

**CHEDDI
JAGAN**

THE

CARIBBEAN

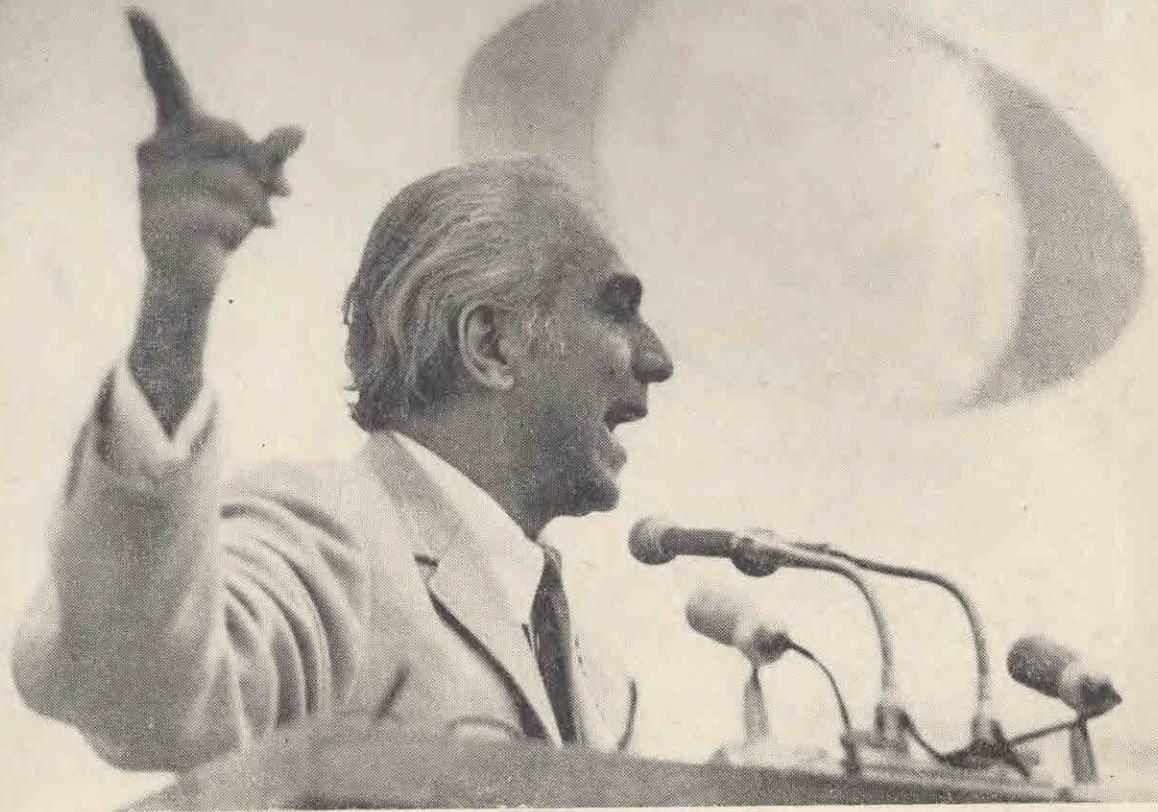
REVOLUTION



11000

THE CARIBBEAN
REVOLUTION

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre



Cheddi Jagan

THE CARIBBEAN REVOLUTION

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	9
I	
Closer Association of BWI Colonies	19
II	
Federation of British Caribbean Territories	31
Federation with Dominion Status	43
Federation in Trouble	44
III	
West Indian Statehood	49
Integration for Whom?	51
Free Trade	54
IV	
Carifta: Political not Economic	59
Free Trade and Development	67
Carifta: Unity at any Price	69
Carifta and Guyana	72
V	
Caribia	77
Political Union	81
Brazil and Cuba	83
Cultural Nationalism	86
Haiti and Cuba	89
Uzbekistan and Iran	91
VI	
New Imperialist Strategy	95
Balance of Forces	97
Guyana's Alignment with Pro-Imperialist Axis	99

VII	
Sink or Swim	105
LDCs - a Colony Within a Semi-Colony	108
VIII	
The Rape of Latin America	113
February Revolt	115
Trinidad Rebellion	123
Fight for Decent Standards	126
IX	
Radical Change	131
People's Power	134
X	
The Caribbean Revolution — Tasks and Perspectives	139
XI	
Speech delivered by Dr. Cheddi Jagan, General Secretary of the P. P. P. at the Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, held in Havana, Cuba, on June 9—13, 1975	159
XII	
Transnationals Plunder Caribbean	169
Appendix I	
Despatch 8th August, 1945	183
Appendix II	
Despatch 19th September, 1947	187
Appendix III	
Carifta Agreement 1968	192
Appendix IV	
The Grenada Declaration 1971	194

Appendix V	
Treaty Establishing the Caribbean Community	197
Appendix VI	
Resolutions passed by the Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference, Guyana, August 30 - September 1, 1972	206
Appendix VII	
Declaration of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, Havana, Cuba, April 1977	211
Appendix VIII	
Part of declaration of Consultative Meeting of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Groups of English-speaking Caribbean, March 30 - April 1, 1977	213
Appendix IX	
Excerpts from the document of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, June, 1975	215
Appendix X	
Basic Statistics about the English-Speaking Caribbean	218

INTRODUCTION

The 1970's has seen thousands of people awakening to the conclusion that the root cause of poverty, backwardness, misery, crime and political and spiritual oppression among large sections of the world's population is capitalism. Wherever capitalism exists, it wastes productive forces and alienates and degrades the human personality; unemployment, inflation, mounting insecurity and environmental pollution are its permanent features.

The history of capitalism, of physical and economic slavery, of colonialism, is a history of the plunder of the resources and the destruction of the civilisation of many people. The appearance of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, on the world scene at the turn of the nineteenth century, ushered in not only a new era but began a shameful chapter in mankind's history. Under colonialism, the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean were deliberately kept backward and maintained as raw material suppliers for the big capitalist monopolies, and markets for the manufactured goods of the metropolitan powers.

Since the attainment of independence in most of the territories in the Caribbean, albeit formal within the last decade or two, these countries find themselves still burdened with the legacy of colonial backwardness, still exporting a narrow range of raw materials to the imperialist centres and importing manufactured goods — and these on increasingly disadvantageous terms. Therefore, they are still unable to raise the standard of living of their people as a whole.

Nor should the hegemonic command of the transnational corporations, imperialism's agents vis-a-vis these neo-colonies, be viewed as merely entailing economic domination. As Marx correctly concluded in *The German Ideology*:

The class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, consequently also controls the means of mental production so that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are on the whole subject to it.

Thus, indirect and direct capital investment in the underdeveloped nations does not mean the transfer of capital alone but more realistically, the transfer of a complete package encompassing economic, political, administrative, technological, military and ideological apparatus. The deliberate policy of balkanization at all levels not only facilitated intense cultural penetration of these countries, thus contributing to their cultural backwardness, but just as significantly, seriously undermined any efforts at regional integration and industrialization unless initiated by imperialist influence and under its direction.

The struggle in the Caribbean around the question of federation, free trade and common market attests to the devastating effects that accrue from continued allegiance to imperialism and its offer of "underdeveloped development" for these countries.

In the Caribbean context, Federation from the British Colonial Office's point of view was merely to accommodate an administrative purpose. It would be easier and less costly — under the guise of self-government — to administer a territory whose services were verified. Unlike the anti-federationists, whose line of attack was based on narrow nationalism, the Political Affairs Committee (PAC), the forerunner of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), proposed that federation should provide for a strong federal body holding power with Dominion status, with each of the units having internal self-government. It categorically rejected Whitehall's proposal as nothing but an attempt to create a glorified Crown Colony.

The PPP has often been criticised for not having joined the Federation. However, many of the critics failed to recall the objective factors at that time. In 1953, the PPP won the general election (first election under universal adult suffrage) but within 133 days the Constitution on October 9, 1953, was suspended "to prevent Communist subversion of the government and a dangerous crisis both in public order and in economic affairs. Armed forces have landed to support the police and to prevent any public disorder which might be fomented by Communist supporters."

Immediately, trade union and political leaders in the West Indies jumped in the colonialist bandwagon. (Grantley Adams of Barbados had cabled: "Our experience of Jagan and his sympathisers leads us to feel certain that social and economic progress in the British West Indies is much more likely to be harmed by that sort of person than by the most reactionary. However much we must regret suspension of the Constitution, we should deplore far more the continuance of a government that put Communist ideology before the good of the people." Alexander Bustamante, the Chief Minister of Jamaica, had dispatched: "If British Guiana were fighting for complete self-government within the democratic nations I would have stood beside British Guiana, but British Guiana today can get no sympathy from me — can get no sympathy from the thinking world. I am sorry for the people there. I am not sorry for the leaders. They are not leaders at all. They do not know what they are doing." Norman Manley, leader of the Jamaica opposition, said: "It was a betrayal of the cause of colonial peoples the world over, and a reckless and stupid betrayal of those who voted for them.") They were in alliance not only with Winston Churchill's Tory government but also with the Guyanese reactionary "big business" interests, which significantly had been opposed to federation prior to the rise of the People's Progressive Party but had become ardent supporters after the forceful removal of the PPP from government in 1953.

These cables which were sent in response to the suspension of the Constitution clearly illustrate the depth of their commitment to the cold-war mentality. This shift to the right in the erstwhile militant West Indian leadership was demonstrated in their defense of colonialism and

support for colonialist intervention; the West Indian trade unions joining the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) after the split in the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) resulting from the breaking away of the British Trades Union Congress; the expulsion of leftist leaders from the Trades Union Congress and the People's National Party in Jamaica; the disbandment of the militant Caribbean Labour Congress which had declared at Montego Bay, Jamaica, in 1947 for Federation with Dominion status and internal self-governing units.

As a result of this rightist turn taken by the W. I. leaders, the PPP was attacked in 1953 and, consequently, isolated after 1953.

The West Indian leadership, in assuming cold-war positions and in accepting a federal structure which was a departure from the stand taken in 1947, had sold out the interests of the people.

The federal government had no real powers. As a result, there was no central planning for the area as a whole because of the structural weakness of the federation itself and the ideological instability in the composition of the leaders. Thus, little or nothing could be done for the smaller territories (other than Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados) which had less than 10 per cent of the national income of the whole area. Meanwhile, Jamaica still insisted that each country must be free to offer whatever incentives it wanted in keeping with the pro-imperialist Puerto Rican model of economic planning strategy for the creation of an "investment climate" and incentives to foreign capital.

Because of these factors, federation was doomed to failure.

Later on, the Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA), established in May 1968, placed emphasis on free trade — the removal of tariff barriers between territories for American imperialist penetration of an area which previously was almost exclusively a British preserve. Now this area through Caricom has come under the hegemonic control of joint Anglo-American imperialism.

In 1967, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Canada had a total of US \$2.6 billion (USA — \$1,508.5 million, UK — \$637.5 million, Canada — \$431 million) in direct foreign investment in the English-speaking Caribbean distributed sectorally as follows: mining and smelting — \$541.3 million; manufacturing — \$466 million; petroleum — \$463.4 million; agriculture — \$191.6 million; trade — \$185.3 million; tourism — \$161 million. The heaviest investment is found in Jamaica (\$667.8 million) and Trinidad and Tobago (\$646.8 million). Generally, returns on investment are over 20 per cent.

Although these are the key areas of control and influence by the transnational corporations, it goes without saying that they also wield a tremendous influence in other areas such as insurance, distribution, transportation, construction, shipping and tourism.

Therefore the underdevelopment of countries which comprise the so-called third world is caused by the exploitation of manpower and resources, and the extraction of super-profits, most of which are exported to the advanced capitalist countries.

Hence, the development of the Caribbean in the interests of the Ca-

Caribbean people is arrested and determined by imperialism and its modern-day agents, the transnational corporations, whose principal concern is to serve the global interests of world capitalism.

Super-exploitation and drain of capital overseas result in ever-widening gaps in living standards between the underdeveloped countries and the capitalist-imperialist states, and to a deepening of social and economic problems.

Nor has this region been able to escape the serious repercussions of the general crisis in the advanced capitalist countries. Among these are the shortages of food and the ensuing high cost of food and other necessary commodities; the high rate of unemployment (20—30%); the shortages of foreign currency; the devaluation of their currency; inadequate medical, and housing facilities; and the existence of and increase in malnutrition.

The debate on Federation raged from 1947—1958, thus illustrating that this question was not taken lightly in the Caribbean. However, with the collapse of Federation in May 1962, there was again the re-emergence of debate on economic integration since a political union did not seem possible. From December 1965 to May 1968, when Carifta was put into effect, many differing opinions were put forward.

During this period, imperialism was able to intervene directly in the Caribbean and other parts of the underdeveloped world with little opposition — in 1968 the U. S. intervened in the Dominican Republic; the French in Guadeloupe; the Dutch in Curacao whilst British troops were used in Anguilla. During the February 1970 revolt in Trinidad, USA and Venezuela supplied arms to the Trinidad government, the British Navy started manoeuvres in the Caribbean Sea, US warships entered the territorial waters of Trinidad, and Venezuelan troops moved to the north coast facing Trinidad.

However, as the result of the US aggression in Vietnam, an international revulsion arose to these vicious attempts to reverse the emergence of progressive trends in different countries.

Thus direct cold-war aggressive policy gave way to President Nixon's "Vietnamisation policy" — Asians to kill Asians, Africans to kill Africans, and Latin Americans to kill Latin Americans as with the establishment of the so-called Latin American Peace Force and the replacement in the Dominican Republic of US occupation forces by Brazilian troops.

Because of the strong opposition to external intervention, especially after the failure of the Carifta territories to send a Caribbean force to quell the rebellious Anguillians (the Burnham-led Guyana government wanted to send an armed contingent, but the other governments refused), it became apparent that not only was Carifta not going to last but more important that something more was needed than economic integration. Like the Latin American Peace Force, the imperialists wanted a regional "peace keeping" force. For this, political union was necessary. Thus by 1971, the governments of Guyana, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada and Dominica came together to sign the Granada Declaration. However, the proposal was abandoned because of strong opposition especially from Jamaica.

Inevitably, the worsening conditions of the people throughout the region began to produce disparate tendencies. On the one hand, the necessity for closer integration was perceived by the larger territories of the region as a means of taking advantage of the economies of scale, the benefits of shared services and facilities of the transnational corporations. On the other hand, the smaller less well-endowed territories which were unable to take the fullest advantage of the entry into the region of the transnational corporations, grew disenchanted with the imbalance of the benefits accruing to themselves. Thus, even as Carifta broadened and expanded, differences developed and fissures widened between the so-called Less Developed Countries (LDCs) and the More Developed Countries (MDCs).

On July 4, 1973, the treaty establishing the Caribbean Community was signed by the governments of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago.

The entire English-speaking area has become a colony of Anglo-American imperialism; and the LDCs in turn have become colonies of the MDCs, more particularly Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados.

The 10th meeting of the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers of the Caribbean Common Market (Caricom) and the 3rd meeting of Labour Ministers of those countries in Caricom which took place recently substantiate this observation. The impetus of these meetings has been one of consolidating the shaky forces which comprise Caricom. The LDCs proposed a five-point set of demands to the MDCs as a result of the incongruous situation within which they find themselves operating. Unfortunately, this is not a new occurrence.

Caricom has been beset by many serious problems and conflicts. The territories of the Caribbean Common Market are now inundated with commodities of inferior quality at higher prices. In other words, US imperialism has realized that the present form of economic integration in the Caribbean does not threaten its hegemony. Caricom provides another forum within which imperialism through the transnational corporations can control while at the same time remain hidden behind a facade of Caribbean cultural nationalism.

The imperialists succeeded in getting the treaty of the Caribbean Common Market so constituted as to include products ranging from apples, grapes, rye, barley, oats, wheat, paper, silk, iron, steel in all forms, copper, nickel, tungsten, zinc, tin, molybdenum, tantalum, to all other non-ferrous base metals unwrought or wrought "as originating wholly within the Common Market."

This has opened the door to the establishment of "screw driver" factories or branch plant assembly production and the perpetuation of deformed industrialization. Looked at from this perspective, Caricom is advantageous to the transnational corporations and not to the Caribbean people, facilitating the continued exploitation of the region and maximisation of profit.

Caricom has failed to ameliorate any of the deepening socio-economic pressures resulting from dependence and under-development.

In fact, it has done quite the opposite — it has only aggravated these pressures.

In the light of these developments, the official pronouncements of certain governments in the region including references to socialism and a socialist transformation coincide with the economic downturns in the advanced capitalist world. Significantly, this socialist rhetoric (note that there is a lack of socialist planning in actuality in government so-called development programmes) is used as a tool to harness the potential development of a mass movement of social protest whilst at the same time giving an aura of change to the masses and using it as a lever to wring concessions from imperialism.

Concomitantly, despite this, a number of countries in the Caribbean, Jamaica and Guyana in particular, had taken positions against imperialism. Thus, the emergence of two trends in the Caribbean; first, there is the shift of governments to Latin American type dictatorships like Haiti and second, there is the shift against imperialism resulting from certain diversions taken by Jamaica and Guyana.

These developments have been met with little opposition from US imperialism. The reaction has indeed been mild compared with its past responses, e. g., in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, Cambodia.

The changing balance of forces in the international scene has forced US imperialism in particular to change its tactics but not its strategy. The victories of the national liberation struggles in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have seriously reduced the geographical manoeuvrability of US imperialism. In the aftermath of the Vietnam war, there is a general revulsion against any military intervention of a similar scale whether overt or covert, an obstacle which US imperialism has to take into consideration. As a result, since the election of the new Carter regime, a new phase of US diplomacy is being unfolded.

Carter's administration, like Roosevelt's New Deal administration, is reformist. It only differs from the Nixon and Ford administrations in that the stick is being hidden while the carrot is being offered with smiles. The strategy of imperialism remains the same; that is, the retention of the world capitalist system through the reversion and/or diversion of progressive tendencies.

In other words, the change in the balance of forces has meant that the imperialists have had to discover new methods in order to maintain and continue their entrenchment in the underdeveloped countries.

The response of the Carter administration to the new developments are exceptionally interesting.

Terrence A. Todman, US Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs recently submitted testimony on Guyana to the Sub-Committee on Inter-American Affairs of the House International Relations Committee. In reference to Guyana he said: "*Guyana is seeking a different path to social and economic development, one with which we have no quarrel and which we have no reason to fear.*"

Referring to US interests in the region, he said:

We have substantial interests in the Caribbean... The Caribbean supplies 2/3 of our bauxite-alumina imports; 25% of our petroleum imports are refined or trans-shipped in the region; US investment in the Caribbean is estimated at \$4.5 billion and US exports to the region were approximately \$2 billion last year (1976).

He summarized the new view of the US to the Caribbean in the following manner:

We used to see the Caribbean mainly in security terms. Our interventions there were often largely motivated by security considerations and we sometimes referred to the Caribbean as 'our lake'. We still have security interests in the Caribbean. It is our third border. But we no longer see the Caribbean in quite the same stark military security context that we once viewed it. Rather, our security concerns in the Caribbean are increasingly political in nature. The threat is not simply foreign military bases on our doorstep. It is possibly an even more troublesome prospect; proliferation of impoverished third world states, whose economic and political problems blend with our own. A militant anti-US posture could appear to them as the only way to get our attention and realize their ambitions.

I do not believe this new 'security' concern is a chimera. If the present adverse trends in the region continue, and we take no effective action, I think we can count on unfortunate developments.

Preliminary overtures being made include visits to the region by Mrs. Carter, the wife of President Jimmy Carter, Philip Habib, US Under-Secretary of State, and Andrew Young, US Ambassador to the UN. Such visits to countries like Guyana and Jamaica which have been taking a more progressive position than other Caribbean countries can only be interpreted as an attempt to consolidate its interests in this region, to divert progressive trends.

The early struggle that arose in support of Federation with Dominion status and individual self-government must not be seen as separate from the struggle against colonialism. The struggle that arose against the form that Carifta took was not isolated from the struggle against imperialism. The struggle that is emerging in support of national-democratic, revolutionary power, in support of radical socialist-oriented change cannot fail to recognise that Caricom aids no one but the imperialists and facilitates the persistence not only of neo-colonial structures but also permits the penetration and entrenchment of foreign domination in more devious ways. In other words, the need for regional economic and political integration cannot be divorced from the struggle for national sovereignty, an end to exploitation, dependency and underdevelopment.

There is a common principal enemy — imperialism. Since Carifta and Caricom serve the purpose of imperialism, objectively the governments involved are aiding the imperialists and maintaining the very dependent structures that they find are restricting them from implementing policies that could eradicate their serious socio-economic problems. This has been and still is the dilemma of the Caribbean governments throughout the history of Federation, Carifta and Caricom. Increasingly, Caribbean leaders

are discovering that it is not possible to put limits on the control of foreign capital in one's own region, with a diversified industrial-agricultural base fulfilling the needs of the people, without at the same time attacking neo-colonial structures.

Without a clear Marxist-Leninist approach to this dilemma, the situation appears cyclical leading one to the conclusion that all one can hope to do is to ameliorate gradually the deteriorating socio-economic conditions — a type of thinking which imperialism is banking on so that their offers of assistance will be responded to favourably.

This collection of articles incisively reveals the ability of imperialism to adapt to international developments and to the change in the balance of forces; concomitantly, it illustrates the opportunism and lack of political clarity of many of the West Indian politicians. This collection is of historical importance; dating back to 1945, it demonstrates for the younger West Indian generation how ardently the debate was waged on the question of political and economic integration at various levels, for example, in the legislature and in newspaper articles. The historical transition of the West Indies from colonies to neo-colonies impress the reader with the longevity and persistence of the vestiges of colonial mentality and the retention of neo-colonial structures. It should be of interest to the reader also to note the changes that have occurred in recent years in this region at the governmental level from reactionary to more progressive positions than in the early 1970's.

These articles, written by Dr. Cheddi Jagan, Premier of Guyana from 1961—1964, General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, Honorary President of the Guyana Agricultural and General Workers Union, the largest trade union in Guyana, are a tribute to the struggle of the working-class people of the Caribbean and a testimony to the correctness of Marxist-Leninist analysis and the need for scientific socialism in this region. Concomitantly, these articles unconsciously illustrate that Dr. Cheddi Jagan, as the leading exponent of Marxism-Leninism since the 1940's and the leader of the most organised and developed Marxist-Leninist party in the English-speaking Caribbean, the PPP, has always fought — now 34 years — for the national liberation of this region from the stranglehold of imperialism.

Throughout the course of this collection of articles, Dr. Jagan stresses unity of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces in the underdeveloped nations to put an end to dependency and exploitation. In 1977, many people of this region are coming to realize that our unity grows directly out of the peculiar characteristics of our development, or rather our under-development.

P. P. P. Education Committee
August 1977

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

I

CLOSER ASSOCIATION OF B. W. I. COLONIES

Mr. SEAFORD: I beg to move the following motion:

"That this Council accepts Resolutions 2 to 14 of the Resolutions passed at the Conference on the Closer Association of the British West Indian Colonies, held at Montego Bay, Jamaica, in September, 1947, but reserves judgement on Resolution 1 of the said Resolutions until it has had an opportunity to consider the practical implications of federation in the light of the report of the Standing Closer Association Committee proposed in Resolution 6."

