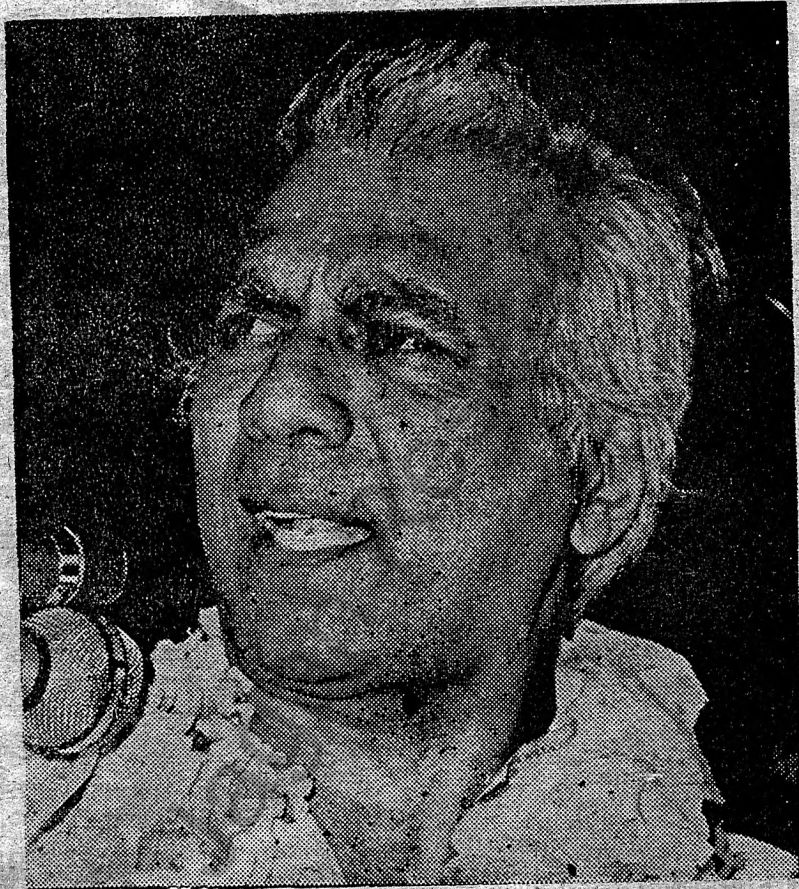


**UNMASKING ENEMIES
OF THE
GUYANESE PEOPLE**



Straight Talk
By **CHEDDI JAGAN**

A P.P.P. Publication

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Introduction

This booklet consists of appropriate articles written by Dr. Cheddi Jagan on topical issues and published in **Sunday Mirror** under the title of **Straight Talk**. They explain various complex situations in Guyana, and put into correct perspective political developments taking place in the country. The tactics of the mini-rightwing parties and groups are amply exposed, while the machinations of imperialism, particularly US imperialism are also dealt with.

Dr. Jagan is General Secretary of the PPP, and leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly. As a front rank Marxist-Leninist, he is competent to deal with the situations as they unfold. The reactionary forces which deal with the same issues, naturally arrive at basically opposite conclusions, which are at variance with the needs and rights of the people of Guyana.

Additionally, in view of a more or less "new" situation which has developed, (albeit clouded in much rhetoric) the author wrote an article "What Kind of Attack?" in which he puts into perspective the war of words between the PNC government and the Reagan Administration in the USA. Dr. Jagan explains the nature of the attack which the government of Guyana is facing from US imperialism.

This booklet is one of a series being put out by the Party in order to educate the Guyanese masses who are being targeted for virulent rightwing propaganda, based on anti-communism and pro-American dependent capitalism.

The booklet as such, will help the Guyanese masses (suffering under the jack boots of PNC policies) to better grasp the policies of the PPP, thus arming them for on-going revolutionary agitation in the midst of an engineered atmosphere of lies, distortions and slanders by the rightist forces inside and outside the country.

Too, in the context of the overthrow in October 1983 of the Grenada revolution by US military invasion (aided by 6 Caribbean lackey states) the rightwing forces in the Region are in a more truculent mood, and are riding the crest of a new wave of reaction against Socialism on a global scale. It is hoped that this booklet will prove to be one means of effectively snuffing out the influences of these sinister forces in Guyana.

Who Is The Enemy ?

There are different perceptions nationally and internationally of the enemy. During the last war, the USA, UK and USSR were "the big three" in the fight for freedom and democracy. The enemy was fascism.

After the war, Anglo-American imperialism started the cold war. Communism became the enemy. The USA and UK teamed up with the wartime, fascist states of West Germany, Italy and Japan in a crusade against the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Recently, President Reagan, donning the robes of a parson, referred to the struggle between good and evil, claiming that capitalism/imperialism was good, and communism was evil.

Here's another example. The Congress Party of India was faced with a dilemma during the war. The question arose: What should be done? Should the Congress Party support the war effort?

Three different positions were taken by 3 different factions of the Congress Party. Subhas Chandra Bose was implacably opposed to British colonialism. Seeing Britain as the main enemy, he said he would join with anybody to get rid of her. He teamed up with fascism and his Liberation Army worked closely with fascist Germany and Japan. He died in a plane crash commuting between these two states.

The faction led by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru regarded both British colonialism and German-Italian-Japanese fascism as enemies. It would not join one to fight the other, and remained neutral. For that position, its leaders were jailed by the British.

The communist faction, recognising fascism as decadent, terrorist and brutal monopoly capitalism/imperialism, saw the German-Italian-Japanese axis as the "greater of the two evils", and joined the war effort on the same side with UK, USA and the USSR.

Somewhat of a similar dilemma faced the PPP in 1975, when the PNC was planning to nationalise the US Reynolds bauxite mines in Berbice, and the British-owned Booker's sugar and trading monopoly with \$1 compensation. Angered by what was considered as Burnham's betrayal, imperialism through its then fascist policeman Brazil threatened Guyana's sovereignty and independence.

with "critical support" to fight against imperialism/fascism and safeguard our territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence. At the same time, we issued a 16-point policy statement, warning the PNC regime that unless it is implemented, the economy would later get into trouble, and imperialism would exert political pressures, as has been seen under the IMF since 1978.

The PNC government says that the Guyanese people have two enemies: the external and the internal. The external enemy is the "world crisis," occasionally deemed imperialism. At the same time, by using language like "2 super-powers" "the big powers", "being pawns neither of the West nor the East," the PNC actually categorises both the USA and the USSR as imperialist. At one time, it propagated the "2 super-powers/2 imperialisms" line equating the USSR with the USA.

