

3rd Draft

P005g \*

(1427)

#### NATIONAL UNITY.

The PPP always had as its principal objective the attainment of national, racial/ethnic and working class unity. Such unity was attained, when the PPP, with the support of the TUC and four of the most powerful unions, won 18 out of 24 seats in the elections in April 1953: a victory which destroyed the ~~racialist~~ <sup>recent racist</sup> / conservative political influences of the League of Coloured People (LCP) and the British Guiana East Indian Association (BGEIA).

Intervention by British troops in October 1953 and divide-and-rule methods led to the split of our national movement in 1955. Thereafter, the PPP consistently and persistently sought to attain national unity. But all its attempts failed, especially in the critical 1961-64 period, because of <sup>external</sup> imperialist machinations and manoeuvres and PNC opportunism.

Again in 1975-76, when the PNC government came into conflict with foreign vested interests on account of its nationalisation, compensation and taxation policies, PPP/PNC talks began but collapsed because the Burnham regime wanted to maintain

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bureaucratic/state capitalism masquerading as socialism and party/state elitist privileges

Thereafter, in the 1978-81 period, an IMF agreement led to economic decline, inflation and anti-working class policies.

PPP/PNC talks again resumed in 1984-85 after the <sup>PNC</sup> Burnham regime came under pressure for its anti-IMF and anti-US policies. But ~~Desmond Hoyte~~, <sup>after Burnham's death, the PNC</sup> who ~~succeeded Burnham as President in mid-1985~~, ended the talks and proceeded in December with national and regional elections which were blatantly rigged.

The PPP, in alliance with four other opposition parties, formed the Patriotic Coalition for Democracy <sup>to struggle for free and fair elections.</sup> immediately after the rigged elections. And as the 1990 elections approached, we agreed to the formation of an electoral united front. This was in keeping with our call in 1977 for a future government of national unity on the basis of "winner will not take all".

On our insistence, a programme was hammered out. But a power-sharing formula failed to materialise as a result of the unrealistic proposals of our coalition partners. PPP was to be debarred from having the presidential candidate on specious grounds: race/ethnicity, ideology, ~~age~~, <sup>age</sup> involvement in the events of the 1950s and 1960s <sup>and others.</sup> Also,

A Committee, which had links with the other parties, at a special meeting with the PPP, indicated that a PPP Indian Presidential candidate would not secure Afro-Guyanese support in the struggle for free and fair elections. When Dr Roger Luncheon's name was suggested, the answer was negative: the explanation given was that he was Black (Afro-Guyanese) but Red (Marxist/Communist). Also, the PPP was offered only 30 per cent of the seats in the National Assembly.

A democratic procedure suggested by the PPP, for selection of the presidential candidate, also did not find favour with the parties. This involved the parties contesting the national elections together on a single list with an agreed provisional presidential candidate, and the regional elections separately. Each party's total votes in the regions would determine which party would have the presidency and how the seats in the National Assembly would be allocated.

Finally, a proposal for candidacy was hammered out with the support of the business community: Cheddi Jagan (PPP) as Presidential Candidate, Clive Thomas (WPA) as Prime Minister and Paul Tennessee (DLM) as Deputy Prime Minister. This admirable compromise proposal, accepted by the DLM but rejected by a section of the GUARD movement and the WPA, led to the

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~~Our last Congress~~ In approving this alliance, our last Congress made an epoch-making decision. The rectitude of ~~the~~ <sup>its</sup> position ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> manifested in ~~the~~ <sup>our</sup> resounding ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> the polls in October 1992.

collapse of the PCD talks.

Thereafter Sam Hinds, who had been elected as Chairman of GUARD, and other prominent individuals, not aligned to political parties but prominent in business, academia, religion and the professions, formed the CIVIC component of the PPP/CIVIC ~~alliance~~ alliance.

The ~~PPP/CIVIC~~ <sup>unity</sup> ~~alliance~~ represents all classes and strata in the Guyanese society, and its victory has instituted a government of national unity. It provides for racial/ethnic and class balance and ideological pluralism in a national-democratic state.

Some have adduced that the PPP/CIVIC government is not constituted on the basis of the PPP's winner-will-not-take-all policy of 1977, because the Cabinet does not include all the political parties in Parliament, as in South Africa.

not removed! KEEP!

~~There could have been such a Cabinet/government of parties had Desmond Hoyte not terminated the PPP/PNC talks in 1985; and had the PCD talks not collapsed in 1992.~~

It must not be forgotten that However, political parties represent classes in society. And the state is an instrument of class rule. Consequently, the PPP/CIVIC alliance,

representing all classes and strata, <sup>very</sup> with regular and meaningful consultations with the private sector organisations,

the opposition political parties, <sup>inside and outside of</sup> ~~the~~ parliament,

Any serious analysis must be rooted in science and dialectics.

Creates the basis for ~~the~~ government of national unity, especially the ~~in the~~ <sup>for the</sup> ~~benefit of~~ <sup>benefit of</sup> the people.

Paragraph

that majority returned at the fall manifesto  
the recitation of our position in the aftermath  
of the PCD collapse.

other non-governmental  
the trade union movement and CIVIC groups, and including the  
simultaneously working with religious/cultural bodies,  
especially liberation theologians, is a government of  
national unity. within the context of parliamentary  
democracy and the supremacy of parliament.

The basis for  
national unity  
developed  
by the PPP  
CIVIC  
can be further  
strengthened  
Council  
to involve  
all parties in  
the administration.  
Unfortunately  
this was not  
accepted.

