

Cheddi Jagan Speaks At

FREEDOM RALLY

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Thank you for your very warm welcome. First of all I want to thank you and to welcome you to our city. To the freedom marchers I want to say that your spirit, your determination and your sacrifice will be a lasting example to the people of this country. I want to say that what you have done is only the first step in the last lap of freedom for our wonderful country.

Comrade Ashton Chase has told us that the theme of this Rally is Peace, Unity, Independence and Freedom. Our country has for too long been suffering under the pangs of colonialism. We know what are the evils of colonialism.

From the days of slavery through indentureship to the present day our people have been subjected to exploitation of the worst kind. At first they started out working for small wages. We recall the days when people used to work for little or nothing, when they worked for eight cents per day.

IMPERIALISM

Today we don't have indenture; we don't have slavery. But we have another kind of exploitation. And that is imperialist exploitation of our people. We have also had under colonialism another evil and that is the establishment of institutions in our country which have been geared to maintain a system of exploitation and slavery — institutions of a religious nature, institutions of a social kind, institutions of an educational kind. All these have been set up by our masters with the aim of moulding our minds, the minds of our people, so that we will continue to accept the ideology and philosophy of our masters, so that they can continue to rob us, to exploit us and while they are doing so we will meekly and humbly accept what they do.

We know in days past, during the days of slavery, that bishops, admirals, dukes and ministers defended slavery. In the days, when Wilberforce and Buxton, when Reverend John Smith, fought to abolish slavery, the high and mighty all over the world including this country fought like the devil to see that slavery was perpetuated. But chattel slavery was abolished in this country. Today in our midst the high and mighty also want to hold back the freedom of Guyana.

They have created divisions in our country. In the old days these divisions led to racial antagonism. You hear a lot of talk today about race. **BUT HAVE WE FORGOTTEN THAT IN THE DAYS OF SLAVERY THEY USED AMERINDIANS IN THE INTERIOR TO HUNT DOWN THE RUN-AWAY AFRICAN SLAVES?**

HAVE WE FORGOTTEN HOW THEY BROUGHT INDIANS HERE FROM THE FAR EAST TO UNDER-CUT THE POSITION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVES WHEN AFTER THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THE FREED SLAVES WERE DEMANDING HIGHER WAGES AND BETTER CON-

DITIONS? HAVE WE FORGOTTEN HOW THEY HAVE PITTED PORTUGUESE AND AFRICANS AT EACH OTHERS THROATS?

Today they tell us about racialism. **BUT MY FRIENDS, WE KNOW THAT RACIALISM IS ONLY ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE DIVIDE AND RULE TECHNIQUE WHICH THEY HAVE USED FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL. NOT ONLY DO THEY USE RACE. IN SOME COUNTRIES THEY USE RELIGION TO DIVIDE THE PEOPLE.** In our country we see steps now being taken also to cause religious disunity among the masses.

Comrades, we know that they intend to use every weapon to uphold this vicious system of colonialism. The evils of colonialism must be rooted out from our Land and as quickly as possible.

The P.P.P. has taken up the struggle for freedom. Since 1947 when I first got in the Legislative Council, as it was then called, since 1950 when the P.P.P. was first formed, we have been fighting and demanding freedom for our country. But what did our masters give? Instead of giving us freedom, they have said: No, we are not going to give you freedom; you are disunited; you are divided among yourselves.

In 1962 when we went to London what did Mr. Sandys say? He said that unless you can agree among yourselves there will be no freedom for British Guiana. This was a new principle which he enunciated. But he failed to note that it was the British Government itself which created this unity in our dear land. In 1953, weren't we united? Weren't the Africans and Indians living together like brothers and sisters?

Yes, we were then united. We were then marching together. But instead of giving us freedom, they broke up our government and subsequently they split our party. **THEY INITIATED A SPLIT IN OUR MOVEMENT. THEY CAUSED THE DIVISIONS AND TODAY THEY ARE USING THE SAME SPLIT AND THE SAME DIVISION TO DENY INDEPENDENCE FOR OUR DEAR LAND. YET THEY FOOL SOME PEOPLE THAT IT IS BECAUSE OF A RACIAL DIVISION THAT WE CANNOT BE FREE.**

Let us ask them—why did they take away our constitution in 1953, why did they suspend our constitution then, why did they destroy the liberal constitution that was handed down by the Dutch and impose on us British crown colony rule? My friends, the P.P.P. was nowhere around in those days. The reason is our masters did not want to stop the exploitation of the people. That is why whenever they get a chance they want to hit us on our heads. But the time has come when we must tell them we are not going to stand it any more. To hell with it; if they want to hit us on our heads we are going to hit back (Applause).