The PNC has also stated in self praise that only its system of co-operative socialism is democratic, that both the capitalist and communist system are bureaucratic and undemocratic.

During the past 18 years, the PNC's position towards imperialism was more or less as follows:

- 1964-70 pro-imperialist (USA and Britain); anti-Soviet, anti-Cuba.
- 1971-73 vacillating, with balance on the side of imperialism.
- 1974-76 anti-imperialist; closer relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union.
- 1977-83 vacillating, with swing more and more towards Anglo-American imperialism.

In the 1964-70 period, Cuba and the Soviet Union were regarded as enemies. All trade and cultural relations with Cuba, which had been established by the PPP government, were severed. There was trade discrimination against the socialist countries and US aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic was supported.

In 1975, the PNC government took a positive position in supporting Angola, when it was faced with aggression from imperialism's agents, South Africa and Zaire.

More recently, however, with regard to Kampuchea-Vietnam-China, Afghanistan and Malvinas (Falklands), it has taken, unlike revolutionary-democratic Grenada, positions in line with Anglo-American imperialism.

The internal enemy of the PNC is the PPP and other opposition forces, who are deemed trouble-makers, obstructionists, wreckers and saboteurs. Any criticism is considered as subversion, and critics of the PNC government are called "enemies of the state."

The enemies of the Guyanese people are the PNC and imperialism.

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Imperialism And Its Agents Are The Enemy

President Reagan regards communism as evil, and the Soviet Union and the Socialist Community as the enemy. The Soviet Union regards the monopoly capitalist/imperialist system, based on the exploitation of man by man, and the subjugation of nation-states, as unethical and decadent and imperialism and the US military-industrial complex as the enemy.

The opposition parties have different perceptions of the enemy. For the PPP, the enemy is imperialism, particularly US imperialism, and its agents. Generally, the other parties see only the PNC as the enemy.

Brindley Benn, when chairman of the PPP and deputy premier, saw as enemies the US and British imperialism and the counter-revolutionary PNC and UF. After breaking away from the PPP in 1968, he formed the Working People's Vanguard Party (WPVP) and adopted the Maoist line.

Maoism referred to "2 super-powers—2 imperialisms" (USA and USSR), with the USSR deemed as enemy No. 1. This is why the WPVP rejects any attempt to identify US imperialism (now through the IMF) also as the enemy of the Guyanese people.

Whenever there is any attempt to show the role of US imperialism in the Caribbean and Latin America, particularly in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada, etc., the WPVP talks about Soviet "imperialism" in Poland and Afghanistan. This creates confusion and objectively aids imperialism.

The Vanguard for Liberation and Democracy (VLD) of which the WPVP is a part (the other parts are the Liberator Party, led by Dr. Kumar and the People's Democratic Movement led by Llewelyn John) generally takes the same position as the WPVP on US imperialism. This is understandable because Dr. Makepeace Richmond of the Liberator Party (LP), was at the time of the PPP government also chairman of the United Force (UF) which was in alliance with US imperialism. The LP's position is basically no different from the UF; indeed they were together in the 1973 elections. And during the referendum in 1978, at a meeting of the Committee in Defence of Democracy, which was made up of the opposition parties, the LP circulated a pamphlet attacking as enemies of the people, the PNC, socialism, communism, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union.

Llewelyn John came to the PNC through the pro-imperialist UDP, which had worked with and praised Anglo-American imperialism for destroying the first PPP government in 1953. It later merged with Burnham's rightist faction of the PPP to form the PNC. Up to the rigged 1968 elections, John was Minister of Home Affairs in the PNC government.

Where does the WPA stand? Because of its petty-bourgeois class roots, this party tends to vacillate. It emerged from the following organisations — New World Group, Ratoon Group, MAO, ASCRIA, IPRA, WPVP. Most of these had a Maoist leaning. ASCRIA had connections with C.L. R. James, (one-time Trotskyite and vicious anti-Soviet) and Stokely Carmichael (Black capitalism). Most of the WPA's links abroad are with the New Left, Black cultural nationalist, Neo-Trotskyite and Maoist organisations. More recently, it became affiliated with the Socialist International (SI) which is dominated by right-wing social democracy. The SI's top leadership is generally anti-communist, and since the cold war has been objectively on the same side with imperialism on many issues. Generally, in the third world and particularly in Central America and the

Caribbean, it has taken a progressive position, though at times vacillating. At its recent Congress, the SI passed a resolution condemning the Suriname government headed by Lt.-Col Desi Bouterse.

In 1978, the WPA had a strong left position. Then, it stated that it was socialist and Marxist-Leninist, and regarded both the PNC and imperialism as enemies. In a "Declaration of Principles for a National Patriotic Front" prepared by the PPP and WPA in early 1978, it was stated: "The call for a National Patriotic Front reflects, firstly, a fundamental concern for democracy in the national life. . . . secondly, a new stage in the anti-imperialist struggle. . . . thirdly, an unambiguous commitment to socialism: that is to say to economic equality and social justice".

Later in 1978, in its programme "Towards a Revolutionary Socialist Guyana", it declared: ". . . imperialism is the root aggressor, the PNC being its key instrument. At all times, therefore, the struggle to overthrow the present regime must be situated within an anti-imperialist and socialist focus."

Now, the rightist tendency is dominant in the WPA. Generally, the PNC is concentrated upon as the enemy; reference to imperialism is occasional and muted. A perusal of WPA's organ Dayclean makes this clear.

In reply to the position of the PPP that in addition to democracy, anti-imperialism and socialist-orientation must be included in the programme of national unity, the WPA stated: "anti-imperialism is the policy of the most advanced bloc, which includes the USSR. Socialist orientation is seen as the most advanced policy of developing countries." Actually, the vast majority of "third world" countries are under the political, economic, ideological, cultural, and in some cases even the military, domination of imperialism in the form of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The struggle of these countries must be directed for national liberation (liberating the nation from imperialist shackles). Socialism, not socialist-orientation, is the "most advanced policy of developing countries." The option is not capitalism or socialism; rather, it is dependent, distorted underdeveloped capitalism or socialist orientation.

