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Speech on receipt of Franz Fanon Freedom Award for Extraordinary Life-Long Dedication, self-sacrifice and consistent work leading to the Emancipation of the wretched of the Earth but especially of the Caribbean and Latin America.

SPEECH BY CHEDDI JAGAN - 3rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN - NY SEPTEMBER 1st, 1989.

I wish to thank you from the bottom of my heart for this wonderful honour which you have conferred on me. I want to say that on behalf of my Party and myself this is indeed a great honour. We highly cherish this and I can assure you this evening will inspire us more to continue that struggle which we started.

Indeed I am very glad to be participating in this event because I feel that it is very timely, and the subjects you have linked together are very very important because there is an inter-action and an inter-connection between them; this must be made known as widely as possible because if we are to attain what we want the liberation of our countries and the building of a better society - then the consciousness of the people must be raised above drugs and above the propaganda which is daily been feed to our peoples.

For drugs is just not an unrelated problem; it has to do with dependency. And, dependency has to do not only with the colonial days when we fought against either the British Raj or the French Empire but has to do with economic dependency tied with the political and military which came after independence.

Models have been exported to us in the name of development. Models to tie us down, called by names such as the Puerto Rican model, the "import - substitution" model, the "regional intergration" model, the "partnership" model -- all of these have helped to create the debt crisis. These models told us that we must concentrate on the infrastructure. For instance, at the beginning with the Puerto Rican model and let the people from outside who have capital come in to do the so-called industrialisation and to do the development in agriculture. And what was the end result? The debt crisis is an effect of that kind of development because those who came from outside plundered our countries. The result is, that they bring in one dollar and take out four, they lend us money to do infra-structure which does not recover the money in sufficient time to pay back the debts: so we keep getting in debt, more and more in debt, And so from 1981 to '85, for instance, in Latin American and the Caribbean, we had a net outflow, net out flow, of \$36 billion a year! Last year, the figure was 33 billion, so infact we are not poor because we are stupid; we are poor because we are financing the developed countries.

And today we have reached a point where we are borrowing to pay debts. Under the IMF -- a highfalutin name - now called "structural adjustment policies" they lend us money to pay debts so we can get in bigger debt. This is what is called the debt trap. Once you are in it then sovereignty goes, political independence goes, economic independence goes and you will get tied up even militarily and ideologically with the outside world. Well we have to break this cycle, this cycle of dependency. Otherwise we cannot get out either of the debt crisis or the drug crisis because we have to pay so much. Professor Thornton gave us the figures, how much we have to pay, \$140 billion a year, going out. Somebody told me look at the glories of the capitalist world but take away the \$200 billion dollars which they get from the third world and then we will see where all this prosperity is.

Yes, the drug problem has become, I'm talking now from the supply side, a cause of the crisis. We didn't have drug problems ten fifteen years ago. We did not have so much cocaine and marijuana and all that produced. It is being produced now because this model of development which was exported to us and implemented by puppets who are put in power--take out the Jagans, take out the Bishops, ~~de~~-estabalise the Nicaraguan government and put puppets in there. Fortunately they have not de-stabalised the Nicaraguan government. But elsewhere they put puppets who will implement these exported models. The consequence of that is that if we had to pay 40% on the average of Latin American and Caribbean export earnings then what do we have ^{not} left, to bring in spare parts, to bring in machinery, to bring in fertilizers, to bring in agricultural equipment? You have got it! So agriculture goes down and when agriculture suffers, we have therefore to produce cocaine and marijuana.

In my country for instance, in seven years, by opening up the land which was bottled up in the interest of the plantocracy (so that they can get a cheap and abundant labour supply around the plantations), we opened up the lands; the lands outside of sugar estates were described by a Royal commission as being under water so that cattle and sheep and so on, ~~as they put~~ as they put it were living an amphibious existence, like alligators; we put drainage and irrigation and we put the a farmers, the rice farmers, in control of the Board - the Rice Board, the Rice Marketing Board, (which bought all the rice and sold all the rice internally and externally in the colonial period to make sure that the farmers never get enough from that control) we put the farmers in control of the Rice Board. We democratised the industry and we had 72% increase in seven years! Now we have markets for rice and barter agreements with the GDR, for instance and Cuba, we cannot supply rice. And last

year for the first time in our history, we imported sugar! This is a classic example where predominantly agricultural countries are going down the hill agriculturally. Another reason for that is that in the developed countries, agriculture is subsidied whereas in our countries we have an urban based parasiticelite who are living parasitically on the farmers of the country, and, thus destroying agriculture at the same time. So on one hand we have in Latin America and the Caribbean, a one crop or one mineral economy or if you're doing well you have one crop and one mineral⁹ year. And at the same time, you are living parasitically on the bulk of the people who are working in the country-side in agriculture, so how can we compete? When in Europe up to 1974, they were importing sugar, now they are producing surplus sugar and now dumping it in our markets and so the price and the markets disappear for sugar which you were producing.