Sandys in 1962 said that you must agree among yourselves. But when he had the chance to decide last year did he remember the principle which he was talking about? Did he try by some compromise to bring the two sides together? No. He did not do this. His decision was a gross betrayal

not only of pledges given in 1960 by his predecessor but also of the very word he uttered about having agreement between the various factions and the various sides in the country.

Mr. Sandys does not want agreement. He wants to perpetuate colonial and imperialist rule in our country. But we will show Mr. Sandys and all the people who are behind him that the people of British Guiana will not let this nonsense stand.

Comrades, there is no doubt that Sandys took advantage of our disunity. Having seen that we were disagreeing among ourselves, he took the opportunity to deny us independence. This is why we have been talking about unity from the very first time the P.P.P. was split in 1955—in 1956 and in 1957 when we put out a call for unity, when we created through the help of Dr. J. B. Singh an all-party conference, when we went all the way to Ghana and asked Dr. Nkrumah and the West Indian Leaders to use their influence so that the two PPP factions could come together. All these things we had done because we saw that unless unity had come to our country we would suffer. Unfortunately, our demand for unity was not heeded. At that time, we said to the other leaders in 1956 and 1957: let us come together. We put two demands. One, that all the restrictions should be removed. You remember that we were then restricted to our homes; we had to report every other day to the police; we could not move about from one part of the country to another; meetings were banned. We told the leaders that this was one thing on which we must stand — We said, remove all restrictions, remove all deprivations of our democratic rights. What else did we say? We said, let us have a return of the constitution, the Waddington Constitution, which was suspended. We further said, let us go to the elections with a joint programme, let us go to the elections as a united electoral front.

But instead of these things, what happened? Agreement was not reached and as a result the British Government gave us a constitution in 1957 which was more retrograde than the constitution which we had in 1953. We therefore were forced from 1957 to 1961 to work with a constitution which was more backward than the one which was suspended in 1953.

The imperialists were able as a result of that example of disunity and as a result of the bickering among ourselves to deny us our freedom at that time. And so today in 1963 they have also used the division among us to deny us our freedom.

Comrades what are the methods used by these people who tell us so much about freedom? I have also referred to the suspension and the split in our party. What other methods have they used to create divisions and dissensions? We saw the disturbances of 1962 and 1963. We saw the infiltration in our midst of people from the United States of America whose sole aim was to cause the downfall of the People's Progressive Party Government. We saw where there was administrative sabotage; we saw where the big shots from abroad were putting on a financial and economic squeeze

But when the time came to fulfil, they reneged on their promise, on the Government and people of this country. They promised us aid.

They created in our country divisions and an atmosphere of tension and racial hatred. These were the methods which they used. Now comrades how can they when they deliberately use these methods to disrupt, when they use methods to subvert when they cause racial rioting, come back and tell us that we have divisions in our midst?

Let us note that the people who instigated the riot and the disturbances in 1962 were the United Force fascist elements. But let us note further that when the shooting occurred, the people who were to suffer were not those elements of the United Force but rather the people, the masses, who belonged to the P.P.P. and the P.N.C. We must therefore begin to look at our situation very carefully. We must begin to isolate those who are trying to arrest our march to freedom.