Like the PNC, there is no longer any talk about Marxism-Leninism by the WPA. And mention of socialism is rare ostensibly because the people don't want to hear about socialism! This is rightist opportunism since nationalisation and socialism are under attack as failures by the

rightist and reactionary forces in Guyana and the Caribbean. Any socialist worth his salt must in our present situation attack the PNC's vulgarisation of socialism, and make a distinction between its utopian "co-operative socialism" and scientific socialism. To do otherwise is not to behave as a revolutionary.

Politically, the WPA leans more towards the VLD than towards the PPP. An inner party struggle inside the WPA must be waged to reverse this position and to make as in 1978 the left tendency dominant so that "the struggle to overthrow the regime must be situated within an anti-imperialist and socialist focus."

The PPP has always stated, as the WPA did in 1978 that "imperialism is the root aggressor, the PNC being its key instrument," The Guyanese people must simultaneously fight against both enemies, imperialism and its agents both inside and outside the PNC. And only a socialist-oriented, not a dependent deformed capitalist, course can save Guyana.

(Mirror 7/8/83)

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The Caribbean: Whose Backyard?

The Caribbean has been traditionally a region of inter-imperialist rivalry. With the Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary, the United States has long regarded it as its natural and legitimate sphere of influence, referring to it as "our lake", "our backyard" and "third border".

More recently, the terms "Achilles heel," the world's fourth "trouble spot," and the "circle of crisis," have become current. The region's importance was highlighted by President Ronald Reagan in his address to the Organisation of American States (OAS) on February 24, 1982, when he stated:

"The Caribbean region is a vital strategic and commercial artery for the United States. Nearly half of US

trade, two-thirds of our imported oil, and over half of our imported strategic minerals pass through the Panama Canal or the Gulf of Mexico. Make no mistake: the well-being and security of our neighbours in this region are in our own vital interest."

US concern in the area was heightened after the Cuban revolution, the "political vacuum" created by the decolonisation process begun in the early 1960s, and the progressive/revolutionary developments in the 1970-80 period: the Grenada revolution; electoral victories in St. Lucia, Aruba and Curacao; the overthrow of the Patrick John government in Dominica; the Grenada Declaration of 1979 by the Heads of Government of Grenada, Dominica and St. Lucia calling for a new type of Caribbean unity, anti-imperialist in content; the removal of the bloody dictatorship of Somoza in Nicaragua; the Suriname revolution.

These positive changes took place in the context of an ongoing and deep crisis of world capitalism, an intensification of the national liberation and class struggles, and a favourable international climate of detente. Coupled with similar developments elsewhere in Asia and Africa in the latter half of the 1970-80 decade, they resulted in a decisive shift in the world balance of forces against imperialism and local reaction.

They also resulted in a big shift in US policy from the guidelines laid down in the mid-1970s, which had emphasised "ideological pluralism" and a "human rights doctrine."

The 1974 report of the Congressional Committee on Foreign Affairs, **"Human Rights in the World Community: A call for US Leadership"**, had stated that previous US policy had "led the United States into embracing governments which practice torture and unabashedly violated every human rights guarantee pronounced by the world community," thus damaging both American prestige and its long term interests.

The 1974 and 1976 reports of the Commission on United States-Latin American Relations, headed by Sol Linowitz, **"The Americas In a Changing World"** pointed out that "Covert US involvement in the domestic politics of Latin America such as occurred more recently in Chile, is indefensible and should be ended."

The balance of power shifted in the Carter administration from the dovish Cyrus Vance/Andrew Young to the hawkish Zbigniew Brzezinski. The attentive "big brother" policy, "with smiles" and trilateralist aid, reformism and more subtle methods of control gave way to gun-boat diplomacy. Launching an interventionist policy, President Carter declared:

"The US has a worldwide interest in peace and stability. Accordingly, I have directed the Secretary of Defence to further enhance the capacity of our rapid deployment forces to protect our own interests and to act in response to requests for help from our allies and friends."

The Cold-war was re-activated in the Caribbean. About 2,000 marines equipped with combat aircraft and submarines stormed into the US base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba; military manoeuvres were carried out in the Caribbean Sea; arms were promised to Barbados and for a Caribbean security force; a Caribbean Joint Task Force was established at Key West Florida to improve US "capability to monitor and respond rapidly to any attempted military encroachment in the region"; there was increased surveillance of Cuba; increased economic assistance was promised to thwart "social turmoil."

The Reagan administration deemed the Carter administration's policies "soft," accused it of sacrificing US vital interests and embarked on a "get tough policy." It escalated the arms race and heightened tensions. In the Caribbean Basin, it shifted emphasis towards a confrontationist-interventionist direction. With security, military and strategic interests its main pre-occupation, it launched a comprehensive rightist offensive — military, economic, ideological, cultural, political. The main objectives are: to halt, if not reverse, the revolutionary process; to recolonise the region with the Puerto Rican model and maintain the economies of the countries in a dependent status to the United States; to create a more congenial climate for the US transnational corporations; and to propagate the American way of life.

(Sunday Mirror 23/1/83)

Ideological Pluralism

The terms "ideological pluralism" and "political pluralism" have been prominent recently, especially at the time of the Caricom Summit Meeting, in Jamaica in 1983.

"Ideological pluralism" for the Caribbean was first proposed by the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington D.C. to the Carter administration. This meant recognition of "democratic socialism" in Jamaica under the Michael Manley government, and "co-operative socialism" in Guyana under the Burnham government.

President Carter embraced "ideological pluralism" with the hope of getting closer to countries like Jamaica and Guyana and shifting them from their 1974-76 left position in the politico-ideological spectrum of the Non-Aligned Movement to a centrist, equidistant position from the USA and the USSR, and to a "pragmatic course."

Pluralism was intended to prevent radical socio-economic transformations. Note the position of the Carter administration towards Nicaragua. Viron K. Vaky, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs on September 8, 1979 said:

"From May onwards it became clear that Somoza could not survive until the oft-proclaimed end of his term in 1981, and that a military collapse was entirely likely. It was our view that a purely military solution would provide the least auspicious prospect for true self-determination and an enduring democratic outcome of Nicaragua's agony. The growing power of the Marxist leadership in the Sandinista army also raised increasing concerns that the final outcome might be determined by these elements on the basis of their control of coercive military power. We therefore again sought ways to promote an end to the conflict, and a transition that would maximize the possibility for all elements of opposition to have a say in the transition. A pluralistic set-up appeared to be the best for avoiding an "ideological or military imposition" for a final outcome. . . . our purpose in June was to seek an end to the bloodshed and suffering and to avoid radical control."