Dr. JAGAN: As I listened to the various speeches, eloquent and impassioned, my mind went back to a book that I once read entitled *The Tyranny of Words*. It goes back still further to the beginning of Western Civilization, to the days of the glories of Greece, to the father of Western Civilization, Socrates, who used to corner his students in the by-ways and say to them "Define your terms". We have been hearing a lot during the last few days about Closer Union and Federation. What is Federation? What is Closer Union? What is the difference between them? I have in front of me a book entitled, "American Politics". I see on page 10 the author says: "Politics becomes," as Ambrose Bierce said, "the strife of interests masquerading as a contest of principles." As I look upon this question of Federation and Closer Union, in my mind it is only one and the same thing. It is merely a question of degree. It is a question of the concept in which it is held by the various interests. To Whitehall, the Secretary of State, it means one thing, to the vested interests and to the Capitalists it means another, and to the people of British Guiana and the British West Indies, as was pointed out to us by the hon. Member for Essequibo River, it means another. With your permission, Sir, I should like to first of all point out that it seems to me these several interests are each rotating within their own orbits and because of that they have different views on the same matter. Now the concept of Whitehall, as recorded in the White Paper, seems to me nothing more than a glorified Crown Colony, the amalgamation of several units which will carry us no further to Self-Government. In fact the Mover of the motion said, and I quote from the *Daily Chronicle* of Thursday, 11th March, 1948:

I felt they were guided by the idea, not so much of federation, as of self-government.

It does not appear to me that what is offered to us by His Majesty's Government is Self-Government, which seems to be the desire of the people of the Colonies. As I look at the White Paper it seems that it is

proposed that the model for this proposed Federal Body should be the Jamaica Constitution. If we look in the Appendix at the powers of that Constitution we would find that the Jamaicans today are not satisfied with that Constitution. It has several reservations, and the Governor-General of this set-up will have reserve powers. It will not be a wholly responsible Government as is usually the type of government in Dominion status. It will be more of a semi-responsible government wherein the Federal Government will only be responsible for internal affairs and responsibility for external affairs will be left to the Governor-General, the Privy Council and the Executive Council. The Privy Council and the Executive Council, as presently constituted in Jamaica, are not satisfactory to the Jamaicans, and I am sure such a model will not be satisfactory to the peoples of any West Indian Federation. If I may be allowed to quote from the White Paper, paragraph 22 states:

It is suggested that the provision should be made on the lines now obtaining Jamaica, and that the Governor-General should be empowered in certain circumstances to act contrary to the advice of the Federal Executive Council in matters affecting public order, public faith and good government, and also, after reference in writing to his Executive Council and a resolution of that body to certify legislation which the Federal Legislature has failed to pass...

According to that statement, the Governor-General will have wide powers. He will be solely the one to judge what is public order, what is public faith, and what is good government. Such a body cannot be satisfactory to the people who are today trying to get Self-Government to determine their own affairs. Again this Federal body as proposed, this parliament, will have a minority of official members who, we are told, will act as spokesmen of Government. Again I beg to read from paragraph 21 on page 13 of the White Paper:

In any event it is desirable that there should be provision for a minority of official members so as to enable the Federal Government's policy and measures to be explained during the period until full Ministerial responsibility is attained.

That is the thing we are trying to fight against even in this Colony, and that is the model which is being proposed by Whitehall, and yet I find Members of this Council saying that Whitehall is very generous to us. I cannot say that what is being given to us is any generosity at all. It is merely an attempt, as I said, for administrative purpose to create the machinery for a glorified Crown Colony. Amalgamation of the Colonies will in no way change the economic set-up of the various Colonies. It will in no way help to ameliorate the miserable conditions in which our people live. The other point about this model is that relative to the status of the various units of this proposed federation — the individual colonies. If I may be allowed to read from the same White Paper, paragraph 22:

The Legislators in the individual Colonies would continue as at present, subject to any modifications which might become desirable from time to time, and would control those services and subjects which remained within their jurisdiction.

In other words, we will continue as we are. Another statement at the end of that paragraph states:

Except in the sphere allotted to the Federal Government, the position regarding reserve powers in the several territories would presumably remain as at present.

That means, Sir, that the Executive Council of this Colony, which is not elected by this Council, and the Governor with his veto and reserve powers will continue to be as they are at the present time. Those powers will in no way be affected, and so once again I state that from the point of view of His Majesty's Government their conception of what federation is, and I will not agree with their conception of federation. Now we come to the conception of the vested interests and capitalists. That conception turns in another direction. Let us see certain of the advantages which they say can accrue from our getting together. By that I mean British Guiana and the West Indian Islands. The hon. Nominated Member, Mr. Roth, pointed out several of those advantages — "Better shipping facilities, better cooperation among primary producers, better cooperation in trading facilities, a common Customs Tariff, unification of Public Services, a common currency." But, Sir, that conception does not go far enough to the root of the problem, but merely stops at what I consider an organised unification of services. It will help the capitalists in one way or another to increase whatever profits they are making at the present time — to make savings let us say.

I should like to enumerate some of the points which they put out as against federation on the concept as promulgated by the Caribbean Labour Congress. They point out that for geographical reasons British Guiana cannot be federated with the West Indian Islands. Sir, today we cannot consider the same conditions of Geography and the same conditions which brought about difficulty in communication as in the past. Those conditions which existed centuries ago are not the conditions which are existing today. Communication, Sir, has to be regarded under two heads — what the Sociologist calls "Social Distance" and "Physical Distance". Those are two terms which must be taken into consideration.

... I would like to refer, Sir, to the countries which are today federated and are separated by oceans. I have in mind the Republic of the Philippines which consists of over 7,000 islands. 462 of those islands are less than one square mile in area. Five islands, which are the major areas, differ in area from about 40,000 square miles to about 3,000 to 4,000 square miles, and those areas are all separated and are not contiguous territories. I come also to the Indonesian Republic, and I find that that Republic which was constituted lately is made up of islands which are widely separated by waters of the Pacific Ocean. It does not appear to me that the question of whether the areas to be federated should be contiguous or not

is the point. The point to be noted is whether the areas can be within easy reach. I would like to point out that nearly 100 years ago when the thirteen American Colonies were about to be federated into the United States of America, geographically communication was more difficult with those contiguous territories than today with the areas which are not contiguous, as for instance British Guiana and the British West Indian Islands which are separated by waters. Even in British Guiana it is very difficult to go from one part of the country to another by land. It is just as difficult for one to go from one Island to another and from one Island to British Guiana. So, Sir, to my mind the question of distance, separation of the various areas, does not in any way hinder a federated government.

The second point which was stressed was the question of the cultural differences between British Guiana and the British West Indian Islands. To my mind I do not think that there is that great difference or variations between the cultures of the people of British Guiana and the people of the various Islands which are to be federated. In fact I would go so far as to state that even if there were differences in culture that should not matter very much. If I may be allowed to make reference, I should like to point to the United States of America. When the thirteen Colonies were federated they were made up of peoples who came from different countries and had different national backgrounds and culture. As we know, it was because of the fact that they were seeking freedom from religious and cultural persecution and economic exploitation the peoples of Europe migrated to America and settled there as Colonists. From 1845 to 1855 one-and-a-half million people came from Ireland after the Potato Famine. In 1830 and 1848 when there were revolutions in Europe the people migrated to America to get away from political insecurity and settled there. They settled in different parts of America, having different cultural backgrounds, and were able to build up a strong federal government after the American war of independence, and today the United States of America is one of the greatest nations of the world. If I may point to Canada, Sir, out of a total population — I quote the figures for 1941 given in round numbers — 11,000,000 people no less than 5 3/4 million have a cultural background which may be said to be English and nearly 3 1/2 million have a background which can be considered to be French. Therefore cultural background alone is not in any way a deterrent to a strong federal government. If I may be allowed to point out further to the Malay States in Asia, four of those States are today federated, and we find in those States peoples of different cultural backgrounds. You have the Chinese and the Malaysians, who constitute a large percentage of the population, and Indians who are today living under the same federal scheme — all people of different national backgrounds. If I may dare further to point to the Soviet Union. As we know the Soviet Union is constituted by various republics, various national regions, each having people of different cultural backgrounds with different national languages. With your permission, Sir, I would like to read from *Soviet Power* by Mr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, with reference to culture and the united federal body. On page 251 he states:

There was nothing, to put concretely, to prevent workmen of Georgia, who accepted the socialist thesis of a non-exploiting, non-profitmaking society, from living under the same widespread economic ideal with workmen of Byelorussia in the extreme west, Sakhalin island in the extreme east, or Uzbek in the centre; and yet each of them freely thinking, speaking, and writing in their own language; and possessed of liberty to develop their own culture and institutions. It is no more necessary to force national minorities to accept the national cultural ideal of the majority within the same economic system than it is necessary for an Indian to divert himself of Indian national culture when he plays cricket with an English team. One thing only is required of an Indian cricketer; he must observe the rules of cricket. And one thing only is required of one of Georgia, Byelorussia, or Uzbek; he must observe the economic law of Socialism.

My point is this: Though, as is alleged, there is a certain amount of cultural differences between the peoples of British Guiana and the peoples of the British West Indian Islands, which I will not concede, I want to state that this difference will in no way affect the people who will be living under one economic order, whether under Socialism or Capitalism. One speaker stated that it is a sine qua non that the component units of a federal body must have attained a more or less uniform state of development and possessed a similar density of population. I should like, Sir, to state that British Guiana and the British West Indian Islands do have in one way, or another, a more or less uniform state of development. However varied the Constitution of the various governments may be, they all conform to one principal broad pattern, and that is that in these governments as I have pointed out before, whether it be in Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, or British Guiana, controlling power is left in the hands of the Executive Council and the Governor who are not chosen by the people. Further, economically speaking, those are similar in that their present mode of activity is one and the same. If we take them, for instance as relating to export trade, we find that throughout the export trade of British Guiana and the West Indian Islands is limited to one common crop — sugar. It is true that in Trinidad we have asphalt, in Jamaica an export trade in bananas, but more or less the economy of those various units is so arranged, and has been so arranged for a long time from the inception of colonialism in these places, that it conforms to one broad policy. That policy is that the Colonies as a whole are a source of raw materials, and they are agrarian appendages to the monopoly interests in Great Britain. You have sugar in British Guiana and the West Indian Islands, bananas in Jamaica, asphalt in Trinidad, and I can go on pointing out similar examples in other colonies which are not within this area, but I shall not do so at this time. My point is, economically speaking, our economic relationship with Great Britain as a whole must be considered as similar. Constitutionally we are not very different. We are all a source of raw materials to satisfy certain interests abroad.

The next point which was mentioned was that the various units must have the same density of population. It was stated that in any representation British Guiana would stand to lose. I would like to state that that is not the background of most federal bodies. If we take the United States

of America again, we find that one of the larger areas, Nevada, has a population and area almost equivalent. Its area is 110,000 square miles and it has a population of 110,000, almost one person to one square mile. If we take the smallest State, Rhode Island, we find that it has a population of about 713,000 in an area of 1,200 square miles. In other words Rhode Island is 100 times smaller than Nevada yet its population is seven times as much. So that area does not matter very much. I can give other examples of the other States which are federated but are not equal in area or in population.

Another point to be remembered about population is that British Guiana would in no way lose in the matter of representation. The Caribbean Labour Congress suggested representation of the various units on a population sliding scale as follows:

- (a) First 25,000 two members;
- (b) Second 25,000 two additional members;
- (c) Over 50,000 one additional member for every 50,000 up to 300,000;
- (d) Over 300,000 one additional member for every 100,000 up to 500,000;
- (e) Over 500,000 one additional member for every 250,000.

On that basis, and on the population figures which were given to me by the Bureau of Public Information, I have worked out that in a Federal Body British Guiana would have 11 representatives, Trinidad 12, Barbados 8, Leeward Islands 5, Windward Islands 10, and Jamaica 15. Therefore it will be seen that British Guiana's representation would not be in a minority, and would in no way work against the interests of the Colony as a whole. In view of the fact that we have been hearing so much talk about the development of British Guiana and the population which is to come to bring about that development, it is very likely that British Guiana would secure greater representation in the Federal Government on the basis of an increased population.

The next point raised was the cost of the Federal administration. It was said that federation would place a further burden on the Government of British Guiana because it would not only have to bear the cost of local administration but that of the Federal Government. While that may be true it is taking a very static view of the future. To quote Tennyson I will say that "the old order changeth, yielding place to new". I feel that the old order must change, as regards administrative policy. It is true that the present cost must change, and it will change as regards administrative policy. It is true that the present cost of administration is very high. It must be so because of the present set-up. We have high salaried officers who in many cases have come from abroad, but I cannot see that in future we will not offer scholarships to young and deserving people of the Colony who would be sent away to be trained for administrative work, on the understanding that when they return they must work for salaries proportionate to the wages the people receive. Therefore I cannot see that the cost of administration in future would be very high, because we have

to take into consideration that in a Federal Body, and one which I would like to see set up, necessary changes must be made with respect to administration.

The point was made also that the Federal Government would have to bear the brunt of the defence of the federation territories. We are not living in the 19th century. These are not the days when nations are fighting for territory. These are the days of the United Nations and world peace, and we must not orientate our thoughts merely in terms of defence. We have to think in terms of peace. As one Member said, the Caribbean is in the American zone. In fact, Prof. Rippey of Chicago has said that the West Indies as a whole, including the British, French and Dutch Islands, are the Caribbean danger zone of the United States, and the United States would protect the whole area whether we like it or not. Of course the question might be asked: who is to protect us from America? When the Monroe Doctrine was enunciated it was with the object of sending the American fleet into these waters to protect the dollar expansion of the United States. It was to throw out European imperialism and to substitute American imperialism. That is why the Monroe Doctrine was introduced, and we see examples of it in British Guiana. We have American capital in the bauxite industry and now in the mining industries. Are we afraid that the United States would take these Colonies away? Imperialism does not work in that manner in these days. Imperialism of the type of physical possession has receded into the background of history. Today it takes the form of money penetration, and that is the kind of imperialism we have to fear.

I have already pointed out that the arguments in this Council against federation have no sound basis in fact, and I should now like to point out the benefits which may be derived from it. As I mentioned on the last occasion, I want to think of *federation as meaning complete Dominion status for the Federal Government and internal self-government for the various units*. To be able to appreciate the benefits which British Guiana and other Colonies in the West Indies would derive from federation we must understand the history of imperialism. The economy of British Guiana and the British West Indies is so arranged that it is all subordinated to the greater economy of Great Britain. These Colonies were first acquired by Great Britain in the very dawn of the history of imperialism for one purpose and we are all aware of that purpose. It was to be able to purchase raw materials from the Colonies at a cheap price and to sell them manufactured articles at high prices. In short the Colonies were to be producers of raw materials and the consumers of manufactured goods. That is the reason why British Guiana and most of the West Indian Islands are still producing things like sugar to be sold to the United Kingdom, instead of being able to have a balanced economy. We are getting less for our exports than what we are paying for our imports, so that we have an adverse trade balance.

In 1947 our exports were valued \$33 million and our imports \$40 million . . . The economy of the British Colonies is so hinged to that of Great

Britain that they are losing money, and the standard of living in the various Colonies must of necessity be low.

Therefore, as I see it, a Federal Government would have the power to so reorientate the economy of the various units that there would be a balance between exports and imports, and a certain measure of wealth left in the Colonies which would enhance the standard of living of the people.

I would like to refer to the Memorandum on "The National Income of British Guiana, 1942" by Dr. Frederick Benham, Economic Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies. On page 21, under the heading "Net Income Paid Abroad" I see the following items: Interest on Government and Public Bonds and Stocks, \$798,000; Interest on other loans, \$36,000; Dividends of companies operating in British Guiana paid to Shareholders abroad, \$2,050,000; Net Profit earned by local branches of foreign companies and (presumably) transferred to Head Offices, \$340,000; Rents to non-residents, \$18,000; Film royalties paid abroad, \$125,000; Other royalties paid abroad, \$5,000; Family remittances, \$30,000; Pensions to persons residing abroad, \$100,000, making a total of \$3 1/2 million.

That is another respect in which the people have been exploited in these Colonies, money being sent abroad year after year. The figures are increasing because we have more capital coming into the country. That is the second phase of imperialism, because the Colonies are not only a source of supply of raw materials and a market for the sale of manufactured articles, but with the industrial development in the United Kingdom and other countries capital is being exported into these Colonies, either in the form of loans, on which we are paying 5 per cent interest annually, or thousands of dollars every year, or capital in the form of investments in the sugar industry, the bauxite industry and now in the mining industry. It is true that the people of the Colony have gained a certain measure of employment in those industries, but let us look at the condition of those people who have been employed, for instance by the sugar estates, on which living conditions have not been materially improved, except in a few cases.

The PRESIDENT: Is this strictly relevant to the motion before the Council? I do not want to unduly curb the hon. Member in any way, but I cannot see the point he is making.

Dr. JAGAN: I am trying to point out that the Colonies are the hunting grounds of the capitalists and the vested interests who are taking away the wealth of the Colonies which would be left in these Colonies if there was a strong Federal Government.

Mr. SEAFORD: Is the hon. Member suggesting that if we had federation it would be in our interest to keep capital out of these Colonies when we are crying out for it today?

Dr. JAGAN: I am not suggesting for one moment that capital should be kept out of the Colonies. What I am trying to say, in support of what the hon. Member for Essequibo River (Mr. Lee) has said, is that a strong Federal Government would have the necessary political power to borrow

money, and large sums of money, to develop these Colonies. I would much prefer to see State capital instead of private capital. Private capital has done a certain measure of good in that it has provided a certain amount of employment, but it cannot be denied that that capital also has done a great amount of harm in that it has drained the wealth of the Colonies away from the Colonies — wealth which should have been left in these Colonies to develop them. If I may be allowed to I will read a statement by Mr. Crech-Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies published in a pamphlet entitled "Labour's Colonial Policy" and issued by the Fabian Colonial Bureau. The Secretary of State writes on page 16:

I must also add a word about minerals. You must all know of the important circular I have recently issued on the subject. Too much wealth in the dependencies has already been lost, and with it much of the capital which might otherwise have assisted local economic development.

Those are the words of the Secretary of State. On page 8 he further states:

Education and health, which formerly were left very much to the missions and philanthropists, and economic planning and control which formerly were left to private interests have assumed a place in government activity, whereas formerly government activity, was almost exclusively occupied in the maintenance of law and justice.

The days are over when Government should be only interested in law and justice, leaving the people to the mercy of the capitalists with their unplanned economy for private profit. We want a strong Federal Government which would have the necessary borrowing powers to undertake what I consider a planned economy for the benefit of the people as a whole instead of an unplanned economy.

There is one other point to which I should like to refer before I take my seat, and that is that the anti-federationists seem to have diverted their line of attack to what I may call national pride and sovereignty.

These words — national pride, self-government for the Colonies, sovereignty — are all words used to becloud the issue because, to my mind, what is the use of having national pride if we are starving. When hon. Members refer to the pride of British Guiana whose pride are they talking about? Are we talking about the pride of a few people — the pride of a few of us who have been able to pervert our skill and knowledge in order to live luxuriously at the expense of the masses, or are we talking about the pride of the people who are starving — people who get up in the morning without knowing where they can go for a job or where the next meal would come from — the people who live in the slums which are owned, as Mr. Rangela said, by rapacious landlords? Are we referring to the pride of those people who came from distant lands to the sugar estates over 100 years ago but up to now cannot afford to pay \$5 a month for a broken down room in which to live? Are we referring to people like those at Campbellville who are living in con-

ditions of serfdom as in the days when people had to pay road tolls and so on? I do not think we can afford to talk about the pride of the people in British Guiana when we cannot give a decent livelihood to a large number of them. The Secretary of State, on page 8 of "Labour's Colonial Policy" says: "Never let it be forgotten that sovereign states, as well as dependent territories, can be the prey of economic imperialism." That is my point; we are talking about self-government and so on for British Guiana and about being proud of our national heritage, but let us make sure that we would be proud of the kind of government we get and that we would not be left holding the bag.

Merely being proud of living in a free country is not enough. The Philippine Republic is a sovereign power, but it is under the thumb of American Imperialism just the same. To close my remarks I should like to state categorically that I am for federation 100 per cent, but not the kind of federation which Whitehall wants to give us. The federation they want to give us, as I have said before, is just that of a glorified Crown Colony and it would so subordinate our economy that we would only be producing wealth for Great Britain. I do not want to say that the Secretary of State is not a conscientious man. It is true that the Government in power in Great Britain at the present time is a Labour Government which has as its basis Socialist theories, but I am sorry to say that this Government is pursuing the same or a similar policy as the Conservatives — the Imperialists — in so far as these Colonies are concerned. It is true that the present Government may not be able to hold aloof from them because if they break away from the Imperialist policy which was being carried out for so many years, it may so unhinge the economy of Great Britain that something disastrous may happen. But nevertheless, as a British Guianese and one interested in the welfare of these masses in British Guiana, I must speak first in the interest of the people here even if it may affect in some way the interest of the people in Great Britain. I may also state that I am not in agreement with the proposed federation — closer union or closer association — as enunciated by the vested interests. That would merely mean the pooling of a few services and leaving the Colonies to be the swimming pool of outside capital. My view of federation is that we should have a strong federal body which would have certain powers delegated to it by several units — a strong federal body having that power with Dominion status, and with each of the units having internal self-government. That is the federation with which I am in agreement.

II

FEDERATION OF BRITISH CARIBBEAN TERRITORIES

Council resumed the debate on the following motion by Dr. Nicholson:

"That, this Council accepts in principle the proposed Federation of the British Caribbean Colonies and agrees to consider in a Committee of all the Unofficial Members of the Council the recommendations in the Closer Association Report."

Dr. JAGAN: Sir, this question of federation has now been debated very long and very exhaustively in this Legislative Council, and it is rather a pity that we have to cover more or less the same grounds again. I, personally, would have preferred that instead of going over the arguments which we have put forward already, to deal exclusively with the Report of the Standing Closer Association Committee. I have read this Report very carefully, and today I do not want to speak very vaguely about the principles of federation, because I feel we have already spent a long time on this issue — whether we should federate or not. It is true that on the last occasion we decided to send two observers to the Conference, and I note that those two observers did not append their signatures to this Report. The motion before the Council seeks to accept federation in principle, and also suggests that we move into Committee to consider this Report clause by clause, the intention being, no doubt, that we should make further suggestions, to His Majesty's Government. The hon. Mover of the motion spoke long and very exhaustively in support of it, and I merely want to say a few words on the general issue of federation before I begin to deal with the Report proper. I have heard arguments both for and against federation — some championing the cause of continental destiny, and pointing out that we are as far from Jamaica as Africa is, and so on; others emphasizing that we are on the South American continent and have nothing to do with the West Indies from a geographical point of view.

In these days, however, one has to accept the realities of the situation ... the question of distance alone does not in any way affect the whole issue of federation. What should be considered is whether federation would bring any political or economic gains to British Guiana. My Party — the People's Progressive Party — has discussed this matter fully, and in order to clarify the position I would like to state definitely what our views are. When the hon. Seconder of the motion spoke, he referred to the fact that it was unfortunate that racial considerations had something to do with the views and outlook of certain Members on this issue of federation.