WHY WE SIGNED

Comrades, some have said we in the P.P.P. have made a mistake, that we should not have given Sandys the power to decide. But comrades, note what has happened since 1960 in our country. In 1960, we went to London and demanded independence. We were told then that there would be no independence in 1961 but we could come back again soon after the elections. We went back in 1962. But what happened? Instead of giving us independence, they said, come back again. We tried the United Nations, we tried everywhere. We tried to meet the wishes of the Opposition. But instead of that there was deadlock on all sides. Faced with this deadlock, we could not return home without independence. I told them in London, that we are not prepared to pack home without independence. This was one of the main conditions. Another reason was the fact that on the first day of the Conference the Opposition stand was this: **No date must be fixed for independence they said unless two issues were settled once and for all. They told Sandys that no date must be fixed unless the issues of Proportional Representation (P.R.) and elections before independence were settled.**

Aside from that the Colonial Office had sent a man by the name of Jacobs, and Jacobs wrote a report saying that the Government was going to have a deficit of about \$5 million. When I went to London, Colonial Office Officials told me that we might have to come under Treasury control. They were not satisfied with squeezing us, with controlling us all these years from 1957. They were not satisfied with that. They wanted from now on to have their say in every thing we did, in every penny that we were going to spend. This was a new situation.

Another reason was that we went to London armed with the White Paper of 1960. What happened in 1960? All the controversial issues were raised then—P.R., Upper House, etc. Mr. MacLeod was then the Secretary of State for the Colonies. As a result of the talking with the various sides Mr. MacLeod ultimately hammered out a compromise. We were not very

happy about this compromise because independence was withheld. **MR. MACLEOD SAID THAT THE 1960 DECISION WAS A DECISION WHICH HAD SETTLED ALL THE MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE AND WHEN WE MET AGAIN WE WOULD ONLY HAVE TO DEAL WITH ONE QUESTION ONLY, AND THAT WAS THE QUESTION OF INDEPENDENCE.**

So comrades, you will understand that keeping all these factors in

mind, we decided to give Sandys the opportunity to take a statesman-like approach and make a decision to settle the British Guiana problem and let us move on to independence. He should have kept in mind what is British constitutional practice, what Commonwealth practice is, and what historical precedents there were. He should have kept in mind what Mr. MacLeod had done in 1960 and also what MacLeod himself had said about P.R. And he should have moved to the main question, and that is, to fix a date for independence.

THE IMPOSITION

Comrades let us now come to the question of the imposition itself and why it was made. First of all the imposition has been made because of vital changes which have been made by us. You remember that there were laws which we made during the last Government and during the present regime. During the last government, we introduced some labour laws which benefited the working man — workmen's compensation laws, minimum wage laws, etc. And last year we had introduced a bill to make into law and to give the right to workers to have the union of their choice, to have recognition for the union which they want. They were approved not only by these labour laws. They were also approved with the taxation measures which we introduced. We had said from the time our party started that we wanted to see that the rich pay their fair share of taxation. We said that the poor must not be called upon all the time to pay for the luxuries of the rich. We said that all those who could afford to pay must pay and the poor people must be given a break. We had seen in the case of Campbellville, and in the case of lands on the West Bank that lands were bought at low prices and sold at fantastic prices and the government got nothing out of this. As a result we introduced such taxation as capital gains, income tax, net wealth tax in order to get from those who could afford so that we could benefit those who in poverty and who are in privation.

Now comrades, there was also pressure from local vested interests and the fascist elements in our midst. These people do not want to see this country free.

Last but certainly not least, there was pressure from the United States of America. The United States have an obsession about the Castro regime. They cannot stand it that a small country 90 miles away from their shores is defying, is trying to establish a new order free from exploitation. The American attitude is, if you are not with us then you are against us. We have never at any time said that we are against the United States of America. But unfortunately, the United States has been putting pressure

and this pressure was another reason, was the main reason for the imposition of Sandys which has led to the denial of independence for our country.

Comrades, the main aim of the imperialists is to remove the P.P.P. from office. They do not want to have us on the political scene when independence comes. Just like in 1953 after they kicked us out, they want to put their puppets and their stooges in office and they will perpetuate them with guns, machine-guns and bombs as they are doing in Vietnam and elsewhere. But we shall show them as we have shown them today that if they do such things in this country they will not pass. (Applause):

Comrades, let us tell the imperialists that no matter what they do they cannot win, that they are fighting against logic and history.