To avoid "radical control", the Carter administration wanted to send an interventionist military force, euphemis-

tically called a peace force. Fortunately, this was blocked at an OAS meeting by 8 Latin American countries — Panama, Mexico, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia.

Washington under President Carter advocated the need for America "to get on the side of change". But this change was to be guided and managed to achieve the goals of the past: state-monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

However, when more clever and subtle methods failed, and revolutionary changes around the world, including Grenada, Nicaragua and Suriname threatened US "vital interests," the Carter administration resorted to gunboat diplomacy — a Caribbean Joint Task Force, battleships patrolling the Caribbean Sea, a Rapid Deployment Corps, a 110,000 contingency "quick reaction" force for the purpose of "protecting American interests and ensuring an uninterrupted flow of Arab oil."

The Reagan administration moved US policy back to the days of "gunboat diplomacy", scuttled the "spirit of Helsinki", reactivated the cold war, dropped "ideological pluralism", and escalated the arms race.

For President Reagan no brand of socialism is palatable, especially scientific socialism or Marxism-Leninism. On his visit to Barbados in early 1982, he charged that the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada was exporting the "Marxist virus." He wants capitalism pure and simple—state monopoly capitalism in the USA and dependent, underdeveloped-distorted capitalism in the "third world."

The ultra-rightist advisers of President Reagan, the Committee of Santa Fe, in its report "A New Inter-American Policy for the Rights" laid down the guidelines for a shift further to the Right of President Carter, back to the "big stick". They charged the Carter administration with sacrificing American interests, adopting Soviet norms of conflict and social change, making an "anxious accommodation" with the Soviet Union, alienating friends (Latin American dictators) and embracing with ideological pluralism socialists like Michael Manley of Jamaica; that "Decisive action, such as the occupation of the Dominican Republic in 1965, has been replaced by retrograde reaction, as exemplified by the Carter-Torrijos Treaties of 1978, and by anxious accommodation as evidenced by the May 1980

cancellation of the sea-air exercise "Solid Shield '80" after a protest by the President of Panama about the provocative presence of US forces in the Caribbean.

It escalated cold war hysteria and called for a programme which "will wed the most successful elements of the Truman Doctrine and the Alliance for Progress". It urged that the United States must "take the strategic and diplomatic initiative by revitalising the Rio Treaty and the Organisation of American States; proclaiming the Monroe Doctrine; tightening ties with key countries; and, aiding independent nations to survive subversions."

During the cold war which was started by the USA with the Truman Doctrine in 1947 to "contain communism" and stop national and social liberation, communism was regarded as a "disease" to be quarantined. Under the fascist US National Security Act, leaders of the Communist Party were sent to prison for as long as 10 years, not for committing any acts against the state, but for believing in and advocating Marxism-Leninism, the doctrine of scientific socialism.

When a capitalist-state like the United States, therefore, speaks of political pluralism, they generally mean a multi-party system, under which the main parties, Republican and Democratic, represent capitalism.

Where the capitalist ruling class recognises "ideological pluralism", they do so only when the capitalist parties are strong, and the communist or workers' parties are relatively weak. But as soon as the latter become strong, restrictions, bans and harassment are resorted to. Sometimes, as in Germany under Hitler and Italy under Mussolini, the bourgeois-democratic state is changed into a fascist state to liquidate communist parties and other workers' organisations. A few years ago, the policy of Berufsverbot blacklisted communists from the public service in West Germany.

Despite his advocacy of democracy and self-determination, President Reagan does not want ideological pluralism if that means coexistence with Marxism-Leninism and socialism. He wants ideological conformism. On this basis, his Caribbean Basin Initiative is rewarding those with a capitalist ideology, and isolating and attacking others with a socialist ideology. The US administration is determined to use all means, including force of arms, to fight "any propagation of Marxism-Leninism in Latin America."

It is on this account also that the United States lobbied extensively for the expulsion of revolutionary-democratic, socialist-oriented Grenada from CARICOM, and for its isolation in the region. It was trying for a repeat of its success in expelling socialist Cuba from the OAS in the early 1960s.

Those attempts failed miserably. The 1980s, is not the same as the 1960s. The world has moved on. World capitalism is in a deep and continuing crisis. Even imperialism's puppets find it difficult to dance to its tunes. To the masses of the Caribbean, socialism is a great attraction and the hope for the future.

Recall that the Caribbean Development Bank refused to accept a US loan for the region, when political strings were attached that Grenada should not be included. And after the recent Caricom Summit in Jamaica, Secretary-General Dr. Kurleigh King, emphasising his confidence in the positive outcome of Caricom, said that the Foreign Ministers who "are close to their Heads of Government have already formally indicated that ideological pluralism is not a barrier to the integration movement."

The people of the Caribbean must fight against the cold-war anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria of US imperialism. They must insist on genuine "ideological pluralism" and "political pluralism," on the right of states with different socio-economic systems to co-exist peacefully in the Caribbean; and that the ideology of national and social liberation, Marxism-Leninism, must have a place in the sun. And revolutionary outposts of change for peace, freedom and social progress (Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and Suriname) must be defended against the onslaughts of imperialism and its puppets.

(Thunder January-March 1983)

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PNC Causes Moral Decay

A *New Nation* story was headlined: "A decline of moral values." The writer stated that "outstandingly base is the decline of moral and spiritual values in our society".

In the same issue Dr. Reid, General Secretary of the ruling PNC wrote that L.F.S. Burnham's "prescription for survival and progress" includes: a careful management of our financial resources and reserves. . . a war on waste."

All this is said in the face of blatant extravagance. Only recently, Guyana was regarded with derision when the President took a team of 42 to the Caricom Summit, including his wife (the only wife carried by any delegation), the son-in-law, a physician, etc. How in the name of decency can the PNC then talk about "careful management of our financial resources"?

And look at this other disgrace. The *Mirror* recently reported the 122 per cent salary hike for the Chairman of the Elections Commission. There was an increase in salary from \$18,900 to \$42,000 per year. And along with that a chauffeur allowance of \$262.90 to \$339.72 per month house allowance of \$4,800 per year, and entertainment allowance of \$3,600 per year. And let's not forget that he is entitled to a fat pension as the retired Chief Justice.

Why should Harold Bollers be paid such a fantastic salary?

Here is another example of waste. Salary payments to run the overbloated bureaucratic machine of the PNC regime increased from \$27 million in 1964 (last year of PPP government) to \$224 million in 1982,—about 8 times. But workers' wages have not increased even 4 times in the same period. And production in 3 main products—bauxite sugar and rice — is lower now than in 1964.