It is true that certain persons — or rather, one community — is afraid to join the federation because, looking at it merely from the point of view of providing jobs, that community would be left out, since the ma-

majority of the population in the West Indian Colonies are of African origin. It is also true that many of the protagonists of federation who would not champion the cause of self-government, either for British Guiana or for the West Indies, would gladly advocate the cause of federation, simply because they feel that their racial element would predominate in this federal structure. The People's Progressive Party does not hold any such view. We are supporting the principle of federation because we feel that it is in the best interests of the people of this Colony. When we speak of federation we are not only envisaging a federation of the West Indies with British Guiana, but we are also looking forward to the federation of British Guiana with other countries surrounding us. We look at federation from a regional point of view, because we feel that regionalism and planning are among the very best things in international issues today.

I would like to say that certain people are supporting federation now for racial reasons — some of them have adduced the argument that we have racial and cultural ties with the people of the West Indies — but I would like to say that we are also tied up racially and culturally with the people in the Latin-American countries, since some of the people in Brazil and Venezuela are of African and Amerindian origin. The only difference is that British Guiana is not a self-governing country and, consequently, we are not free as a sovereign body to go to Venezuela or Brazil, or to our neighbours in Surinam and say: "Let us federate in our own interests." But, I think the time will come when we will be free in this country — when we will be able to come to an understanding with Surinam, Venezuela and Brazil, and also some of the French, American and Dutch islands in the Caribbean area, saying to them: "We desire a federation with you in our mutual interests." That is only a brief outline of how we, the People's Progressive Party, stand on this issue of federation. But how do we look upon this Report of the Standing Closer Association Committee?

The hon. Mover of the motion praised this Report and, in fact, read extracts from the views expressed by the West India Committee and other advocates of federation. Merely because the West India Committee, which is the big business element of this area, has championed this Report that is no valid reason why it should be given the support of this Council. However, the hon. Member went on to point out the various signatories to the Report, and referred with great pride to the fact that the name of Mr. Grantley Adams headed the list. In fact, he went on further to state that it was this same individual who was the President of the Caribbean Labour Congress and who, at the Montego Bay Conference, declared in favour of federation with Dominion status and self-government for the various units, but subsequently went back on the stand which he made at Montego Bay and signed this Report. I would not believe very much in any individual — especially if he is the head of a responsible organization — who makes a particular declaration and then, a couple of years later, goes back on the stand he had taken up before. Like the hon. Mover of the motion, I also have a very great regard for Mr. Grantley Adams of Barbados, but we must not lose sight of the fact that Mr. Adams,

by his recent action, has been losing a tremendous amount of support in Barbados and the other West Indian Colonies.

With your permission, Sir, I would like to read what was published about Mr. Grantley Adams in a newspaper called the *West African Pilot*, in an issue of April, 1948, and I would like the hon. Mover of the motion to listen to it. It reads as follows:

When a group of black men join hands together in order to see to it that a new day dawns for all men of colour, there is always a well-known Negro who joins the forces of the enemy. Our readers should mulch and digest the things published about the activities of one Mr. Adams of Barbados at the United Nations, sitting in France, and judge for themselves the type of African "leader" that Britain loves to advertise to the world. It is most distressing to note Mr. Adams' every word, but we in this part of the world should not have bothered had Mr. Adams not, without consulting and without even entering Africa, gone to array his sentiments before the United Nations. We have never said that the British are not good people; no Negro of worth has ever said that, but Mr. Adams ought to know that the overall policy of the Colonial Office has been condemned before all men of goodwill. Mr. Adams, by his irresponsible and inspired utterances put into his mouth by his British masters, has dealt a wicked blow to all suffering people. We can assure him that neither history nor African conscience will be kind to him when, at long last, black men all over the world come into their own.

This is the same individual, Sir, whom the hon. Mover of the motion was championing as the first signatory of this Report which I would say does not represent the interest of the people of this area. During the debate on Federation in the Barbados House of Assembly, Mr. Adams came in for much adverse criticism from his own Party who condemned this Report and he excused himself by saying that the reason why he signed the Report was because he had to hurry to catch the first plane which was leaving Trinidad at the time. This fact is published in the *Beacon* of November 10, 1951, and Mr. Adams went on to say that he was prepared to write a minority Report because he did not agree fully with certain parts of the Report. I speak about this matter, sir, because I intend to move a resolution later on rejecting this report and I would like to have the views of the various signatories put before the Members of this Council so that they could see that the Report cannot be satisfactory to the people in this Colony. Mr. Adams himself made this statement in the Barbados House of Assembly:

I think that we should be convinced that the only hope for the building up of a West Indian nation is to have a Socialist Commonwealth. Our only hope of salvation if we want to avoid the current strife is to aim at establishing a Socialist Government.

Let us now come to the Report proper: Mr. Adams says he wants to establish a Socialist Commonwealth and he feels that it is the only thing which would solve the problems of this area but as a signatory to this Report can he say that the Constitution proposed herein in any way

approaches that of a Socialist Commonwealth, or indeed a Commonwealth with Dominion status? I cannot understand the economic reasoning which has been put into the introductory paragraph of this Report; perhaps I have been to a different economic school. When we look at the Report we find, first of all, that the statements made in various paragraphs are very contradictory. Let us take, for instance, pars. 16 and 17 on page 14 as I would like to quote from them. Dealing with the political framework of the new Constitution, par. 16 states:

The next question is to consider whether there are possibilities that the economic weakness of the region can be remedied within the existing political framework, i. e., on a territorial rather than a 'regional' basis.

In other words, can the existing units, or any of them, hope to achieve a sufficient degree of economic stability to enable them to attain a real and permanent independence of outside aid and so the possibility of real as distinct from formal political independence? ...

Then par. 17 states:

17. This said, we may place on record our considered and emphatic view that Federation, and only Federation, affords a reasonable prospect of achieving economic stability and through it that political independence which is our constant object...

Further in par. 40 on page 23, we find these words:

40. Until the economic situation of the region materially improves, so long will His Majesty's Government, in fact, though perhaps not in law, have to stand behind the region and be ready to render financial assistance when required...

Sir, we meet with this same argument in all the Constitutional proposals which are being put forward — that we cannot get political independence until our economic circumstances permit it. To my mind, that is putting the cart before the horse. Why haven't we got economic advancement and political independence in those areas? If we look at the Budget Statement which was issued only a few days ago, we would find excuses being placed for many of our ills and problems on the international situation — one of them being the fact that we have no control over our foreign trade. In the words of the Financial Secretary and Treasurer (Acting):

The major anxiety which has beset us in this Colony stems from the burden which international tension is imposing on world economy, and which in turn reacts to our economy...

That is true. What happens in the United States of America, in Great Britain and other Western capitalist countries to whom we are bound hand and foot, obviously affects our economy in this country. That is why our cost of living has been mounting so rapidly. Can we say that we have no control over that? After the devaluation of the pound our friends in Suri-

nam, the Dutch, declined to devalue their currency, but what did we do in British Guiana? We automatically followed Great Britain and devalued also. We cannot trade as we like; we sell to the dollar areas but we cannot buy as much as we earn in dollars from them. We have to buy from the United Kingdom where prices are sky-rocketing every day. That is why we have not been able to achieve any economic self-sufficiency in this country and indeed in any of the West Indian Colonies — because their economic policy is run in a similar way. When the Standing Closer Association Committee states that we cannot get political independence, and that we cannot be free from the grip of His Majesty's Government until our economic position is improved, I say that line of argument is entirely wrong and fallacious, and the sooner it is exposed the better it would be for all concerned.

I support federation because I feel that it is only by federation that our economic conditions will improve. But, when I say "only by federation" I do not leave it at that, because a federation of slaves — a federation of Crown Colonies into what would merely be a glorified Crown Colony — will not solve our problems. Let us look at the federal structure proposed in this Report, and we will find that it would not have any real powers to raise money and to levy taxation. It would have to depend for its administrative expenses on moneys which are donated to it by the various territories — 25 per cent of the Customs duties in our case. If it wants to carry out any programme such as a development programme for any area — it would have to go hat in hand to His Majesty's Government in order to raise a loan. Of course, loans would be given so long as the people giving them are assured that the loans would be safeguarded, and that opportunities for making money in these areas would not be limited. Would the Federal Government be able to go to the independent territories and say: "We want this Colony to do 'so and so' and that Colony to do 'so and so'?" It would not and that is not the intention of the framers of the Constitution, because everyone is very jealous about his individual territorial rights. Yes, in our insularity we are jealous of our territorial rights, but how are we going to solve our problems unless we are able to surrender; to make concessions which the federal structure may demand? I feel that only a strong federal body, with real powers, can tackle the problems of this.

At the Conference of the Caribbean Commission which the hon. Member for Eastern Berbice (Dr. Gonsalves) and I attended at Curacao, we discussed at great length a report by Mr. Daniel Neumark, Agricultural Economist of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, on "The Importance of Agriculture in Caribbean Economy with reference to the world market". I am sorry that that report was not published, and copies supplied to Members of this Council and legislators throughout the West Indies, because it would have helped them to arrive at more considered opinions, based on the economic factors relating to various territories. With your permission, sir, I would like to read a few extracts from the Report, in which Dr. Neumark emphasizes the weakness of the economy of the West Indies and British Guiana. He states:

One of the main characteristics of the territorial export trade in the Caribbean is its dependence on a small number of products, a dependence typical of economically undeveloped areas, while the import requirements of each territory are characterised by a very wide range of foodstuffs, raw materials and manufactured articles.

That is generally the broad picture but Dr. Neumark goes on to point out what must be done in order to change this set-up which we have had with us for the past 150 years. He suggests that there should be planning for the entire area; that there should be territorial specialization; that if, for instance, it is more profitable to produce sugar in one place than in another, in the interests of the workers in the industry it should be produced where it is more profitable to do so. The Venn Commission recommended that, in view of the increased cost of production of sugar in this Colony, H. M. Government should give our sugar a subsidy of £1 per ton. I would like to further illustrate that point by quoting another paragraph from Dr. Neumark's report on page 9, in which he states:

Grenada is a case in point. The area under sugar in Grenada amounts to 308 acres (125 hectares) with an average production of 17.21 tons of cane per acre. It is surprising that Grenada should insist on growing its own sugar under protection (against imports from other West Indian territories and at the expense of the consumer and taxpayer as it were), when it can import sugar more cheaply from Barbados, St. Lucia or Trinidad.

Whatever were the reasons in the past for supporting sugar production in Grenada, there is very little economic justification now for maintaining this industry at the expense of the consumer and taxpayer. Grenada could utilize its acres at present under sugar for growing more cocoa or nutmegs, or for growing fodder crops for livestock.

Then, on page 10, the report states:

In many cases (as in Martinique and Guadeloupe) the cultivation of bananas and pineapples has proved a solution. A possible solution to the hillside lands, i. e., the marginal sugar cane lands, has been found in the planting of permanent tree crops such as cocoa, coconuts and nutmegs. Some of the tree crops could be combined with grazing and or cultivated fodder crops.

In other words, here we are in each of these territories practically producing similar items. It is true that some of us have more of one item than the others. For instance, Trinidad has more cocoa, and a few places have nutmegs. Jamaica has citrus, but all of us are thinking of developing along the same lines. We are all thinking of industrialization, but we must look at the issue realistically. Can all of us have a bottle industry or a textile industry? Can all of us have a cement industry? . . .

Where would we find markets? Today there is cut-throat competition among the industrialized countries. I have just come back from the United Kingdom where I visited some factories. I remember visiting a small manufacturer of kitchen utensils in Scotland who told me that because of increasing competition from Japan and Germany, he found that he

could not sell many of the electric ranges he was producing. Electric ranges which he was offering for £100 were being offered by foreign competitors at £60. He explained that with the introduction of American capital, and what is called American "know-how" into Germany, with their mass production methods and improved technique those people were able to undersell even a highly industrialized country like the United Kingdom. What will be the position of the people in the West Indies and British Guiana, with our small resources and no real political power to put up tariff barriers against competition from the United States which is hunting all over the world today for markets to sell its goods? That is why we have to consider this issue from an overall point of view; and that is why those people who say we should not federate with the West Indies are only hiding their noses in the sand. They are not looking to the future at all.

Our standard of living is deteriorating day by day . . . We have to take a realistic view of the situation. I say yes, we must federate, but we must federate on such terms and conditions which would permit us to take hold of our economic position and raise the national income of the area. Our Financial Secretary has told us year by year that we increase our national income. What we need today is to lay the basis for the improvement of conditions so that our national income may be improved.

On page 94 of the Standing Closer Association Committee's Report will be seen the hundred and one reservations which H. M. Government is to have over and above the Federal Government. Paragraph 40 sets out the powers which the Governor-General will be empowered to reserve for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure — BILLS dealing with defence, foreign relations, foreign trade, tariffs, etc. In other words certain powers of the Federal Government would be subject to view by H. M. Government. In paragraph 42 we also find that His Majesty in Council will have power to legislate by Order-in-Council.

I am not prepared to waste any time. I am not prepared to advocate a Federal Government which would merely sit and talk. We have been doing that for a long time in this Legislative Council. I am willing to join a federation but one in which these so-called reserve powers would not be exercised by H. M. Government. What is our trade relationship today? British Guiana is perhaps in an unfortunate position as regards our dollar situation. We are earning more dollars than we are spending or allowed to spend. We can buy goods cheaper from the dollar areas but we are forced to buy from British sources. Our friends in Surinam, Curacao and Aruba are in a much happier position.

As regards foreign relations we have no say in that matter at the present time. Being a Crown Colony we can do nothing about that. What I would like to see is a federal body which would have power to make economic changes . . . Should British Guiana join a federation with the West Indies we would have to surrender 25 per cent of our Customs revenue. At the present time, as the hon. Member pointed out, we are experiencing great difficulty in balancing our budget. What would be our position if we surrender 25 per cent of our Customs revenue? That is the

way the hon. Member framed his argument in opposing our participation in a West Indian Federation, but in my view that is accepting a static position as regards our finances in the future. As I look upon it, if we secured self-government for the country and self-government for the Federation the situation existing today need not necessarily exist tomorrow, or the year after. It would not be worse, because we would be able to take control of the situation in this country; we would be able to raise more revenue.

I do not want to go into all the details now about raising revenue, but I want to say that I have recently returned from countries which were almost totally destroyed during the war, Germany particularly, and I have seen the people's government of the German Democratic Republic there taking control, starting from scratch, and today they have a healthy economy without American dollars. Those people have taken hold of their governments, and have been able to increase their revenue and their national income. If they can do it I do not see why we in these Colonies should not do the same ourselves. We have various means of raising money.

... Let us frankly admit that people from outside with money will not come here to invest it except on their own terms. They are coming to exploit the wealth of these countries. If we study the history of India, Burma, Malaya, China, Persia and Egypt — any one of those countries where foreign capital has been ruling the roost for many years, we will realize the situation in those countries today. There has been a perpetual draining away of the wealth of those countries — development in name but exploitation in actual fact. That is what is going to happen in these Colonies unless we put a stop to it.

Money incoming into these countries' Capital is coming for the exploitation of timber, gold, diamonds and bauxite — not only in British Guiana but in Jamaica and other territories. Tax holiday legislation is being introduced willy-nilly all over the place, but I say that is not the way in which these Colonies are going to be developed. The only way they can be developed is by independence — an independent federation having complete sovereign power to borrow money to set up factories in the interest of the people... Are we going to get development in this proposed federal set-up? Under this Rance Report I say "No". We want political power, and why I advocate federation is because we have to put up a united front against imperialism.

Let us take our bauxite for instance. If alone we were to threaten or demand an equal share of the exploitation of our bauxite resources what success would we achieve? Nearly two-thirds of the bauxite obtained from this country pays no royalty, because it is being extracted from lands owned by the Demarara Bauxite Co., which will yield bauxite for quite a long time. If we told the Bauxite Co. that we want an equal share of their profits they would not worry about us, because they could go to Surinam, Nigeria or the Gold Coast. That is our perpetual fear. But they cannot go any more behind the 'Iron Curtain', fortunately. They could go to Jamaica and so play one Colony against another, and in that way

continue to exploit these territories, but if we were federated — Surinam with British Guiana and British Guiana with Jamaica and the other Colonies — we could deal with them unitedly and tell them we demand our just share of our resources.

I do not think we need have any fear about the development of these territories, but we must not perpetually look for foreign capital to develop them. That has been a wrong attitude, not only of this Legislature but of the Legislatures throughout the West Indies. As Mr. Adams rightly said, we need a Socialist Commonwealth with Dominion status, so that we could raise the necessary money. An interesting point is that if people are willing to lend us money now when we are a Crown Colony, or when we are a glorified Crown Colony Federation, why would they not be willing to lend us when we have Dominion status? There are only two reasons. One is that they would be afraid they might lose their capital which they have invested...

The other reason is that capitalists from outside want to be assured that they would have free rein, with cheap labour in these parts, to make as much profit as they can, with income tax concessions and other benefits which are being handed out right and left. I want those who advocate all this encouragement of foreign capital to remember that the point has been reached when foreign capital needs an outlet. The imperialists have no other alternative. They are coming to the West Indies, to Puerto Rico, Trinidad and Jamaica, not because they love us but because they find that avenues for further investment in their own countries are very limited, and because they can get cheap labour in these parts. That is why U. S. capital has gone to Germany and Japan, and that is why, with cheap labour in Japan, practically slave labour, they are able to undercut U. K. prices today.

A terrific war is going on behind the scenes. So let us not be too pessimistic about the future. Those people are going to come with their capital, but when they come we must be sure that we shall get our share. I do not fully agree with the policy of granting concessions right and left to capitalists. I would like to quote from a speech by the Soviet delegate at a meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council on March 8, which is published in a pamphlet under the title *Aid to Economically Backward Countries*.

THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: May we have the title of the Pamphlet?

DR. JAGAN: I gave the title — *Aid to Economically Backward Countries*. On page 5 it states:

It should be noted that countries which are investors of capital, the United States in the first place, exert big efforts to foster the idea in the under-developed countries — with the help of their stooges, state institutions or organizations — that foreign capital is exceedingly useful for development of economy, the idea that without the constant and ever-growing regular flow of foreign capital the further development of the under-developed countries is impossible.

To gain this end they deliberately minimise or underestimate the role of internal resources, and by this manoeuvre try to create an artificial demand for foreign

capital, that is for American capital. In reality, however, the root of the evil lies not so much in the shortage of foreign capital in the under-developed countries as in the policy pursued by the capitalist countries, the United States and Britain in the first place. It is the monopolies of the United States that are interested in the export of capital first and foremost, and not the under-developed countries. The point is that the United States seeks through the export of capital immediate sources of raw material and cheap labour power, to lessen its economic difficulties which arose as a consequence of the shrinking of the home market in the United States.

The relative surplus of capital in some capitalist countries, the United States in the first place, is used not for raising the living standards of the working people of these countries, as this would lower the profits of the capitalists, but for raising profits, by exporting capital abroad, to the under-developed countries. The drive for big profits and super-profits was and remains one of the main reasons and stimulating factors in the export of capital to the under-developed countries.

It goes on to state:

Thus according to far from complete official figures of the United States Department of Commerce, the total profits from direct capital investments of the United States abroad after payments of the United States taxes, amounted in 1945 to 9.2 per cent of the sum of these capital investments; in 1946 to 12.2 per cent; in 1947 to 15.2 per cent; and in 1948 to 17.1 per cent.

The rate of profits in the United States amounted to 7.71 per cent in 1945; 9.1 per cent in 1946; 12 per cent in 1947; and 13.8 per cent in 1948.

A comparison of the profits from capital invested abroad and capital used in the United States shows that United States capital abroad yields much higher profits, than the capital used in the United States. In the five post-war years (1946-50) the United States received profits of about 7,000 million dollars on direct capital investments abroad and from 1938 to the present time more than 111,500 million dollars. Huge profits from foreign capital investments are received also by many other capitalist countries.

Sir, that is the reality of the situation. Don't let us be fooled as regards the future; our products are definitely needed by these people today. A war is being waged in Korea because of the tungsten there; a war is being waged in Malaya because of the tin and rubber there with which dollars have to be earned. In Africa also we have the same kind of exploitation going on for all kinds of strategic and industrial raw materials and the West Indies have not been left out of this plan of exploitation by these people. They are finding day by day more and more raw materials in these areas. In Jamaica they are finding all kinds of ores now, and in British Guiana we are hearing that the Economic Commercial Administration is now interested in our tantalite, columbite and so on.

I am in agreement with federation, but I do feel that we have to be careful and not go into it merely because we agree with it in principle. We must go into it only if it is going to bring us advantages, but going

into federation along the lines of this Report would not bring us any... With these remarks, sir, I beg to move an amendment to the original motion to read as follows:

Delete the words "the proposed" in the first and second lines. Delete the words "agrees to consider in a Committee of all the Unofficial Members of the Council the recommendations in the Closer Association Report" and substitute the words "recommends in view of the fact that the Closer Association Committee was not truly representative of the people that a constituent Assembly constituted by two members from each participating territory and chosen by universal adult suffrage, be appointed to draft a new federal constitution" with "dominion status"

...I think the amendment will be found to be appropriate in view of the remarks made here by certain hon. Members. Even the hon. Member who seconded and supported the original motion suggested in his concluding remarks that federation, as proposed in this Report, would not be of any value to us. If we look at the signatories to this Report we will find the name of G. H. Adams near the head of the list. I have already pointed out to hon. Members what Mr. Adams' views were on this question... We have in this Council many Members who cannot be said to be real representatives of the people. I think it is strange that in Jamaica the Clerk of the Legislative Council was sent to meetings of the Closer Association Committee as a representative of the people there. From British Guiana we sent two delegates, but they were merely observers and did not take part in the preparation of this Report. If we go through this list of signatories we will find the names of many individuals who, had they been to the point of having themselves elected to a constituent Assembly, would never have found themselves free.

In these days we hear a lot about the will of the people, but I do not understand how the British Government on one hand, and because of the United Nations Organization and its stand for human rights, can subscribe to declarations which state that the will of the people should be the basis of authority for Government and, on the other hand, we find that circumstances are created in some cases — as in the report of our Constitution Commission — to apply completely outside of the principle. In this case the authority comes from people who are not representatives of the will of the people. That is why having criticised this report fully and shown its weaknesses, we should reject it completely. In fact, I would have seconded the motion by the hon. Member of Georgetown Central (Mr. Fernandez) when he said that we should accept federation in principle but reject the Rance Report. I felt, however, that that did not go far enough because he should have said why we are rejecting the Report and what we should put in its place. If the Council had gone into Committee we would merely have gone through the Report clause by clause and possibly made minor recommendations which would not have changed the Report. What is wrong with the Report is that its basic character is wrong. The principles and the theories set out in the various clauses are not based on equity. There are ill-founded and, consequently, I feel that my amend-

ment will meet the criticisms levied on behalf of the people not only in this country but elsewhere.

I have with me here a speech made by Mr. Manley — the leader of the Opposition Party in Jamaica — and while I do not wish to tire this Council any longer, it does show that these people criticised the Report in a similar vein — arguing strongly for a federal body with Dominion status. I feel that we in British Guiana would be doing nothing wrong if we demanded a constituent Assembly based on adult suffrage and giving each participating unit two members for this Assembly. That would be a very democratic procedure, and I feel that this Council should adopt it...

FEDERATION WITH DOMINION STATUS

Recent statements in the press seem to indicate that I have changed my views of the W. I. Federation. In Trinidad in a recent recorded interview I explained fully the P. P. P.'s attitude to the Federation giving at the same time a historical review. Unfortunately, statements have been lifted out of context and these have been used for unfavourable editorial comment.