What did they tell the Indians at the turn of the century when the Indians were fighting for freedom? One man got up in the House of Commons in England and said: "I can't see any time in the future when India will become free". As late as 1934, the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin got up in Parliament in England and said: "You have a chance of keeping India within the British Empire for ever". During the war, when Roosevelt tried to get Churchill to free India, when they were talking about the four freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, Churchill said that he was not appointed Prime Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

The imperialists were going to hold back not only India, but Ceylon, and the whole of Africa and everywhere else. But what happened? India, Ceylon, Burma first became free. The puppet Chiang Kai-Shek on whom the Americans spent \$5 billion was removed by the people's forces in China. In Indo-China, the French for eight long years were fighting against the people. The French imperialists had \$2 billion from the United States but eventually they had to walk out. They were kicked out; the end came when they were chased out at Dien-Bien Phu in 1954.

In Algeria, what happened there? When Ben Bella called for freedom what did they do? The Algerian leader and his friends were hi-jacked in a plane going from Egypt to Tunisia. They were taken and locked up in jail in France for several years. They were locked up in France but what happened? After six years of war, after the French were spending 500 million francs a year, De Gaulle had to bring Ben Bella out of prison and make Algeria free (Applause). De Gaulle had to go against the same people, the French Colonists, the Colonialists, who brought him to power. Then came the culmination, the imperialist attack on Egypt in 1956. They tried to get rid of President Nasser. The French and the British started raining bombs on the Egyptian people. But my friends what happened? Sixty-two nations got up in the United Nations and protested. The Soviet Union came out and told the Egyptians that they could rely on them for military help. The Americans who had promised to help defaulted, so said Anthony Eden, then British Prime

Minister. And so, the British and the French had to call off their attack. Egypt is today free marching on to peace and socialism.

IN AFRICA

Let's turn to Africa. Not too long ago a Belgian Foreign Minister said that it would take 75 years before the Belgian colonies in Africa would be free. We have seen where the Belgian territories have become free. The British said it would take at least 25 years before Kenya and other African countries became free. They pushed down the throats of the African people the Central African Federation which the African people did not want. They put Kenyatta in jail; they put Hastings Banda in jail. As late as 1961, our former Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, who left us and went to Kenya as Governor, said to the African leaders of Kenya when they demanded the release of Jomo Kenyatta that he would not release him because Kenyatta was a leader "to darkness and death" in Africa. This is what that imperialist stooge Renison said in Kenya the other day.

But comrades, we have seen that the Central African Federation has come to an end. We have seen where Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are going to become free in another few months. We have seen where in Kenya, Kenyatta who like us suffered imprisonment and everything else is today the Prime Minister of a free Kenya (Applause).

We have seen the developments at the United Nations. At one stage, the United Nations was dominated by the imperialists. They ran the show. But today, it is a different story. A few years ago, as soon as the imperialists signalled, all the hands used to go up. But not any more. In December, 1961, in spite of protests from the United States and England, the United Nations listened to me as a petitioner for the first time in history (Applause). The same week when I was addressing the United Nations, Prime Minister Nehru took his little army and pushed out the Portuguese from Goa (Applause). The Americans and others were annoyed. The imperialists said: Oh, but Mr. Nehru, you are a great friend, you are a man of peace, how can you do such a thing? But Nehru said their patience had become exhausted. They could no longer stand the indignity of having Portuguese survivals and remnants right next to the sub-continent. They could not see their people suffering indignity at the hands of Portuguese colonialists.

But what the Western imperialists were opposed to was not so much that the little island was liberated. What they were opposed to was the principle — the principle that poor, oppressed countries had a right to fight if necessary for their independence (Applause). Nehru's example was followed soon after when the African States met in 1962. What did they say? They said: You imperialists, take notice, take warning; we have begged; we have pleaded long enough; from now on we are going to set up an army of liberation. Ben Bella of Algeria came forward:

Nyerere of Tanganyika came forward. They said: You can take our countries as training grounds for the African army of liberation to liberate our brothers. (Applause).

LATIN AMERICA

And now to come to our own area. For many years, puppets, stooges, rotten corrupt dictators have been supported in Latin America. While our masters have been telling us that they believe in freedom and democracy they supported and still support some of the worst, some of the most corrupt dictators you can find anywhere in the world. But what is happening? As a result of high-handed looting and plunder, as a result of the use of the big stick, people are protesting all over South America today. Take note of what is happening today in the Panama Canal. In at least four countries in South America, people are fighting for their freedom. Yes a lot of them were free several years ago. Their countries were free. The British helped Simon Bolivar to kick out the Spanish. But as soon as the Spanish were out, they had imposed another slavery — economic slavery against which the people are fighting today. The people of Latin America are today fighting back. They are taking the lands in their own hands. They are setting up their own armies. They are making their own laws. They say it is time that exploitation come to an end.