In the third world we are loosing \$65 billion a year from unequal international trading, constantly buying dear and selling cheap and so impoverishment. There was a Latin American study, Latin American and Caribbean study, by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). 1985 to 1995 prognosis -- poverty will increase: in 1980 10% of the people at the top ^{earned} ~~owned~~ 40% of the National Income; 40% at the people at the bottom get 8 per cent of the National Income and that maldistribution of income will worsen by 1995. Unemployment is around 30 per cent. Twelve wise men who were appointed to find the panacea for the ills of the Caribbean said it might approach in the very near future 40 per cent. You better do something about it! That is likely to increase to 50 per cent, that situation by 1995. And the debt the magnitude of it - which was already in the crisis in 1985 - \$368 billion will become \$672 billion in 1995 and that by the way, ^{is} assuming a rate of growth in the economy of 7 per cent. For the last five years we had a rate of only 1 per cent roughly.

So on the one hand we have drugs being produced. Therefore, we have to deal with this problem of dependency and underdevelopment and poverty in that inter-connected way and see the inter-connection between the three - drugs, debt and dependency.

Fortunately, the people are waking up and we see a trend now not only a democratic trend to remove the dictators as they have been removed from many parts of Latin America but also we see now that when the people go to the ~~x~~ vote they are moving to populist candidates be it in Ecuador, be it in Brazil, in

Venezuela, and in Argentina in the most recent elections, and, even in Jamaica where Seaga was put out and Manley were brought back in. This is a good trend but we have to come in here, we who are revolutionaries must learn to organise better, get among the people, build unity and put an alternative, a democratic and left alternative, so that ~~we~~ we cannot only get the people to vote but to vote for people who are going to serve their interests to break the dependency syndrome.

In Guyana, I am happy to tell you that we are coming back in full circle. In 1953, we broke the racial rivalry at the middle class level; we organised the people at the bottom and built racial and working class unity and national unity and we won 18 out of 24 seats. But our government was shortlived - 133 days after, British troops were sent in and we were removed. And two years after, a classical divide ^{and} ~~of~~ rule policy, Burnham was persuaded to split the PPP. And then after he lost two elections in 1957 and 1961 to us he made a linkage with imperialism. And everybody was saying Burnham was a great tactician but look where the tactics have brought our country! Today Guyana, is called a basket case; in the 1960's when we were in government Guyana was bracketed with the big four in the Caribbean -- Guyana, Trinidad, Jamaica, Barbados, today it is bracketed with the last three in Latin America and the Caribbean -- Haiti, Bolivia and Guyana.

The people's conditions are so bad now -- a medium size loaf of bread is one day's wage; a pint of cooking oil is one day's wage; a pound of chicken, beef or pork is one and half day's wage; no water, no electricity, workers have to stand up and fight, jostle to get on a mini-bus; the transport system has broken down, in the afternoon they have to be on the road sometime one, two, three hours before they can get home after work. This is the misery to which puppet rule and turn coats and traitors have put our country. This is why we salute the Cuban revolution and Nicaraguan revolution.

We are coming round in a full circle. Today we have racial unity, working class unity at the trade union level. Last year seven trade unions broke away from the puppet (TUC) Trade Union Congress two in sugar, two in bauxite (the main industries), and the big ones in Georgetown called the Clerical and Commercial Workers Union and the Public Service Union, and one at the University.

After the IMF-dictated budget in March this year, the workers went on strike. For the first time we had a six weeks strike of the sugar and bauxite workers together. This is important and significant because bauxite workers are predominantly black and sugar workers are predominantly Indian. And the strike was supported

fully also by the workers of the University, academics and others.

At the political level five parties who fought the last elections which were rigged - Elections are rigged consistently since 1968 - We formed together what is called the Patriotic Coalition for Democracy. This was intended mainly to fight for free and fair elections, but we have sat around the table and hammered out a programme, a minimum programme, between left and right and centre, and we hope to get free and fair elections which there is no doubt the Coalition will win. The issue today is not whether the Opposition will win but whether the elections will be free and free. And this is where we call on you to give us the biggest solidarity you can give, because the United States Government, the British Government and others are putting the equation. In Poland, Ms Thatcher went to Poland and said that you cannot have development without democracy, without political reforms; we are hearing the same thing about Nicaragua; we are hearing the same thing about Panama; there must be democracy without that you cannot have development, we ask what about Guyana? We want you in this country to ask the State Department and the White House and the Congress what about Guyana?