We do not share the view that politics in Guyana is  
cast in rigid racial/ethnic compartments and would  
never change.

It is this false assumption that led to the prediction  
that we would not have won a majority at the 1992  
elections. ~~Had~~ <sup>Had</sup> race/ethnicity been the only factor,  
we would have won an even greater  
percentage of votes at the near mid-term neighbourhood  
and town council elections <sup>when</sup> generally ruling incumbent  
parties lose support at mid-term elections.

That  
allegiances  
was the  
PPP/CIVIC  
could not  
have polled  
54 per cent  
of the votes (an  
actual fact).  
a larger  
percentage,  
there not be  
so many  
irregularities  
committed  
by the PNC).  
Nor

Those who see only race/ethnicity in politics in  
Guyana, as others who see <sup>tribalism</sup> tribe and religion in other  
countries, are not viewing reality comprehensively,  
objectively and scientifically.

It is imperative, in analysing any multi-racial/ethnic,  
multi-cultural society, to note concrete peculiarities.  
For example, though Guyana, Suriname and Trinidad and  
Tobago have many similarities, there are many  
differences in terms of political/ideological/societal  
development.

In Guyana, because of the strong foreign monopoly  
domination by the sugar plantocracy, the class

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struggle was more intense. And although the two major racial/ethnic groups are culturally different, they are not uni-class and class-different, as formerly in the colonial period in East Africa. Both groups are largely made up of working people. As such, the PPP/CIVIC, with its working class sympathy and policies oriented to material and cultural fulfillment, can lay the foundation for unity in diversity.

This will be achieved because the PPP/CIVIC has not only pronounced firmly against all forms of racial/ethnic discrimination, but has also set up a Task Force under the Distinguished Anglican Bishop Randolph George to lay the basis for a Race Relations Act and Race Relations Commission. This is intended also to address ~~assuage~~ fears of racial/ethnic insecurity. In x

① trying to attain <sup>racial/ethnic</sup> equality in all facets of life -- political, economic, social and cultural -- we must draw from the experiences of other countries, like the United Kingdom, USA, and South Africa and elsewhere; ~~like and~~ the Commission on Racial Equality (UK), the ~~Black~~ King Jr. Center, ~~the~~ PUSA, Black Caucus, and the Martin Luther Center, ~~the~~ INPAD, ~~the~~ USA, and the Indigenous People's ~~and~~ associations ~~in the~~ USA and elsewhere worldwide.

advanced to cut across racial/ethnic lines. So now, the struggle will advance to realize racial-ethnic



unity at the political level, as in the 1947-53 period.

The essential difference between the PPP/CIVIC and the PNC government is the nature of the state: who controls it and whose interest(s) it serves.

The PNC-controlled state served the party/state elite and a section of the parasitic, neo-comprador bourgeoisie, who later, through the "Committee for the Re-Election of Hoyte", had raised G\$35 million for a campaign fund.

The PPP/CIVIC by the very <sup>class</sup> nature of <sup>and</sup> its method of operations is balanced for cooperation with business, on the one hand, to ensure growth, and with the trade union movement, on the other, to ensure social justice. Because of its commitment to a democratic culture, good governance and to meeting the <sup>basic needs of the</sup> Guyanese people's ~~basic needs~~, <sup>also to</sup> and ensuring the fullest employment of their civil and political, as well as their economic, social and cultural rights, it is possible to attain racial/ethnic harmony and cooperation.

~~Two examples will suffice, from racial/ethnic and class positions, to demonstrate the difference between the two governments.~~

The PNC had sold the Guysuco rice mill at Blairmont

\* We are prepared in our national democratic reconstruction to cooperate and work with Keyman & Sanders Ltd as a national <sup>patrician</sup> capitalist and a prominent member of the Private Sector Commission. However,

and sold and leased lands at Bath -- lands which had previously been occupied by retrenched sugar workers

and landless farmers. In the interest of the working <sup>with</sup> economic growth ~~and~~ and people and social justice, the PPP, despite pressures, ~~we~~ we reversed the agreement made by the PNC and worked out succeeded in a compromise settlement where the workers and farmers will resume possession of a substantial portion of the land.

In the case of the Public Administration Project (PAP), the PNC government had proposed huge salary increases but only for about 100 top civil servants.

The PPP/CIVIC government changed the project to include all civil servants, with nearly 70 per cent increases at the bottom and graduated smaller percentage increases for the middle and top sections.

During the 1992 electoral campaign, the PNC exploited ~~insecurity and fear~~

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During the 1992 electoral campaign, the PNC exploited two fears -- fear of the business community and fear of the Afro-Guyanese community. Business people were told that because of the PPP's "communist ideology", there would be no place for the private sector: those in business here will be forced to leave and those overseas will not come. And the Afro-Guyanese were told that the PPP/CIVIC in government will embark on a policy of discrimination and victimisation.

These engineered fears of insecurity led to the 41 per cent poll for the PNC in the 1992 elections. The lies were exploded during the past two years. That is why the PNC refused to contest in the name of the party all of the neighbourhood and three out of the six town council elections.

In time, with the PPP/CIVIC government's commitment to and attainment of further economic growth and human development, fears of racial/ethnic insecurity will

disappear, despite charges of ethnic cleansing, and the ground will be prepared not only for national unity but also for racial/ethnic and working class unity.

Change will come but only when and if the balance of forces in the government is in the hands of the working class and the progressive sections of the petty-bourgeoisie (the revolutionary democrats). This is what October 9, 1992 signifies -- a new beginning for human development and the restoration of hope for the future.

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Cheddi Jagan Research Centre