Let me say this categorically. The views of the P. P. P. which I reflect have not been changed. It still maintains that on the attainment by Federation of dominion status the issue of British Guiana's participation should be decided by a plebiscite. Students of political economy and even some W. I. politicians share our view that the Federation suffers from two basic weaknesses; firstly the federal powers vis-à-vis the Colonial Office powers, i. e. a *colonial* federal constitution; secondly, the federal powers vis-à-vis unit powers, i. e. a weak federal centre.

Full self-government is a goal from which we will not deviate. Whether the people of British Guiana decide to join the Federation or not, full independence is something for which all Guianese must strive.

(Cheddi Jagan)

FEDERATION IN TROUBLE

I've talked to a lot of people. And some are in very high positions. Quite a few are very sceptical; others are frustrated. Most think that it's one big colossal superstructure with practically no movement at all. I'm talking about W. I. Federation.

Now that Federation is a reality, some W. I. politicians, particularly in the largest territory, Jamaica, are taking a good serious look. And frankly they don't like what they see. Apparently very few bothered to look at the fiscal and economic consequences of Federation. Most seem to have been mesmerised by the emotional appeal of a new West Indian Nation.

For Britain, federation and independence were a solution to administrative headaches and grants-in-aid (the smaller territories of the Leewards and Windwards).

The W. I. is the one place which can get independence for the asking. But here's the rub — West Indian Federal politicians are not in a hurry for independence! The smaller territories still want their Governors and their nominated Members! No wonder Professor Gordon Lewis of Puerto Rico University complains about the hangover from a slave mentality in all aspects of W. I. life.

British Guiana must join the Federation. This was the theme which kept buzzing around the recent Rice Conference held in Trinidad. What can British Guiana expect to get out of the Federation? Let's look at the record.

Jamaica doesn't like Customs Union (free movement of goods). Trinidad doesn't like freedom of movement of persons. These are the prerequisites of Federation.

In the early war and post-war years when Federation talks were in the air, Jamaica was a badly depressed country. Today Jamaica is booming. The Jamaicans feel that Jamaica, with half the population of the Federation, can go it alone. Some economists who have looked at this closely seem to feel that Jamaica has more to lose and little to gain as a member of the Federation.

This explains why Jamaica while anxious for self-government internally is not in a hurry for dominion status for the Federation. Review of the Federal Constitution was to take place in June, 1959. In view of Jamaica elections early next year, it is likely to be postponed. Dominion status for the Federation will bring with it customs union and the free movement of goods (Jamaica's highly protected industry is afraid of Trinidad's). It will also bring with it the right to levy income taxes. Recall that a few months ago Jamaica nearly seceded (I'm told she hasn't got the power to do so constitutionally) when the Federal Prime Minister hinted about a federal income tax.

But let's see how planning — this interests me most — is working out for the area as a whole. I'm told that there's no such thing from the Centre. The Units are too insular in outlook and will brook no interference with what they consider to be their rights. The bigger units want to be free to offer bigger tax holidays, incentives, etc. to investors. This means a faster rate of growth in the larger territories — Jamaica, Trinidad and possibly Barbados. I'm told that the seven small territories of the Leeward/Windward Group produce only about 10% of the total income of the whole Federal Area. Proper planning would attempt to stimulate development in these territories and to correct the imbalance. But with the "catch-as-you-can" policy of each of the large units, and a weak federal centre, the seven smaller units are likely to be further depressed later and become the poor-house of Trinidad. I say Trinidad because with Jamaica threatening to secede the politicians are heaving towards Trinidad.

With the present atmosphere and attitude of West Indian Leaders to British Guiana, very little of anything is to be gained now by British Guiana's entry into the Federation. Guianese must watch with interest new developments.

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

III

WEST INDIAN STATEHOOD

In this era of an intensification of the national and international class struggle, the Caribbean people must be vigilant in distinguishing content from form. When the PNC-led Coalition Government was advocating a Republic in 1966, the P. P. P. reminded the Guyanese people not only that it was the first party to advocate Republican status for Guyana (at the 1962 Independence Conference in London, P. P. P. supported it; UF opposed and PNC ambiguously supported monarchical status for some time to be followed later by republican status), but also that republics can be bourgeois-democratic (capitalist) like the USA, fascist like South Africa, Haiti or Brazil and Socialist like the USSR or Bulgaria.

Similarly, political unions (unitary state or federation) can be representative of different class interests. The unitary state of the United Kingdom (England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland) and the federal USA are instruments of the capitalist-imperialist class; the federal USSR state is, on the other hand, an instrument of the working class.

The relevant question is what class interests the new West Indian state will serve. The answer to this question must be sought in examining the forces which are behind it, how closely they were linked organisationally and ideologically to those who backed the defunct W. I. Federation and CARIFTA.

I have already noted that Anglo-American imperialism started the cold war to arrest the growth and development of national liberation and Socialism. The imperialists were perturbed that Socialism had grown from a single state (USSR) after the First World War to a world Socialist system (Eastern Europe at the end of World War II and People's China in 1949), and that the successful independence struggles in Indonesia, Indochina (1945) and India (1947) would influence other colonial peoples to fight for independence and Socialism.

Relying on force, they built a world-wide system of military bases to encircle the Socialist states "to contain Communism". At the same time, the British, Dutch and the French attempted to reimpose their colonial system after the war, particularly in Asia and Africa. But after their defeats in Indonesia, Indochina, Korea, Algeria and the militant stand taken against colonialism at the Bandung Conference in 1955 and at the United Nations, they changed their strategy. Recognising that many colonial leaders were pro-socialist and that political independence was inevitable, the imperialists decided to muzzle the future independent states by incorporating them into some form of political union. The French created the French Community; the Dutch formed the Dutch Kingdom (Realm) supposedly with three equal partners (Holland, Surinam and Dutch Antilles); the British moved to form the Central African Federation, the Malaysian Federation and the Nigerian Federation. It was against

this background that the West Indies Federation was born in 1958. At the economic level, through the bourgeois-ideologist, Sir Arthur Lewis, the imperialist economic planning strategy — the Puerto Rican model — was introduced in the West Indies.

What about W. I. leadership? Having teamed up with the coldwar warriors, they were in on position to oppose their political and economic planning strategies. They retreated at the political level from the stand taken in 1947 at Montego Bay and accepted a federation with a colonial status. Moving from an opportunistic, narrow nationalistic, and not an anti-imperialist, pro-socialist position, they could not be expected to think of the welfare of the smaller, less developed depressed Windward and Leeward Island territories, which had only about 10 per cent of the national income of the whole area. Jamaica, one of the most developed would not agree to a common policy of fiscal incentives to foreign capital, and to centralized planning which would channel projects to the less developed, smaller nine territories.

The first federal economic planner bewailed the fact that he could not get the federal leaders to read his plan, much less discuss it. Obsessed by the idea that foreign capital was indispensable for growth and development, Jamaica deluded itself into believing that freedom to offer whatever incentives it desired was the highway to rapid progress.

The rat-race to attract foreign capital ultimately led to a referendum, the secession of Jamaica and the break-up of the federation.

INTEGRATION FOR WHOM?

On the break-up of the Federation in 1962, the Trinidad and Tobago government called for the creation of an Economic Community, a form of integration with strong economic links including a Customs Union, and common fiscal, monetary and economic policies.

But this was unacceptable because of prevailing attitudes which were opposed to any form of advanced economic integration and coordination of national policies. Actually, up to the end of May 1962 when the Federation collapsed, it catered neither for free trade nor a Customs Union.

The next step in the integration process was the creation of a Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA). In December 1965 Antigua, Barbados and Guyana signed an agreement at Dickenson Bay in Antigua to bring it about. By May 1, 1968, when CARIFTA came into effect the signatories were Antigua, Barbados, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. Jamaica and Montserrat joined in August 1968, and Belize (former British Honduras) in May 1971.

The formation of CARIFTA was in keeping with the new strategy of US imperialism — the creation of Common Markets and Free Areas to benefit its multinational corporations and to rationalize and stabilize world capitalism and imperialism as a socio-economic system. It is not to be forgotten that L. F. S. Burnham, the chief protagonist of CARIFTA, had been brought to power in Guyana with the help of U. S. imperialism and was committed to pro-imperialist domestic and foreign policies.

In the second half of the decade (1960—70), the world balance was shifting against imperialism and in favour of socialism and national liberation. The socialist countries under the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) were integrating through cooperation and specialisation of their economies and achieving faster rates of growth than the capitalist world.

According to the United Nations Statistical Yearbook (1970), the gross national product of the European socialist states including the Soviet Union, grew by 108.2 per cent in the 1958—69 period as compared with 80.5 per cent for the capitalist states, including the underdeveloped (developing) countries. Industrial production for the same period increased by 157 per cent for the socialist states and only 97 per cent for the capitalist states. Actually, the share of world capitalist industrial production showed a decline from 67.1 per cent in 1958 to 61.7 per cent in 1968; for the socialist states there has been a progressive increase from 3 per cent in 1917 to 10 per cent in 1937; 25 per cent in 1955 and 39 per cent in 1970. The U. S. share of world trade dropped from about 34 per cent at the end of World War II to about 16.5 per cent in 1968.

To face this socialist challenge, the imperialist strategists saw the need to organise production on a wider and more intensive scale without national barriers. They thus propagated the concept of "ideological frontiers" instead of "geographical frontiers"; namely, that the concept of national sovereignty and independence with trade barriers and tariff walls was old-fashioned and obsolete, that all those who believed in the same ideology ("the defence of freedom", the euphemism for state-monopoly capitalism) must come together to create what past U. S. President, Lyndon Johnson, called "one ideological community".

But this coming together under the slogan of "interdependence" was the pretext for strengthening the position of world imperialism as a whole, for the domination and exploitation of third-world countries and even the "colonisation" of the developed capitalist states of Europe. Carifta was only the Caribbean counterpart of the European Common Market (ECM); European Free Trade Area (EFTA); the Latin American Free Trade Association; the Central-American Common Market...

Observe this comment about the European Common Market from a newsletter circulated by the private West German banks, March, Fink and Co., and Waldthausen.

When Britain becomes a member of EEC, several thousand U.S. companies which are already established with their own British subsidiaries in the UK will also enjoy the benefits of this continental market... They will be able to mesh and synchronize their investments and operations in Britain and on the continent so as to quickly develop an all-European plan for their production and sales. In view of the size of their direct investment... generally speaking the Americans are in a better position than their British or European competitors immediately at exploiting the advantages of an expanded Common Market.

This explains why President de Gaulle of France was opposed to Britain's entry into the European Common Market. In this age of competing imperialisms, de Gaulle did not want U. S. economic domination of Europe through Britain.

The French people were already greatly concerned about U. S. economic domination of France. *Dimension*, in its March-April 1966 issue, wrote:

But the American cultural invasion of France is not as important as the economic invasion. American investment in France has risen at a remarkable rate during the last few years. A year ago, on March 8, 1965, *Newsweek* magazine did a cover story on U.S. investment in Europe. Speaking of France, *Newsweek* said American companies have opened 500 new operations (in France) in the past two years. French national pride is lacerated by the fact that U. S. firms now control almost the whole electronics industry. Fifty per cent of the production of synthetic rubber, 65% of farm machinery production. Even a few of the subcontractors for President de Gaulle's top-secret force de frappe are U.S. subsidiaries: 'Unless Europe reacts and gets organised,' warns Louis Armand, the man who turned the French railroad system into the world's best, 'we are condemning ourselves to industrial colonization. Either we counter-attack or we sign our vassalization warrant!'

Direct private U. S. investments have increased five-fold, from US\$ 1,900 million in 1958 in the European Common Market countries, faster than in any other area. Servan-Schreiber of France, pointing out that about half of the 6,000 American enterprises set up abroad between 1959 and 1967 had been established in Western Europe, says: "Europe of the Common Market has become a new Far West for American businessmen."

"There is just about no industry or sector of trade," wrote *Le Monde Diplomatique*, "where at least one new American establishment has not emerged." According to *Der Spiegel*, the scale of U. S. capital penetration "has been causing European manufacturers loss of sleep for a long time now".

Because of their superior technology, marketing facilities and capital resources, U. S. corporations are able to control any market they are allowed to penetrate. The European monopolies, although giants on a national scale, cannot compete with them. Fiat, for instance, turns out 85 per cent of all motor vehicles in Italy, but only 22 per cent in the European Common Market. "Yet", says L. Glushkarev in his article "American Capital in the Common Market",

General Motors alone produces many more motor vehicles than the entire automobile industry of the Sox. Thyssen-Rhein-Ruhr produces 25 per cent of the steel in the Federal Republic, but only 10 per cent of the output in the EEC, which is an insignificant fraction of the output of the United States Steel Corp. Of the 500 biggest private corporations in the world more than 300 are American. According to the estimate of Robert Lattes made in his book *Mille Milliards de Dollars*, in 1958 the world capitalist market will be controlled by 60 companies, of which about 50 will be of American origin.

Because of cheaper labour in Europe, competition for U. S. capital, cheap raw materials from the "Associated States", and the huge protected internal market for manufactured goods, American companies get from 13 to 16 per cent profit on invested capital in the European Common Market as against 10 per cent in the USA.

U. S. big business through its multinational corporations would like not only to take over Europe but also to cement the chains of neo-colonialism in Latin America and the Caribbean, and at the same time to displace their competitors — the British, French and Dutch from the West Indies, and particularly the Japanese and Germans in Central and South America.

FREE TRADE

At the summit Punta del Este Conference in April 1967, the Presidents of the Latin-American republics agreed, beginning with 1970, gradually to create a Latin-American Common Market to begin functioning, in the main, within fifteen years. U. S. interest was indicated in an understatement which declared that "the President of the United States of America pledges full support for this promising Latin-American initiative".

There was, however, much more to it. The U. S. big business magazine, *Fortune*, in an article in June 1967 entitled "A Latin American Common Market Makes Common Sense for U. S. Businessmen Too" put it more bluntly:

For U. S. private enterprise, the common market spells enticing new opportunity. Apart from the traditional mining (Anaconda, Creole Petroleum) and farming (United Fruit, W. R. Grace), U. S. investment until now has mostly gone into manufacturing for 'import substitution' — producing for a national market under protective tariffs. But U. S. businessmen are beginning to see in the Latin American common market the advantages that they seized upon in the European Common Market: the chance to move to the broader, more competitive, and potentially more profitable task of supplying a market big enough to be economic in its own terms....

In many a boardroom, the common market is becoming a serious element in planning for the future. Ford Motors do Brazil, which makes Galaxies, thinks it could mesh nicely with Forde of Argentina, which makes Falcons, of scale by producing both cars for larger markets. Kodak, which now makes photographic paper in Brazil, would like to make exportable film in Mexico and cameras and projectors in Argentina. I. T. T. . . ., with telecommunication equipment plants in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico, wants to rationalize production, interchange parts, and raise production high enough to export from Latin America to other parts of the world, says Vice-president Gerhard Andlinger, the company's group executive for Latin America. Other corporations interested in rationalizing or expanding operations include G. E. Remington Rand, Otis Elevators, Worthington, Firestone, Deere, Westinghouse, Air Brake, American Machine and Foundry.

Not everyone was happy with this new imperialist manoeuvre, the follow-up to the Latin American Free Trade Association and the Central-American Common Market. Antonio Carrillo Flores, Mexico's Foreign Minister, in July 1967 said that the Common Market, even though in appearance Latin American, was unacceptable "if its sole purpose is to open the flood gates to big foreign concerns".

It was to cope with this type of criticism of U. S. dominating influence that the strategists devised the idea of "partnership" — Latin American capitalists participating in the formation of subsidiaries of foreign corporations. The *Fortune* article cited above put it this way:

This may sound like a U. S. takeover of the whole Latin American economy, and plenty of Latin American businessmen believe that's just what's afoot. But the fear is not necessarily valid. As things stand now, most foreign owned enterprises in Latin America reinvest a lot of their profits, thus tending more and more to be part of the landscape. Yet if they are really going to take up residence and avoid the take-over charge, U. S. subsidiaries will have to admit Latin Americans more readily to an ownership. Telling them to buy stock in the parent company on Wall Street is so far not the answer, since getting the dollars, and getting them out, is balked by currency restrictions and tax law.

A quick sentence in the Punta del Este declaration hints at a long-range solution: a common market stock market, which would let an Argentine buy stock in a Venezuelan brewery, or a Colombian buy stock of Brazil's Willys-Overland.

President Nixon in a number of messages and speeches, including his message to Congress on February 25, 1971, substituted for Kennedy's Alliance for Progress the formula of "equal partnership". "Thus the core of our new foreign policy", said the President, "is a partnership . . . Its necessary adjuncts are strength to secure our interests."

A year earlier, during his African tour, William P. Rogers, U. S. Secretary of State had proposed partnership not only with capitalists, but also governments. "We believe", he said,

that private investment can and should play a growing role, above and beyond public assistance, in African development. Africans themselves desire to participate in such investment. In many countries, in the face of limited capital resources, it is the government rather than the private sector which has the financial wherewithal to join with foreign private investors. Thus, 'joint ventures' frequently involve a combination of foreign private and African governmental capital. We are prepared to encourage American investors to cooperate in such endeavours under adequate investment protection.

This explains not only the coming into being of CARIFTA, but also the "meaningful participation in bauxite" slogan of Burnham's government before it was forced to nationalize the Demerara Bauxite Company, and the 51 per cent participation with private foreign companies by the Trinidad and Tobago PNM government. Pro-imperialist state capitalism is now masquerading as socialism.

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

IV

CARIFTA: POLITICAL NOT ECONOMIC

The Government in moving the Motion for the Caribbean Free Trade Area Agreement was rather unconvincing in its arguments. The main point made was that small communities cannot hope to survive and that if they are to progress they must unite so that there can be a bigger market, and eventually a progressive freeing of trade. Now, this talk about unity is nothing new. It is as old as the hills. At first, unity in the Caribbean was to come at the political level and so the political Federation was born.

Now that the Federation is dead and buried, we are attempting to achieve unity at the economic level. It seems to me that the level which is aimed at, the free trade area, is certainly the lowest level, for at one time there was even talk of a Customs Union.

I recall in the early days, when this matter of political Federation came up in the late 1940s, there was strong opposition to it by the then British Guiana Government. The suggestion, however, was made that, perhaps, the Guiana Government would be prepared to consider a Customs Union. At that time the attitude of the West Indian leaders was that if you do not want political Federation, then there would be no Customs Union. It seems that, after a great deal of work and discussions, we have arrived at a level which as I said, is the lowest form of economic unity.

We say that unity is necessary, but not unity at any price. There are all kinds of unity. We have an example of unity on the Government benches, and we see where this unity is leading this country today. As we see it, this unity which is limited to three relatively small territories will hardly achieve anything, and the unity which is projected is unity at the trade level more or less in a vacuum without interfering with the social and economic structure of these countries; so, we have very mixed feelings on this whole question.

While we agree that unity is essential if progress is to be made, we realise that unity must be a qualitative type of unity where other structural changes will take place. What is projected here is a unity which we see will not lead to any progress or any forward movement. Indeed, it can be a retrogressive move, and can lead to further binding of the chains of the people of these territories.

First of all, let us deal with the question of a market, since one of the main arguments of the Government is that we need a larger market. The population of the three territories is nearly one million. I will give the trade figures, not in dollars but in percentages, so that things will stand out more clearly. Our imports from Barbados are a fraction of 1% of our total imports; from Antigua, the figure was much less.

Our exports to Barbados were around 1.5%, and to Antigua again, a very small fraction of 1%. What then is the economic justification for

this measure? Clearly, there does not seem to be any real justification for this. The question then is: Why has this been done?

As we see it, those who control or dominate the economy of these countries want it; besides that, the political leaders also want it — of course, each of them wants it for different reasons. The foreign capitalists want it because it will give them an opportunity to have a better stranglehold of the economy of these countries without the bother of having to move and deal with each territory separately . . .

There is no doubt that imperialism, today, is facing a crisis . . .

What do we find today? Capitalists of developed countries today have a growing economic surplus as a result of exploitation of the working classes in their own countries, and as a result of the extraction of super-profits from the third-world countries. They have to do something with this economic surplus, and there is need to find markets for the export of capital — not only capital, but also goods. We know that as Colonies we have been the traditional buyers of manufactured goods from these countries. But what is facing these countries today is that the market for their exported, manufactured goods is shrinking relatively. Look at the world picture as a whole, and we find that about one-third of the world's population is now living in the socialist countries of the world; the other two-thirds of the population will be found in the developed and "third world" countries.

A large sector, I may say, is becoming closed to the export products of the capitalist world. The socialist bloc countries, with integrated economies, are becoming more and more dependent upon themselves. The "third world" countries are endeavouring to restructure their economies by manufacturing their own products. Thus we find the market is shrinking.

Let me illustrate by giving one figure. At the end of the last war, the United States was exporting 38 per cent of the goods in world trade. That percentage has dropped today to 18 per cent. If we look at it from the other side, that is, from the Socialist bloc countries, they are not only producing for themselves what previously they imported, but they are exporting more and more and competing in the very markets which were served by capitalist countries. I understand that exports of the Soviet Union have increased almost thirteenfold over the pre-war level.

All this talk, therefore, about Common Markets and Free Trade Areas has to be considered in the context of the necessity to find markets for surplus capital and surplus goods which are now piling up and which are the headaches of capitalism.

The Common Market in Europe has to be related to what was happening before that . . . the first champion of free trade was Great Britain. Why was Great Britain the champion of free trade? Because the Industrial Revolution was born in Britain. Secondly, Britain was "Mistress of the Seas" and therefore, no one could hope to compete against British manufacturers. Thus, there was the advocacy for free trade.

We know that during that period of conquests for markets and pos-

sessions, the world was divided up between the French, the Dutch, the Spanish, the British and others . . .

There was a serious crisis of over-production after the First World War, and this resulted in the great depression of 1929 and 1930. Then the cycle in Germany took an upward swing with full employment and mass production. Then, again, there was a struggle for markets. This was the period of the Second World War. What happened in the interval between the two wars? A new giant appeared, the United States of America. In the latter part of the last century and in this century, the United States carved out her own sphere of influence under the Monroe Doctrine in the Western Hemisphere. A time came, after the Second World War, when the whole of Europe was devastated. Her industries were lying dormant and prostrate. The United States became the most powerful industrial nation in the world. After the First World War the United States began pushing for free trade. That is how there came into being these so-called "Commonwealth Preferences" and "French Communities", closed areas surrounded by tariff walls. The former champion of free trade, Great Britain, could no longer survive in open competition, either with Germany or the United States of America. It was this that brought about the closed areas, "most favoured nation" status, Commonwealth Preference, French Community and so on.

During the last war, the Americans pressed Great Britain to abolish the barriers to free trade, but the European countries knew that however much they needed American dollars and American help, if they were to agree to that, they would be finished; they could not hope to compete against American manufacturers in the world markets.

But the pressure from America did not stop. It took various forms such as the isolation of the socialist bloc and the spread of a myth that communism was a disease and a conspiracy and should, therefore, be isolated. These were cold war barriers. Let them neither buy from us nor we from them. This was one tactic. There were also increasing pressures for the scaling down of tariffs.

Then came aid with strings. If you accept aid, you must do other things. You must allow other facilities, join military blocs like NATO and SEATO, break up Left-wing Governments which were created during the war out of the necessity of fighting Hitler. In order to obtain Marshall aid, one of the conditions was that France, Italy and Belgium had to expel Left-wing socialists and communists from the Governments. Aid with strings did not resolve difficulties and so devaluation of currency was forced on countries like Britain. We see such policies also being adopted in countries in Latin America and more lately in India, because once one has a tied economy to the imperialist set up, balance of payment deficit and budget deficits inevitably occur.