Comrades, our masters have used the technique of divide and rule everywhere. They have used it in the Congo, using brother against brother, African against African; they even went to the extent of murdering Lumumba. They set up their own stooge Tshombe. But let us ask them where is Tshombe? Today we see in Cyprus, today we see in Zanzibar, that they are reaping the bitter fruits of the seeds which they had sown.

In 1948, when the Cypriots were demanding their independence they were very much united. But their unity was destroyed. Division was created between the Greeks and the Cypriots. They gave them freedom tied up with many conditions and so many knots that it was difficult and almost impossible to govern. Today the imperialists want to impose an army which will keep the people in subjection. But my friends they will not succeed. Archbishop Makarios told them that he would prefer an army not from NATO, not only from the western countries but from the United Nations. He has more confidence in the United Nations.

DEMOCRACY. FREEDOM. FEAR

We have heard a great deal about freedom and democracy, not only from our masters outside but from their lackeys at home. We have seen where their lackeys set up what is called "Defenders of Freedom", where from the press, the pulpit and everywhere else they have launched out an attack against the freedom and independence of the people of this country. Comrades, they talk about freedom and democracy. This is obviously

only a smoke screen. When they talk about freedom and democracy they mean not your freedom but their freedom — the freedom of the sharks against the querimans. When they talk about freedom, they don't mean your freedom, but the freedom of the jaguar in the savannah of cows. That's the kind of freedom that these people talk about. WELL, MY FRIENDS, WE WILL SHOW THEM AS OTHERS HAVE SHOWN THEM THAT BRIBERY, CORRUPTION, DECEIT AND ALL THE OTHER WEAPONS THAT THEY HAVE IN THEIR ARMOURY WILL NOT HOLD BACK THE TIDE OF HISTORY (Applause).

These people tell us about minority and majority. What about Aden, Brunei and Swaziland where the British with brute force are holding down a majority? And look at what is happening in Vietnam. Events show that a government with the backing of only 20 percent has been ruling with an iron hand suppressing the rights of 80 percent of the people. The Americans who talk about democracy so much have been spending over \$1 million (U.S.) a day to support a rotten, corrupt regime, to keep 20 percent of the people in power against the wishes of 80 percent. Yet they have the gall and the cheek to talk about freedom and democracy. These are the people who say that they would like to see us out of the government, that we must not have independence for our country.

President De Gaulle of France is today telling the Americans to accept neutralism in South-East Asia; he is giving them lessons from his rich experience. He has learnt from eight years of war in Indo-China, and six years of war in Algeria, that imperialism cannot win out by force. But the Americans are not prepared to listen to logic and reason. They continue to use the big stick. But we have seen that the stick has not succeeded and it will not succeed in British Guiana also. (Applause).

TO THOSE PEOPLE WHO HAVE USED FORCE, WHO HAVE USED ECONOMIC BLOCKADE, WHO HAVE USED DISTURBANCES, WHO HAVE USED THE WEAPONS OF FEAR, WE SAY BEWARE. LET THEM NOTE THAT NOT ONLY THEY ARE STRONG. LET THEM REALISE ALSO THAT WE, THAT WE IN THE PPP SPEAK FOR THE MASSES IN THIS COUNTRY. IF ANYONE DOUBTS THIS THAT WE SPEAK FOR THE MAJORITY OF THE 630,000 PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY, WE ARE PREPARED TO TAKE A CENSUS AND A VOTE AT ANY TIME.

COMRADES, NOT ONLY DO WE SPEAK FOR THE MAJORITY. OUR STRENGTH ALSO LIES IN THE FACT THAT WE ARE REPRESENTED THROUGHOUT THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF THIS COUNTRY. (Applause). GEORGETOWN IS OUR CITY; BUT LET US TELL THOSE WHO THINK THEY DOMINATE GEORGETOWN, THAT GEORGETOWN, NEW AMSTERDAM AND MACKENZIE ARE NOT THE WHOLE OF BRITISH GUIANA. LET US TELL THEM THAT WE ALSO ARE STRONG.