State corporations are losing money. Yet, together with government agencies, they are fattening the coffers of the PNC by giving advertisements to the PNC mouth piece, the *New Nation*. This is costing the tax-payers tens of thousands of dollars. \$70,980 was paid in the period 1st. January to 30th., June, 1982.

In the distribution of food-stuffs and other scarce commodities, goods are channelled to PNC, WRSM, YSM outlets, including the KSI. The excuse for putting millions of dollars into PNC hands is that the private small

shop keepers are blackmarketing. If that was so, there are means to control it. And if there was any real justification for taking the goods out of the normal, small shop-keepers distribution system, why was not the distribution done through state stores instead of PNC outlets?

Is there any wonder that there is a decline in moral values? Dr. Reid as Finance Minister in 1970 had promised "redistributive justice." Instead, the gap between the rich and the poor is growing wider, and Guyana has the distinction of having the highest infant mortality rate in the Commonwealth Caribbean.

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and former Prime Minister of Jamaica, Michael Manley, set examples by reducing their salaries. Where are the examples in Guyana? Past extravagance like flying "horses to Matthews Ridge" and labba to Barbados, and special aircraft to Barbados and Trinidad to convey baggage for the big boys are now having their toll on our children. Large numbers are now dying from malnutrition and hunger.

Recall the two stringent editorials in the *Sunday Chronicle* (November 7, 1982) by Charles Chichester just before his untimely death. In the first one "Get the 'big fishes'," he wrote:

"One trouble about Guyana is that we have never been at war in real terms thus war footing means little or nothing to too many. The action against black-marketeers must be seen against this background — and also must be judged against a situation which has found so many unemployed or retrenched and others striving in some way to earn a living. Further while last week's campaign has netted many sardines there must be real concern over the fact that no action seems to have been directed against the "big fishes"—the "instant millionaires" who are really responsible for exploiting the present situation."

He went on to refer to "the ones with strings who can get anything past our Customs boys."

Incidentally, the other editorial "what's wrong a GEC" referred to shocking mismanagement. His electricity supply was cut out twice in one week although his payments were in order. The end result is a 13 per cent hike in electricity charges!

If there is to be a halt to "the decline of moral values" it cannot be done by preaching. The PNC minority, corrupt regime is the root cause. The only way to stop the decline is to have a change in government.

(Mirror 9/1/83)

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Lies And Distortions

Seldom has so much dishonesty been packed into half of a paragraph. Note this:

"But what option do we have? The so-called opposition, the People's Progressive Party (PPP) an orthodox communist party is continuing to lend "critical support" to the PNC style Marxist-Leninist government."

It is taken from a newsletter dated September 1982. Source: a mushroom Guyanese political party with a Toronto, Canada address called the Conservative-Liberal Party (the name is a combination of the names of the 2 major parties, Conservative and Liberal of Canada).

The PPP is not lending any kind of support to the minority, corrupt PNC regime. "Critical Support" was born in special circumstances. In the mid-1970s, imperialism was angry, and was threatening the political independence and sovereignty of our nation. The PNC had changed to an anti-imperialist position in the 1974-76 period. It came out with 3 things — the Sophia Declaration; an export levy on bauxite which affected the US-owned Reynolds Metals Company; a \$1 compensation offer to the Bookers monopoly.

The Sophia Declaration had stated that the State would own and control all natural resources and would control foreign trade; foreign capital would be restricted entry into Guyana and would be permitted only if it came into partnership with co-operatives or the state.

The PNC was pushed by the PPP to impose the bauxite levy. It had promised to nationalise the Reynolds Metals Company subsidiary at Kwakwani "within a matter of months" after the nationalisation of the Demerara Bauxite Company (Demba) in 1971. But it failed to do so because of US pressure. In this situation, the PPP said: "if you can't nationalise, the least you can do is follow the example of the Manley government (of Jamaica) and impose a tax (levy) on the export of bauxite."

This levy, plus the offer of \$1 compensation to Bookers, made the imperialists see red. So they used Brazil to threaten our sovereignty and territorial integrity. At that time (not so now) our neighbour was playing the role of "gendarme of imperialism."

"Critical Support" meant defending our sovereignty and independence. It did not mean propping up the PNC government, as some allege. Actually, in June 1976, the PPP attacked the PNC and put forward a 17-point programme.

"Critical Support" came to an end long ago. To be precise on December 3, 1976 when we walked out of a joint PPP-PNC meeting.

Two factors were responsible. The first: the PNC big-shots got cold feet. Under imperialist threat, they weakened; compensation to Bookers was raised from \$1 to \$102 million to be paid at 6 per cent interest over 20 years (this, incidentally is greatly contributing to the country's financial headaches and the people's burdens today).

The second factor was the expansion of the military and para-military in the face of a cut in subsidies. The Mirror, in an editorial had commented: "Money for guns, not for bread." L.F.S. Burnham insisted on a retraction and issued an ultimatum: "retraction or no more talks". The PPP delegation walked out. Since then there has been no "critical support."

To talk about "the PNC style Marxist-Leninist government" is to bestow an unearned accolade on the PNC! There is nothing Marxist-Leninist about the PNC government. The intention is not only to attack the discredited PNC, but also to discredit Marxism-Leninism. That party has repeatedly claimed that its philosophy is "co-operative socialism". Never mind L.F.S Burnham saying once that he was a Marxist, a co-operative socialist and a Christian.

"Co-operative socialism" is not Marxism-Leninism. Friedrich Engels in his book "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" debunked co-operative socialism as utopianism. In other words, wishful thinking, day-dreaming. The founders of the co-operative movement and the advocates of co-operative socialism like Robert Owen and Fourier, came in for praise for their humanitarianism. But Engels lambasted them for their methods. They renounced the class struggle, a cornerstone of scientific socialism. For them, as for the PNC, socialism would come through the co-operation of all classes in co-operatives.

In 1970, the PNC had said that socialism would come to Guyana by means of the co-operatives, and the co-operative sector would become the dominant sector. We blasted them at the time and said that socialism could not be built that way. And as we predicted, they failed.

But unfortunately, some people forgot what we had said. They are now saying that socialism has failed in Guyana. Really, it's the PNC which has failed, not socialism.