The result is that one has to devalue currency and we have seen many countries taking this step but not solving their problems. Of course, when a currency is devalued vis-à-vis American dollars then those dollars become very valuable in the markets outside of the United States. They can then buy into industries — Fords, Vauxhalls and so on. Following this

buying into the industries as a result of devaluation, there comes upon the scene the problem of survival between the foreign capitalists and the local capitalists. This accounts for the political behaviour as we see it today in countries like France . . .

It is no use telling us that there is a Common Market in Europe, that there is free trade in Europe, and that if those big countries see the necessity for it, there is a greater necessity for our puny country to have it. The Market has come into being for a political reason, because of the conflict and growing fight between the two systems — capitalism and socialism — capitalism has become aware that if it does not pull up its boots it will be surpassed by the socialist system which is becoming integrated and more and more efficient.

The United States would not like to have to go and set up a factory in every single country but to set up in one place, in a constellation of territories. It does not matter too much whether it is in a free trade area or a customs union. This is the strategy of what is taking place today. It is in this context that we must understand why there is all this talk not only of common market and free trade area in Europe, but of common markets, or customs union, if possible, in Latin America and the Caribbean.

To come back to the question of size. My friend said that size is important, but it is not the most important question. It is true that if one has a larger area to work with, and the area has an abundance of natural resources, it will be easier to resolve the growing problems confronting poor countries like ours.

If size were the only factor for economic development, we must immediately ask ourselves why are there problems in India, in Brazil, and growing problems in Canada. These countries are plagued with difficulties. In India hundreds of thousands of people face death by starvation. In Brazil, a large territory with a large population, there are immense difficulties of poverty, difficulties of inflation and so on.

It is clear therefore that size alone is not the important thing. Nor must we look at trade in isolation. If we think of trade in isolation from the other things which are necessary to be done for economic development, then we may find that we are merely handing on a platter to those who today dominate our economic lives, an advantage which otherwise they would not have . . .

When you have a free trade area comprising three territories or more, then they can go in one place, set up there, and move their goods freely within the area. The decision will no longer be yours but theirs. Follow the genesis of development in under-developed countries.

We do not want to continue to be the importers of manufactured goods and the exporters of raw materials, foods and minerals. The way to change this is to begin to set up industries, either government-owned or according to the philosophy of this Government, private-owned. In any case tariff walls should be put to give protection to these local industries. What would happen then? Those who were formerly selling to us by exporting their goods would be forced, if they want to retain the local market, to

jump over the tariff wall, to go into the territory and set up an assembly plant or a branch factory. We have seen this taking place in Trinidad. We have seen this taking place in Guyana with British Paints Ltd. Under the Free Trade Area Agreement they do not have to come to your country, they can go where conditions are most congenial to them such as low wages, low taxation proposals or low taxes, anti-strike legislation, low social security measures and a surplus labour force so that they can get an abundant supply of cheap labour. All these factors influence them to make the decision where they should establish.

Another fact is that not only the foreign capitalists but even those internally will, after a while, measure their patriotism by the length of their pockets. This will cause an outflow of money from Guyana because there is no doubt that, from the capitalist point of view, Barbados and Antigua have more ideal conditions than Guyana. It is quite possible, therefore, that even the capitalists whom the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Economic Development and the Prime Minister are trying to encourage here will not be coming, and those who are here — their own friends — will try to migrate in search of bigger profits and a better political climate.

But that is not all. This puts the foreign capitalists at a great advantage over their local brethren for who can compete against one giant combine with twenty-eight manufacturing industries like Unilever? It is like a small retailer having to compete with a man who is a commission agent, a wholesaler and a retailer. The small retailer complains because the man sells below him. This is precisely what will happen under this arrangement.

. . . Professor Arthur Lewis not so long ago wrote a little thesis called "The Industrialisation of the West Indies". What did he say? He said that standards of living in the Caribbean were very low because the small man had to work with his bare hands to farm a few acres of land. Therefore, let us have intensified agriculture; mechanize it, and make bigger farms. What must be done with this big population? Establish industries in the small Caribbean Islands. What must be done with the surplus population, even after you have set up industries and intensified agriculture? Move the surplus population to British Honduras and Guyana. In other words, Guyana and British Honduras would become an agricultural appendage in an industrial Caribbean.

Let us face facts. There are two trends today in the world. In every country the rural population is always worse off, generally speaking, than in the other areas. Look at it from the world point of view. The third-world point of view. The third-world countries are poorer than the industrialised ones. Where there is industrialisation, there is always a higher standard of living. The imperialists, professors from abroad and politicians say that Guyana coupled with countries like British Honduras must become an agricultural appendage.

We here are not narrow nationalists, and we do not believe that we must try to solve our problems at the expense of other people. We believe that our nationalism must be tied up with the nationalism of others, but,

while we seek unity with other Caribbean countries, we are not prepared to allow our territory to succumb to an inferior status or to see our people relegated to a lower standard of living.

... It is true that Austria, Bulgaria and Rumania were all "colonies" of greater Germany, where standards of living were lower. The attempt to unify them was only a means of exploiting them further and to keep them in a position of subserviency.

There is unity, and there is unity. You can have unity of the previous German type with the countries remaining as colonies or satellites, or you can have unity as we see developed in the socialist block of countries where industrialisation has taken place, the whole economy has been reconstructed, and the standard of living of the people has risen. Since that is so, then let us see where we are going.

First of all, the Minister of Trade and those who spoke for the Government side told us that this is only a small beginning. They said that we must not criticize Carifta because it is small; it is the beginning of something big, and any territory can apply for membership. I have here a Report from the Incorporated Commonwealth Chambers of Industry and Commerce of the Caribbean. These people came here too; they went all over the area and had discussions with every single Government as well as the various economic bodies.

What has been done? Instead of trying to bring all of these countries together, the Guyana Government has run riot. It has gone ahead. When one reads this Report one gets the impression that important stages have not yet been passed through. One reads here that the West Indies University in Jamaica has experts who are now beginning to study this problem of Caribbean unity and what it means in realistic terms. It was suggested that the aim should be to hold a Regional Conference of heads of Governments, but prior to this Conference there should be a Conference at the lower level of economic experts and advisers. Why is this necessary? Let us look back at the Federation of the West Indies. At one time the cry was: "Federation under any conditions: let us go ahead".

After the 1953 Commission was arranged and headed by Sir Sydney Cain, a Report was written on the fiscal and economic measures which had to be taken. But it was largely ignored. It was only later that the Caribbean leaders started to realise the implications of what they had gone into politically. Then they started to think and had second thoughts. Today this Government is putting the cart before the horse. It should have followed the procedure which was outlined in the Report.

The first thing that should have been done in this matter was to get the experts to make a proper study of things.

Let the experts from the Guyana University and the West Indies University examine this matter thoroughly. Bring the experts together first at a lower level, and then bring in the heads of Governments. It is only then that we will avoid what befell the West Indies Federation.

In this Agreement we read that a Council has to be set up, and we also hear from the Government side that it will welcome a larger body. When I was passing through Antigua there was a lot of talk about the

Antigua Oil Refinery. The view then was that Antigua does not want Trinidad to join CARIFTA because, if that happens, the protective market in Guyana for Antigua's oil would be lost.

We are told that there must be a unanimous agreement by the three members, Guyana, Barbados and Antigua, before any other territory can join. One of the basic concepts of a free trade area, or a customs union, is to arrive eventually at some overall type of planning with specialisation in each territory in things which it can produce most economically. But look at the ludicrous situation in which we now find ourselves. Trinidad has the basis for a big petro-chemical industry with oil wells and oil refineries. The first deviator was Jamaica, which set up an oil refinery. Barbados followed, then Antigua and now Guyana.

We must make up our minds about what we want. On the one hand we are told that what is wanted is a free trade area, that we want to go in for specialisation and so on. On the other hand we do not wish to accept the Phoenix Oil Company deal...

The point is that there is no clear objective in this Agreement which will lead to the amelioration of the sufferings of the masses. Let me read from page 14 of this Report of the Incorporated Commonwealth Chambers of Industry and Commerce of the Caribbean. After a discussion in Trinidad with the Government of Trinidad and with economic leaders, this is what is written in one section of the Report:

Communist infiltration: it was felt that the danger of Communist infiltration in the area should not be regarded lightly, and the earlier situation in Guyana was referred to. The delegation was asked to bear the problem in mind and to emphasize in their talks the importance of preserving the traditional system of free enterprise.

I repeat: We believe in unity, but unity under a set of circumstances which can lead to economic growth and to development, not unity which will allow the foreign capitalists to have a commanding position in the economy of the country and which will allow them to strangle small native enterprises and community enterprises. That is why they talk about fighting communism: government enterprises mean communism. It is clear that the objectives are not what are mentioned for public consumption.

The political leaders, of course, see other reasons for this limited nonsensical type of Agreement. Those who are sitting in the Government here feel that with the free movement of goods there will also be free movement of persons. Thus they will enhance their electoral strength. Those who are sitting in Barbados and Antigua know that they have a volcano below them, and when the fervour of flag-waving and emotionalism is over, there will come a time when people will begin to question programmes and policies.

Thus, the leaders in Barbados and Antigua see in CARIFTA a means of exporting their problem, not their goods. They have no goods to export. They will be exporting their headaches, while Guyana will be importing headaches. What should be our aim?

The aim of the Government in this country should be not to sign this Agreement — not to ratify it; to follow the steps of those who have been examining the situation: not to plunge precipitously when dealing with this question. The Prime Minister, in a speech yesterday, said he appreciated the role the academic men can play in this part of the world. Invite these men from Caribbean areas, from the United Nations, from the University of Guyana, to draw up a blue print which will give an overall plan for the whole area, which will design a strategy for development and not only talk about free trade.

Trade alone does not result in development. Gunnar Myrdal, in dealing with poor countries, has said that so far as we are concerned we should be great protectionists; that while our goods must go into the territories of those who are great advocates for free trade, we must be protectionists to protect our industries. As I see it, what we are doing here is not protecting anything at all, but opening the floodgates for foreign domination.

Our dilemma on this question is real. We want unity, but we want unity of a special type. Lest it be misunderstood, if we vote against this Motion — which we should normally do — that we are opposed to unity, we will not vote against it. But we cannot vote for it. I have given all the reasons already why we cannot vote for this measure. First of all, the Government has treated this House and the Opposition very badly. It has not really gone in for any serious type of consultation. In fact, I suggested that the Agreement should be put to a Select Committee of this Assembly, because we have not yet gone into the clauses of the Agreement, nor will this Assembly have an opportunity to make amendments to that Agreement.

For those reasons we cannot vote for this Motion; there are many things which are obnoxious in the Agreement.

Indeed, one can say that the Council which will be set up will have so many overriding powers that it can actually interfere with the sovereignty of this country without the Parliament having anything to say about it. Therefore, in view of that, we would like our position to be very clear. We will therefore abstain, when the time comes, from voting on this very important issue on which the Government has acted very un cavalierly in this House.

FREE TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

Having admonished me for "placing inter-party bickerings" here in Guyana above the well-being of the region, you said in your Editorial of May 7 that "CARIFTA is off to a good start, and we are certain it will grow and grow despite Dr. Jagan's misgivings".

What are my misgivings? I have stated that though Caribbean unity is essential, it will fail if it is limited only to free trade.

In my view, what the Caribbean peoples want are jobs, security and enhanced standards of living. This can come about only by dynamic economic development and growth.

Regional free trade, though important, is not the most fundamental component of economic development. If size of internal market and free trade were the dynamic factors of economic growth, Brazil and India, both with huge populations and free trade between their states and provinces, would not be faced with the present difficulties.

Clearly, progress will come about only if free trade is undertaken in the context of an overall sound policy; in other words, a correct strategy of economic development. Without this, free trade can only lead to the strengthening of the tentacles of neo-colonialism.

The big world-wide drive for economic integration — Common Market and Free Trade Areas — is motivated mainly by the desire of U. S. big business to surmount tariff walls of nation-states. Note the candid observation of George Ball, former Under-Secretary of State and Chairman of the big investment banking firm, Lehman Bros. International Ltd., and now U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations. Addressing the New York Chamber of Commerce, he said:

The multinational U. S. corporation is ahead of, and in conflict with, existing world political organisations represented by the nation-state. Major obstacles to the multinational corporation are evident in Western Europe, Canada and a good part of the developing world.

A correct strategy must concern itself with root causes of underdevelopment, of growing poverty and the ever-widening gap between rich and poor.

Consequently, inclusive of free trade, we must aim simultaneously at: *Changing* the economic structure from a primary producer to a balanced industrial-agricultural producer.

Dr. Norman Girvan has shown that the Caribbean supplies about 86% of the raw material for the North American aluminum industry but gets only about 4% of the total income of this integrated industry. He says:

of an estimated total of £ 691 million gross income created from mining through semi-fabrication the share arising within the Caribbean economies was 6 per cent only. Of this share net profits, dividends and probably some interest is lost

to the national income of the Caribbean so that the real Caribbean share is more likely to be in the region of 4 per cent.

Trinidad's oil refineries have been relegated to producing the bulk of its products in low, not high grade, fuels.

Dismantling foreign ownership and control of the commanding heights of the economy — factories, mines, plantations, banks, insurance and foreign trade companies — which maintain a neo-colonialist economic structure and drain out capital in the form of high profits, rents and interest.

For Guyana, the annual figure is over \$50 million; for Trinidad about \$118 million; and for Jamaica about \$80 million.

Bringing about genuine agrarian reform. Land must belong to those who cultivate it.

Liberalising international trade so as to reverse present trends of buying dear and selling cheap.

Giving preference to foreign aid which helps to break colonial economic structure by the establishment of industries and the modernization of agriculture.

Imposing rigid price and monetary controls; Zambia has just announced that not more than 50 per cent of profits can leave the country.

Establishing democratic and representative institutions at all levels to combat bureaucracy, waste and corruption and to utilize unemployed labour for building infrastructure and social capital.

Mr. Editor, you say that "it is to the advantage of the people to provide private capital with a good climate for investment", which no doubt includes tax holiday, duty-free concessions, tariff protection, no price controls, subsidized industrial estates, low wages, no-strike laws, no exchange restrictions, etc. What this means in practice is that the foreign investor recovers his investment in 3 to 4 years; thereafter, there is a perpetual drain of capital. The poverty of third-world countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America as a whole was largely due to foreigners investing \$10.3 billion (US) between 1950 to 1961 and taking out \$20.9 billion.

Further, you say that my "continental destiny" belief caused my "country to turn its back on the West Indies Federation".

Actually, it was not my party which turned its back on the West Indies. Rather, it was the West Indies which turned its back on us. Recall the suspension of our 1953 Constitution and the shouts of joy from West Indian leaders.

The fact is the West Indies had decided to join the imperialist camp in the Cold War. Thus the wholesale acceptance of the Puerto Rican model of economic development and the eventual break-up of the federation.

Now, this model is found wanting. Roy Augier of the University of the West Indies commented: "After the war our politicians picked up the Puerto Rico model of economic development ready made. Its inadequacies are now plain for all to see. This was not so at the time the federation was established".

In the 1960's the Puerto Rico model was to be a panacea of the ills of the Caribbean. Now it is free trade! I repeat — regional free trade alone will not suffice. Time and struggle will tell.

CARIFTA: UNITY AT ANY PRICE

How much popular enthusiasm is there for CARIFTA? Apparently not much. This is my impression during my recent brief visit to Barbados, Dominica and Montserrat.

Many of the ordinary people I talked to not only don't seem to be interested but do not seem to know what's it all about.

It would seem that in the same way that the federation was set up from the top, CARIFTA is being foisted on the people. There has not been much public debate. And thus the incomprehension.

The reason for the lack of public discussion is perhaps the fear that the paramount interest of the imperialists in CARIFTA will be exposed.

The big drive for Common Markets and Free Trade Areas in different parts of the world (Europe, Central America, Africa, South America) is motivated by the desire mainly of U. S. big business to surmount tariff walls of nation states and preferential tariff blocs.

U. S. big business through its multi-national corporations would like not only to take over Europe but also to cement the chains of neo-colonialism in the Caribbean and at the same time displace their British, French and Dutch competitors.

The fact is the U. S. A. is in serious financial trouble. It is plagued, like other imperialist states, with a chronic balance-of-payments deficit. This is due to vast overseas military expenditure as in Vietnam (US\$30 billion a year), and fall in exports. U. S. share of world trade dropped from 38 per cent after World War II to about 17 per cent in 1967.

One of the main reasons for trade losses by the imperialist nations is that underdeveloped — mis-developed — countries, which are also facing economic crises, have been buying part of their requirements from cheaper sources — the socialist bloc — and setting up local industries which are protected by high tariff walls.

The imperialists are however fighting back. They are using their political control over their puppets to prevent this developing trend. We have seen in Guyana where firstly restrictions have been placed on goods imported from the socialist bloc; and secondly where the government has amended the statute of the Industrial Corporation to prevent it from setting up government-owned industries.

What do the imperialists hope to gain from CARIFTA? Taking into consideration such factors as political climate, wage rates, trade union laws, tax and other incentives, trade union organisation and militancy, anti-strike laws, etc., the foreign capitalists will have the power of decision as to the location of plantations and factories. They will select the places which can help them earn the maximum amount of profits.

And having established themselves under the most ideal conditions in one place, they will be able to sell their goods freely without tariff

barriers throughout the area. And taking advantage of their size — economics of scale, their financial and organisational strength — they will ultimately strangle their small-scale competitors. A stage would later be reached where bankruptcy, liquidation and takeovers would be the fate of local patriotic concerns.

Having become monopolies, as we see from the example of Banks Brewery, foreign branch plants will extract superprofits by charging exorbitantly high prices. The U. S. A. will thus be in a position to improve its own balance-of-payments firstly, by the return of huge profits from investments; and secondly, by the purchasing through U. S. subsidiaries of machinery, equipment, spare parts components and supplies from parent companies in the United States of America.

This is something which Canada is protesting about and which causes an aggravation of its own balance-of-payments difficulties — U. S. subsidiaries operating in Canada which control more than half of Canada's industry, buying goods and services mainly from the United States and not Canada.

Dr. P. A. Reid advocates a step by step procedure with free trade as the first step for our liberation. But this first step, divorced from a realistic overall developmental strategy, will only mean greater problems later.

Unity is essential. But this first step, conceived as it is in political opportunism, will bear no fruit.

A decade ago, the Puerto Rican model of development was advocated for the solving of the problems of the region. Between 1950 and 1960, 413,000 jobs were to be created. This target was not achieved. Today there are large numbers unemployed. And the labour force is growing by 40,000 a year.

Even in Trinidad and Jamaica, the most successful cases of industrialization, the unemployment rate is over 15 per cent. In Guyana the rate is over 20 per cent. As the *Trinidad Guardian* on August 9, 1967 put it:

One hundred jobs in Canada. The possibility of three hundred in Puerto Rico. A steady trickle of domestics to North America. A fairly large flow of skilled and professional peoples to Canada. These are the avenues being used or explored in a society where the rate of unemployment may not be the worst in the world but is nonetheless unbearable.

The Puerto Rican model of development has failed. And so will the limited objectives of CARIFTA.

Those who now want unity at any price must remember that they were also advocates of federation at any price. But when the federal leaders and government began to look at the issues confronting them such as fiscal measures laid down in the Caine Report and the overall economic plan by the federal Economic planner, they did not like what they were confronted with. This coupled with other factors, ultimately led to the break-up of the federation.

The only favourable outcome of CARIFTA will be an eventual struggle for something entirely different from the limited trade concept

within the region — Caribbean unity not only for Guyana, Antigua and Barbados or all the former British territories, but all the French and Dutch territories, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Haiti, etc.

And above all, a correct development strategy based not on private enterprise, but on public (government) ownership and control of the commanding heights of the economy, overall regional planning and territorial specialisation. Then and only then the Caribbean area can begin to move forward and Caribbean unity and integration can have any real meaning for the people as a whole.

CARIFTA AND GUYANA

The weakness of CARIFTA was exposed almost from the very beginning. Recognising the necessity for the free trade area comprising not just Antigua, Barbados and Guyana, but all the Commonwealth territories, the W. I. governments commissioned certain studies by economists of the University of the West Indies. But after Dr. George Beckford's passport was seized by the Jamaican government on his return from Cuba, the economists rejected the governments' sponsorship and continued the study on their own. In the end, their views expressed in the *Dynamics of W. I. Integration* were rejected.

The old alignments and contradictions again came to the fore. The UWI academics, Drs. Clive Thomas and Havelock Brewster, saw the problem at its core; namely, production — ownership and control of the means of the production, and the integration of the production processes. For instance, in their concept of the pooling of the natural resources of the region for production, they saw aluminum smelting and fabrication based on bauxite from Guyana and Jamaica, and natural gas from Trinidad. In their own way, they were challenging, as the P. P. P. had done for the past 20 years, the Puerto Rican type of economic planning.

The Old Guard politicians, on the other hand, saw development in terms of integration and trade.

CARIFTA has admittedly failed. Rather, it has succeeded within the narrow limits set by imperialism — the branch plants of the foreign companies, established in Jamaica and Trinidad and to a lesser degree in Barbados, have prospered with the elimination of tariff walls.

At the end of the first two years, Jamaica increased her exports by nearly 60%, Trinidad by over 30% and Guyana by a mere 5%. CARIFTA AND THE CARIBBEAN states:

The bulk of Jamaica's exports consists of manufactured goods, including a significant proportion of chemicals (mostly medicinal, pharmaceutical or toiletries); petroleum products predominated in Trinidad's exports while Guyana's exports consist primarily of food, mainly rice.

It is clear from experience so far that three countries have made substantial gains in exports to the rest of the Region — Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Barbados. It should be noted that exports from Guyana to the rest of the Region have increased by a much smaller degree.

In November 1971, the Minister of Trade and Industry reported that Jamaica's exports to Carifta countries increased from \$3.6 million in 1967 to \$10 million in 1970. The less developed territories have complained that Carifta has conferred no benefits on them: rather, they are subjected to inferior and high-priced imports from their more developed Carifta partners.

Guyana, on the other hand, has been caught in an imperialist squeeze. Despite the demagoguery of the Burnham regime about socialism, people's ownership and control of natural resources, "cooperative republic", and self-reliance, Guyana, like Belize, under the imperialist plan for the Caribbean has been relegated to the role of an agricultural producer for an industrialized West Indies.

The branch-plants of the foreign corporations were sited mainly in Jamaica and Trinidad with a more developed system of infra-structure — roads, communications, etc. — and a more educated and technically-trained labour force. Little wonder that the less developed territories have persistently complained that they have gained nothing from CARIFTA. Like Guyana, they have been forced to buy higher-priced and inferior-quality goods from Jamaica and Trinidad.

But because of the emphasis on infrastructure — roads, sea defence, public buildings, airstrips and airport, stellingen and wharves — in the 7-year (1966—1972) development plan, even agriculture has suffered under the Burnham pro-imperialist regime in Guyana. Imports of foods have increased from \$25 million in 1964 to \$40 million in 1970. Instead of Guyana being the "bread basket" of the West Indies, it has become an importer of coffee, coconuts, peanuts and citrus from the West Indian Islands.

In the two years, 1969 and 1970, Guyanese taxpayers had to subsidize to the extent of one-half of a million dollars the importation of copra and coconut oil to meet domestic shortages from time to time.