LEAVE ASIDE NUMBERS, LEAVE ASIDE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION. WHAT ABOUT ECONOMIC STRENGTH? THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE TWO MAIN PRODUCTS OF THIS COUNTRY, RICE AND SUGAR, ARE PRODUCED BY THE PEOPLE WHO SUPPORT THE PPP. TAKE AWAY RICE AND YOU WILL HAVE STARVATION IN THIS COUNTRY INCLUDING GEORGETOWN. TAKE AWAY SUGAR AND YOU WILL FIND OUT HOW MUCH MONEY WILL NOT BE COMING INTO THIS COUNTRY. ABOUT HALF OF OUR MONEY FROM OUTSIDE COMES FROM SUGAR. AND THIS IS PRODUCED BY THE SWEAT, THE LABOUR AND THE TEARS OF THE SUGAR WORKERS. AND POLITICALLY LET THEM NOTE THAT FOR THREE SUCCESSIVE ELECTIONS WE HAVE WON EVERY TIME.

COMRADES, ALL I SAY IS LET THOSE WHO PREACH AND PRACTISE THE PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY OF VIOLENCE AND FEAR NOTE THESE FACTS WHICH I HAVE JUST MENTIONED. Since 1962, they have tried to make the normal functioning of government impossible, by disturbances, by violence, by driving fear in the minds of people. BUT THOSE WHO DO THESE THINGS MUST REMEMBER THAT IF ONE SIDE CAN DO IT THE OTHER SIDE IS JUST AS POWERFUL (Applause). TWO SIDES CAN PLAY THIS GAME. WE HAVE ALL ALONG SAID THAT WE DON'T AGREE WITH VIOLENCE. TO ALL THOSE WHO TALK ABOUT VIOLENCE I SAY REMEMBER 1953 AFTER THE SUSPENSION OF THE CONSTITUTION. WHEN WE CAME BACK FROM INDIA WE SAID THAT WE BELIEVED IN PEACEFUL MEANS. WE SAID CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE. WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN PEACEFUL. WE HAVE BEEN HUMBLE; WE HAVE BEEN COURTEOUS. INSTEAD OF RESPECTING THESE QUALITIES, THEY HAVE HAMMERED OUR PEOPLE. THEY HAVE INFLICTED ON OUR PEOPLE UNMENTIONABLE ABUSES. THEY HAVE PREVENTED US FROM KEEPING MEETINGS. WHEN OUR COMRADES GO ABOUT IN GEORGETOWN TO SELL PAPERS, TO SELL LITERATURE, THEY GANG UP ON THEM AND BEAT THEM UP. WHEN OUR VANS GO ABOUT IN THE STREETS THEY BREAK THE GLASSES. WELL, COMRADES, I WANT TO ISSUE A WARNING TO THESE PEOPLE. WE HAVE PLAYED THE GAME FOR A LONG TIME. BUT IT APPEARS THAT THEY ARE SAYING THAT BECAUSE WE ARE PEACEFUL, BECAUSE WE ARE COURTEOUS, WE ARE WEAK, THEY HAVE MISTAKEN HUMILITY AND COURTESY AND PEACEFUL INTENTIONS FOR WEAKNESS. YOUR DEMONSTRATION TODAY HAS SHOWN THEM THAT WHEN THE TIME COMES WE CAN FIGHT.

To come back to the question of fear. A section of the press has drummed up a lot of hysteria. It has scurrilously declared that you are out here to cause trouble in Georgetown. Let me assure our critics, the PPP is not out to cause trouble. When it calls peaceful demonstrations it has no sinister intentions.

You have come to Georgetown without being molested. Let us hope that when you are returning home there will be no incidents. You must be able to go out the same way that you have come in. (Applause). If you are allowed to return home peacefully, then we will see that we are starting out on new ground and that we have some prospect of achieving unity and peace in the future.

People have been talking about fear. Some say that they are afraid to have independence under Jagan and the PPP. My friends let us examine this. If they are afraid let us find out whether these fears are real or whether they are imagined. My feeling is that they are more imagined than real.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

What do we stand for? Let us see. We stand for policy of non-alignment. What is wrong with being non-aligned. Today most of the underdeveloped countries of the world have joined the non-aligned bloc. Today we see that more and more countries are joining the non-aligned group.

What else do we stand for? They say that we intend to destroy all business, that we intend to take away people's properties, that we intend to take away their money from the banks. Well, comrades, this is utter stupidity. First you must make a distinction between property of one kind and another. Some people use their property for the benefit of themselves and their families. Others use property to exploit people. We do not believe in slaughtering people and taking away their properties. Neither do we believe that some should live at the expense of others. What we do want is to have more development — more and more industries. But we want these industries to be owned and controlled by local people and by you yourselves. The foreigners have brought in a few thousands of dollars and have taken away millions out of this country. The time has come when we must put a stop to this nonsense.

We must abolish to racialism in all forms. We must bring about decolonisation of our institutions. We must get rid of the colonial mentality in our institutions. We must have complete unification of the working class, peasantry and progressive local businessmen and capitalists in the construction of a socialist society.

Comrades, some people use fear as an excuse. But you can see from what I have just said that there is nothing to be afraid of. What I have just said is a progressive policy around which all of us in this country can unite.

Remember when they kicked us out in 1953 there was no question of racialism; there was no question of one race dominating another. They kicked us out because they were against this same programme of our united party. They were against us in 1953; they were against us in 1951.

And I can assure you that they will be against us all the time as long as we have a progressive policy.

WE MUST UNITE. I HOPE THAT THE GHANA MISSION WHICH IS COMING HERE WILL BE ABLE TO BRING THE TWO PARTIES, THE PPP AND THE PNC, TOGETHER. I HOPE THAT THE GHANA MISSION WILL BE ABLE TO BRING AN END TO THE FRATRICIDAL STRUGGLE FOR POWER SO AS TO PREVENT POSSIBLE CONFLAGRATION BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS FORCES IN THIS COUNTRY. I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CALL ON THE PNC TO JOIN US, FIRSTLY, IN CALLING FOR A NEW CONFERENCE TO FIX A DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE. SECONDLY, FOR HAVING THE FULL EXERCISE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS BY ALL PARTIES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MACHINERY TO DEAL WITH ANY OCCURRENCES WHICH MAY ARISE IN THE FUTURE. THIRDLY, THE REJECTION OF THE SANDYS IMPOSITION OF DELAYING INDEPENDENCE AND THE REJECTION OF THE DECISION AS INTENDING TO UNDERMINE INDEPENDENCE EVEN WHEN A DATE IS FIXED. FOURTHLY, THAT THE PPP AND THE PNC SHOULD COME TOGETHER OPENLY TO CONDEMN THE UNITED FORCE AS A FORCE OF DIVISION AS A BASTION OF REACTION AND UNPATRIOTIC ELEMENTS AMONG THE LOCAL BOURGEOISIE.

COMRADES, IN CONCLUSION LET ME SAY THIS. WE HAVE A FIGHT AHEAD OF US. I AM NOT GOING TO PROMISE YOU THAT THE FIGHT WILL BE EASY. THEY ARE GOING TO FIGHT BACK, AND THEY ARE GOING TO FIGHT BACK VICIOUSLY.

TODAY YOU HAVE SHOWN DETERMINATION. IF YOU ARE PREPARED TO FIGHT; IF YOU ARE PREPARED TO STRUGGLE; IF YOU ARE PREPARED TO DIE; KNOW THAT I AM BEHIND YOU. BEHIND YOU ALL THE TIME. (Applause). THE IMPERIALISTS HAVE USED MONEY, HAVE USED PRESSURES, HAVE USED ALL KINDS OF WEAPONS TO DOMINATE US. BUT THEY WILL NEVER HAVE MONEY ENOUGH TO BUY ME AND THE PPP. (Applause).

I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT WE WILL WIN. WE WILL WIN JUST AS OTHERS HAVE WON. AND WHEN WE WIN WE WILL HAVE THE CONSOLATION THAT WE WILL NOT HAVE TO GO THROUGH THE SCOURGE OF NEO-COLONIALISM WHICH SO MANY INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES TODAY ARE STILL GRAPPLING WITH.

LONG LIVE THE PPP. (Applause).

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