In the same way as you have an Electoral Commission now in Nicaragua which is made up of two members of the Government and two members of the Opposition and an Independent Chairman agreed to by both sides, we would want that in Guyana. In 1967 and 68, ~~the~~ laws, rather laws and regulations, were made which eroded the powers of the Elections Commission. Lord Avebury who headed an International Team of Observers in 1980 at our elections, he described our Elections Commission as a toothless poodle of Burnham. Well, we want an Elections Commission with teeth so that it can run the elections as it did in 1964. And we ask you to fight and help us in that regard, that we can get ^{has got and if we can get observers that Nicaragua} the same kind of Elections Commission as Nicaragua is inviting from the United Nations, from the OAS, from the European Parliament and many other places. Hoyte is saying as Burnham said once before that ^{the} United Nations has not got a vote in Guyana therefore it has no right to come there. He is constantly talking about interference in our internal affairs and hiding under that so that the fraud can be continued without anybody having a look at it.

Broad fears are expressed about the PPP that we are an Indian Party, number 1, and that we will set up an Indian Government. We are ~~an~~ not an Indian Party it just happens

that the majority of our supporters are Indian and they are not Indian bourgeoisie and capitalists they are Indian farmers and workers, some of the most exploited in Guyana, that's why they have supported us because we stand against exploitation.

And on the one hand, it is said that we are an Indian party and on the other hand, we are a communist party, so they are saying now they can't give elections free and fair to Guyana because the Communists will win. So they will support free and fair elections only if the Communists can be taken out of the government but never that they must go in, this is democracy by some standards. Alright we are prepared to meet this. When in the 1960s I was premier, it was said that Guyana will become a second Cuba not only that but more dangerous than Cuba because Cuba you can isolate; it is a little island you can build a wall around it by ships and so on, but Guyana has borders with three countries and it has the Atlantic Ocean and, it will become a base for Soviet penetrations, Communist penetration of Latin America.

So I went after speaking to the Anti-Colonial Committee addressing it in the United Nations, I spoke to the Latin American Group, I said if this is your fear we are prepared to sign a treaty of neutrality, surrender part of our sovereignty and independence, sign a treaty of neutrality like Austria which will be guaranteed by the United Nations and the Security Council with the big fellows there. So what is your fear? No answer. After the meeting the Argentinian delegate come to me, he said, you know, Dr. Jagan, what you said was very interesting but you know you are bringing a whole new concept into our hemisphere, concept of neutrality; we have the Rio-Pact, under the Rio-Pact all of us are supposed to help each other if any one is attacked by communism from without or within and you are bringing in the concept of neutrality?

Well at that time he reminded me we had the Organisation of American States, I reminded him that the Organisation of American States was blockading Cuba. So what are we prepared to do, to meet these concerns? We are saying that even if we alone win the elections as every body expects, we in the PPP that we will not have a PPP government, we would have ^a PCD Government, the Coalition of five parties, in other words a multi-party, multi-racial, and multi-class government. A government which will be committed to a mixed economy as Nicaragua co-operative, private and state.

Further we say in answer to those who say the same old argument as in the 60's which we heard about communist state will be established in Guyana. We say, we in the PPP under what we have announced for over a decade a policy that "winner will not take all", we will ^{not} dominate the cabinet and the government, the PCD government, will be bound to ~~implement~~ implement the programme which was hammered ^{out} around the table. We wish this to be known, widely known, in this country, because we feel that ^{that} political formula and that programme can be a basis for which we can rally support for free and fair elections in Guyana. And once again let us put the Caribbean on the road to progress as Bishop and the NJM Government was doing in the period from 1979 to 1983.

So far as I am concerned I am not disheartened by the fact that we have been in the wilderness, in opposition for 25 years. Because what I stand for cannot be defeated and indeed is winning out; mistakes have been made, errors were committed, blunders, etc. and set backs, but human progress cannot be stopped. The struggle is inevitably going to go ahead. What we need is unity and solidarity internationally and nationally.

We have to learn from the heroic Viet Namese people; they took on the mightiest and came out victorious. First with the working class party, the working class ideology, ~~the~~ national unity not only communist, democrats and socialists, but also mass organisation all kind -- youths, women, trade unions, farmers and then international work in the socialist world, in the third world and in the capitalist world itself. We cannot forget the role, the heroic role, the American people played in bringing that war to an end. Therefore, we see work not only in our respective countries but work right here in this country to build that bridge of unity because we have the same cause. And I am glad to see that no longer is it possible to send the marines, marines are still there and they are very strong, but politically it is not easy to send the marines either to Nicaragua or to Panama as they did in the early part of this century.

We are glad to see that Latin Americans are doing their own things, now. They have moved away from the OAS where they were intimidated so to speak, first with the Contadora Group, then the Contadora Support Group and more recently with the five Central American Presidents sitting around the table and saying, look boy, you keep your hands off, we Latin Americans are going to settle our own affairs. And I hope that we in the Commonwealth Caribbean, and by expansion, I mean the French and the Dutch and Haiti will join with this trend because we are lagging behind,

join with this great democratic trend, progressive trend in our hemisphere, so that we can win our true liberation and breakaway from dependency and debt and drugs. Let us build a new future, conditions are maturing further.

Thank you very ~~ex~~ much.