The main responsibility for the stagnation or decline in agricultural production is the Burnham's government bankrupt agricultural policies — abandonment of a sound and comprehensive system of water control (drainage and irrigation); removal of incentives for cultivation of certain, mainly new crops (coconuts, black-eye and split peas, onions, cabbage, ginger, etc.); inadequate facilities for the preservation and storage of crops in times of glut (refrigeration, dehydration, canning, preserving, manufacturing), unsound pricing policies — rice and milk producers receive lower prices today than in 1964 despite an increase in cost of production of over 25 per cent, in addition to a steep increase in the cost of living; citrus prices have not changed; corn has increased from 6 cents per lb. in 1964 to 6 1/2 cents in 1971; copra producers receive 14 1/2 cents per lb., the same as in 1964, while their West Indian counterparts get 19 1/2 cents; dictation rather than cooperation with the farmers at the level of planning, producing and marketing — the government's hand-picked Rice Committees in place of the democratically-elected Rice Producers Association; the official Cane Farming Committee in place of the Guyana Cane Farmers Association; the officially-sponsored North West District Agricultural Development Committee with 14 ex-officio members and 9 farmers in place of a genuine farmers association.

Meanwhile, the imperialist sponsors of the Burnham regime have moved in with even their agricultural exported products in Guyana's Carifta market. In an editorial in the August 1971 issue of NEWS SHEET of

the Guyana Marketing Corporation, Hugh Saul quotes a release from Washington stating:

The U.S. Agricultural Department's Economic Research Service said U.S. agriculture exports to the Caribbean region totalled more than US \$500 m. for consumption by both the region's population and the ever increasing number of American visitors.

He pointed out that the report said that since 1968, intra-Caribbean trade has been developing, stimulated by the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA). U.S. exports to the Carifta Area had more than doubled since the trade group came into being three years ago. Then he urged the farmers to redouble their efforts so as to replace the imports into Guyana and Carifta.

But Busi Kwayana, former head of the Guyana Marketing Corporation, has challenged the government to deny that the U. S. A. is dumping pork in the West Indies to the detriment of the Guyana pig rearers. It has been said also that hostile imperialist propaganda about foot-and-mouth disease has been spread in the Caribbean territories to deny Guyana a market for its beef. Guyana's packaged rice market in Jamaica has also been taken over by the United States.

Clearly, Guyana is not getting even the limited advantages earmarked for it by CARIFTA. This is mainly due to the client status to which Burnham has committed Guyana. He and the other West Indian collaborators, having tied Guyana and the Caribbean independent states to the U. S. bandwagon, to an economic planning strategy and to domestic and foreign policies dictated by imperialism, are in no position to challenge the U. S. for undermining the Carifta agreement and using it as was originally intended for its own benefit.

V

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

CARIBIA

Ten minus one leaves zero. That was how Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago justified the breakup of the West Indies Federation in 1962 after Jamaica by a referendum decided to secede.

Paraphrasing Williams, Premier John Compton of St. Lucia seems to be saying that one plus five equals zero. He has justified his withdrawal after signing the Grenada Declaration in 1971 (see Appendix IV) for a new West Indian State on the ground that without the participation of another large territory, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana will dominate the small islands "like a shark swallowing sardines". Guyana, said Compton, with a population of about 800,000 as compared with about 300,000 in the five States — Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and Dominica — would rule with two-thirds of the Assembly membership.

But that was not all. The Premier went on to express his second fear: If there were a general election in Guyana and self-avowed Marxist Cheddi Jagan assumed power, the Associated States would easily become satellites not only of Guyana but also of the Soviet Union and other communist countries.

There lies the great dilemma. It's a question of perspectives. The fundamental question in the region is the recognition and the demand for change. People like Compton want the benefits which can come only from change — radical change — but because of their limited ideological horizons, they are unwilling to make the changes which objectively are required.

These people are still obsessed by cold-war thinking. They are unable or unwilling to recognise that colonial and neo-colonial rule coupled with cold-war policies are largely responsible for the plight of the Caribbean peoples — high unemployment; inflation and high cost-of-living; growing crime and delinquency. Not having a working-class, Marxist-Leninist, internationalist outlook, they are unable to reconcile national, patriotic interests with regional and international interests. They see, rather, subjugation and domination, and thus come out in favour of a narrow, chauvinistic nationalism. Their commitment to some form of regional integration is consequently merely emotional and opportunistic.

It was this same emotional, opportunist approach which created and wrecked the West Indies Federation and led to the formation of the Caribbean Free Area (CARIFTA). And to get CARIFTA out of its present straightjacket, an attempt is now being made to start from scratch; namely, back to a political union.

The same points are canvassed again — West Indian nationhood; larger area and population for economic progress; a strong central government; etc. The West Indies Federation, says CARIFTA and the New CARIBBEAN

produced by the Secretariat of Carifta, "with its weak political superstructure which left substantial power in the hands of unit governments, has failed significantly to make any discernible impact on the traditional colonial patterns of development and trade".

This is merely looking at form and not content. It is necessary to look much deeper to the question of attitudes, political consciousness and ideology.

Why did the West Indian leadership accept a federation which was a glorified crown colony with a weak centre? Does a unitary state with a strong centralized government ipso facto lead to a change of economic structure for a primary producer geared to the production and export of raw materials in agriculture and mining and to the import of manufactured goods?

The fact is the West Indian leadership had reneged and sold out the people. Because of this, the federation was doomed to failure from the start.

The Caribbean Labour Congress at Montego Bay in 1947 had specifically called for dominion status, equivalent to independence, for the Federation and internal self-government for the unit territories. But when the Federation was born in 1958, it had not only a weak centre but a crown colony status. Britain retained powers of foreign affairs and defence, and the unit territories held on to the purse strings — the federation could not legislate on fiscal matters.

What precisely went wrong between 1947 and 1958? The cold war intervened and the West Indian leadership joined the bandwagon. The cold war initiated by Winston Churchill at Fulton, Missouri in 1946 and started by President Truman in 1947, with his Truman doctrine of "containment of communism" was a declaration of war on socialism and national liberation.

At Baylor University on March 6, 1947, Harry Truman made a speech on foreign economic policy which clearly stated that governments which conducted planned economies and controlled foreign trade were dangers to freedom, that freedom of speech and worship were dependent on the free enterprise system. He pointed out that controlled economies were "not the American way" and not the way of peace. He urged that "the whole world should adopt the American system" and that "the American system could survive in America only if it became a World System". Calling for action, he implored:

Unless we act and act decisively, it (government controlled economy and government control of foreign trade) will be the pattern in the next century... if this trend is not reversed, the Government of the United States will be under pressure, sooner or later, to use these same devices to fight for markets and for raw materials.

The trade union and political leaders in the West Indies in the majority somersaulted with the change in policies in the U. S. A. and U. K. Ideologically, they were aligned with the "socialist" leadership of the British TUC and the Labour Party and government, which not only had

in return for U. S. aid, joined the U. S. bandwagon but also waged its own colonial war in Malaya. That's why Churchill could say on March 20, 1950, in the House of Commons, "in all the main issues of foreign policy, the opposition, (i. e. the Tories), in the late Parliament, supported, sustained and even pointed the course which Bevin (Labour Foreign Secretary) has pursued". And earlier, on February 13, 1948, General George C. Marshall, United States Secretary of State, commenting on the British Government's acceptance of United States proposals, had said: "On the recent proposals of Mr. Bevin, they have passed beyond agreement for economic cooperation to the Constitution of a Western European Union. This development has been our greatest hope."

This reorientation of the erstwhile militant W. I. leadership was demonstrated in several ways:

(1) *Defence of colonialism*: In 1948, Grantley Adams of Barbados defended British colonialism at the United Nations General Assembly meeting in Paris, while the British representative to the United Nations, Sir Hartley Shawcross, did the same in New York. For his defence of colonialism, Adams was roundly attacked.

(2) *Split from the WFTU*: West Indian trade unions, including the British Guiana TUC, joined the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) formed as a breakaway from the militant World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) by the British TUC and the American Federation of Labour (AFL). H. J. M. Hubbard and W. Harper represented the Guiana TUC at the WFTU Conference in 1945 in Paris, and Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow the ICFTU Conference in 1949.

(3) *Expulsion of Leftist Leaders*: The Norman Manley leadership in 1951—52 forced the Jamaica leftist-led TUC to withdraw from the WFTU, and expelled the left-wingers, the 4H's (Richard Hart, Ken Hill, Frank Hill and Arthur Henry) from the leadership of the People's National Party (PNP).

(4) *Disbanding the Caribbean Labour Congress*: Norman Manley and Grantley Adams disbanded in 1952 the militant, leftist Caribbean Labour Congress (CLC) of which communists Richard Hart was General Secretary and Billy Strachan was secretary (London Branch). In 1952 in Barbados, Ebenezer Joshua of St. Vincent, John La Rose, Quintin O'Connor and John Rojas, the then president of the Oil-Field Workers Union of Trinidad, Richard Hart of Jamaica and I failed to convince Grantley Adams not to kill the CLC.

(5) *Support for Colonialist Intervention*: Practically all the West Indian leaders praised the British government for destroying the Constitution and for forcefully removing the People's Progressive Party from the government in 1953 (Guiana's P. P. P., Joshua's People's Political Party and the West Indies Independence Party of Trinidad and Tobago were the only political organisation which had not joined the cold war). Grantley Adams had sent a telegram congratulating the British Government:

Our experience of Jagan and his sympathisers leads us to feel certain that social and economic progress in the British West Indies is much more likely to be

harmd by that sort of person than by the most reactionary. However much we must regret suspension of the constitution, we should deplore far more the continuance of a government that put Communist ideology before the good of the people.

Alexander Bustamante, the Chief Minister of Jamaica had dispatched:

If British Guiana were fighting for complete self-government within the democratic nations I would have stood beside British Guiana, but British Guiana today can get no sympathy from me — can get no sympathy from the free thinking world. I am sorry for the people there. I am not sorry for the leaders. They are not leaders at all. They do not know what they are doing.

Norman Manley, leader of the Jamaica opposition had said: "It was a betrayal of those who voted for them."

Basically, this — the ideological bankruptcy and political opportunism — was at the core of the failure of the West Indies Federation. And this position has not really changed.

POLITICAL UNION

At the time CARIFTA was to be launched, Rudy Kendall, then Minister of Trade, pointed out that the small units could not hope to survive unless they combined, unless there was a freeing of trade.

Now that CARIFTA has come to a dead end, the same tale is being repeated. D. F. S. Burnham, in an address at the Critchley Labour College, warned: "Either we move to unity or perish as a people". It was pointed out that the general world trend was towards integration, that even the biggest developed European countries were caught up in this process.

As with its "two super-power theory", (socialist U. S. S. R. is equated with imperialist U. S. A.), the PNC regime in order to delude the people and to succeed with its demagoguery, is perpetually analyzing events quantitatively and not qualitatively. For instance, no attempt is made to show the fundamental difference between CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) and ECM (European Common Market).

True both CMEA and ECM are giants, but that is not all; they are qualitatively different.

CMEA is based on socialism and socialist cooperation. Its new long-term programme adopted at its 25th session in Bucharest in July 27—29, 1971, says:

The further deepening and streamlining of cooperation, as well as the development of socialist economic integration, contribute to the growth of the economic might of the world socialist system and to the consolidation of each country's national economy and are an important factor in strengthening its unity and superiority over capitalism, in all the domains of social life and of ensuring victory in the competition between socialism and capitalism.

It further adds:

Socialist economic integration proceeds on a completely voluntary basis and it is not accompanied by the creation of supra-national organs and does not affect questions of domestic planning, financial and cost accounting activities of organisations.

The programme also stresses:

The deepening and streamlining of economic, scientific and technical cooperation and the development of socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries are, in fact, a process of the international socialist division of labour, which is deliberately controlled, according to plan, by the Communist and Workers' Parties and governments of the CMEA countries.

Because of socialist planning and cooperation and international socialist division of labour (specialisation), the world socialist system is becoming stronger and stronger. Industrial output in CMEA countries

increased by 580 per cent between 1950 and 1970. In the developed capitalist countries, on the other hand, the increase was only 180 per cent for the same period.

It is this factor — the more rapid growth of the world socialist system — plus the facility for the domination of the U. S. multinational corporations which have caused the imperialist strategists politically to insist on a policy of integration in Europe, Latin America, the Caribbean and elsewhere. But in spite of this, capitalist growth is lagging behind.

Clearly, size of population and size of territory are not the main ingredients for success. Nor is it only a question of natural resources — unlike the socialist world, the capitalist world is able to draw heavily from the resources of the so-called third-world, underdeveloped countries . . .

(“STRAIGHT TALK”, the *Mirror*, December 19, 1971)

BRAZIL AND CUBA

China and India show that area and population are not the principal ingredients for economic growth and development and social well-being. Nearer home one can compare Brazil with Cuba.

Brazil is a sub-continent with more than half the total area of South America and a population of about 95 million. Cuba is only about half the size of Guyana with a population of only 8 million.

Brazil is regarded as one of the most industrialized countries in Latin America with a recent high level of economic expansion. “Yet”, the *Financial Times* notes,

at the end of 1971, there is legitimate room for doubt about the path to development chosen by the Brazilian authorities. Brazilian foreign indebtedness has risen astronomically and must by now exceed 6,000 million dollars, much of this in short-term funds, a burden even given the high levels of the reserves.

The paper added that despite the high growth rate of about 10 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product, the country's population had not benefitted. “It is likely that five per cent of the population now control about 45 per cent of the personal wealth today as against some 37 per cent in 1964.”

Business Week, a U. S. publication, on March 27, 1965, reported: “A big share of Brazil's wealth is believed to be in the hands of about 100 individuals or families in Rio de Janeiro, 150 to 200 in Sao Paulo and another 50 to 150 in other parts of the country. The list is roughly equivalent to a “Who's Who” of Brazilian society.”

Celso Furtado, the famous Brazilian economist, estimated that 45 million persons in Brazil have the same total income as 900,000 privileged ones at the other extreme of the social scale.

According to a study in 1968 by the Brazilian Ministry of Planning and General Coordination, “the total number of new jobs that ought to be created should average a million and a half per year during the next decade”. But the total number of workers employed by industry is less than two and a half million.

In the Northeast, an endemic poverty area where the average life span is about 30 years, industrial employment fell from 12.6 per cent to 8.8 per cent between 1955 and 1964.

Writing about poverty in Brazil, this is how *The New York Times* dramatically put it on March 28, 1965:

Rio de Janeiro, March 27 — A baby boy in Brazil's impoverished north-eastern states received a rubber nursing pacifier. He was happily sucking away when his brother tried to take it from him. Mother intervened and the pacifier was restored to the squalling child. “All right”, the older boy declared, “but when baby brother dies, the pacifier is for me. Promise, mother.”

Brazil's Minister of Health, Raimundo de Brito, relates this episode, witnessed by a nurse, to indicate the fatalistic attitude of Brazil's poor toward infant mortality. At least 500,000 infants born alive died before reaching their first birthday last year.

What about Cuba? As compared with the progressive decline in Brazil and other Latin American countries, Cuba is moving ahead and making remarkable achievements. As long ago as December 31, 1963, *The New York Times* commented:

The Castro regime is certainly strong and possibly stronger than ever... There is no apparent weakening of Premier Castro's appeal inside Cuba or of his stature as a world figure... All children are getting some education: the great bulk are being well fed and taken care of, however poor their parents. The negro and mulatto population is getting genuine equality. The Government leaders are untainted by any fiscal scandals... To have survived five years was a remarkable feat whose explanation is far more complicated than attributing it solely to Soviet-bloc help.

Five years later, on February 11, 1968, *The New York Times* was forced to publish the truth:

Cuba under the revolutionary dictatorship is pushing ahead its program harder and faster than most other Latin American countries. In mass education, public health, rural modernization, land use, economic diversification, administrative reforms and management of foreign exchange, Cuba has made important gains under Fidel Castro.

Unemployment, a scourge of pre-Castro Cuba, is now only a memory. Under the Batista regime, Cuba was a vast "prostitution and gambling casino" for Americans; these evils have been virtually eradicated.

At the end of 1965, more than 140,000 families in the cities no longer paid rent for their dwellings; rent payment will soon be abolished. Free social services in education, public health and social assistance jumped from 484,000 persons in 1965 to 890,370 in 1968. A bus ride in Havana is free. So is the use of telephones in public telephone booths.

Achievement in education was fantastic. Under the slogan "If you know, teach, if you don't know, learn," massive campaign was mounted to end illiteracy and raise educational levels. I saw in Havana hundreds of volunteer teachers who had gone to teach in Oriente where over 52 per cent could not read and write. In factories I visited, one hour each day was devoted to education — ending illiteracy, raising technical, scientific and political consciousness.

By December 22, 1961, when the campaign was ended, the illiteracy rate dropped from 23 per cent to 3.9 per cent, the lowest for Latin America. On school enrolment, a World Bank report showed Haiti with the lowest (6.5 per cent) rate, and Cuba with the highest (27.6 per cent).

All those who are considering a political union of Guyana and some territories of the Caribbean merely on the basis of area and size of population would be clearly disillusioned considering what has transpired in Brazil. Sound economic development and social well-being will come about only when all the relevant social, economic and political questions, including the power bases in the world, are adequately considered.

CULTURAL NATIONALISM

Many advocates of a Caribbean political union use as their major premise a West Indian identity based on a common historical and cultural past. Black people were uprooted and brought forcibly to work in the plantations; whether they were black slaves or brown or yellow indentured labourers, they were forged in the same crucible of struggle and revolt against a ruthless plantocracy. Inevitably, it is argued, they have a common destiny.

Cultural nationalism is not peculiar to the Caribbean. It has deep roots in the Black liberation movement in the United States. The argument for a West Indian state based on common cultural identity is no different from that of some Blacks in the United States for the establishment of a Black-led government in the U. S. A. or elsewhere.

Stokely Carmichael, like Marcus Garvey before him, advocates the migration of U. S. Blacks to Black Africa. But this is clearly not the answer. Take the case of Malcolm X, the former Black Muslim leader, who got a rude awakening during his tour of Africa in 1964; he found that there were two groups of African states — the Monrovia Group of colonial and neo-colonial puppet states (between 1820 and 1967, some 20,000 U. S. Blacks had gone to Liberia); and the Casablanca Group of anti-imperialist, pro-socialist states.

See how George Jackson who was murdered in San Quentin prison, California on Sunday, August 23, 1971, saw the whole thing in proper perspective. In a letter to Angela Davis, written on June 4, 1970, he wrote:

Do you know (of course you do) the secret police (CIA, etc.) go to great lengths to murder and consequently silence every effective black person the moment he attempts to explain to the ghetto that our problems are historically and strategically tied to the problems of all colonial people. This means that they are watching you closely. I worry... It's no coincidence that Malcolm X and M. L. King died when they did. Malcolm X had just put it together... You remember what was on his lips when he died. Vietnam and economics, political economy. The professional killers could have murdered him long before they did. They let Malcolm rage on muslim nationalism for a number of years because they knew it was an empty ideal, but the second he got his feet on the ground, they murdered him...

In one of his later letters, he says: "I still think of myself as a Black, and an African, but I can't be satisfied with myself until I am Communist man, revolutionary man".

Nearer home there is the black republic of Haiti. This is also one of the countries with which we have a common cultural identity. In his address, Dialogue of Unity — a search for West Indian Unity, delivered at the Caribbean Ecumenical Consultation for Development in Trinidad

on November 16, 1971, Guyana Attorney General and Minister of State, Hon. S. S. Ramphal quoted Pere Labat, who in 1772 wrote:

I have travelled everywhere in your sea of the Caribbean... from Haiti to Barbados, to Martinique and Guadeloupe, and I know what I am speaking about... You are all together, in the same boat, sailing on the same uncertain sea... citizenship and race unimportant, feeble little labels compared to the message that my spirit brings to me: that of the position and predicament which History has imposed upon you... I saw it first with the dance... the merengue in Haiti the begunie in Martinique and today I hear do mon oreille morte, the echo of calypsoes from Trinidad, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Antigua, Dominica and the legendary Guiana... It is no accident that the sea which separates your lands makes no difference to the rhythm of your body.

Cuba, too, has the same rhythm. Both Cuba and Haiti had not only a past moulded by slavery but also by U. S. domination. General Smedley Butler of the U. S. Marine Corps in an article in *Commonsense* in November 1935, wrote:

I spent 33 years and four months as a member of our country's most agile military force, the Marine Corps... I spent most of my time being a high class muscleman for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers. I was a racketeer for capitalism... I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues... looking back on it I feel I might have given Al Capone a few hints.

Those who emphasize cultural identity and cultural nationalism would do well to take a close look at Cuba and Haiti. In Cuba, Black people although constituting a minority, have far better conditions and greater opportunities in all aspects of life than their Black brothers and sisters in Haiti, a country with a substantial black majority which has been ruled since 1804 by Black people.

As regards the question of race and racial discrimination, the well-known journalist James Reston writing in *The New York Times* on August 2, 1967 from Cuba, which has a racial history broadly similar to Haiti and the U. S. A., pointed out that "whatever else Cuba is, it is not a racist state. There is probably less anti-racial and anti-religious feeling here than in any other nation in the hemisphere".

The same cannot be said of Haiti. Soon after the Haitian revolution, a new kind of exploitation and slavery was meted out to the people. In 1804, Dessalines proclaimed himself dictator and his fiat became law. In his *Notes from the Haitian People*, James G. Leghorn writes that Dessalines told the people:

If ever you refuse or grumblingly accept the laws which the genius guarding your destinies dictates to me for your happiness, you will meet the fate of ungrateful people.

Leghorn continues:

Every citizen was made either a labourer or a soldier. This step was a radical one. It divided people according to economic task. At first the more ambitious

citizens bore patiently the arbitrary decree, thinking that they might achieve comfortable status. This disillusionment was swift — ever swifter. The lowly folks who had been slaves found themselves in actual bondage to one of their own colour.

Incidentally, the much-publicized claim that Brazil is a country of racial equality is a myth, according to the seventh report of London's Minority Rights Group, Anani Dzidzienyo, Ghanaian author of the report says:

The view of Brazil as the one country in the world where people of different races live together in harmony and where opportunities are open to all... is definitely misleading...

Brazil is a rigidly-stratified society within which upward mobility is quite difficult for members of the proletariat. Decision-making and effective power remains the prerogative of a tiny elite...

This elite, among whom the Negro ex-slaves would be obviously excluded, consists of "the large landowners... new members from industry, the armed forces, the church and intellectuals..."

Brazil, Haiti and Cuba clearly demonstrate that culture cannot be divorced from politics and economics. This was seen during the time of the P. P. P. regime when it started a National History and Culture Council, and set aside an annual "History and Culture Week" and equated Hinduism and Islam with Christianity. As Marxists put it: there is a dialectical unity and interaction between the economic basis and the cultural, political and ideological superstructure.

HAITI AND CUBA

The Haitian revolution (the first successful revolution by Blacks led by the immortal, Toussant L'Overture between 1798 and 1804), like the American Revolution (War of Independence in 1776), and unlike the Cuban revolution in 1959, did not bring an end to exploitation and oppression. Class rule continued but with a change in form. The American revolution, which heralded the destruction of feudalism on a world scale, began a new era of capitalism, the Haitian revolution sounded the death-knell of the system of chattel slavery in North and South America, but replaced slavery with feudalism inside Haiti.

The annual income per person in Haiti is about \$50 (U. S.), about the lowest for the Caribbean and Latin America. Eighty per cent of the pre-school and school children suffer from malnutrition. One survey disclosed that the average villager spent eighty cents (U. S.) a day on food and consumed 1,359 calories per day, although minimum daily requirements are considered to be 2,500 calories. Two hundred and four out of every 1,000 children die in their first year. The average life span is 32 years.

"Haiti is — though in a less blatant way —" states the *Guardian* (London) on September 14, 1971, "just as obscene an example of a U. S. client state as South Vietnam... The ruling elite, now as always have provided little else but corrupt and incompetent government, and Haiti, once the richest colony in the world, has long been reduced to the rank of a beggar state."

Poverty and beggary in Haiti, as in Brazil, are the end products of dependency and foreign economic, political and cultural domination.

In Haiti, the export economy is based on primary production of sugar, bauxite, sisal and coffee, all of which except coffee (grown mostly by individual peasants and shipped by local German exporters) are produced by long established U. S. companies. So are the more than a hundred light manufacturing firms set up during the past 3—4 years which with dirt-cheap labour turn out semi-finished and finished goods for re-export.

Eighty-five per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture, but only 10 per cent own any land. A small number of feudal landlords and U. S. corporations own most of the land. Under the metager system of agriculture, the grip of the big feudal landlords has been tightened on the masses.

Similarly in Brazil, underemployment takes the form of dependency, of collaboration with foreign, mainly U. S., capital. A special Commission appointed by the Brazilian Congress disclosed that in 1968 foreign capital controlled 40 per cent of the capital market of Brazil, 62 per cent of its foreign trade, 82 per cent of the maritime transport, 77 per cent of the overseas airlines, 100 per cent of motor vehicle production, 100 per cent of tire production, more than 80 per cent of the pharmaceutical industry,

nearly 50 per cent of the chemical industry, 59 per cent of the machine production, 62 per cent of auto parts factories, 48 per cent of aluminum, and 90 per cent of cement. According to the Commission, half the foreign capital comes from the United States; following the North American firms, in order of importance, are German, English, French and Swiss enterprises.

Agriculture is plagued by the semi-feudal, backward agrarian structure of latifundio (3 per cent of the holdings account for more than half of the occupied land) and minifundio (32 per cent of the holdings take up only one per cent of the land).

And to make matters worse, the Americans have also been recently engaged in taking possession of huge tracts of land in the Amazon area, a process facilitated by the de-nationalization policy of the Brazilian dictatorship.

What about Cuba, 46 miles from Haiti and 90 miles from the U. S. A.? How is it that economic and social progress is being achieved there? Clearly, the answer lies in the fact that this, the only free territory in the Caribbean, has broken with the past and is advancing towards socialism. There has been a complete transformation and reconstruction of the economy, US economic domination of Cuba ended in July 1960 when the revolutionary Cuban government nationalised U. S. holdings in industry and agriculture.

The old semi-feudal system of agriculture was uprooted when all land holdings above 1,000 acres were taken over and distributed to the former tenants and sharecroppers. Castro's family estate was one of those broken up.

The sugar industry has been transformed. Each sugar estate has become an agro-industrial complex. As a result, Cuba earns, as one member of a Cuban delegation visiting Trinidad in 1970 told Trinidadians, as much from the byproducts of sugar as from sugar itself.

The Chief Livestock Officer of Trinidad Dr. Iton on the return of the Trinidad delegation to Cuba in 1969, at a press conference, stated that Cuba had made more progress in the livestock industry in 10 years than Trinidad has made in 50 years. David Smithers reported on October 13, 1967 in the *Trinidad Express* that Cuba had already reached 7 million head of cattle — about as many cows as people — in its planned target of 10 million; the artificial insemination centre would serve 1.7 million cows in 1967; egg production had been boosted to 10 million a week; and the sugar crop had reached a record production.

According to a study done by the Twentieth Century Fund as reported by the *Guyana Graphic* on November 30, 1970:

The Castro Government has carried out more ambitious and nationally comprehensive programmes in education and public health than in the other Latin American countries.

UZBEKISTAN AND IRAN

The contention that mere size and a common cultural identity are the ingredients for social and economic upliftment is disproved not only when comparing Cuba with Brazil and Haiti. Here is another example.

Comparing development in Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Iran under two different systems, socialism and capitalism, Professors W. K. Medlin and W. M. Cave, writing in the *Cooperative Education Review*, published by Teachers' College of Columbia University, for October 1964, declared:

The transition of Uzbekistan from an overwhelming agrarian, technologically undeveloped society to a rapidly industrialising one with dynamic programmes for change must be classified as a major achievement of the Soviet System. To gain some perspective on the enormity of this accomplishment, one need look no further than those countries contiguous to the Uzbek Republic, Afghanistan and Iran. While they cannot be compared uncritically with Uzbek society, both have a great deal in common with Uzbekistan, particularly with regard to religious ideology, ethnic composition, and cultural history. Yet, for the most part, they remain comparatively backward societies with a high percentage of illiteracy and persistent philosophical orientation toward the past. Conventional explanation such as lack of economic investment and technical assistance, etc. do not suffice, for both Iran and Afghanistan have been the recipients of huge sums of foreign capital. Still, pastoral economies and traditional social structure persist.

During my first visit to the Soviet Union in 1966, I had the pleasure of visiting Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan. I can attest to the magnificent achievements made during the past 45 years. This republic has been developing at a more rapid pace than the U. S. S. R. as a whole. From a primary producer mainly of cotton in Czarist days, it has become highly industrialized, producing not only cotton and silk fabrics, but also machines for growing and processing cotton and silk. It is also a producer of fertilizers, vegetable oil, cement, slate, coal, nonferrous metals and natural gas.

In the field of education, Uzbekistan, like the other Asian Republics, has virtually made a leap from the dark ages. This is how Professor G. Glezerman in his *Democracy in the U. S. S. R.* put it:

An educational newspaper estimated in 1906 that it would take at least 4,600 years to wipe out illiteracy among the Central Asian peoples. According to the most optimistic estimate, it said, the Tajiks, if they survived as a people, could expect to be literate in the year 6500.

The Soviet State, however, wiped out illiteracy in the Central Asian Republics in two decades.

In Soviet Kazakhstan, there were in 1918 before the socialist revolution only 22 out of a population of 6 million with higher education. There was

no steel produced, very little industry and only 1.3 million kilowatt hours of electricity per year.

Today, there are over 300,000 students in universities and colleges and over 18,000 research scientists.

In fifteen years, Ghana increased the number of higher education students for every 100,000 of the population from 4 to 58; Burundi from 0 to 8; and Kazakhstan from 13 to 250. It took the U. S. A. 45 years (1910 to 1955) to increase higher education students per 100,000 from 500 to 2,600. Kazakhstan achieved the same results in 25 years (1940—1965).

Compare the following figures from the *UNESCO Year Book* for Kazakhstan and other states:

Country	Production of Iron & Steel Millions of Tons	Production of Electricity, Kilowatt Hours, Millions	Population all races millions	Number of Universities	Number of University Students
Great Britain	36.0	245,000	54	42	184,000
Australia	6.0	21,000	12	14	100,000
South Africa	3.4	2,200	18	14	43,000
Nigeria	0.0	430	61	5	8,000
U. A. R.	0.2	2,200	32	6	140,000
Burunda	0.0	0	3	1	120
Mozambique	0.0	150	15	0	0
Kazakhstan (U. S. S. R.)	3.0	21,000	12	39	115,000

Whether one looks at China or India, Cuba or Brazil and Haiti, Uzbekistan or Iran and Afghanistan, Kazakhstan or Nigeria, the main point of departure is the economic and social system. In this neo-colonial era of sharpening national liberation and class struggles, it behoves the Caribbean masses to examine closely the motivation of those who now advocate a new West Indies political union — do they really want revolutionary changes or are they concerned with mere manipulation at the economic and constitutional levels to forge new chains for the maintenance of the capitalist-imperialist system, and in doing so maintain their positions of power?

VI

NEW IMPERIALIST STRATEGY

A little over a decade ago in the face of revolutionary upheavals — seizure of power by the Communist Party of China in 1949; the dismissal of General MacArthur by President Truman in the Korean War; the defeat of the French in Indochina in 1954; the Anglo-French-Israeli debacle in Egypt in 1956; the Iraqi, Cuban and Algerian revolutions from 1958 to 1960; etc. — the imperialists decided on a new strategy; namely, it was better to confer independence and with new devices such as federations to maintain economic domination rather than face the risk of losing everything as a result of violent revolutions.

India had provided a valuable lesson. The local and foreign monopolies, working in collaboration with foreign capital had strengthened their grip. Between 1947 when independence was attained and 1964, the paid-up capital of Indian joint stock companies nearly trebled from Rs 4,800 million to Rs 14,000 million. Total foreign capital also trebled from Rs 558 million in 1948 to Rs 7,500 million in 1964. Thus, in an interview with U. S. journalist R. Sherard of the *Saturday Evening Post*, Prime Minister, J. Nehru in March 1963 disclosed: "The United Kingdom companies are making more profits now than they did under British rule. Even Sir Winston Churchill has expressed great satisfaction at this."

It was against this background that in 1960 the then U. K. Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan made in South Africa his famous "wind of change" speech in which he called on South Africa to relent somewhat on its apartheid policy, and on the colonial powers to concede independence. This is how he put it:

The most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is the strength of this African national consciousness... The wind of change is blowing through the continent... We must all accept it as a fact. Our national policies must take account of it. I sincerely believe that if we cannot do so, we may imperil the precise balance of East and West... As I see it, the great issue in this second half of the twentieth century is whether the uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the East or West. Will they be drawn into the communist camp?

But the past decade has shown an erosion of imperialist strength and power. Its "bigstick" policies have failed in Indochina and the Far East. And in the Caribbean, the economic planning strategy based on the Puerto Rican model is discredited — Guyana's \$300 million 7-year development plan (1966—72) designed by Sir Arthur Lewis with the help of U. S. economist W. Davenport and the West German Governor of the Bank of Guyana, Horst Bockleman, prematurely collapsed in 1970.

Political independence in Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and elsewhere,

has brought not contentment but discontent. Thus, imperialism has now designed a new socio-economic strategy in this era of neo-colonialism.

At the economic level, this is based on integration and import substitution; at the social level it is based on partnership — involvement of nationals and even governments as partners in imperialist companies as with Bookers Stores, Demarara Tobacco Company, Diamond Liquors, etc.

This is also seen elsewhere. In Trinidad, the government has gone into partnership with many foreign companies. In Malaysia most of the foreign companies founded in 1966 were mixed. Between 1957 and 1965 foreign companies concluded 2,358 joint ventures in India with Indian partners. In Dominica, foreign companies are opening their doors to local participants.

Local people are involved as shareholders, managers and directors, who ultimately defend foreign rather than national interests and reinforce foreign domination.

In Guyana, while the imperialists control the commanding heights of the economy — sugar plantations, bauxite mines, banking, insurance and foreign trade — the government indulges in tokenism and state capitalism, and emphasizes cooperatives, community development and self-help. The nationalization of the Demerara Bauxite Company has facilitated the taking out from Canadian hands of our high grade bauxite and placing it firmly under U. S. control. And a local elite replaces a foreign elite at the bureaucratic-administrative level.

Like the U. S. company, Connell Rice and Sugar Company, which was given an exclusive contract to market our rice abroad outside of the Commonwealth Caribbean market, another wholly-owned U. S. company, Philipp Brothers AG of Zug Switzerland, has been appointed as exclusive marketing agents for our bauxite and alumina for the next three years. Incidentally, this company is owned by the Engelhard family and the giant South African company, Anglo-American Corporation Limited, which Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in his book *Neo-colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism*, describes as the "biggest octopus in the Oppenheimer Sea of operations". The American financier, Charles W. Engelhard, of Engelhard Industries Limited is adviser to American governments of African affairs, a prominent member of the South African club of mineowners, director on the boards of among others; the Anglo-American Corp. of S. Africa; Kennecott Copper Corp., one of the two massive U. S. copper groups; the Chase Manhattan Bank; and the London-based Anglo-American Corp. subsidiary, Charter Consolidated.

BALANCE OF FORCES

Clearly, U. S. imperialism is not unduly concerned about the nationalization of one of the two bauxite companies and control of some aspects of foreign trade through the External Trade Bureau (ETB). What is of prime concern, despite talk of non-alignment, is alignment with imperialism in practice. Arthur Schlesinger, set out precisely what the American ruling class wanted in *A Thousand Days*:

Kennedy and Khrushchev would both have said that they wanted to preserve the status quo. But they had incompatible conceptions of what the status quo meant.

For Kennedy the status quo was the existing balance of international force. This did not at all mean that he wanted to freeze the world in its social mould. On the contrary, he believed internal political and institutional change to be both inevitable and desirable. But his hope was that it would take place without transferring power from one bloc to the other and therefore without making either side feel threatened, and constrained to resist change by force.

For Khrushchev, on the other hand, the status quo was something very different: it was in essence the communist revolution in progress (as he hoped) across the world. For this perspective Kennedy's conception of a global standstill was an attempt not to support but to alter the status quo: it was an attack on the revolutionary process itself.

Clearly, the imperialists are willing to accommodate even nationalization so long as it is within the framework of imperialism and the maintenance of the international status quo. This explains why despite the declaration at the time of nationalization, that only G\$ 100 million with no interest would be paid out of profits as compensation, the PNC government subsequently agreed, without debate in the National Assembly, to pay \$107 million with interest at the rate of 6 per cent in 20 years; why Guybau's (Guyana Bauxite Company) marketing agent is the South African controlled Philipp Brothers, notwithstanding aid to the African freedom movement; why the imperialist banks, including Chase Manhattan, have given \$18 million in loans to Guybau; why mere nominal diplomatic relations have been established with the Soviet Union; why instead of developing the closest political, cultural and economic links with the socialist world, the Burnham regime spreads its own special brand of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism by propagating false ideas about the self-interests of the two super-powers, the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A., and about third-world inter-dependence and self-sufficiency; why it imposes a 10 per cent discriminatory levy on imports from the socialist states?

Experts and advisers come only from the imperialist and their client states. Training of Guyanese personnel is also done in the imperialist and neo-fascist states. Students who have qualified in socialist states are harassed and refused jobs, and those who wish to go to study are refused passports and obstructed. Documentary North Vietnamese films are banned, as is "Sons and Daughters", the film on the Berkeley student movement in the U. S. A. Forbes Burnham visits Haiti, but not Cuba although he talks about "socialism" and a West Indian political union. Despite the stance of non-alignment, Guyana is aligned with the pro-imperialist US-Brazil-Haiti-Nicaragua-Paraguay-Argentina axis rather than with the anti-imperialist Cuba-Chile-Peru axis in the Western Hemisphere.

Meanwhile, many private companies are masquerading as cooperatives and are affording the PNC ruling elite the opportunity from their exalted positions to get rich quick. For instance, Greenland Cooperative Society has been getting the majority of contracts from the Ministry of Works, Hydraulics and Supply.

Consequently, many contracting companies are rebelling at the patent discriminatory and corrupt practices of the government. Clearly, under the PNC regime, there is being created a new breed of bureaucratic capitalists who work in alliance with the foreign capitalists, and buttress the system of imperialism. Thus, the new socio-economic strategy based on partnership, regional integration and import substitution will fail in Guyana and the Commonwealth Caribbean as it has failed in Latin America.

In Latin America, after the institution of the policy of integration and import substitution there was actually a decline in the decade 1960-70 as compared with the previous decade. The target of a 2.5 per cent annual rate of growth set by the Alliance for Progress in 1961 has not been met.

Commenting on the general situation Dante D. Fascell, Chairman of the U. S. House of Representative Sub-Committee on Inter-American Affairs declared: "I would be less than frank if I would not admit that the initial record of the Alliance for Progress inspires more gloom than satisfaction."

Mr. Fascell said the per capita gross national product in Latin America had increased by little more than one-half of the expected rate. It was 1.5 per cent compared with the Alliance goal of 2.5 per cent.

GUYANA'S ALIGNMENT WITH PRO-IMPERIALIST AXIS

In his article "New Power Struggle for Control of the Caribbean," Mr. Rickey Singh, after referring to my observation that by entering into close technical, cultural, aid and even security arrangements the Burnham government has "clearly put Guyana in the USA-Brazil-Nicaragua-Argentina-Paraguay axis", said:

It seems rather contradictory, to say the least, that a serious politician like Dr. Jagan, can ignore the fact that the Soviet Union has full diplomatic relations with Brazil, and that the U. S. S. R.'s non-resident Ambassador to Guyana is based in Brazil.

Mr. Singh is arguing by simple analogy. He has, however, overlooked one very important point. The Soviet Union cannot be compared with Guyana. It is the main bastion in the struggle for national liberation and socialism against imperialism. As the most powerful socialist state, it has an international duty. It aids national liberation movements in the third world to achieve political power — Vietnam, Rhodesia, Portuguese African Colonies, etc. — and to maintain political power — the United Arab Republic, Cuba. Its policy of peaceful coexistence with capitalist states through diplomacy and peaceful economic competition is also its contribution to the cause of world peace and socialism.

Its diplomatic presence in Brazil and even its trade and cultural exchanges cannot be viewed as lending support to Brazilian dictatorship or joining with imperialism. The fact is that while the U. S. S. R. government has peaceful relations with Brazil, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Press attack the Brazilian dictatorship and lend support to the liberation movement. And at the same time, both the government and Party strongly support Cuba, Peru and Chile.

In Guyana's case, it is different. The Prime Minister visits Haiti, but not Cuba. His government has an embassy in Rio de Janeiro, but not in Havana, although he claims to be socialist and views a political union "not merely in terms of the ex-British Colonies in this part of the world coming together, but a first step in the union encompassing other territories and other lands, some of which are French, others which are independent but with a Spanish tradition and ancestry". Perhaps, Mr. Burnham means the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua.

Let me say here also that the P. P. P. is not opposed to formal diplomatic and cultural relations with Brazil. What we object to is the PNC regime's alignment of Guyana with the U. S. A.-Brazil-Haiti-Nicaragua-Argentina axis. One would have expected that a government which calls itself socialist would have aligned Guyana with the Cuba-Peru-Chile axis

while maintaining friendly relations with her neighbours, Brazil and Venezuela. Mr. Singh also said:

Dr. Jagan himself, in his own analysis, did not include Venezuela among the 'client States' of U.S. imperialism. And Venezuela, for her part, is clearly interested in preventing Brazil from flapping her wings among the Caribbean states.

Permit me to outline the situation: Britain, having been forced to withdraw from the Caribbean, had hoped that Canada would fill the vacuum. But the United States was not happy about Canada's foreign policy with respect to the Organization of American States (OAS) and the socialist world, particularly Cuba and China. The U. S. A. therefore, stepped in and moved into the independent states — Guyana, Trinidad, Barbados and Jamaica — and tied them to the OAS, what Cuba described as the Ministry for U. S. Colonies (Guyana would have been a member of the OAS but for the "legal" impediment of Venezuela's claim to Guyana's territory).

Venezuela is a U. S. client-state although it gyrates on a somewhat different axis. Some years ago, President Romulo Betancourt enunciated the "Betancourt doctrine" which stated that Venezuela would not, and other Latin American states should not, recognise governments which came to power by military coups. This has several objectives: firstly, it gave Venezuela a progressive image in the face of a rash of military overthrows of several bourgeois-democratic regimes (between January 1961 and November 1963, there were eight military coups in Latin America); secondly, it conformed to the image President J. F. Kennedy and L. B. Johnson were projecting for the U. S. A. (the defence of freedom and democracy while they were secretly planning military operations in Cuba, Vietnam, etc.); thirdly, it was indirectly a means of justifying the isolation of Cuba, a "dictatorship" (President Betancourt dismissed the Foreign Minister, Dr. Arcaya, from his coalition government because he refused to sign the San Jose Declaration in 1960 when the Latin American countries decided to isolate and blockade Cuba).

In keeping with this doctrine, Venezuela, Chile (under Frei), Colombia, Uruguay, etc. refused to go along with the formation of the Inter-American Peace Force, which became necessary because of the mounting opposition to massive U. S. intervention in Vietnam and particularly the Dominican Republic. The U. S. A. now saw the need for a new policy of Asians to fight Asians, Africans to fight Africans and Latin Americans to fight Latin Americans, what President Nixon described as the policy of "Vietnamization". President Johnson argued that the old concepts of the Rio Treaty of sovereignty, self-determination and non-interference were absolute, that "geographical frontiers" must be replaced by "ideological frontiers" (defence of capitalism, euphemistically called freedom and democracy, against socialism), that independence must give way to "interdependence" and the complete coordination and integration of the imperialist camp at all levels — political, economic and military. Brazil,

Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Argentina joined the Inter-American Peace Force, so that their and not U. S. troops could move into any other country to crush liberation movements and uphold reactionary regimes in client states.

That Venezuela did not join this grouping does not imply that she is not a U. S. client-state. Having smarted under a ruthless 10-year (1948—58) dictatorial regime of Perez Jimenez, who was incidentally decorated by President Eisenhower with the highest "Legion of Merit" decoration, she is permitted to practise the other side (the carrot rather than the club) of the flexible tactics of U. S. imperialism.

Recall that it was Venezuela which, on the orders of U. S. imperialism, raised the border claim when Guyana after the 1961 general election was on the threshold of independence under the P. P. P. The 5-year Geneva Agreement, and the 12-year Port-of-Spain Protocol not only recognized the bogus border claim, but also keep it in abeyance for future use against any progressive government in Guyana. In keeping with this same policy, the Venezuelan government sent arms to Trinidad and moved its troops to its north coast near to Trinidad during the "Black Power" revolt against the PNM regime in April, 1970.

The visit of the Venezuelan Foreign Minister to the West Indies, the award of Venezuela's highest decoration to Dr. Eric Williams and Eric Gairy, and the announcement that Venezuela intends to fill the power vacuum in the West Indies signify clearly that Venezuela has been assigned by U. S. imperialism because of her geographical proximity and political orientation to "contain" the growing revolutionary movement in the West Indies, somewhat in the same way that Brazil is assigned to help the PNC regime not against attack from Venezuela, but from the liberation forces inside Guyana. Viewed from this position, there is no need to speculate, as Mr. Singh does, whether help would be forthcoming to Guyana from Brazil against Venezuelan attack.

Mr. Editor, the real security of Guyana lies not in lining up with imperialism, however disguised. Rather as Mr. Singh rightly pointed out it lies firstly in solving the internal political problem; and secondly, in pursuing anti-imperialist domestic and foreign policies.

(Letter to Editor, *Sunday Graphic*, November 30, 1971).

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

VII

SINK OR SWIM

Another summit meeting has been announced for April 9—10th in Guyana.

Will the Caribbean Common Market emerge on May 1, 1973? That was the date agreed to at the last summit held in October 1972 in Trinidad.

Mr. Augustin Bramble, Chief Minister of Montserrat was the first person to express reservations and to say that Montserrat will not be joining the Common Market. He is concerned that a common external tariff would result in higher duties and an increased cost of living.

Mr. Ronald Armour, Deputy-Premier and Finance Minister of Dominica, was a bit more explicit. He said: "*We are insisting that our support for regional integration moves will only be forthcoming if and when concrete steps are taken to ensure that our essential interests and industrial future are promoted and not retarded.*"

Mr. Armour went on to say that it was unlikely that the Associated States (the L. D. C.'s) would be taking part in the next summit meeting.

All this has led to a near crisis and a lot of behind-the-scenes activities. Will the crisis be resolved?

There are plenty expressions of hope — everything will turn out right. There are also warnings — we must swim together or we will sink separately.

And, of course, there are those who clothe their platitudes with intellectual garb.

One says that the economic integration is a matter of survival, that it has become necessary because of international economic realities.

Another says that UN-sponsored efforts (e. g. Development Decade) have failed to develop poor countries, and the two major power blocs are becoming increasingly polarised, strong and self-centered — another variant of the fallacious two super-powers theory.

What the people are not getting are deep analyses of historical socio-economic and political developments.

It is not enough to say that the tendency is towards larger and larger groupings (CMEA and European Economic Community); thus, the Caribbean territories must unite.

The question is unity for what and for whom?

The Socialist countries have based their policies not on a third world war but on peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition in their struggle of Socialism against capitalism. Thus, the integration process in the CMEA countries involves mutual cooperation, coordination and specialisation. The whole objective is to develop faster, to outpace capitalism, to demonstrate that Socialism as a system is superior to capitalism.

What about the Caribbean? The crisis has developed not because

integration *per se* is bad or that no residual benefits will come out of it but because it fits into the general scheme of imperialism.

Basically, the problems have arisen because in the Carifta region there is developing a colonialism within a colonialism — the Carifta region as a whole — a neo-colony or a colony of Anglo-American imperialism; the less developed countries (LDCs) of Carifta as colonies of the more developed countries (MDCs).

The fundamental contradictions inherent in this situation cannot be resolved by platitudes and wishful thinking. What is needed is an examination of the root causes and the prescription of a radical change.

What is to be done with foreign ownership and control which works hand-in-glove with the local compradore capitalists against the interests of the peoples both in the MDCs and LDCs?

Even the Church has taken a stand for radical change and has advocated that the risks involved in bringing out such change must be taken.

But the opportunist politicians and the technocrats merely talk. L. F. S. Burnham like Salvador Allende, talks about ownership and control. However, Burnham's programme is reformist like Eduardo Frei's and not revolutionary like Allende's.

The technocrats talk about restructuring the economy, but fail to put up a revolutionary anti-imperialist programme.

It must be remembered that the U. N. Development Decade (1960—70) became for developing countries a decade of indebtedness and the gap in living standards between the rich and poor countries widened rather than narrowed, not because the United Nations is inherently bad or has failed, but largely because the pervasive imperialist influence in it is still strong.

As a result, planning strategies recommended by UN experts and agencies do not get to the root of the problem, and are not anti-imperialist in context.

That was why the economic planning model proposed by the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), failed in Latin America during the past 10—15 years. This same model incidentally is now being introduced in the Carifta area to succeed the discredited Puerto Rican model. It will fail here too.

And it is a slander to lump together and treat alike the socialist states and the imperialist states. At the UNCTAD Conference in Santiago, Chile in April 1972, the imperialist states did everything possible to obstruct proposals for improving the position of the developing countries.

As regards aid from the socialist states, it should be noted that Secretary General of UNCTAD, Manuel Perez-Guerrero, in his report prepared for Santiago, wrote that it "*appears to be a major reason for the increase of manufactured and semi-manufactured items exported from developing countries in recent years.*"

Incidentally, nearly 70 per cent of Soviet aid to developing countries has been given for the development of large-scale industry and power. Imperialist aid, on the other hand, as to Guyana, is given largely for infrastructure.

The politicians and technocrats are aware of this, but are basically afraid. This is largely because opportunism is deeply rooted in the ranks of governmental leadership in the Caribbean.

The politicians are concerned more with power than with programmes and policies, with personal aggrandisement than with people's aspirations. Noting the fate of Nkrumah, Sukarno, Obete, etc., they are constantly looking over their shoulders at the imperialists. And the technocrats, concerned with their big salaries and allowances, are looking at the politicians.

Meanwhile, the contradictions sharpen, and the people suffer. If a revolutionary approach is not taken Carifta and the Caribbean Economic Community will end up like the West Indies Federation in failure.

LDC'S - A COLONY WITHIN A SEMI-COLONY

The public has been made to believe that the basic stumbling bloc to Caribbean development and progress is lack of unity; that the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) have been too insular and are demanding too many concessions from the More Developed Countries (MDCs). A spirit of compromise is called for.

The position is much more complex. Because of deep-seated contradictions, compromise alone will not help. Only a revolutionary approach will resolve the contradictions.

In their advocacy of a Caribbean Common Market and a Caribbean Community, some refer to the European Economic Community as an example of strength through unity. But this is an oversimplification.

Two main factors have influenced the formation of EEC. Firstly, at the economic level, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the introduction of mass production methods, automation and cybernetics necessitate a huge expansion of markets, intensify the trend towards internationalisation of economic life and internal specialisation of production.

For political reasons, according to the *Paris Combat*: "Europe must unite in order to become a political and military force second to none, even if this is costly, involves less improvement of living standards, and implies the sacrifice of habits, prejudices and routines."

In other words, "integration" through the EEC is the monopoly-capitalist answer to the growing might of world socialism, and the design to keep the former colonies and semi-colonies in the orbit of imperialism.

V. I. Lenin had forewarned that the amalgamation of monopoly capital would take place in the form not only of international monopolies but also of agreements between entire states. "Of course," Lenin wrote, "temporary agreements between capitalists and between the powers are possible. In this sense a United States of European capitalists . . . But what for? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing Socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty . . ."

But other adverse developments have taken place. Contradictions have developed within the imperialist camp.

The U. S. A., which at first wanted an EEC as a formidable lever for "the containment of communism", is now concerned about a powerful Europe, particularly Germany, as a competitor (the other centre of competition in the capitalist world is Japan).

The conflict has also sharpened not only between the monopoly capitalists and the working class, but also between the monopoly-capitalists and the petty and middle capitalists of the town and countryside.

The monopolies have grown through a concentration and centralisation of capital. West German companies with assets of 100 million marks

each accounted for 34 per cent of all stock capital in 1954; by 1961, they accounted for 52 per cent.

In France, 310 mergers were registered in 1946—56; 931 in 1959 and 1,000 in 1961.

In France, 20 per cent of the small textile factories closed down in the first four years of the European Common Market; the number of small trading businesses has shrunk by 27 per cent, while the big merchant companies' share of domestic trade has risen by 50 per cent. In West Germany the number of handicraft establishments dropped in 1957—60 by more than 20,000.

And the "modernisation" and "reorganisation" of agriculture has led to the ruination of small and middle-sized peasant farms. In Germany, not less than 100,000 people annually have been going out of agriculture. In 1956—57 the number of West German farms of up to 10 hectares decreased by 28,000 in each year, and in 1960—61, by 64,000. In France the ruling element meant to get rid in the next few years of 800,000 peasant farms.

Sicco Mansholt, Vice-President of the European Economic Commission and author of the plan for the "integration" of West-European agriculture, has admitted that in the years ahead 8 million peasants in the Common Market countries will be ruined.

In the Caribbean, there are not only MDCs and LDCs in the equation. Over and above them are foreign ownership and control by multinational corporations, working in joint ventures with the "compradore" capitalists and collaborationist governments under the new imperialist strategy of "partnership".

Foreign economic domination, facilitated by free trade under Carifta, exploits the whole region, both MDCs and LDCs. But the LDCs like the black people of the U. S. A. suffer a double dose of exploitation. The LDCs are doubly exploited because they are collectively a "colony" of the Carifta "neo-colony".

Because industries are not located in the LDCs, even the incidental benefits (employment, income and other taxes, etc.) which derive from industrialisation do not accrue to them. Instead, they are subjected to paying generally dearer prices for inferior goods.

The location of industries is determined by subjective and objective considerations.

Subjectively, politicians and businessmen want location in their own countries — the politicians largely because they are sitting on a powder keg of unemployment and underemployment; the businessmen because of convenience, partnership, subcontracting, etc.

Objectively, the foreign investors are interested not only in a larger market which CARIFTA provides them. In locating factories, they take into consideration other factors — roads, ports, telephone communications, electricity, availability and skill of labour . . . tax, and other concessions, a docile unorganised labour movement, anti-labour legislation, freedom to take out profits, etc.

Harmonisation of incentives cannot resolve the problem. Nor will a multinational company with limited funds.

The LDCs would also suffer in the agricultural sector. They will not be able to compete against cheaper mass-subsidized imports, particularly of foods from the U. S. A. PL 480 food aid, grants and loans and investment capital will be used as levers by the U. S. A. to force tariff concessions for the entry of foods. During the first 3 years of Carifta, U. S. food export to the Carifta Region doubled from US \$ 500 to \$ 1,000 million.

Another contradiction facing the Carifta countries is which of the two capitalist giants, the USA or the EEC, to associate with. EEC is the market for the region's agricultural products; U. S. A. is the market for minerals, investment capital and aid. The U. S. A. has already moved into the Caribbean market with her capital and goods, and has warned about any concessions to EEC like the cut in 1962 of duties by 30 per cent on imports from the EEC countries by the West African Associated States.

Manoeuvring between imperialisms will not help. What is needed is a complete break with imperialism.

So far as Guyana is concerned, the role of agricultural appendage to the foreign-owned and controlled industrialised MDCs has been assigned to it by the PNC regime. For this betrayal and surrender of Guyana's sovereignty, the PNC has no mandate.

VIII

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

THE RAPE OF LATIN AMERICA

For years, I have been citing facts and figures to show that U. S. domination of Latin America was responsible for the poverty and misery of the large majority of the 200 million people who live in this area.

I warned that if we are to avoid the pitfalls of the Latin American people, we must prevent U. S. takeover of Guyana.

Now at long last from the mouth of big business and its spokesmen is coming out what I have been saying. The emphasis is not the same, but figures and facts are clearly revealed.

The glossy U. S. news magazine *Life* in an editorial on July 18, 1968 "Why the Latins don't love us" stated that United States policies were largely responsible for the instability in present day Latin America.

Many of the same points were brought out by Dr. Gallo Plaza, Secretary-General of the Organisation of American States.

In an address delivered on Wednesday, October 7, at the National Conference of the United Press International editors and publishers at Hamilton, Bermuda, Dr. Plaza said that contrary to popular belief, Latin America was aiding the U. S. A.: "Thus, in terms of net capital flow, Latin America is actually aiding the United States. In 1967, there was a net inflow of capital and service payments from Latin America to the United States amounting to US\$1,000 million". This inflow into the United States, he declared was "a positive contribution to reducing the balance-of-payments deficits of the United States".

Chastising those who charge that the U. S. A. is doing more than its share, he said that the Latin Americans' repayments burden currently takes up about one-third of their gross capital inflow. The bulk of the burden is on them, not the U. S. tax-payers.

Dr. Plaza urged that some basic facts must be known about U. S. relations with Latin America. Eighty per cent of aid came in the form of loans, not grants. And, as we know in Guyana, the loans are tied; ninety per cent has to be spent in the U. S. A. on U. S. goods and services. Repayments have to be made in dollars. About half of the amount received in the 1960's as loans had to go back as payments of capital and interest. Interest alone in the first seven years of this decade was US \$1,468 million.

Dr. Plaza clearly sets out the ills of Latin American society. But unfortunately, he is rooted to the same old cure — with a little more water added. He still looks to private enterprise and the U. S. investor as the panacea. He says:

Latin America needs the capital, technology and market connections that the foreign investor can offer, but it needs them on terms that provide maximum possible stimulation to its own future development and at least cost in terms of balance of payments.

His approach is reformist, not revolutionary. Obviously, it will not cure the ills. Even he admits that the reformist Alliance for Progress has not in any way solved Latin American problems. The G. N. P. per capita annual growth rate of 1.6% between 1961 and 1968 is far short of the limited 2.5% goal set by the charter of Punta del Este.

I recall the words of Mr. Dante D. Fascell, Chairman of the U. S. House of Representatives Sub-Committee of Inter-American Affairs: "At this rate of progress, Latin Americans who live at the edge of subsistence — whose annual income is estimated at about \$200 — will have to wait half a century to double the level of their standard of living. Furthermore, Latin America has actually lost ground in such fields as education, housing and food production when the growth in its population was taken into account."

Dr. Plaza in his reformist approach said that it was necessary to examine "new forms of private foreign investment and create what I would call naturalised rather than nationalised enterprises — companies that would operate in the full interests of national developments and conform to local conditions."

Dr. Plaza like many others have been forced to admit the ills of Latin American society. But their prescription is only a palliative, not a cure. In effect, what is being suggested is a new form of exploitation. To speak of "naturalized" enterprises is only to talk of the new strategy of imperialism which involves local participation.

The imperialists have felt the not-so-open and open hostility of the oppressed and exploited peoples. They now therefore wish to involve part of the local population in their game of loot and death — joint companies and more and more local directors and managers.

This trick will not solve the problem. What is needed today in Latin America is a revolutionary strategy involving the nationalization of the basic means of production, distribution and exchange.

Only the complete breakdown of U. S. economic domination of Latin America will lead to a cure of the ills of Latin American society. Cuba has pointed the way. Peru and Bolivia are now following.

FEBRUARY REVOLT

On February 26, 1970, there undoubtedly began the most significant development in the revolutionary wave that will sweep away colonialism and neo-colonialism from the Caribbean. In a period of nearly two months, the Williams regime of Trinidad and Tobago was shaken to its foundations. The telling slogans, "Doc. Remember the R. C. Church was against you in 1956" and "Williams is keeping us in Capitalism and Slavery" showed that politics had turned a full circle and time had caught up with the doctor.

Dr. Eric Williams with his People's National Movement (PNM) rose to power on the crest of the national, anti-colonial wave started in the pre-war and post-war periods by Butler, Bustamante, Adams, Critchlow, Edun, and others. His was a brilliant academic career with the excellent *Capitalism and Slavery* to his credit. And then he was given a gift on a platter for launching himself on a political career — the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission had refused to promote him to its top post as Secretary-General.

With this background, it was only natural that Williams would sweep the polls at the 1956 general election. He capitalized on the betrayal of the working class by Albert Gomes. At Woodford Square, which he dubbed "University of Woodford Square", with incisive logic, he inveighed against British colonialism and its puppet Albert Gomes. He attacked the Roman Catholic Church and its control of the schools. The U. S. base at Chaguaramas was the central point of attack which ended on April 22, 1960, with a 15,000-strong protest march (Janet Jagan and Jack Kelshall participating) that he led demanding "Americans, go home".

Fourteen years of unbroken PNM rule had not, however, brought about any fundamental social change. Nationalism and pragmatism, the cornerstone of Williams's philosophy, resulted in little more than formal independence. The PNM studiously avoided the word socialism. In fact, it objected to its inclusion in the Caribbean-wide party formed by Norman Manley, Grantley Adams, Vere Bird, etc., for the federal (West Indies Federation) election in 1958.

Without any firm Marxian-socialist ideological base, the approach of the Trinidad and federal leadership was largely opportunistic. Narrow nationalism and chauvinism which dominated the area were fostered by the imperialist strategy of economic planning based on the creation of an investment climate and incentives to foreign capital. Instead of overall regional planning and development and territorial specialization, unbridled competition set in. The end result was not only the break-up of the West Indies Federation, but also poverty and misery on a vast scale. In the period 1950—60, instead of the creation of 413,000 jobs in the federal

territories to solve the unemployment problem, the unemployment rate in the most industrially developed island was about 15%.

Failure to solve grave social problems led to disenchantment, discontent and in some cases open revolt.

In Jamaica, tweedledum-tweedledee politics of Sir Alexander Bustamante (Jamaica Labour Party) and Norman Manley (People's National Party) being incapable of solving the people's problems or of inspiring them, eventually led to a pitched battle between the underprivileged and unemployed and the lumpen proletariat, who styled themselves Ras Tafarians. The coercive apparatus of the state became more and more repressive. Passports and travel abroad were denied by the PNP government to Marxists like Richard Hart. The end result was the demise of the Manley government and, as the P. P. P. predicted, the break-up of the West Indies Federation. It was ironic that the very man who could have saved the Federation was the one to deliver the last death blow. The Jamaican people, having been nurtured on a chauvinistic, cold-war, pro-imperialist domestic policy, could not have been expected to vote "yes" in a referendum to save the Federation.

A fate similar to Manley's met other "socialists" in the Caribbean. Sir Grantley Adams, the Prime Minister of the West Indies Federation, fell in the face of Errol Barrow's demagoguery.

In Antigua, for many years, the unchallenged leader winning all the seats in successive elections was "socialist" Vere Bird. His union-party combination is now split and his opposition can at any time muster more people in street demonstrations. In 1967, Bird's government refused me permission either to lecture under University of the West Indies auspices or to address a public open-air meeting.

Under the so-called labour but rightist leadership of the Bustamante-Shearer regime, the coercive state machinery has been brought into full play. At the beginning, this was restricted to the denial of academic freedom. Passports were seized and Jamaican academics were denied the right to travel. The banning from Jamaica of Dr. Walter Rodney (later Dr. Clive Thomas and Cheddi Jagan Jr.) and street demonstrations of students, workers and unemployed were met with soldiers' bullets. Four were shot dead.

BLACK POWER

These events were only the build-up to the eruption in Trinidad. The regime of Dr. Williams, not leftist but pragmatist with an aura of intellectualism, moved more and more to the right.

The confrontation with the Catholic hierarchy never materialized. The U. S. imperialists were allowed to keep part of Chaguaramas. The Industrial Stabilization Act banned the right to strike. A lost list of progressive literature, including the P. P. P.'s *Guyana Information Bulletin*, was banned. In 1957, on our way to the Ghana Independence Celebrations, Burnham was permitted free movement in Trinidad while I was restricted to

a room in the Piarco Airport Terminal building. Trinidad-born Stokley Carmichael was refused entry.

Apart from political independence, other promises — morality in public affairs and widespread participation in political and economic life — were not fulfilled. The white imperialist socio-economic structure was unchanged. Trinidadians of European descent earned an average income of \$500 a month, as compared with \$104 for African and \$77 for those of East Indian extraction.

Lack of accomplishment, glib pseudo-intellectual talk and corruption led from the landslide victory of 1958 to waning interest and a steady erosion of the PNM's position. From a high of 80% of the electorate turning out to vote in 1956, the figure steadily dropped to 73% in 1958; to 65% in 1966; and to a low of 34% in a by-election in 1968. The PNM's popular support also fell drastically.

Dr. Williams' charisma suffered its first blow in the federal elections in 1958 when the Bustamante-Bhadase Maraj federal alliance swept the polls in Trinidad. In the subsequent years, as Williams' popularity waned and a growing gulf developed between promise and performance, he became more removed from the people. The "University of Woodford Square" was deserted, and bribery, corruption, fraud, discrimination and contempt of opposition and criticism became the hallmarks of the regime. The opposition shouted that elections were fraudulent, that the voting machines were fixed. In these circumstances, confrontation was inevitable.

The February revolt was initiated by the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC) led by Geddes Granger. The catalyst was the trial in Montreal, Canada, of ten Trinidadians who formed part of the 87 West Indian and Canadian students who were arrested for "conspiring to burn down the computer centre at Sir George Williams University" (SGWU).

The NJAC was set up in 1969 for the purpose of establishing solidarity with these students who had charged a white biology professor with racism. Its base was the University of the West Indies at St. Augustine.

In early 1969, as a protest to the SGWU affair, the students closed the University, stopped and boarded the train into Port of Spain, scaled the fence of Whitehall (official headquarters of the Prime Minister), lodged strong protest with the PM and the Canadian High Commissioner.

Later in 1969, Granger and the students formed a human barricade at the main gate to the St. Augustine campus and prevented the entry of Sir Ronald Mitchener, the Governor-General of Canada, who was visiting Trinidad on an official tour.

On February 26, 1970, on the occasion of the trial of the 10 Trinidadians in Montreal, Granger and a small group of NJAC colleagues made the Canadian banks and property the targets of their attack. They dramatized their protest march by occupying the Roman Catholic cathedral. With placards calling for "Freedom Now" and the clenched-fist "black power" salute, they shouted for "power" and draped black hoods over the statues. Explaining their entry into the cathedral, Granger told his followers:

The Roman Catholic church is white; God is white; Jesus is white; the Apostles (except perhaps Judas) were white; all the angels and saints (save the few hastily added the other day) are white.

The Trinidad and Tobago government responded to this first wave of protest by agreeing to pay the fines (about TT\$67,000) imposed on the Trinidad students.

But this did not stop the NJAC. The protest shifted from the Canadian government to the Williams government and local conditions. The target was not the "white" minority who control the significant majority economic wealth of Trinidad. On March 7, Granger told a crowd of 10,000:

Our movement is working towards the day when each black person will be able to get a fair deal, be he of African or East Indian descent, will be able to feel that he has a stake in the future of our society. We are, therefore, against the present system in Trinidad which can only result in the perpetuation of the status quo. In Trinidad we have a black government which is not working in the interest of the people, for they strive to perpetuate a system of capitalism, a system which serves to provide huge profits for the foreign firms like the Royal Bank of Canada, Alcan, or Texaco Trinidad. We cannot and indeed will not allow our black people to be further dehumanized. And I say to you, there must be change.

On March 6, when five of the nine leaders of the march into the cathedral were before the court on charges of assault and unlawful assembly, another mammoth demonstration broke out into violence. Shop windows were smashed, molotov bombs caused several fires, and some stores were looted. The home of Senator Donald Pierre, Minister of Education, was hit with a lighted "flambeau".

For another fortnight, the demonstrations grew in intensity. A fire bomb directed at a branch of the Royal Bank of Canada hit and burnt a garment factory owned by an Indian. The next day an apology was issued that "black power" was not anti-Indian. To demonstrate this Granger led, against the threats of gun-toting Bhadase Maraj, a 6,000-strong 20-mile march to the British-owned Tate and Lyle sugar plantation with the objective of declaring "war" on Tate and Lyle and uniting the Indians and Africans. There was the symbolic gesture that money earned by urban Africans in cutting canes was to be handed over to rural Indian sugar workers.

CARROT AND CLUB

The response to this growing unity and militancy was typical of the PNM regime. Minister of West Indian Affairs, Kamaluddin Mohammed, appealed for good sense. John O'Halloran, Minister of Industry, saw behind the "black power" demonstration "communist agitators trained and paid by Fidel Castro's Cuba". Dr. Eric Williams broke his long silence with a speech punctuated with platitudes and palliatives, with carrot and the club. He was in sympathy with "black power" if it meant black

dignity, black consciousness, and black economic power. "Our young people are a part of the general world malaise. Ruthless, frustrated, possibly a little exuberant," they had a right to demonstrate. But "the law will take its course if what is involved is arson and molotov cocktails."

His carrot — a \$10 million annual unemployment fund from a special five per cent levy on chargeable income of all companies paying income tax, including all banks and insurance companies — did not pacify the demonstrators. This was a plain case of too little too late.

The demonstrations continued. Ten days after one demonstrator was shot and wounded on March 25, police shot and killed an NJAC supporter, Basil Davis. On April 13, A. N. R. Robinson, Minister of External Affairs, resigned because he was not "satisfied that a sufficient serious attempt is being made by the government to remove the underlying causes of the present situation in the country". A week later, Geddes Granger, George Weekes of the Oilfields Workers Union, Clive Nunez and others announced their intention to organize a protest march on April 21. Sugar workers, postal and other essential workers agreed to come out on a sympathy strike.

The confrontation was on. April 20, Dr. