Guyanese revolution, and the aspirations of the broad masses of working people.

The National Patriotic Front must be dynamically related to the National Patriotic Front Government. Local committees of the former have to be established to make it a viable political force responsible for leadership within the working classes to effect mobilisation towards the formation of a National Patriotic Front Government and to provide the working class vigilance without which socialist democracy would be impossible.

The Working People's Alliance regards the PPP's proposals on a National Patriotic Front and a National Patriotic Front Government as vitally important. We believe that these, together with our own proposals on a new political system, are matters which should be open for intensive and extensive public discussion. Such discussion can only serve to reactivate the talents of our people.

GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS SPACE RESEARCH CORPORATION

A global corporation Space Research, has now become a State within the Antigua State. In fact it freely weilds its influence throughout the ALP administration. All come under its influence.

This recent Space Research already controls a large section of the Antigua Defence Force. Space Research can flout the law then call on the government to defend it. Whenever it is caught in its own web of lies, Space hires government broadcasters, buys their ticket to Canada, and then on their return they will try to untangle Space Research from its own tangled web.

Space Research's power is unlimited. When it is caught violating the law which prevents "goods" bound to or coming from South Africa, from landing at the Antigua Port, the Attorney General rushes to its defence and states that to impound Space Research's South Africar bound cargo, would be considered by international law as a violation. But Antigua's own law on the 'prohibition' of South African goods is quite clear. It is so clear that it needs no interpretation. But the government is compelled to let Space Research go scot free after it has broken Birds's own law of 1960 absolutely prohibiting South African goods in the Port of Antigua.

BOUGHT, SOLD AND PAID FOR

The ALP is bought, sold and paid for by Space Research. Whenever Space Research says to the ALP government go, it goeth. And when it says come, I need you, it hurries to reach on time or before time. The willing servant in the government obey their Space Research Masters promptly. Meanwhile they ignore the suffering people.

We therefore have to find out why this multinational corporation Space Research operates within and without the Executive Power of the Antigua Government.

The Centralisation of Capital in fewer and fewer hands, the domination of imperialism over the resources, has put government in the West Indies in the position where it cannot develop capital for its own economic programmes, if it has any at all.

Imperialism decides where it wants or does not want a particular industry. It and it alone, determines the number of persons to be employed. It and it alone, decides the marketing of its goods and what goods and in what quantity it produces such products. In short it controls and directs the national development or rather the underdevelopment of the country it dominates.

Consequently, Caribbean governments not wanting to change the economic system, which permits the continued domination by imperialusm over the resources, are compelled by political necessity to rely heavily on those golobal corporations, for financial gifts to subsidize some un-economic project by which they hope to appease the population.

To make the point more forcefully, the arch reactionary of the West Indies, Dr. Williams of Trinidad stated in the Trinidad Guardian of July 1st, 1969 that; "It was found that national planning had little meaning when major decisions about Investment Production and employment, were being made in the head offices of international corporations beyond the jurisdiction of the local government."

V.C. Bird toasts to Foreign domination

The fact is therefore confirmed by the above statement of Williams that the global corporations hold the Caribbean governments at ransom. And they are willing to sell out the resources and people for a small fee, always to the detriment of the people, whom they subjugate by repressive laws and military rule. Space Research's training of and control over a large section of the Defence Force is part and parcel of the Antigua government's sworn intention to politically repress ACLM in particular and the population in general. Therefore ACLM on March 2nd was denied a public meeting to air its views on Space Research, and the riot squad was prepared for the population.

BENDS, BOWS AND KNEELS

Even the government itself admits that Space Research is its master before whom it bends, bows and kneels. the workers Voice of Wednes-

day March 22nd published a speech by the Attorney General Cosmos Phillips, whose ministry is responsible for putting out an interpretation of the law which prohibits the importation and transhipment of goods to or from South Africa. The same Attorney General stated in that issue of March 22nd that "we have every reason to be grateful to Space Research."

We Who? The members of government? We will find out.

Indeed, the ALP government has "every reason to be grateful to Space Research Corporation" because Space Research finances the government publicly and no doubt personally. The ALP government ought "to be grateful to Space Research" because according to Premier Bird Space Research trains government's military arm well and feeds them well in preparation for war against the people.

The Attorney-General the Hon. C.O.R. Phillips is seen taking the oath of office, as an unelected Minister of Police.

The Grenadian born Attorney General went further. In the same issue of 22nd March, he stated thus: "It is a matter for sadness, however, that some of our citizens have thought it fit in their blind dislike of the present administration to seek to malign and denigrate the corporation" Space Research. Space Research Colonel Gregory in a recent radio interview on ABS stated that if Space Research was not in Antigua the "small minority group" obviously ACLM, would find some other issue to attack the government. The ALP government in the person of Cosmos Phillips, speaks with the foul tongue of Space Research's Colonel Gregory, to defend Space Research. In turn Colonel Gregory publicly defends the government. Both have the same interest to protect.

Government's intentions are quite clear, government will continue to protect and defend Space Research, by locking up those who picket against Space Research. The government will prevent the public from hearing the tape which states that Space Research projectiles are impounded in New Brunswick. Government will not allow Rodney even to touch the Air Port because Space Research is here. Colonel Gregory can speak publicly in Antigua, but Rodney cannot address an ACLM congress. Space Research is almighty. Space Research controls the government and uses the government facilities to continue to sell arms to South Africa.

In concluding, the population of Antigua must take on the great responsibility of changing the economic and political system which allows a multinational corporation, Space Research to dictate and to operate as if it were the government of Antigua. Space Research and the Government which defends it publicly, Must go!

THE FACTS CONCERNING THE ALLEDGED ARMS SHIPMENT TO SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA

1. On October 20th, 1977 Joshua Nkomo Co-Chairman of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe announced in Toronto, Canada that the South African ship S.A. Tugelaland travelled from New York to Saint John, New Brunswick and then to Antigua before going to Cape Town, South Africa, where arms were unloaded and then transported to Salisbury, Rhodesia.

2. Space Research Corporation in a Press Release to the Antiguan government in response to Joshua Nkomo's announcement expressed regret at the selection of a South African shipping line for two shipments. In this release also, Space Research Corporation admitted chartering the South African ship S.A. Tugelaland by stating that "shipping is handled by agents and the North South route is very difficult, other than using charters".

3. Movement of ships involved in the arms shipment. March 6th, 1977 MV Lady Scotia docked in Antigua with a shipment of 155 bore Howitzers consigned to Space Research corporation. On March 14th, 1977 the MV Moura discharged cargo at the St. John's Deep water harbour from St. John, New Brunswick; South African commercial liner S.A. Tugelaland chartered by Space Research arrived in Antigua on the 25th April 1977. On board were fourteen (14) large containers marked "Durban South Africa." Shipping Agent Mr. Vernon Edwards and customs officials admitted this fact. The Containers destined for South Africa were not examined by customs. On May 15th, the MV Lindingn Coral arrived in Antigua bringing a shipment consigned to Space Research Corporation. In all ten cartoons for Space Research were discharged. On the 28th May, 1977 the South African liner S.A. Tugelaland arrived in Antigua. According to report of November 11th, 1977, from Port Director Emil Sweeney to minister of Finance, Rueben Harris the S.A. Tugelaland did not discharge any cargo but loaded tnrity six (36) containers which had originated from earlier ship-

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Guyana Moves Closer to Dictatorship

In the past few months, virtually all non-PNC groups and organizations including the churches have been agitating against an attempt by the PNC through a referendum to be rigged on July 10, to change the constitution and pave the way for an open PNC dictatorship. The article hereunder consist of excerpts from a statement by Guyanese lawyers meeting in Georgetown.

The Bill amends Article 73 of the Constitution of Guyana.

To amend Article 73 itself and to amend Articles in the Constitution dealing inter alia, with:-

- The Supremacy of the Constitution
- The Presidency
- Establishment and composition of the National Assembly including its tenure and the Electoral System
- The Elections Commission and its functions
- Jurisdiction of the High Court on matters relating to membership or elections to the National Assembly,

a Bill has to be approved by at least two-thirds of the members of the National Assembly AND there has to be majority support of a referendum to be held not less than two (2) months nor more than six (6) months after passage of the Bill in the National Assembly. On these requirements being satisfied the Bill is submitted to the President for his Assent.

These Articles are therefore very heavily entrenched.

THE AMENDMENT

The Present Bill now seeks to abolish the requirement of a Referendum in respect of the matters listed above.

If the Referendum gets majority support, then Article 73 itself and the matters listed above will be susceptible to alteration by the support of at least two thirds of all the elected members of the National Assembly.

THE EFFECT OF THE AMENDMENT:

INTENTION OF THE BILL

Since the present Government has a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly and therefore is empowered to amend certain Articles in the Constitution without the holding of a Referendum, the Act aims at ushering in a change in -

(A) The Electoral System:
(B) The Composition of the National Assembly and related matters:

Further, as stated by the Government.

(C) The Proclamation of a New Constitution:

(A) and (B) will permit the Government to prolong the life of the present Parliament due to terminate normally in July 1978 and constitutionally not later than 25th October, 1978, and also to increase or vary the membership of the National Assembly.

BASIS OF THE OPPOSITION

Removal of Democratic Safeguard in a multi-racial society

1. The referendum is not asking the electors to approve of a new Constitution.

What the referendum seeks to achieve is to deprive the people of Guyana of their right to approve or disapprove any new Constitution in the future. The people of Guyana are being asked to give up their right altogether in this respect.

If the referendum is successful, the total and absolute power to alter the Constitution will be in the hands of a two-thirds majority of Parliament. A new Constitution that is unacceptable to the people or foreign to their way of thinking can thus be imposed on them. Even if a new Constitution is a reasonable one, it will not be the people's Constitution.

LACK OF CONSULTATION

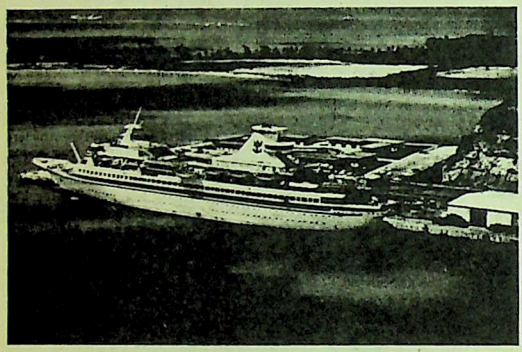
Surprise: The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 1978, was first announced to the public in the Government-owned "Sunday Chronicle" of the 2nd April, 1978. It was first published in an Extraordinary Official Gazette of 1st April, 1978, and introduced in the National Assembly on 3rd April, 1978. It was not at that time in general circulation to the public. It was passed through all its general stages in the National Assembly on 10th April, 1978. There was not sufficient opportunity for consulting the public or informing the public. Such a tremendously important measure should never have been so hastily hurried through Parliament.

Since 1975 the Government set up a Committee to draft a new Constitution. This document was to be presented to the Governing Party's Congress in 1977. It was not. Up to now it has not been published. The deliberations of the Committee have not been made public.

> If it takes the Government 3 years to write a new Constitution is it fair that the public or Parliament should have a couple of months, more or less, to consider such an important document?
>
> Is this Consultative democracy?
>
> Is this the way to involve the people more in the processes of Government?

ments by the MV Moura of 14.3.77 and M V Lindinger Coral of 15.3.77. S.A. Tugelaland eventually called at Capetown South Africa and discharged its cargo.

4. On December 30th, 1977 in an important meeting between the Cabinet of Antigua and representatives of the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement, it was agreed: (1) that a legal opinion would be obtained to determine if the docking of a South African Liner at the Deep Water Harbour with goods for South Africa violated an existing Law of Antigua. S.R.O. 17/1960 Cap 361 absolutely prohibiting the importation of South African goods. (2) an independent legal opinion would also determine if there was a dereliction of duty by customs, who failed to take action concerning the presence of South African goods at the St. John's deep Water Harbour. Twelve weeks after nothing has been done in this regard.



5. On Sunday 29th January, 1978, CBC Maritime Magazine revealed in a radio programme that thirty-five (35) containers belonging to Space Research Corporation were impounded at the St. John New Brunswick Customs terminal. These containers of projectiles had been impounded since September, pending an investigation by three departments of the Canadian Government; Customs, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the Ministry of Trade and Commerce.

6. On Thursday night 16th February 1978, nearly half of Antigua from Pares to Willikies, from Bethesda to Round South to English Harbour was thrown into utter darkness for two hours. Nothing was wrong with the electric generators. There was activity at Space Research's range during the black out.

7. On February 21st the Police arrested five leading members of the ACLM for peacefully protesting Space Research operations in Antigua.

8. Antigua government and the Department of Information refused request by ACLM to play tape of CBC programme pointing out that 35 containers of arms were inpounded at St. Johns, New Brunswick.

9. On Thursday 2nd March, 1978, the government denies ACLM the right to hold a public meeting. Hundreds of people are met by Police with tear gas and sophisticated weapons.

10. On March 4th Antigua Defence Force clear two cartons consigned to Space Research Corporation without customs examination at the Air Port.

11. On March 15th two government employees, Keith Barnwell and Ron Saunders left for Canada on tickets purchased by Space Research. Both persons are attached to the media. Keith Barnwell is Managing consultant to Antigua Broadcasting Service.

THE FACTS CONCERNING THE ALLEGED ARMS SHIPMENT TO SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA BY SPACE RESEARCH PROVES BEYOND ALL REASONABLE DOUBT THAT SPACE RESEARCH AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ANTIGUA ARE GUILTY OF AIDING THE SOUTH AFRICAN AND RHODESIA REGIMES IN THEIR WAR AGAINST BLACKS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE GOVERNMENT BY BREAKING ITS OWN LAWS HAS ACTED ILLEGALLY. DO WE HAVE AN ILLEGAL GOVERNMENT? IF SO, WHAT THEN?.....

Coming in late 1978

A Caribbean Dialogue Special

ON THE HISTORICAL PERIODIZATION OF GUYANESE POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE CARIBBEAN WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO GUYANA.

— a joint effort by the Working People's Alliance, New Beginning Movement and Caribbean Dialogue

- Formation of the Guyanese Working-Class
- Rise and Demise of the Popular Left
- Imperialism and Ecoooomic Dependency
- Under the Heels of 'Burnhamism'and Co-operative Socialism
- 'Critical Support' - the response of the P.P.P
- Mass Struggles in the 1970's
- Debate on Social Transformation

GUYANA

Documents on the 1977 SUGAR STRIKE

Introduction

On the 24th August 1977, twenty thousand workers belonging to the Guyana Agricultural and General Workers Union [G.A.W.U.] went on strike demanding among other things increased wages and the redistribution of funds generated by a levy imposed on the sugar industry since 1975. Finally after one hundred and thirty five days on the picket line GAWU called off the strike in January 1978. During the strike Guyana once again seemed poised on the brink of the kind of cataclysmic social turmoil that could topple the ruling Burnham regime.

The origins, development and final agreement of the strike is an illustrative and illuminating case study for those progressive movements and individuals interested in the development of working class struggle in the Caribbean. It appears ironic that a trade union affiliated to a political party which has always espoused socialism is forced to take strike action against a Government and party which has also within recent times claimed to be the architects of a co-operative socialist republic. During the strike the state used every weapon at its disposal to frustrate the continued development of the working classes and to postpone the movement for the real social transformation of Guyana.

But the behaviour of the state came as no surprise to those observers well aware of the chequered past of the ruling clique, the circumstances surrounding their ascendency to power and their contemporary corrupt and repressive practices. What perhaps was a little more puzzling was the inability or unwillingness of the opposition to escalate the crisis into a general strike or at least to gain much more concessions from the state rather than the stalemate climax.

The strike, as a traditional tool used by the organised working class to wring material gains from the capitalist, took on increased significance in Guyana because of the peculiarities of Guyanese socio-historical development. It took place in an industry that has historically dominated Guyanese society and which despite the development of the bauxite industry has continued to wield its influence on social development in that society.

Two hundred years ago, the plantocracy, controlling over four hundred individual estates, used slave labour to monopolize sixty thousand acres of the best available, fertile and cultivable land as the basis of their domination of the political economy of Guyana. At the end of the enslavement of Africans in 1838, the plantocracy continued their domination for another eighty years substituting East Indian labour for the recently emancipated Africans and Creoles under a modified system of slavery and labour exploitation euphemistically called indentureship.

By 1975, on the eve of nationalization, the process of consolidation of land, labour and capital resulted in the emergence of two multinational firms that dominated the sugar economy. Jessell Securities, a grouping of speculative Capitalists and the well known Booker Brothers together used 130,000 acres of land and directly employed roughly 15% of the labour force. From this vantage point they wielded their influence on all aspects of life in Guyana. When to this is added the foreign domination of the bauxite industry and its consequent influence on Guyanese development, one can well appreciate why the movement for nationalization met with approval and was supported by the progressive groups in Guyana.

It is this structure that the Guyanese state nationalized in 1975-76 and by their refusal to proceed rapidly and directly to social transformation inherited all the problems that accompany the monocultural overspecialization that characterizes the Guyanese and Caribbean political economy. Sugar now, no different from the colonial era, continues to be the largest employer of labour and a significant contributor of state revenues. In 1975 and 1976 sugar accounted for more than half the value of all domestic exports and nearly 40% of total Government current revenue. Furthermore because of the ecological peculiarities of Guyana, sugar production requires intensive capital investment and land use. The production of 300,00 tons of sugar necessitates the reaping of 3 million tons of cane and each square mile of sugar land demands 55 miles of drainage and irrigation.

Furthermore the state nationalized an industry that has from its inception been fraught with labour disputes reflecting the continuous conflict between labour and capital. The conflict between slave and slave owner which was succeeded by

the struggle between employer and indentured labourer has now been replaced by the conflict between state capital in a nationalized industry and the organized working class. Within the last decade over 80% of the total number of industrial disputes leading to strikes came from the sugar industry. Since 1968 there has been only one year when less than two-thirds of the man-days lost through strikes were not attributed to sugar. All of these strikes have been connected with "the bread and butter" issues of the working class and so dismal has been the history of conflict that since 1965 there has never been a settlement of wages in the sugar industry unless preceeded by a Commission of Inquiry or an Arbitration Tribunal meeting a year and more after the expiry date of the previous agreement.

This continuous conflict was in large measure also prompted by the twenty five year struggle for recognition waged by GAWU since its organization in the year after the Second World War. Because of GAWU's organizational link with the left-oriented PPP, the colonial authorities refused to recognise the union as the representatives of the sugar workers. Even in the post-colonial era recognition was still withheld since in the context of Guyanese racial politics, the GAWU-PPP link was viewed as politically dangerous by the ruling PNC. When finally a free vote was allowed in the sugar industry more than 98% of the workers chose GAWU in testimony of the union's long, enduring and persistent struggle for the material betterment of the lowest paid workers in the sugar industry. The sugar strike of 1977-78 was but another chapter in this long history of struggle.

The following documents and excerpts represent an initial and partial attempt to provide readers with an anatomy and biography of the strike.

BACKGROUND TO THE STRIKE

— by G.A.W.U.

1. Immediately after the Sugar Levy was proposed in 1974, GAWU recommended that in place of the Levy, an excess profit tax be introduced after profit sharing was paid to sugar workers.

Point 9 of the Union's 10 point demand stated:

"The Export Levy must be changed to an Excess Profit Tax which should be taken AFTER workers have been given their 60 per cent share from the Profit Sharing Scheme".

This was rejected.

2. In April, 1976 the GAWU submitted a Memorandum to the Minister of Finance, Frank Hope and later held discussions. He informed the GAWU delegation that the Levy was a Cabinet decision and advised that the matter be discussed with the Prime Minister.

3. On July 28, GUYSUCO spokesman, D. P. Sankar said that the Levy was the legislative matter which could not be discussed with that Corporation.

4. The TUC Annual General Conference in January, 1977 unanimously approved a motion which stated that profit sharing to be paid on the pre-levy basis.

5. In January 1977, the Prime Minister was approached; he stated that all bonuses which sugar workers are receiving must go into a melting pot and then he would talk about profit sharing.

6. GAWU met representatives of G.S.P.A. on January 15, 1977 and enquired about profit sharing. It was informed that the accounts were not completed.

7. In February 1977, the Hony. President again spoke to the Finance Minister. He was told that the Government was considering the question of the Levy.

8. On 25th March, 1977 GAWU sent an ultimatum to GUYSUCO, the first item on which was profit sharing. The ultimatum lapsed on the intervention of the TUC after promises were made on 9.4.77 to discuss and dispose of the matter. No such discussion took place on the profit sharing issue.

9. On May 1, 1977, the Prime Minister announced the setting up of a Committee to make recommendations on surplus created in the sugar industry. Neither the TUC nor GAWU was invited to serve in this Committee.

10. On July 11, 1977 a letter was sent to the Prime Minister by the TUC. No response was received from him.

11. Letters dated August 5 and 18 from GUYSUCO and GSPA stated that no profit sharing will arise for 1976 and 1975 respectively.

12. On August 20, GAWU submitted an ultimatum to GUYSUCO copied to TUC and the Ministry of Labour of its intention to call a general strike in the sugar industry to resolve the profit sharing issue.

13. On 23rd August, in the morning; the Executive Committee of GAWU met and decided to call a general strike from the following day. Approximately, 2.45 p.m. a letter was received from the TUC asking GAWU to stay its hand in calling the general strike. Word had already been sent to the various estates and it was virtually impossible to call-off the general strike since sugar workers were frustrated and incensed over the question of profit sharing.

14. The strike in the sugar industry was called on Wednesday, August 24, 1977.

15. On August 24, GUYSUCO wrote the Union asking it to call off the strike so that discussions could be held on the issue. The Union replied asking for the venue and whether GUYSUCO was in a position to state whether there will be any profit to share with the workers taking into consideration the letters of August 5 and 18. A reply was received on 26.8.77 stating that the venue would be the Boardroom of the Corporation. Nothing was mentioned on the profit sharing issue.

16. On Thursday August 25, Parliament passed Part 2 of the National Security Act which empowered the Security Forces to institute Preventative Detention of persons without trial and to impose the curfew. The Summary Jurisdiction Act was amended so that convicted persons who lodge an appeal are no longer automatically released pending the outcome of the Appeal. The Minister of Home Affairs said the government wouldn't hold talks with the Union unless the strike was called off.

17. The Government launched an attack on the Union by using fact sheets, and through the government owned radio station - Guyana Broadcasting Station in a programme called Action Line. The army, national service, and the People's Militia plus volunteers from the public service, government workers and employees of the Government Corporations were sent into the fields to reap sugar canes. Even Ministers of the government joined in the reaping process.

AS THE STRIKE CONTINUED INTO ITS SECOND WEEK THE STATE INTERVENED WITH ITS PROPAGANDA MACHINERY DECLARING THE STRIKE AS PURELY POLITICAL. IN ITS DEFENSE G.A.W.U. RESPONDED OUTLINING THE HISTORIC MANIPULATION OF THE PROFIT-SHARING SCHEME AND THE ECONOMIC ROOTS OF THE STRIKE.

Government Position

G.A.W.U.'s official reason for the strike is that its claim for profit-sharing for 1974, 1975 and 1976 have not been settled.

What are the facts?

(i) The claims for 1974, 1975 and 1976 up to May 25, 1976 are against Bookers, not GUYSUCO

(ii) 1974 Claim:

(a) Bookers paid out $8 million to the workers in profit-sharing. G.A.W.U. in 1976 claimed that the workers were "robbed."

(b) Government appointed Cde Victor Crane, a Judge of the Court of Appeal, to arbitrate on the claim.

(c) The first session of the Crane Tribunal took place on July 30, 1976. G.A.W.U. undertook to submit a memorandum setting out its claim by September, 1976. To date G.A.W.U. has not submitted this memorandum. Why has G.A.W.U. not represented the workers' interests?

(iii) 1975 and 1976 Claims

(a) On Government's direction, all financial and other relevant information for those years has been given to G.A.W.U. to enable it to prepare its case - if it has any, Why has G.A.W.U. not yet presented its case?

(iv) To date G.A.W.U. has done nothing under its collective agreement or under the law to pursue its claim.

(a) Government has protected the workers by preserving, in the nationalisation agreement, any claim which workers may have against Bookers in respect of the period prior to May 26, 1976 - the date of nationalisation of the sugar industry.

(b) Notwithstanding this fact, G.A.W.U. has called a strike against GUYSUCO, the Corporation owned by the Guyanese people, to enforce an alleged claim against Bookers.

'COMRADE BURNHAM'

(c) G.A.W.U. has rejected a request by the T.U.C. of which it is an affilitate, to stay strike action until it had an opportunity to study the issue and use its good offices to help to resolve the issue.

Although G.A.W.U. has given only one official reason for the strike to Government and GUYSUCO, in collusion with the P.P.P., it is giving another reason to the sugar workers.

(i) The P.P.P./G.A.W.U. clique is saying that the sugar workers are entitled to have distributed to them alone, as profit-sharing, the sum of $215 million accruing to the people of Guyana for the Government sugar levy.

(ii) The claim is totally absurd. The investments in the sugar industry are made from taxes paid by ALL THE PEOPLE OF GUYANA.

(iii) Government's firm position is that ALL the Guyanese people are entitled to benefit by way of free education, improved medical facilities, housing, roads, pure water supply, etc. from surpluses generated not only from the sugar industry, but also the bauxite industry and all other public sector enterprises.

(iv) The sum of $215 million claimed is about four (4) times the amount Government has agreed to pay Bookers for nationalising the sugar industry. It also represents the WHOLE OF THE PROJECTED EARNINGS OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY FOR 1977.

(v) Had Government not instituted the sugar levy, Bookers would have exported $175 million of that $215 million as profits.

(vi) Government had to assume control of sugar sales to force Bookers to sell at the profitable world price and stop selling to its London subsidiary at a low price. If Government had not done this, Bookers operations in Guyana could have shown no profits, and therefore, there would have been no question of profit-sharing.

THE FACTS SHOW THAT THE STRIKE IS A POLITICAL STRIKE.

(i) The strike has no industrial justification.

(ii) The strike, on the facts, cannot be a strike against GUYSUCO.

(iii) The strike shows clearly that G.A.W.U. is operating as a political tool of the P.P.P. Campaign rather than as a Trade Union.

(iv) The strike is part of a P.P.P. Campaign to destroy the economy for political ends.

(v) The strike is political.

G.A.W.U. argues its case

In view of the mis-representation to which the GAWU's claim has been subjected both in GUYSUCO's releases and in the articles in the government media as well as the delay in the settling of it, I am directed to remind the Trades Union Congress of the vital points in the dispute.

2. Commissions and similar bodies appointed by the Government create by their recommendations justified expectations in the minds of the workers and their Trade Unions. The Persaud Commission of 1968 did so in recommendation 19.

3. Implementation of the recommendation created definite labour interest which eventually became part of the conditions of employment. It is the bounden duty of trade unions to protect conditions of employment which benefit the workers - once-for-all and profit sharing are such benefits.

4.The table below shows the years with and without "once-for-all" bonuses and "profit sharing" payments from 1965 - 1976:

Once-for-All		Profit Sharing	
1965	Nil	1969	1,469,310
1966	Nil	1970	Nil
1967	Nil	1971	196,246
1968	Nil	1972	867,122
		1973	Nil
		1974	7,956,568
		1975	Nil
		1976	Nil

For this 12 year period, sugar workers received profit sharing in only 4 years. There appeared to be 8 "bad years."

5. What the sugar Levy has done is to turn the years of highest prices on the World Market i.e. 1975-1976 into "bad" years for the sugar workers. This is a paradoxical situation, explained only in terms of the most stubborn, old fashioned capitalist industrial relations.

6. The sugar Levy can be seen as a useful device for seizing the surplus from foreign companies. In so far as it also seizes part earnings from sugar workers, it cannot be justified, nor can it be justified in so far as it seizes the earnings from peasant farmers who inevitably take the hard knocks of the World Market conditions but are not allowed to benefit from the positive changes.

7. The Union is not claiming profit for the economically "bad years". Its claims apply only to those "good years" which were turned into bad years artificially by the imposition of sugar levy which did not take into account the interests of labour.

8. The Crane Report of 1975 varied the basis of profit sharing and called for the modification of the levy to bring a measure of relief to the Industry. Although the item Sugar Levy was not in his terms of reference, the harmful effects of the levy were so clear to the Arbitrator that he felt compelled to recommend a reduction of the rates to bring a measure of relief to the industry. He repeated his recommendation in his 1976 Arbitration of the NAACIE claim.

9. GUYSUCO's Chairman in his 1976 Report and Accounts called for a review of both the profit share and the levy together. He said, "If it is accepted that GUYSUCO is owned by and for all the people of Guyana,

then a comprehensive look at both the profit share scheme and the levy must be done together.

10. GAWU has never accepted the sugar levy in the form in which it was implemented, and its first response was to demand instead an excess profits tax. The sugar levy however, is incidental to this strike. It is a strike for profit share for the years which by no stretch of the imagination could be called "bad years" for the Industry. Sugar workers have always had to take their knocks in bad years.

11. The Industry on the other hand was always entitled to write off from profit obtained in good years the losses suffered in bad years.

12. On top of that the sugar workers have been treated like a feudal community as though they were not entitled to be consulted about matters affecting their welfare. The sugar levy act was made without consultation with the Labour Movement. The balance of sentiment was in its favour because it was very important to stop the outward flow of those funds. The measure however, was badly designed for the sugar workers. It should not have turned "good" years into "bad" years for labour.

13. The basis of the levy was wrongly laid on the assumption that the cost of production would remain constant but the rate of the levy did not change and when the cost of production rose from $82.2 M in 1973 to $141.3 M, $151.2 M and $189.2 M in 1974, 1975 and 1976 respectively, the levy took even more than the profits obtained. GAWU cannot consent to the anti-labour consequences arising from this misjudgement.

14. The Sugar Levy Act, although it is law, had the effect of amending the conditions of employment of the sugar workers to their disadvantage. Yet there was nothing in the Act saying that it intended to do so.

15. Interest began to rise after the announcement that a Committee will look into the surpluses of industries and a possible new profit sharing formula but it is now known that apart from the fact that not a single representative of the TUC or any of the sugar unions served on it, the Committee made no recommendations for the good years that were termed "bad" years - that is, the years 1975 and 1976. It would appear that no consideration had been given to those years and to the current dispute which has been the subject of a TUC resolution.

The membership of the Committee was not known to the public. It was not known whether the Committee was at work or not at work, until after the workers had gone on strike. The Committee did not even invite any of the unions to give their views. It was therefore an anti-labour committee now known to be a Committee of bureaucrats.

17. The forwarding of the Committee's report to the TUC under secret cover after the strike began is no substitute for the inclusion of labour representatives on the Committee. Labour representatives on the Committee would have been able to see the sources of information and may perhaps put a different interpretation on information from that put on it by members of the committee representing management. Labour representatives would surely have asked for information which other representatives might not desire to see or might not wish the labour representatives to see.

18. The May 5th Committee is therefore a very serious blunder perhaps next to the Sugar Levy Act, and the various acts against the bauxite workers, the most serious blunder on the industrial relations front for many years.

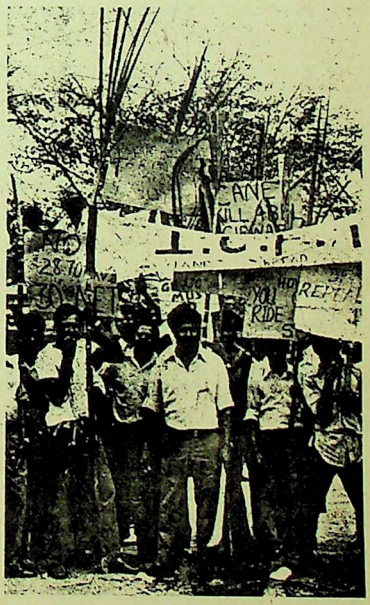
As is so well known, GAWU joined with the three other unions in the sugar industry in 1975 to propose how the sugar levy should be distributed. It was proposed as follows:

(i) 50% of the levy should apply to increasing the wages to sugar workers to the level of $91.08 per week;

(ii) 25% should apply to other workers in the country whose wages were below $91.08 per week to bring their wages to that level; and

(iii) that 12 1/2% should be put into the Price Stabilisation Fund from which money could be drawn to maintain these levels of wages if and when sugar prices fell too low and the remaining 12 1/2% should be placed in the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund to speed up the housing of sugar workers.

19. In the face of these proposals to which GAWU is still bound, there can be no justification for the claim that the sugar workers want everything for themselves. This is a wicked allegation designed by certain interests to undermine the unity of the working people and to make scapegoats of the sugar workers.



20. The Sugar Levy Act did not specifically declare what the purpose was - to make sugar workers conditions less favourable or to amend their contract of employment. GAWU is prepared to regard this as an oversight rather than as a punitive measure or a

21. But it is an oversight dating back to 1974 and might have been adjusted by administrative action or by negotiation.

22. There is precedent for this. When it was found that GUYSUCO could not operate within the terms of the Levy Act, the government made a remission of $31 M to GUYSUCO. It did not do so to the workers. It preferred to call "good" years,"bad" years and was content to say that since there was no profits, there was no profit share.

23. In the circumstances, the only way GAWU could bring matters to a head was by claiming as though there was no Sugar Levy Act since the legislators of the Act behave as though sugar was being made without sugar workers.

24. If we place the Corporation and the workers on even footing, then the precedent allowing a remission of $31 M to GUYSUCO should stand in favour of sugar workers.

25. But the spokesman for the government say that there is no money, that the proceeds from the levy have been utilised elsewhere in certain social services.

26. This argument is spurious as apart from the $379 M collected from the sugar levy between 1974 and 1976, the government had at its disposal from revenue for the period 1974 - 1976, a sum of $1,430,570,926 to which sugar workers like all workers have contributed in the form of direct and indirect taxation - income tax, import and excise duty taxes.

27. There therefore can be no valid reason why sugar workers should be forced to pay twice by being subjected to the denial of their payments under the profit share. They should not be made to suffer a reduction in their wages.

28. GAWU has been accused of failure to submit a memorandum to the Crane Committee charged with examining the accuracy of the 1974 payout. Its position was and still is that a limited enquiry under such a committee was incapable of ascertaining the accuracy of the Company's books. It therefore insisted that a Committee under the Commission of Enquiry Ordinance should be set up instead.

29. The Minister of Labour insisted on his one-man Committee and intimated that he had documents in his Ministry to substantiate that there was a further payout to go to sugar workers under the 1974 profit share. But the Minister failed to produce the figures.

30. GAWU therefore had no alternative but to report to Mr. Justice Crane the Ministry's failure to provide the figures.

31. This sets out the situation surrounding the curren dispute with clarity and will help to clear the minds of the TUC from the prejudiced and highly emotional presentation with which the industry and others seek to confuse the issue.