Some confuse anti-imperialism with socialism; others think that nationalisation is socialism. Actually, neither anti-imperialism nor nationalisation by themselves mean socialism. Together with other factors like democratic control by the working people, they can be the gateway to socialism. In Guyana under the PNC, the preconditions — political, economic, ideological, institutional and cultural — have not been laid for the transition to socialism.

Actually, the PNC as a petty-bourgeois nationalist party, has established a bourgeois (not bourgeois-democratic but bourgeois-authoritarian) state. The ruling party went through several gyrations during the past 18 years in keeping with its own class interests as follows:

1964-70 — reactionary nationalist; pro-imperialist and dependent capitalism;

1971-73 — vacillation with balance in favour of imperialism;

1974-76 — Progressive nationalism and anti-imperialism;

1977-83 — retreat and vacillation as in the 1971-73 period, with pressure from imperialism to revert to the position in the 1964-70 period.

The objective of the imperialists and their agents is clear: attack the PPP and denigrate socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Can there be any doubt what is the moving force behind the Conservative-Liberal Party? It advocates that Guyana should be handed to the United States!

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Parties And Classes

In a previous article on political parties and classes, I debunked the lies and distortions in a statement put out by the Conservative-Liberal Party (Guyana) about the PPP and the PNC. The half-paragraph I quoted dealt with the PPP and PNC. The whole paragraph stated:

"But what option do we have? The so-called opposition, the People's Progressive Party (PPP) an orthodox communist party is continuing to lend "critical support" to the PNC style Marxist-Leninist government. The United Force (U.F.) has sold out since 1964 when they coalited with the P.N.C. The Working People's Alliance (W.P.A.) is also advocating a militant socialist government. The rest of the established political groups have not decided with clarity where to take over our nation—they are in the "middle of the road" position."

The United Force not only "sold out," but is also a spent force. It has a long genealogy. Its roots go back to the United Democratic Party (UDP), called National Democratic Party before the suspension of the Constitution in 1953 with John Carter, Rudy Kendall, John Fernandes and Lionel Luckhoo as leaders), and Luckhoo's break-away in 1956, the National Labour Front (NLF). It came to life in 1961 after the UDP had linked with Burnham and his break-away PPP to form the PNC in 1957, and the NLF had become defunct.

The resurrection of the UF and the UDP is respectively the Liberator Party (LP) headed by Dr. Kumar and Dr. Richmond, and the People's Democratic Movement. (PDM) of Llewelyn John.

The LP and the PDM are linked with Brindley Benn's Working People's Vanguard Party (WPVP) in the Vanguard for Liberation and Democracy (VLD). After his break from the PPP, Benn's WPVP first took an ultra-leftist Maoist position and has now swung to the right.

The VLD says it is not capitalist. But it attacks socialism and communism (an advanced form of socialism). Messrs. Kumar, Richmond, John and Benn: state your position. If you are not fish, you have to be fowl; you cannot be both fish and fowl at the same time. Between "capitalism" and "socialism," there is no other ideology.

The VLD is something like the "Compass" group of 1979, which wanted a government of "no ideology", "neither left nor right", and called for a "Government of National Reconstruction" (GNR). The WPA adopted the GNR after it moved away from the PPP's National Patriotic Front Government based on democracy, anti-imperialism and socialist orientation.

"Neither left nor right," what the Conservative Liberal Party (CLP) calls a "middle of the road," position, is in practice, capitalist. It is this position which brought, for instance, the Labour Party in England to the crisis it faces today.

On May 5, 1981, the Conservative Liberal Party wrote: "As all other options of government in Guyana are the greater of two evils, it therefore remains that these objectives can only be realised by the Conservative Liberal Party. And we hereby propose to do so." Some time later, in October 1981, it declared: "The situation cannot be left as it is. This will not be wise. Nor can it be allowed to fall into the hands of the 'greater of two evils'. The debris must be cleared and the Conservative Liberal Party must establish a new government accordingly."

Note the recurring line: "The greater of the two evils". This was the same line of the CIA, the United Force, the Justice Party and the Guiana United Muslim Party in 1964 which helped to bring the PNC to power. Now that the PNC is tottering, and the PPP is seen as the alternative government, the imperialists and their henchmen are once again referring to the PPP as "the greater of two evils."

And note this poster call by the Conservative Liberal Party for Freedom, Democracy and Dignity: "Help stop communism in Guyana. Support the Conservative Liberal Party of Guyana". The anti-communism bogey is being raised again.

The "only viable option left", the people are told, "is the Conservative Liberal Party." This is really a joke. Canada, under the ruling Liberal Party with "goldenboy", Trudeau is in trouble. And the conservative Republican Party's glamour "cowboy" Ronald Reagan cannot clear up the mess in the United States; the ranks of the unemployed have grown by over 3 million since Reagan became President 2 years ago. Yet the Conservative Liberal Party will clear up the greater mess which is Guyana today!

Actually, it is more sinister than that. The Conservative-Liberal Party and the Right to Work Association (RW-A) like the Guiana United Muslim Party and the Justice Party, have one mission; slander and weaken the PPP, help build a "third force", help put "the lesser of two evils" in power. In 1964, it was the PNC. Who is it now?

Watch out: A lot of Guyanese were once fooled by the FNC and the agents of imperialism. People must not be fooled again.

(Mirror 28/8/83)

Editor's Note: The term "coalited" as used in the quotation of the Conservative-Liberal Party is grammatically wrong. Most likely they can't spell very good. The term should be "coalesced".

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Lies And Slander

In the early 1960s, Anglo-American imperialism through the CIA and British intelligence mounted a many-sided campaign — lies and half-truths, racial strife, arson, strikes, blockade, violence — to bring down the PPP government

To install the PNC-UF coalition in power, imperialism and local reaction resorted to racial and religious incitement and anti-communist hysteria. The PNC incited the black working people by referring to the PPP govern-

ment as "coolie" and "rice" government. Moving from a religious (Christian) angle, the PNC and UF attacked the PPP with the vicious weapon of anti-communism.

Not content with this, imperialism created the Justice Party (JP) and the Guiana United Muslim Party (GUMP) to attack the PPP from a racial (Indian) and religious (Hindu and Muslim) angle.

The roles of the GUMP and JP were not to win the elections of 1964, but to split PPP votes so that it would not get a majority (51 per cent). The PPP got 46 per cent the People's National Congress 40 per cent and the UF 12 per cent of the votes. And so the PNC-UF coalition was installed in power.

Now that the PNC regime is crumbling, imperialism and its local allies see the PPP as the alternative. Consequently, they have mounted a campaign of lies and slander. The aim is to denigrate the name of the PPP and its leadership, weaken it and build a "third force" — an alliance of ultra-left and ultra-right forces like the JANA-TA Party of India.

And like the GUMP and JP, new mushroom groups are rising up under various names—Conservative-Liberal Party; Right to Work Association/ Front for Democratic Unionism (RWA/FDU), etc.

While ostensibly opposing the PNC, they are concentrating their attacks on the PPP. They are allied with other opposition forces in their general political line. This takes the following form — Jagan made his contribution, but he is too old; PPP is not revolutionary; PPP and PNC are the same; PPP has made a deal with the PNC; PPP is propping up the PNC; etc.

Slandering the PPP and GAWU, Paul Tennessee's RWA/FDU has resorted to a whole heap of lies to woo the sugar workers. In his Bulletin of November 1982, he wrote: "They might have been recognised in 1964, were it not for the fact, that the strike was called off, because of a promise made by Burnham to Jagan, that the party with the highest percentage of votes at the 1964 elections, would be given Prime Ministership! History inform us that, the PPP leadership was fooled, but the sugar workers, nevertheless, continued their struggle. They carried out militant strikes, which culminated in 1975, with the recognition of the union of their choice. However, due to the PPP's critical support, the recognition of the union appeared as the consequence of another deal between the

PNC and the PPP. The recognition of GAWU did not stop the workers from struggling for the surplus, which resulted from the 1974, 1975, and 1976 windfall profits. The workers supported "nationalisation" in 1976, only to be robbed and attacked in 1977 by the PNC dictatorship."

LIE 1: "Promise made by Burnham to Jagan that the Party with the highest percentage of votes... would be given the Prime Ministership". This is the first time this monstrous lie has surfaced. Brindley Benn, with whom Tennessee is linked, knows that this is a lie. The strike was called off because it was one of the longest, and the workers were suffering greatly. At that stage it was considered best to retreat in good order and in good time.

LIE 2. GAWU got recognition because of the PPP's "critical support" which, according to Brindley Benn and some others in the WPA, was a sellout deal. The vicious propaganda goes on like this:— because GAWU's recognition came from "a deal between the PNC and the PPP," GAWU is not fighting GUYSUCO, is betraying the workers and only collecting money.

These are the facts: GAWU started a strike in the first (Spring) crop in 1975. It lasted for 7 weeks, but did not gain its objectives of recognition. "Critical Support" (unity in the face of imperialist/fascist threat to Guyana's independence and sovereignty; and struggle against the PNC with a 16-point policy statement) came out in August 1975 at the PPP's 25th Anniversary Conference.

If, as Tennessee and others claim, that "Critical Support" was the sell-out deal which brought GAWU recognition, how is it that GAWU called a strike in October 1975—that is, after "Critical Support"? This strike lasted 6 weeks. The government was forced to work out a settlement. Leading the GAWU team, I was able to get Winslow Carrington as Minister of Labour to force the Sugar Producers' Association (SPA) to take a poll, which GAWU won with 98% of the votes of the sugar workers.

Tennessee and the RWA/FDU with cunning, lying propaganda try to make a distinction between GAWU and the sugar workers, insinuating that it was not GAWU but the sugar workers who fought for recognition and profit-sharing. There is no such distinction, GAWU led the sugar workers and started the 135-day strike in 1977.

If there was a deal between PPP and the PNC, and between GAWU and GUYSUCO, as the splitters and op-

portunists allege, how is it that the PNC regime brought out the whole state machine against GAWU and the sugar workers — police, GDF, national service, people's militia, teachers, civil servants and other government employees? The House of Israel was recruited. And Guy-suco employed 5,000 scabs.

The PNC regime was determined not only to break the strike, but also to crush GAWU. It failed because of the determination of the sugar workers, and regional and international solidarity — support from the Assembly of the Caribbean Council of Churches; the Caribbean Trade Union Conference and the Oil Field Workers' Trade Union of Trinidad and Tobago; the sugar refinery workers at the Thames Refinery of Tate and Lyle in London, England.

What the PNC failed to do, Paul Tennessee and others now want to do. The WPA called for sugar workers "self-organisation", and established "The Sugar and Bauxite Workers' Unity Committee." Their aim is to defame and thus split the most militant union, GAWU and slander and thus weaken the most consistent fighter of the Guyanese working people, the PPP.

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What Kind Of Attack?

Once again Guyanese are being fed the old familiar line "Guyana is under attack." For the PNC, this is a useful diversion, particularly at Budget time.

In the most recent past, Venezuela was deemed the aggressor, and became a useful handle. When the agreed \$14 a day minimum wage for 1979 was not at first paid, the excuse given was "do you want the \$14 or the Mazaruni Hydro-Electric Project?". Later, Venezuela provided the pretext for a change in the slogan to: do you want the \$14 or Essequibo?

Now, the aggressor is the United States. And we are told that U.S. aggression is taking place because of the socialist revolution in Guyana.

Make no mistake, U.S. imperialism is the enemy of mankind. And this includes Guyanese. But is the United States really attacking Guyana? If so, how and why?

We know that there are pressures. This has taken the form of blockade by the U.S. of two USAID loans and the veto of an Inter-American Development Bank loan for a second part of Phase I of the Mahaica-Mahaicony-Abary drainage and irrigation scheme.

But the attack against Guyana, it must be noted, has not taken a strident form. Witness the treatment of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada prior to the invasion on the one hand, and Guyana on the other. In the case of the three Caribbean Basin countries, the Reagan administration waged a relentless war, verbal and otherwise. This was and is not so in Guyana. There has not been a political/ideological crusade against Guyana. Pressure is being exerted mainly at the level of the economy through the IDB, the World Bank and the IMF.

And what is Guyana being pressured for? Certainly not because there is an on-going socialist revolution, as the PNC claims, or that Guyana is in a state of transition from capitalism to socialism as is stated in the 1980 Constitution.

Imperialism is fully aware of the fact that there is no socialist construction in Guyana. But it does not object to the PNC bandying the form of socialism. Actually, it is glad, as it served and is serving the interest of imperialism to have the socio-economic-political order called socialism. In this way, socialism gets a bad name.

Economic pressure is being applied to the PNC regime not because it is socialist, but because it is practising a particular brand of capitalism — state bureaucratic, co-operative and parasitic capitalism.

The United States is unhappy about the present situation, and wants a change in policy, not necessarily a change in leadership, for the following reasons:—

- 1) Guyana does not provide the political stability and investment climate for the foreign investors;
- 2) the United Force, politically / ideologically linked to Washington, was removed from the government and the comprador bourgeoisie associated with it was dis-

- placed by state and party (PNC) trading;
3) the PNC is tottering and there is no outright rightist alternative.

The Reagan administration wants a change from the existing PNC type of capitalism to another — dependent, distorted capitalism as in Latin America. But what the United States wants for Guyana is not the answer.

One has only to look around in Central and South America to see what is the situation under US imperialist domination. Even the most "developed" countries like Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, Chile and Brazil are, like Guyana, up to their necks in trouble and are facing colossal debt payment problems. This is due to the fact that they have a dependent, distorted economy which breeds under-development and worsening living conditions for the working people.

Venezuela is a classic example of dependency and a distorted economy, 85 per cent of its national income comes from oil, but oil employs only 1 per cent of the population. Food has to be imported. And a large percentage of the people lives below the poverty line. That's why the Campins-led COPEI government was disastrously defeated in the recent elections.

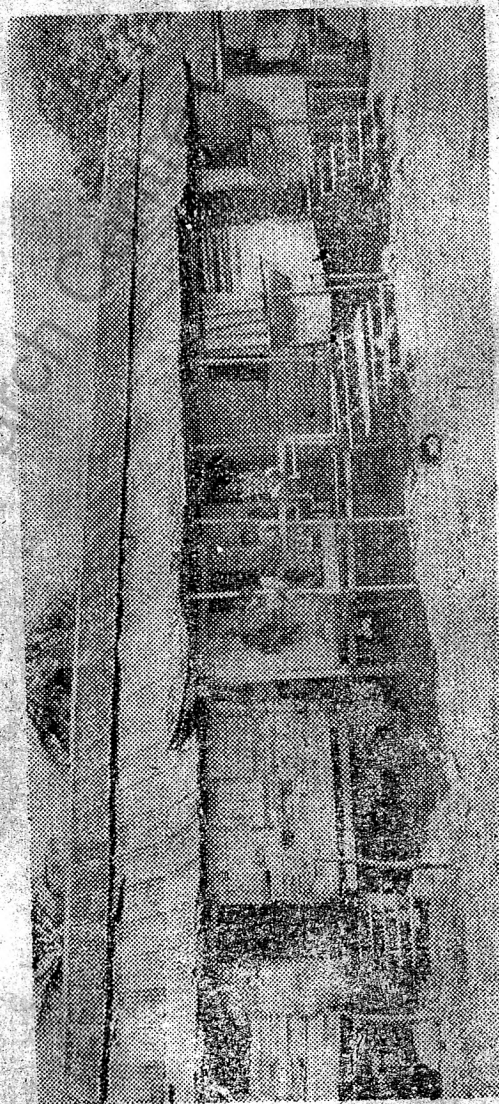
Like Venezuela, other dependent-capitalist Latin American countries have distorted economies: reliance on one or two products. That's why some are called coffee republics" or banana republics." Chile's economy is hinged on copper and nitrates.

Brazil is a good example of 'developed under-development'. A few years ago, it was lauded to the skies with growth rates reaching 12 per cent per annum. What was deemed "the Brazilian miracle" has disappeared. This is now an economic impasse with the world's biggest debt problem and an inflation rate of 211 per cent. A few months ago rioting and looting occurred in the streets of the largest industrial city, Sao Paulo. Another dependent capitalist state, Argentina has a 400 per cent inflation rate.

Burnhamism — state, bureaucratic, co-operative and parasitic capitalism — is not the answer. Neither is dependent, distorted capitalism under Reaganism.

The way forward is Socialist Orientation. This means a democratic, anti-imperialist state which is serving the interest of the masses of the people of Guyana.

(Mirror 8/1/84)



Housing is a sore quest on in Guyana today. From the time the PNC took office, the housing situation has been getting worse. Government's expenditure on housing is dwindling steadily and its promises on housing have fallen by the wayside. Slums are everywhere, and squatting abounds in the rural areas. In this picture is seen one of the typical colonial logics which govern-

ment promised to get rid of many years ago. These disgusting eyesores are a grim reminder of the harsh days of slavery and indenture. The PPP is vigorously campaigning for decent housing for the people of Guyana, and is determined to leave no stone unturned to improve the atrocious social conditions obtaining in the country.



Bauxite workers are apprehensive over the future, for further retrenchment hangs over their heads should the government accept the 1983 prescriptions of the imperialist IMF or the recommendations of the US trans-national corporation US Steel which drew up in 1983 a Master Plan for the survival

of the bauxite industry. In August 1983, Guyanese sacked 1,721 workers. In this picture miners are seen in an unhappy mood listening to the news of the wholesale sackings. The PPP is opposed to retrenchment as a means of austerity, and seeks an efficiently run bauxite industry.

THE ROAD TO NATIONAL UNITY

This booklet is made up of the Memorandum submitted by the PPP to the 3-Party Talks which were held in Guyana with the view to forging unity for political action in the interest of the nation and the suffering masses. It provides an insight into the postures of the mini-parties and their intrigues behind the backs of the people. This booklet is a must for all Guyanese.

FORWARD WITH THE WOMEN'S STRUGGLE

This booklet depicts high points in the women's struggle for freedom, equality and socialism in Guyana. It was published in honour of the 30th anniversary of the WPO, and in salute to the 9th Congress of the WPO held in November 1983 at Grove, E.B.D. It records the hard road women have travelled, and pays homage also to the martyrs of the movement.

FOR SOCIALISM IN GUYANA

This booklet consists of the Programme of the PPP. Revealed in this Programme is basically how the PPP sees Socialism coming to Guyana, and how the Party as a revolutionary movement relates to other forces inside the country and overseas.

THUNDER is the theoretical and discussion journal published by the PPP on a quarterly basis. It is full of facts, and is based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of various situations at home and overseas. For an in-depth understanding of events, this magazine is a must. It was founded in 1950 when the Party was formed.

MIRROR is the People's Paper in Guyana. It fearlessly carries the people's side of the news, which otherwise would be snuffed out by the bilge in the other media. This newspaper is seriously hamstrung however by the government among other measures having cut its newsprint supply, and selling said newsprint at exorbitant prices. This paper which fights for the masses should be supported by all honest, progressive and patriotic Guyanese. Arrange for your copy now.

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