3rd September, 1977.

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18. At the 24th Annual Conference of the TUC, GAWU accepted a report from a Special Committee on September 25 and agreed to let the TUC negotiate the Terms of Resumption.

19. One meeting was held the very night at which the first two terms were agreed upon.

20. Two meetings were held on 26th September. The 3rd term of resumption was agreed upon. GUYSUCO at first stated that scabs were recruited, but gave the impression that they were not recruited permanently. Later it was ascertained by them that 6,132 scabs were recruited and given permanent status. Negotiations reached a stalemate over the removal of the scabs which GUYSUCO refused to accede to.

21. On Thursday, October 6, talks broke down between GUYSUCO and the TUC and it was decided to approach the Minister of Health, Housing and Labour.

22. The TUC met the Minister of Labour on October 8, and informed him about the negotiations with GUYSUCO. The Minister promised to have discussions with GUYSUCO and to have further talks with the TUC. The Minister met GUYSUCO. No further meeting was held.

G.A.W.U. IN RESPONSE TO THE T.U.C. SPECIAL COMMITTEE REPORT DECIDED TO END THE STRIKE. HOWEVER GUYSUCO REFUSED TO COMPLY WITH THE TERMS DEMANDING THE REMOVAL OF THE SCABS.

G.A.W.U. DEMANDS REMOVAL OF SCABS

The Guyana Sugar Corporation (GUYSUCO) in a press statement following a breakdown in the talks on the terms of resumption of sugar workers, with the TUC, claimed that there was enough work for both the strikers and recruits (strike breakers) and that it can see no justification for terminating the services of any one.

The TUC has urged the laying off of the recruits (strike breakers).

The device insisted upon by GUYSUCO is a violent departure from good trade union practice where the operation --all-in-all-out -- has for years been locally and internationally accepted as one of the cardinal principles of resumption after a strike.

GUYSUCO is seeking not only to violate this principle enunciated alone but to vary the method of recruitment with sinister motivation and very far-reaching implications affecting not only GAWU but every union which attempts to call out its members on strike.

Field workers are at present employed in the first instance on a temporary basis during the harvesting season and are made permanent when vacancies occur in

the regular gangs after the temporary hand has satisfied conditions such as putting in 75% of the days available to him by the employers (previously it was 82 1/2%).

Notwithstanding this well established practice at the commencement of the strike, the employers announced that strike breakers whom they baptised recruits have been offered permanent status and at the present time there are, on the employers own admission, over 6,000 of them.

The claim by GUYSUCO that there is enough work for all cannot be taken seriously since prior to the strike the 3,000 temporaries were unable to obtain a reasonable week's work. Indeed during the spring crop of this year the permanent workers, in most of the estates, were able to secure barely 3 1/2 to 4 days work during the week.

The system of "servicing" the gangs -- that is of laying them off on certain days of the week -- was a result of -

(1) limited factory capacity, and frequent breakdowns;

(2) inadequacy of punts and other equipment for transportation.

These along with poor navigation facilities due to shortage of water in the canals reduced factory time utilisation to about 69%.

Representations for a guaranteed 5 day work week and two men to a punt have been going on without success; in many estates 5 men load 2 punts. Just prior to the strike representation for permanent status for casuals in the estates have been vigorously rejected by management.

This certainly does not tally with the present claim by GUYSUCO that there is full employment for all.

GAWU has given the definite undertaking that given good weather and official factory performance, the regular, permanent and temporary gangs can bring in the crop in time notwithstanding the limitations in punt and other equipment but nevertheless supports the TUC in working for a compromise by agreeing to the setting up of a committee comprising of the TUC, the Union and the employers to monitor the situation where extra hands would be needed.

GAWU takes this opportunity to compliment the sugar workers for their exemplary behaviour in the face of intense provocation where over a hundred of them engaged in normal trade union activities and food distribution have been harassed and intimidated by the police. Some of them have been arrested, released and within a few minutes re-arrested again. This acute harassment was intended to break the spirit of the workers. But instead, it has strengthened their resolve over this extremely difficult period.

Their continued determination is certain to lead to victory, to end discrimination of workers, and to unite the working people of this country. ●

23. On October 24, the TUC wrote the Minister of Labour. He replied on October 27. On November 2, the TUC again wrote the Minister.

THE T.U.C. REINFORCED ITS SUPPORT FOR G.A.W.U. AND SUGGESTED THAT THE ACTION ADOPTED BY GUYSUCO WOULD FURTHRR ALIENATE THE GUYANESE WORKING CLASS.

T.U.C. declares its stand

Our ref: G39/77 November 2, 1977

Cde H. Green,
Minister of Health, Housing & Labour

Dear Comrade,

....

After very careful consideration of the letter, my Executive Council directed me to reply in the following terms.

Firstly, it is important for me to stress as a very important initial point that an end to the strike is being delayed not because of the rejection of GAWU's claim for profit sharing, but because of disagreement between the TUC and GUYSUCO regarding Guysuco's objection to the inclusion in the terms of resumption of the usual clause which provides for the removal of scabs (termed recruits in this instance) taken on during the strike. This disagreement continues due to the fact that GUYSUCO had maintained its objection to the clause evidently with your Ministry's concurrence which is based on the ground as expressed in para. 2 of your letter that your Ministry regards the GAWU strike "as a political action in the name of a trade union under the direction of the Opposition People's Progressive Party".

Moreover, the strike is being allowed to continue notwithstanding the considerable flexibility which the TUC has expressed its readiness to show with respect to the mechanics or procedure to be adopted for the removal of the scabs or recruits. The desired flexibility as the TUC fully recognises must take into account the peculiar recruitment and employment practices which obtain in the sugar industry. Further, the TUC believes that the desired flexibility in the mechanics for the resumption could be more appropriately discussed in across-the-table meetings between the parties.

In spite of the TUC's efforts to bring about a resumption through discussions which it initiated with GUYSUCO since September 25th, 1977 and with you since October 5th, 1977, not much progress has resulted. The present position therefore is that the strike is

still on not because of GAWU's determination or a desire to continue the strike, but because the TUC finds itself unable to advise GAWU to accept terms of resumption which exclude a clause for the removal of scabs, the omission of which would be a serious violation of a fundamental and universally accepted industrial relations principle. The consequences of such omission would be the undermining not only of the local trade union movement but the trade union movement in other countries in which the observance of this principle has become not only traditional but routine.

"The present position therefore is that the strike is still on not because of GAWU's determination or a desire to continue the strike, but because the TUC finds itself unable to advise GAWU to accept terms of resumption which exclude removal of scabs."

My Executive Council finds the last paragraph on page 3 of your letter very helpful. The paragraph is quoted hereunder:

"In any event, GUYSUCO affirms its belief in the principle of removals of scabs as a pre-condition to return to work of strikers following an industrial dispute".

In the light of this paragraph, one must assume that GUYSUCO's non-application of this principle in this instance is based on the position that the strike has not stemmed from an industrial dispute and that it is political.

The TUC does not wish to influence any change from the position taken by any agency that the strike is political. It wishes to point out however, that the Jagan Government had taken a similar position in 1963 from the very beginning of the 80 day strike that the strike was political. In spite of this position, terms of resumption signed between the TUC and the Jagan Government provided for the removal of all scabs. Clause 7 of the Agreement reads as follows:

"All scabs to be immediately withdrawn".

While there is no general strike in the present instance, and the TUC is not contemplating such action,

"The industrial relations pattern in the nationalised concerns especially those with entrenched capitalist backgrounds - - would entail the same struggles in which the workers were engaged under the capitalist system."

which seems unnecessary because of the facility for dialogue which the existing relations between the Government and the TUC provide, nevertheless, I should point out that it was because of the very serious concern felt by the workers that certain provisions in the Labour Relations Bill were capable of undermining the trade union movement which led to the 80 day strike.

In like manner the TUC's concern in the present instance is that omission from the terms of resumption of the vital clause in question would as mentioned in my letter to you dated 24th October, 1977 "not only undermine the TUC's own position, but would be regarded as a precedentand provide encouragement to other employers to take similar action thereby undermining the trade union movement elsewhere".

Without in any way attempting to subscribe or detract from the views of those agencies which have taken the position that GAWU's action was politically motivated, I wish to state that the TUC's position is that such a view should be relevant only in respect of the strike action taken by the union and should not be extended to or allowed to have any significant relevance in discussions concerned with terms of resumption genuinely designed to restore normalcy in the industry. In fact the terms of resumption put forward by the TUC have nothing to do with the justification or otherwise for the strike action or with the claims put forward by GAWU.

You stated on page 2 of your letter that "the question of a precedent being created and providing encouragement to other employers to take similar action is completely out of the question, and the TUC need not entertain this thought since a similar situation in any case is not likely to arise in other areas of our economy."

However, it was only a few days ago the TUC was informed that in the recent strike by sawmill workers on the Corentyne, which ended only a fortnight ago, the employers refused to allow the insertion of the usual clause which requires the removal of scabs taken on during the strike. Like GUYSUCO, the employers have maintained that there will be work for all work-

"ALL SCABS TO BE IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAWN."

ers including the scabs. The TUC therefore does not share your optimism that a similar situation is not likely to arise in other areas of our economy.

Today, the tendency at certain levels is to label all strikes in Guyana which go beyond the normal period of a few days as being political or the work of foreign agencies. This description is applied in equally condemnatory terms to workers who find it necessary to take strike action or demonstrate other forms of militancy in defence of their economic and social interest or to promote such interest. This tendency is historical, but is now being used to divide the workers. This is the pattern in almost every Third World country today. There are many examples where strikes called in support of perfectly legitimate industrial claims have been described as political or subversive by Governments in order to evade the real issues.

In our situation while it was expected that even in this early stage of our transitional process from Capitalism to Socialism that there would be serious efforts to minimise strike action, it is safe to say that the workers never anticipated that they would witness in this process as in the instant case a situation in which a nationalised industry would be in a much stronger position than the industry had been under Capitalist ownership, to show resistance to the acceptance of traditional terms of resumption and be allowed to remain steadfast in this resistance while the country's economy suffers seriously.

The situation at GUYSUCO is likely to heighten the feeling amongst workers, a feeling which has already become fairly widespread, that the industrial relations pattern in the nationalised concerns especially those with entrenched capitalist backgrounds in addition to political considerations, would entail the same struggles in which the workers were engaged under the Capitalist system.

For example, you should recall the state of prolonged uneasiness which existed at Guybau until your direct involvement through the TUC's initiative which improved the situation.

The GUYSUCO situation is likely to lead to frustration, lack of commitment and indifference on the part of workers stemming from the fear that if they go on strike, strike-breakers would be recruited and offered permanent employment. Such development would adversely affect the general economy of the country, even to a greater extent than the relatively limited number of strikes which take place.

It is the TUC's view that the disagreement over the terms of resumption specifically concerned with the removal of recruits could be overcome if discussions aimed at resolving the disagreement were extended to encompass GUYSUCO's intention and the mechanics or procedure to be used to place all sugar workers on the Corporation's permanent establishment. It is possible that discussions on the mechanics and procedure which GUYSUCO would adopt to give effect to its intention would reveal that not all of the workers recruited during the strike would fall in the category of those who should be removed. •

DURING THE STRIKE SUPPORT FOR THE WORKERS ACTION CAME FROM SECTORS OF THE GUYANESE WORKING CLASS, ORGANISATIONS AND UNIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES.

24. The Minister of Agriculture on November 5 in a press conference attacked the Union.

25. On Wednesday, 16th November, the TUC met GUYSUCO under the chairmanship of the Minister of Labour during which the 5th and 6th Terms of Resumption were discussed. No decision was arrived at. Further meetings were to be held, but to date none has been fixed.

26. On November 19, the Minister of Finance at a press conference hurled further attacks on the Union.

27. The police have refused to give permission to hold public meetings since September 14. To date over 150 sugar workers have been detained and charged. Bail has been very excessive to the tune of $12,000. On four instances strike relief destined for striking sugar workers were impounded by the police. They were however returned after protests by the Union and other trade unions and a large section of the community.

28. On Monday, November 21, the National Association of Agricultural, Commercial & Industrial Employees (NAACIE) joined the strike in the sugar industry in solidarity with GAWU. •

W.P.A. On The Strike

Working People's Alliance is alarmed at the way the state, press and radio have begun to work up anti-sugar workers feeling among government supporters. This is a most anti-socialist adventure and looks more like pro-fascist scapegoat politics. Just as in the UK the Powellites and others blame all economic ills on the black immigrants, the state propaganda organs here are trying to blame ours on a group of workers, or groups of workers.

The greedy rulers, in order to kill the militancy of labour, are making the labour question into an "Indian" question. Do not allow them to confuse you. The working people must not be caught by this trick. As the rulers continue their oppression, all working people will need one another's support.

One May Day, when the Prime Minister was in difficulties during the labour rally, he attacked sugar workers for wanting all the sugar profits for themselves. At the PNC rally on August 20th, the same citizen alleged before a PNC audience that the sugar workers wanted all the sugar profits for themselves.

P.N.C TACTICS

A G.A.W.U. public meeting in Georgetown on Thursday, August 25, was broken up by the usual agents. The ruling party is putting together a military civilian high command for provoking incidents in the sugar belt, and orders have gone out to arrest G.A.W.U. activists. This is perhaps what the PNC means by "unity in a socialist sense."

It must be remembered also that last December it was the bauxite workers who were being harassed. Forty-two of them were arrested and tear-smoked while in lock-up. The workers there were labelled dupes of the CIA.

The objective of the PNC are to discredit the working class and to split the bauxite and sugar workers by making a profit sharing pay-out for one group and not the other.

The WPA does not agree that excessive profits earned in an industry should be spent on that industry alone. The GAWU claims do not say this either. However, in a country like this where democracy has been buried, workers have a sense of being plundered. The bauxite workers have had to submit to an agreement by a union that it did not elect. Sugar workers are asked to submit to a formula which had not been put to them to this day. The country can no longer submit to these brains who run the country bankrupt and then appeal for public sympathy and public sacrifice.

Trade union leadership must be chosen by democratic means. These unions must have real power over the lives of the working people and their conditions of work. There must be no submission to the superbrains who know everything and who consult the people only after they have decided the people's fate.

The WPA does not go along with the details of the PPP's proposals for a national patriotic front but it

welcomes the patriotic spirit behind the proposals. Only a patriotic party will offer such a formula to a minority party in a time of crisis. The arrogance with which the PNC rejected the proposals is alarming. It is quite clear that apart from having the backing of the Cuban and Soviet governments against imperialism, the PNC also has the backing of the USA against progressive working peoples' organisations in Guyana.

DON'T BE FOOLED AGAIN

Do not be fooled by the propaganda of the rulers. Do not be fooled by those who have run the country aground. The WPA says clearly that although recent problems of this country have not been solved, the position of the sugar workers, like the position of the rank and file bauxite workers, is not unreasonable. The sugar workers are made to look unreasonable because the PNC rejected the sugar unions' proposals of 1975 and went on to spend the sugar levy money like a gang of gamblers who do not understand the world economy. Keep the faith-the faith of a united and powerful working people regardless of race, industry and service!

TERMS OF RESUMPTION

Why is GAWU still on strike? What is the naked truth? GAWU is not on strike NOW because of profit sharing. GAWU is on strike for fair and normal terms of resumption. Since the strike was called the ruling party(PNC) tried to get the TUC against GAWU. The TUC Conference on August 24, met when the strike was one month old. At that Conference on September 25, GAWU said: "We can call off the strike and let the TUC help us with a decent profit sharing benefit. But we must have fair terms of resumption." The TUC said: "Very good. We will appoint a committee now to fix fair terms of resumption. When these terms are settled, you will call off the strike. Then we will negotiate profit sharing. The TUC appointed a committee with Ashton Chase, a trade union authority, as its chairman. The committee put its terms back to the conference and the whole conference accepted those terms. The terms of the resumption therefore have the backing of the entire working class of Guyana. The strike continues after September 25, because the government does not accept what the TUC decided.

SCABS

A main condition of resumption was "ALL SCABS MUST GO." There is no strike anywhere in the world in which this can be left out. TO AGREE TO KEEP SCABS IS TO DRIVE TRADE UNIONS BACK TO DAYS WHEN TRADE UNIONS WERE ILLEGAL AND WORKERS HAD NO RIGHTS. THIS, OF COURSE, IS WHAT THE RULING PARTY WANTS TO SEE.

OTHER TERMS

What were the other terms of resumption decided by the TUC? Strikers must not be victimised or lose service. All workers must get back their jobs. All volunteers, forced to cut cane must be sent away. The strike days must not be regarded as workdays (available days). There must be an interim payment "negotiated with GUYUSCO" for the workers concerned. GAWU and GUYUSCO MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THE TUC WILL DIRECT THE PROFIT SHARING TALKS FOR A SETTLEMENT WHICH BOTH SIDES CAN ACCEPT.

P.W.P. SUPPORTS SUGAR WORKERS

The following is a statement issued by the organization of working people of Linden).

The strike in the sugar industry - like the strike in December last by Guybau workers against the meagre increase of 6 per cent, the strike by the workers of the Georgetown City Council, the strike by the workers at Sterling Products and Kissoon Ltd. - is a strike by the sugar workers for bread and justice.

The tactics employed by the regime to undermine this just struggle of the sugar workers are also used against other workers wherever and whenever they lift themselves out of the pit of hunger, poverty, and in defence of their rights.

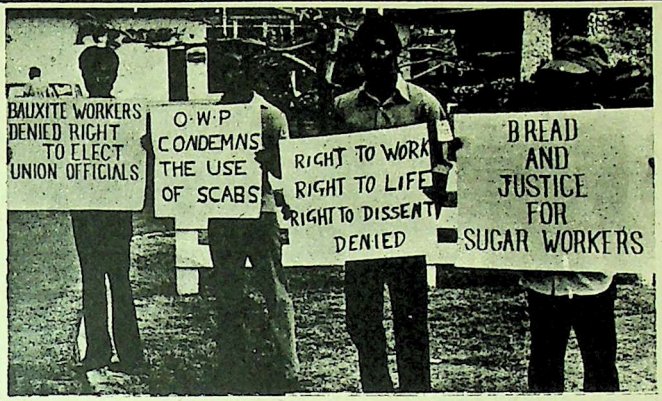
The plight of the sugar workers is unlike that of workers in other fields of production. That canecutting is burdensome is not denied by anyone with the slightest understanding of cane sugar production, especially in a country such as ours with backward technology in certain areas. Further employment in the industry is seasonal, so that work is available for part of the year. During that part, before the workers won limited rights for out-of-crop earnings much below their crop time earnings, they and their families must eke out an existence before the next crop. The out-of-crop earnings now agreed to are much below the minimum wage.

SUGAR WORKERS NEVER CLAIMED ALL

It is unthinkable to working people anywhere that their lives should be one of misery when through their labours so much is made. The regime is claiming that the surpluses from bauxite, sugar, etc., must be used up for the entire nation and not exclusively for the workers whose labours made the surpluses possible. Neither the sugar nor the bauxite workers have ever laid exclusive claim to the surpluses.

AVARICE

The bauxite workers have also been victims of the avarice of the regime. In 1971 it took two weeks of struggle by the workers, tear-gas, assaults and arrests before it was agreed to give them their retroactive money. Later that year the government grabbed the greater part of the RILA money which DEMBA had put into the fund for its members who were under "12 years" at the time of nationalisation. In 1974 and 1975 it grabbed a large part of the workers' profit share in the form of income tax, although it was after tax profit. In 1977 it attempted to cheat the workers entirely out of the surpluses made in 1976. Again the workers were called upon to put up stiff resistance, before they were given a small piece, which was also taxed.



Activists of the Organisation of Working People (OWP) who journeyed from the bauxite town of Linden, 65 miles from Georgetown, to demonstrate their solidarity with the striking sugar workers Earlier, supporters of GAWU and the Working People's Alliance (WPA) also demonstrated with their placards to catch the eyes of the Assembly participants.

ALL OF THIS WAS AGREED BY THE TUC CONFERENCE IN SEPTEMBER. HOW THEN CAN PEOPLE TELL US THAT GAWU WANTS TO RUIN THE ECONOMY. WHEN GAWU CONSENTED TO THE TUC'S DECISION.

DANGEROUS TO LABOUR

The TUC decision on the sugar strike was a political development of great importance. Some TUC unions are affiliated to the PNC. But on this labour question they went against the stated wishes of the PNC. Why did they do it? All trade unionists know it is dangerous to encourage scabbing. Any trade union that supports the use of scabs makes itself an outcast among the working people of the world, and digs its own grave.

VICTORY

It is not only a victory for the working class, but a serious defeat for the PNC. It was not a defeat that removes the PNC from government, but a defeat that should bring the PNC to its senses. It is a defeat for all who treat trade unions as a convenience.

How is it that victory for labour can be a defeat for the PNC, which calls itself a party of the masses, infact a Bolshevik party? A revolutionary party would have taken note of the decision of the labour movement's decision and at once corrected its line on the labour question. But the PNC is now out to get the workers to back down from their very just position

The ORGANISATION OF WORKING PEOPLE (OWP) can never agree with a regime that uses the power of the state to institute acts of robbery and repression against working people, thus behaving worse than those it claims to be liberating a people from. the OWP therefore condemns the regime for (a) employing members of the disciplined forces to act as scabs in the sugar strike on the sugar estates (b) using its stolen parliamentary majority to pass laws which undermine the struggles of the working people for bread and justice and (c) for using the detention power which the Minister now has are to be used for the repression only of sugar workers. All who struggle for bread and justice are threatened by this act and it is imperative that all working people, the TUC and all democratic organisation condemn and struggle for the removal of these and other acts which seek to erode malicious propaganda with the aim of producing racial strife so as to divide the working class in order to perpetuate its anti-working class rule. The OWP sees the struggles of the working people of the sugar estates and bauxite workers as a single struggle against a common enemy for the same goals. As a result, the bauxite workers cannot remain indifferent or unmoved to the plight of their brothers in the sugar industry in this period of our development.

Resolution of the Caribbean Conference of Churches

UNDER the heading, "Working Together With Christ for Human Rights", the following two-part resolution was submitted and approved by a majority vote of the delegates present:

WHEREAS the Guyana Agriculture and General Workers Union (GAWU) on its decision of September 25th agreed to accept the intervention of the T.U.C. in the sugar dispute and to be guided by the T.U.C.'s terms of resumption, and
WHEREAS 59 more days have gone since then with increasing daily suffering to the striking workers in the sugar industry;

BE IT RESOLVED that the participants of the Caribbean Conference of Churches now meeting at Georgetown, Guyana, express their deep concern in the suffering being experienced by the strikers and call upon the authorities concerned to implement the decisions of the TUC including immediate removal of scabs with a view to bringing the issue to an end."

WHEREAS (B) "Since negotiations began in an effort to bring a just end to the strike in the sugar industry now in its 91st day there has been gross delay by the employers which has resulted in much suffering to the striking workers and their families, and

BE IT RESOLVED that we the participants at the Second Assembly of the Caribbean Conference of Churches meeting at Georgetown, Guyana expressing our deep concern towards our suffering sisters and brothers, both Christian and non-Christian, desire to show our concern in a tangible way towards their relief by making a personal contribution to their Relief Fund."

Resolution of the Conference of Caribbean Unions

WHEREAS the right to form and join trade unions is recognised as a basic right of the working people;

AND WHEREAS the Trade Union Movement has played and must continue to play an important part in the struggle for self-determination, national development and liberation in the Caribbean;

BE IT RESOLVED that Conference reaffirms that the right to organise, the right to hold meetings, the right to elect officers of their own choosing, the right to bargain collectively, and the right to strike in respect of all categories of workers must be recognised and respected by all countries regardless of ideology, social or economic structure, political and constitutional development;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Conference calls on all trade unions in the Caribbean to pledge their support for and solidarity with working and trade unions wherever and whenever these rights are threatened or impinged upon;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Conference condemns the use of scabs, the military and Police for the purpose of strike or breaking activities and urges all unions to oppose such actions by any means.

WHEREAS Conference recognises the delicacy of the industrial situation in the sugar industry in Guyana;

AND WHEREAS Conference recognises the need for a return to normalcy in this vital sector;

AND WHEREAS Conference recognises the efforts of the Guyana TUC in this regard;

BE IT RESOLVED that Conference expresses its approval for all the Terms put forward by the Guyana TUC, with specific reference to the removal of those workers recruited during the current strike, as a pre-condition for the resumption of work;

AND BE IT RESOLVED that Conference calls on the Guyana TUC to redouble its efforts in this regard;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Conference pledges its support for, and solidarity with the workers and the Trade Union Congress of Guyana.

Resolutions unanimously approved by the Conference of Caribbean Trade Unions on December 3, 1977 meeting in Georgetown, Guyana.

International Support

The Oilfield Workers Trade Union in Trinidad blocked oil shipments to Guyana and informed the Union representing dockworkers in that State of its embargo. Messages of support also came from the Civil Service Association and the Waterfront and Allied Workers Union of Dominica, the Barbados Workers' Union and the Independent Trade Union Action Council (ITAC) of Jamaica. The C.G.T. in the Dominican Republic invited a representative of GAWU to their National Conference of Sugar Workers and passed a resolution of support.

In England, the Union operating at the Thames Refinery of Tate and Lyle in a letter to Burnham condemned the use of scabs and the regime's strike breaking tactics and informed him that they had requested from GAWU "the names and destination of ships loaded during the present dispute so that we, through our TUC and the European and North American counterparts can black their unloading".

Messages of solidarity to the striking workers were also sent by GATT-FLY a Canadian based organisation sponsored by the Canadian Council of Churches and the International Chemical Workers Union Local 688 representing workers at the Redpath sugar refinery in Toronto voted support for the Guyanese sugar workers.

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Wider View of Human Rights

words, for rights to be meaningful and real, they must be GUARANTEED rights!

It is absurd for people in any country to claim that citizens enjoy human rights when before their very eyes women are underpaid, Blacks and Indians are made second-class citizens, farmers' crops are taken from them at low prices, countryside people suffer from substandard facilities, and the youths and minorities remain unemployed, under-educated, exploited, downtrodden and as bank workers have recently shown, workers do not have the right to join a trade union of their choice!

I once heard on the radio that since our constitution guarantees the equality of women, and since we have a lady governor, women's rights are assured. Since that time, women have been holding strain with no noticeable change in their condition, except for lower REAL wages, greater unemployment, and a strangling cost of living. The problem is this: How can there be equal jobs for women with equal pay (a human right) when there are no jobs? Really and truly, can the just struggle for human rights be separated from the struggle to build a new and just society? It seems to me that human rights can only be guaranteed within the framework of a human and truly-democratic society.

G.A.W.U. calls off strike

The sugar workers have come out of their struggle against GUYSUCO and the government with their heads high and "seven feet tall".

The struggle has not as yet achieved the material gains sought. But is was a victory of great significance The workers stood up valiantly against the ruthless regime and thoroughly exposed it; they advanced the process of unity and struggle in the labour movement; they won by their courage, stamina and discipline the respect, praise, sympathy and support of the public inside and outside Guyana.

This victory is all the more significant because the fight was unequal. The workers battled not only against the employers but also against the whole state machine.

The regimes thought that the use in the cane-fields of the military and para-military forces, civil servants and other government employees, teachers and 6,132 new recruits (scabs), and police harassment and seizure of strike (food) relief, would have caused the sugar workers to capitulate in a short while. But they did not budge. They fought to the end of the crop in one of the longest battles in the history of the Guyanese working class in defense of their own rights and the rights of the working class in general.

The workers did not obtain their just demands because the regime, like the old plantocracy, is more concerned with power and privileges than people. Arrogantly, it flouted public opinion - the TUC, the Assembly of the Caribbean Council of Churches, the Conference of Caribbean Trade Unions, and the world progressive trade union movement. To smash GAWU, demoralise the workers and frighten the labour movement, it did not mind wrecking the economy and ruining the industry.

Because of its anti-working class attitude and callousness, as demonstrated in the recent past against bauxite, municipal (Georgetown) and sugar workers, it stands exposed and is becoming more and more isolated nationally, regionally and internationally.

Having wrecked the economy, and at the same time isolated itself, the ruling bureaucratic and petty-bourgeois elite is making a deal with imperialism. This reactionary alliance will mean placing further burdens on the backs of the workers, and denying them their civil and political rights, including their right to strike.

At this crucial time, unity of the working people is essential. Unfortunately, lack of unity and failure by the labour movement to take united action emboldened the regime to use coercion and force against the sugar workers in particular and other workers in general to prevent them from realising their just aims and aspirations. GAWU joined the Trades Union Congress to help in building a strong, united trade union movement. It will continue in the interest of the working class to work for this objective.

Conscious of its responsibilities and faced with a heartless and ruthless regime on the one hand and a divided labour movement unwilling to take united positive action on the other, GAWU considers the continuation of the strike will not be in the interest of the workers and the nation. It is therefore ordering a resumption of work under protest and without prejudice to the stand taken by the TUC and GAWU on the issue of scabs. Notwithstanding the weakness of the labour movement, GAWU expects that the TUC will continue to pursue representations on the issues involved in the strike as agreed upon at its Annual Conferences, and assures it of its continued militant support of the principled position of the TUC Conference on the question of scabbing.

GAWU congratulates the sugar workers for their magnificent struggle. It wishes also to thank all those -- trade unionists, workers, farmers, government employees, small businessmen and others -- who so generously helped in so many different ways.

The international solidarity given to our strike was also significant. It augurs well for the future. We extend our hand of fraternal gratitude to all the individuals and organisations overseas who helped so magnificently. We are convinced that their solidarity in the spirit of international brotherhood sustained the workers in their difficult struggle.

GAWU confidently looks to the future. We shall overcome.

Editorial Comment

STRIKE ENDS , BUT KEY ISSUES REMAIN

The strike came to an end after 136 days but the key issues remained, namely, (a) the government tampered with the legal system and imposed restrictions that frustrated the strikers in the exercise of their right to withhold their labour; (b) the presence of the more than 6,000 'scabs' in the sugar fields; and (c) the profit sharing scheme which triggered the strike.

Given the development of the strike and its almost anti-climatic end there are at least three issues that must be raised for discussion. Firstly, there is the pressing and perennial problem of race. The ease with which Burnham slipped into the hackneyed tactic of attempting to divide the workers on the basis of race is evidence not only of the the bankruptcy of the regime but the longevity and potency of the idea of race in Guyanese society. It stands as a stark warning to all progressives that mere cant about working class solidarity will not easily eradicate that pressing cancer. There are too many conditions and institutions that permit race to be used as a divisive tool.

So that even though GAWU, WPA and OWPL sought

- continued on inside back cover

P.P.P. CALLS FOR A NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT

With a political past marked by civil strife, the suspension of the constitution and documented electoral fraud, the future of Guyana depends on its ability to find a way out of its present political impasse. It is now well known that the Government in power was fraudently elected and continues to maintain itself in power by patronage and the increasing use of force. Consent has given way to coercion. Furthermore its rise to power depended on its manipulation of the most crucial and persistent factor in the Guyanese political process - RACE. Similarly, the major electoral opposition party also found it extremely difficult to break away from the ethnic base of its support despite its long history of a left wing orientation and its articulation of the struggle in class terms. Demographic changes over the years have only served to perpetuate the fear of racial domination by the "other" in the respective ethnic communities. The way out, a process for resolving the political impasse, is obviously the most crucial item on the Guyanese political agenda. The following articles deal with the P.P.P.'s call for a National Front Government, the P.N.C.'s rejection and the W.P.A.'s qualifications on the issue.

Dependence on foreign capital, attacks on the working people and a rigged referendum for postponement of the elections or a rigged election will neither bring the country out of the crisis nor avert the danger facing the nation of a military coup, a greater shift to the Right, and denial as in Indonesia, Argentina and Uruguay of even the limited freedoms Guyanese now enjoy.

OUR POLITICAL LINE

Our Party must now take new initiatives. In August 1975, we changed our political line from "non-cooperation and civil resistance" to "critical support". This was in keeping with a change in the policies of the government from pre-imperialist to anti-imperialist.

The correctness of the PPP line became clear in early 1976. When on the eve of nationalisation of the Bookers empire-- the group of companies in sugar, trading, insurance, printing and manufacturing -- a concerted campaign was launched against Guyana particularly in North America and Brazil. The Brazilian press wrote about disorder in Georgetown, that white and American people were being molested in the streets. The North America press carried tales of the presence of Cuban and Chinese troops in Guyana concentrated in the Interior on the borders of Brazil and Venezuela.

The aim of this propaganda campaign was no doubt to influence the government to abandon its announced plans for nationalising the Booker's monopoly or to get more favourable terms or compensation than the one dollar which was offered at the beginning of the talks.

Our Party's decision to take part in the May Day celebrations together with Prime Minister L.F.S. Burnham, and our decision to re-enter Parliament no doubt strengthened the resolve to go ahead with the nationalisation. At the same time, the ensuing unity of the working class frustrated the plans, if any, of the imperialists to attack the country.

Our initiative led to formal talks between our Party and the PNC with the possibility of "critical support" leading to a political solution . At the very beginning we took the position that the talks should deal with the situation comprehensively. The PNC, however, had limited objectives. Because its approach was narrow, partisan and based on self-interest, its position was to proceed with issues step by step, one at a time. The occasion for the collapse was an ultimatum by the PNC leader that we must retract an editorial in the Mirror, November 28, captioned "Guns Instead of Bread". We had opposed the mini budget in October 1976, which has since placed further burdens on the people -- nearly $15 million for military, para-military and security forces, cuts in the subsidy of poultry feed which had caused the price of chicken and eggs to rise. There were also suggestions of further cuts in subsidies. Because of that, we went to the street corners in Georgetown with a programme of meetings calling on the people to oppose the cuts. By trying to force us to retract the editorial, the PNC was hoping to silence us, so that we could not oppose the cuts in subsidies in the 1977 budget. No doubt, our refusal to retract the statement and our public meetings forced the PNC to remove all the subsidies.

POLITICAL SOLUTION REQUIRED

What is now required is a political solution based on the creation of a National Patriotic Front and a National Patriotic Government including all parties and groups which are progressive, anti-imperialist and wish to see Guyana take a socialist-oriented or non-capitalist path of development. Such a front should bring about a revolutionary alliance of the working class, the peasant farmers, the revolutionary intellectuals and the progressive businessmen and middle strata. It will exclude all reactionary, pro-imperialist, racialist parties or groups.

A national government must be based on democracy -- political, economic and social. At the political level there should be full exercise of democratic freedoms

and free and fair elections for the central, regional and district governments. At the economic level, there should be workers' control with the fullest involvement of the workers in the management and decision making. At the social level, the people must have the right not only to form associations, trade union, cultural, religous, sports, etc. -- but also to have due recognition and respect.

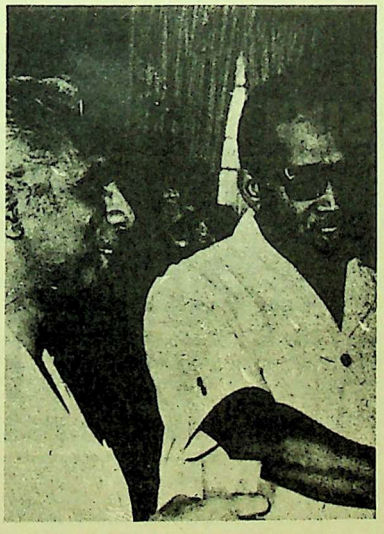
In keeping with the realities of Guyana, it is necessary to devise a system where "winner does not take all" and the two major parties and their allies are involved in the process of governing.

TWO-MAN LEADERSHIP

The Constitution should provide for an executive President, a Prime Minister and a National Assembly elected every five years. To ensure that elections are free and fair, new voters lists should be compiled by house to house enumeration under the impartial supervision of representatives of the ruling and opposition parties; proxy, postal and overseas voting should be abolished; and ballots should be counted at the place of poll.

The President shall be elected by the people as in the United States and France or by members of the National Assembly. He shall have the right to send messages and proposals to, and to address, the National Assembly, and to exercise the right of veto. The National Assembly will have the right to override the veto by 2/3 majority vote, after which the measure would automatically become law.

The Prime Minister will be drawn from the party or parties which have majority support in the National Assembly. He will preside over a Cabinet or Council of Ministers drawn from each party (which is revolutionary and agrees to a socialist oriented programme) in proportion to its strength in the National Assembly.



JAGAN AND BURNHAM

Whichever party wins the election should not oppose the candidates for Presidency from the other major party.

At the local level, district councils should be directly elected and be based on small historically evolved culturally-homogeneous communities. Regional Councils, indirectly elected through the district councils, should be given a substantial degree of autonomy.

The minimum programme of the revolutionary national front government should be based on the following:

1. State ownership of commanding heights of the economy including the banks and insurance companies.
2. Central planning and planned proportional development of the economy with emphasis on industry and agriculture.
3. Expansion of the state and cooperative sectors.
4. A land reform aimed at ending rapacious landlord ism.
5. Free medicine, free education, and adequate pens ons.
6. Workers' control and meaningful involvement of the people in all aspects of socio-economic reconstruction.
7. Development of strong relations with the socialist world.
8. Firm measures to end corruption, nepotism, favouritism, black-marketing, racial and political discrimation.
9. Special facilities to all depressed groups, particularly the Amerindian, for development.
10. Salaries, allowances, etc. for ministers, parliamentarians and public servants and others to be so fixed as to narrow the present wide gap between the highest-paid and the lowest-paid one person to earn only one salary.
11. The creation of a democratically-run and people-managed national People's Militia with branches in every city-bloc, village and settlement.
12. Imbuing the people with a revolutionary, scientific socialist (Marxist-Leninist) ideological consciousness.
13. Effective rent and price control.
14. Respect for an observance of, the Fundamental Rights laid down in the Constitution.
15. Enactment of integrity legislation and a Commission with "Watchdog" Committees to probe corruption and theft of public property

The PPP feels that its proposals for a solution to the political impasse which has be-devilled this nation for more than two decades is fair and reasonable. It is confident that all patriotic Guyanese will recognise that it offers a way out of the present crisis.

A New Political System

Proposals by WPA

In July 1977, the PPP issued a call for a National Patriotic Front and a National Patriotic Front Government. The Working People's Alliance regards these proposals as a serious attempt to grapple with the pressing problems which confront the Guyanese people today. The implications of the two proposals are far-reaching --reflecting on the development of the PPP as a major national party, on the PNC as the party in power, and on the national political system taken as a whole.

THE P.P.P

The split of the old PPP in the 1950s was a split of its mass base along racial lines. Subsequently, the new PPP remained a nationalist party in which different class elements were represented; but pursuit of electoral power meant inevitably an appeal to the predominantly Indian sector of the population. There were two tendencies within the party: those within the leadership who espoused Marxism/Leninism and sought to create the bases of working class and peasant power, and others--businessmen, landlords, reactionary professionals and religious leaders--who sought the electoral vote merely to guarantee their own dominance. At best, no party so placed could hope to build socialism if power were acquired on the basis of an ethnic majority vote. The climate of racial insecurity meant that either an African or an Indian majority would be hostile to any objectives which originated from the other ethnic community. More significant still, imperialism was offered favourable conditions for intervention. Under these circumstances, the PPP became totally pre-occupied either with the struggle to retain political office or (from 1964 onwards) with the struggle to regain political power in the face of rigged elections.

The PPP had of necessity to oppose electoral fraud and to demand "free and fair" elections. However, in the context of Guyanese politics, it must be borne in mind that this perfectly just call could be presented to members of the African section of the population as a means of reducing them to a permanently powerless racial minority--given the demographic trends and the practice hereto followed of "winner-take-all" electoral politics. It is precisely this scare that has led otherwise honest members of the working class to participate in or at least condone electoral frauds which permitted PNC accession to power. In the past, certain PPP proposals may have appeared to support the notion of shared power, but this is the first clear-cut break with the system of "winner-take-all". For this reason and because unity is seen as a unity of all progressive forces, the National Patriotic Front proposals mark an important step forward for the PPP and opens up possibilities of raising the level of national politics.

THE P.N.C

The response of the ruling party to the call for a National Patriotic Front and a National Patriotic Front Government was totally negative. An indirect acknowledgement of the proposal was made by the Prime Minister in his speech to the PNC Congress at Sophia in August, 1977. The PPP's initiative as cacicatures as a mere coalition between leaders and a unity based on ethnicity regardless of class. Once this self-evidently superficial position was attributed to the PPP, it was easy to dismiss it. Interestingly enough, the Prime Minister denounced the kind of national unity which would entrench political rivalaries around two leaders serving as warlords of their respective factions. The irony of such a comment is that it is the PNC itself which in 1955 took the step of establishing two separate and competing leaderships and, since then, it is remarkable to what extent the ruling party and the state have already developed in an authoritarian and commandist direction.

Other passing references to the PPP's National Front proposals have been made at various levels of the PNC. The proposals have been linked to the ever-present bogey of the PPP seeking to "take over". Any serious analysis of the suggestions will reveal that they do not amount to any overt or covert glorification of the rule of the majority. The PPP document explicitly rejects "winner-take-all" politics and seeks the entrenchment of a viable system of shared power by the working class and its representatives. As this awareness gains currency amongst the different racial segments of the working class, it can undoubtedly contribute to new approaches to national politics which transcend the racial insecurity which has dominated the last two decades of our history.

the WPA is convinced that this trend will grow even within the PNC -- a conviction based not on the pronouncements of the leaders, but on the class character of the party's base, which has already participated in the historic tasks of nationalisation and the placing of socialism firmly on the agenda. The majority of the rank and file represent uncorrupted elements who are genuinely dismayed at the erosion of basic rights and the increasing enrichment of a bureaucratic elite at the expense of the working class. It is this section of the PNC which is amenable to the transformation of the national political system to provide for the development of genuine socialism.

P.P.P PROPOSALS FOR NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT AND NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT GOVERNMENT

The basis of the PPP's proposals is that the country is in deep crisis. They have situated at the heart of this crisis a "crisis" of production. By this they mean the failure of the narrow, over-specialised, primary-producing, yet dominant sectors of the economy to expand their production and profitably market their output in the capitalist world market. At the root of this stagnation are several factors-pro-imperialist economic planning strategy, lack of democracy and meaningful people's involvement, political and racial discrimination, national and cultural oppression, exploitation of the workers and peasants by a narrow, conspicuous-consuming elite, high unemployment and other factors such as inadequate drainage, praedial larceny and so on.

Falling levels of output and the accompanying budgetary problems of the state, balance of payments deficits and declining foreign exchange reserves have repercussions at the social level. Unwilling to admit its essentially undemocratic character, the ruling party resorts to excuses, intimidation and degenerative propaganda to bolster its waning popularity. Its solutions to the production crisis are to borrow more, appeal for greater productivity to patriotic Guyanese, and shift the burden of adjustment of the economy to the crisis onto the working people.

The Four Union memorandum on the economic crisis prepared by UGAS, GAWU, NAACIE and CCWU is referred to for detailed evidence of these developments. However, in their response the PPP argues that the PNC betrays its essentially petty-bourgeois nationalist character. And it is this same character which is now causing the PNC to turn to the right and to seek to re-establish its bridges with imperialism. Such a development holds great dangers for Guyana and accordingly the PPP argues that:

> what is now required is a political solution based on the creation of a National Patriotic Front and a National Patriotic Front Government including all parties and groups which are progressive, anti-imperialist and wish to see Guyana take a socialist-oriented or non-capitalist path of development. Such a front should bring about revolutionary alliance of the working class, the peasant farmers, the revolutionary intellectuals and the progressive businessmen and middle strata. It will exclude all reactionary, pro-imperialist, racialist parties or groups."

THE W.P.A ACCEPTS IN THE MAIN THE CALL FOR A NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT

This is in line with our consistent advocacy of the need to develop a new political system. While agreeing with the accuracy of the detailed evidence used to support their argument, the WPA does not fully accept the PPP's analysis and interpretation of the crisis. But these differences are not sufficiently strong to qualify our full endorsement of the idea of a National Patriotic Front. We accept the need for a revolutionary alliance and we are prepared to play our part in struggling for such an achievement.

Our main differences are with the second aspect of their proposal, i.e. the National Patriotic Front Government, and in particular the electoral and governmental arrangements attached to this. The differences which exist between our positions stem, we believe, from the greater willingness on our part to accept that even at this stage a revolutionary alliance should have as its major goal a radical transformation of our inherited state structure.

Before elaborating our own alternative proposals, let us record our major points of disagreement and/or differences in emphasis.

1. Prior to the formation of a National Patriotic Front Government, we believe that there must be an agreed social, political and economic programme. A real alliance, let alone a revolutionary alliance, must be founded in a thoroughly worked out programme. It is these programmes which give specific social content to the policies of the alliance. We do not believe that the PPP proposals pay enough regard to this.

2. An important feature of the present crisis is the widespread evidence of corruption, and the concurrent demoralisation this has created among the working peo-

BURNHAM'S RESPONSE TO P.P.P. a report

At the second Biennial Congress of the People's National Congress, held from August 12 to 20, the leadership launched an attack on the PPP and categorically rejected its proposal for the formation of a National Patriotic Front and Government.

The Leader of the PNC, L. F. S. Burnham, at this Congress rejected the idea of a national front government describing "an understanding and coalition between leaders as superficially attractive." (Guyana Chronicle, 14/8/77). He went on to state that as a vanguard party, it was the duty of the PNC, "to achieve unity in the socialist sense."

The New Nation, the organ of the PNC, in its September 4 issue, spells it out even more clearly:

The real purpose behind the so-called "line of critical support" was revealed when Jagan proposed a National Front Government. The (PNC) Party has no interest in this proposal. Discussions with Jagan at the inter-party meetings proved conclusively that "critical support" was a mere ruse, a policy to obtain a share of political power.

There existed no basis - and none still exists - upon which such a government could be founded. For the (PNC) Party, the real issue is national unity.

This cannot be achieved by a mere power-sharing deal by political leaders. Jagan showed no interest in promoting national cohesion on a class basis... The PNC leader went on to say that "If the Bolsheviks had sought unity with the Mensheviks on coalition terms the history of the Soviet Union would have been differently written." ■

ple. Yet the proposal of the PPP does not pay any heed whatsoever to the need for a purge of existing corrupt officials and the institutionalisation of public accountability in the new political order.

3. The two main pillars of the governmental structures suggested by the PPP are the President and Prime Minister. In the proposed structure the President's power will no doubt develop from his executive authority, while the Prime Minister's will develop from both his legislative and executive authority-- but primarily the former. Centering the state structure on these two offices will become the contending loci of power in the future. If only for these reasons, we find the proposals less than satisfactory.

4. Another weakness of the PPP's proposal is the absence of any reference to the many severe shortcomings of the present bureaucracy in Guyana. With 80 percent of the economy under state control, with extensive racial and political patronage in job placement, with its ingrained authoritarian structures and its demonstrated willingness to act extra-legally, we believe that the bureaucracy ought to be an essential target of agreed reform in any new governmental proposals.

5. The proposals do not envisage any explicit place for organised labour, and this we consider to be a grave ommission.

6. Indeed, the proposals do not create any explicit place for mass organisations other than political parties in the new state structure. This compounds the weakness derived from 5 above and therefore fail to go far enough to rectify old policies.

W.P.A PROPOSALS

There is need to make a special effort to prevent a substantial carry-over of governmental forms from the old order to the new. Any proposal which fails to achieve this would not substantially advance the scope for working people's influence over the state, and would therefore preserve the colonially inherited state structure intact. Yet, without transformation of these structures there can be no radical break with the old system of politics.

Our proposals take as their starting point a need to overcome the weaknesses identified above.

1. Before we move to the stage of considering the formation of a National Patriotic Front Government, the first priority should be the elaboration of a detailed programme. Although work together by the various elements of such an alliance would be useful in terms of exposure to each other, it is also the only way to concretise the differences in ideological position of the several groups. While no prepared programme can either be so detailed or so accurate as to lay down future policies, it should be sufficiently developed to provide the main contours of policy at a number of levels.

2. The bi-partisan offices of Prime Minister and President should be replaced by a Collective Executive Authority of the state based on the principle of collective leadership. Collective leadership would require that the principle of rotating chairperson be institutionalised. Such proposals would discourage the growth of cultism and reduce the backward historical tradition of bi-polar politics which largely reflect the existence of two major ethnic communities.

3. The dominant principle in determining the composition of the executive should be the electoral achievements of parties who have contested free and fair elections. Such elections should be on a "constituency" basis in order to strengthen the traditions of community responsibility and accountability in the national parliament.

4. The new state structure should embrace a comprehensive and radical re-organisation of local and district government to achieve the following:
(a) a substantial enlargement of functions, with clearly defined legal powers in community life;
(b) representation which would ensure people's participation both where they live and where they work;
(c) integration of the planning and resource-using economic activities of the local community with the wider community. Thus for example, a sugar estate cannot exist in isloation from the village community where its work derive. An integration at all levels of community life should be strived for. This cannot be done on the present fraudelent basis, but only on the basis of popular elections.
(d) such communities must reflect and respect historical realities.

5. Any new state structure should encompass the creation of Workers Assemblies - for example, assemblies of sugar, bauxite, transport and dock workers, peasants, teachers, students and youth, etc. Such assemblies can be great storehouses of worker power. As such they create an organisational form with which to ensure the progressive transformation of the inherited state structures.

Two further points are relevant here. Firstly, there should be no restriction, and indeed there can be none, in parties contesting for positions in the various workers assemblies. If this did occur, we believe it would not duplicate the pattern of parliamentary representation. Workers would have their choice of representation to include party allegiance, as well as other considerations. If party considerations prevail, this would reinforce the pattern of representation in parliament. If not, this would create further outlets for worker representation. Secondly, persons from the Workers Assemblies should be entitled to participate, under the Constitution, in the Collective Executive Authority of the State.

6. Special interests outside of workers assemblies must be catered for. The political exclusion of the Amerindian people is the most outstanding historical injustice which has to be remedied in this way.

7. We believe that the state must have a constitutionally provided Integrity Commission made up of officers from various mass organisations, e.g. Church, Trade Unions, etc. The main functions of the Commission should be
(a) to ensure strict observance of constitutional provisions for the accountability of all public officers. That is, persons working in the state, trade unions,

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Editorial Comment

to turn the tide against the retrogression of racial division by making the issues at stake quite clear, the ease with which large sections of the working classes accepted if even initially, the Burnham red herring clearly reveals the potency of the appeal to racial solidarity.

It is not enough merely to hope that time will reveal the bankruptcy of the idea and hasten its demise. It is crucial that concrete steps be taken to encourage, deepen and cement class solidarity across race lines at not only the leadership and organizational level but at the "grass roots" level where it counts. There must be a consistent and continuous programme to effect this solidarity that does not wait on moments of crisis but operates even during calmer periods, however scarce these periods may be in Burnham's Guyana. Trinidad take note.

The second important issue that needs to be aired is the potential of the strike in the Guyanese situation. The strike was preceeded by a period of general social discontent including a strike by the workers of the Georgetown City Council. According to most sources it would appear that there was an increasing development of working class rebellion as a response to the grim reality of life in Burnham's socialism. Yet it would appear that most of the progressive groups in Guyana, in particular the WPA and NACCIE were not consulted about the actual timing of the strike, which they seemed to have considered ill-timed. It would mean that despite the growing discontent and the increasing signs of resentment against the regime, the situation was not conducive to major strike action that could have strengthened the working-class and advanced class unity. Burnham of course recognized the urgency of the situation and its political potential hence his immediate use of the army, the promulgation of emergency regulations and his resort to race and false nationalism. Nonetheless although WPA and others did give wholehearted support and co-operation during the strike, the need for closer co-operation was clearly obvious.

But perhaps there was no intention of turning the sugar strike into a broader general strike and hence a confrontation with the regime. The PPP has always seemed to use industrial action based on its control of the workers in the crucial sugar industry as part of its general political strategy. Given its recent calls for a Patriotic Front Government (which curiously resembles similar calls by Western European Communist parties for coalition governments and 'historic compromises'), it may well have timed the sugar strike in order to pressure the government into re-thinking its position on the Patriotic Front issue.

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Redeployment

this particular ruling elite has for accumulation; the greed with which they expand in all sectors of the community.

IT IS THIS PASSION FOR ACCUMULATION BY THE RULING ELITE WHICH IS THE FACTOR THAT IS REALLY CONFRONTING US NOW.

BUREAUCRACY

Everyone is aware that in the first flush of the high sugar and bauxite prices, the state rapidly expanded the bureaucracy. The whole bureaucratic elite they have had to build up was built up on the prosperity of sugar and bauxite three to four years ago.

But it did not need a far-seeing socialist, let alone a Marxist, to tell them that on the basis of the colonial economy still dependent on bauxite, sugar and rice, you cannot build up a superstructure in the way they were going about it. In other words, you cannot extort more surpluses than the working people themselves can produce. The base of the economy is so narrow that it cannot support indefinitely the bureaucratic elite that they have created.

Then came the production collapse, inflation, and the running down of the country's reserves.

Relating this to the redeployment device, Dr. Thomas declared that the first line of defence in the economic crisis is an attack on the working people. Redeployment cannot be a rational search for planning labour use in a socially just and socially productive way. It is a panic mechanism in the face of the economic crisis. The ultimate objective, like it or not, is to maintain or raise the rate of surplus extraction by the state from the workers.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The argument is that redeployment would facilitate a rational use of labour. Yet 40 per cent of the population is unemployed and a significant percentage of the remainder underemployed. The regime launches an attack on strikes, yet loss from unemployment amounted to 150 million man hours in 1976 alone which is more than 10 times the man hours lost from all strikes over the past 20 years! In other words the regime cannot plan the rational use of labour in a situation of rising unemployment. On the converse, redeployment can beneficially take place only in a situation of full employment.

While the ruling elite is occupied with the redeployment of human resources, what about the redeployment of land? What about the redeployment of property? What about the redeployment of foreign exchange? What about the redeployment of assets in the hands of the parasitic groups? What about the redeployment of the top echelon of the bureaucracy? What about the struggle for land for the landless; for equal distribution of income; for more meaningful control over the property;

The U.G. Lecturer declared that to make redeployment meaningful for the working people, there must be the redeployment of property and wealth, and of the parasitic classes.

Guyana at the turning point

bauxite, alumina) continue to form the foundations of the economy. In a period of global capitalist crisis such an economy suffers from the effects of imported inflation, depressed prices for its primary products, contraction of the export market, high cost of servicing loans, a decreasing export/import ratio, negative balance of payments followed by the drain of foreign resources, etc. Such an economic situation engenders crisis.

2. Planlessness: Since the declaration of "Co-operative Socialism", the PNC leadership has neither published nor presented to the people of Guyana, a plan for the transformation of the economy and organization of institutions that give expression to the social relations. The institutions, particularly the state and industrial organization have remained exactly as they have always been, with the exception that Guyanese Professionals have replaced foreign professionals in the management of the state and "nationalized" economy.

3. Crisis of Accumulation : The crisis of accumulation that has gripped the Guyanese economy has been due mainly to the planlessness of the Burnham/PNC leadership and the squandering of the surplus produced by the labour of workers, peasants and other small-owners. The regime has consumed and is committed to consume an enormous slice of the surplus for the purpose of repaying loans, both principal and interest. Also, the professional leadership of both party and state has been ripping-off a significant proportion of the surplus through the acquisition of material luxuries, family trips abroad and the accumulation of personal wealth.

4. Class Struggle and Stagnation: The Burnham regime has consistently propagandised the position that it rules on behalf of and in the interest of the small man, the working people. But the overwhelming majority of its programmes and actions have been against the working people and for the material well-being and power of the local professional ruling class.

When the bauxite workers launched a struggle to gain just rewards for their labour and to remove their backward and corrupt union leadership, the PNC leadership rigged and gerrymandered the union elections and sent in the Police and Army to shoot and tear-gas the workers. When the poverty-stricken sugar workers went on strike for money owed to them by the State, Burnham unleashed the armed forces against them and recruited scabs.

In such a situation there is no credible alternative to open class struggle on the part of the working people. Such struggle may take various forms as it has, but the essential economic result has been and logically would be a drastic drop in production, both absolutely and relatively. The consequence is stagnation and crisis.

THE ALTERNATIVES

The question to be asked is this: What can t the Burnham/PNC leadership do

1. Continued economic decline combined with PNC/Military rule and pseudo-socialist rhetoric and formulations. This alternative would essentially be the continuation of the present tendency of the PNC leadership carried to its climax. The implementation of this option would call for intensive economic exploitation and mass political repression of the working people, political liquidation of the progressive political organizations (WPA, OWP, PPP etc.), and the seizure of total power by an open PNC/Military alliance.

2. An open pact between the PNC leadership a and the imperialists. This alternative would necessitate massive IMF, World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank loans further cuts in public spending, creation of a conducive climate for foreign capital, devaluation of the Guyanese dollar, financial management of the Guyanese economy by imperialist financial institutions, relative decline in workers' wages and political control of the trade unions, unofficial workers organizations and containment of the left opposition.

3. Implementation of a socialist strategy:

The implementation of a socialist strategy must of necessity begin with a political solution to the present crisis. Such a solution must involve at least the PPP and most likely the WPA. The basis of such a solution would have to include immediate measures for economic recovery, repeal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation, full human and democratic rights, in law and practice to the working people, reorganization of state institutions under the popular control of working people and a long-term economic strategy for socialist construction.

Of the three alternatives above, those that involve an arrangement with the imperialists seem to suit the objective of the present PNC leadership best. If the present leadership as constituted proves incapable of resolving the crisis, either the U.S State Department through the C.I.A would attempt to remove certain elements of the leadership and install a more liberal/right regime or a left alliance would gain political dominance. Whichever may occur, the armed forces would play a crucial.

COMMING IN THE SEPTEMBER ISSUE

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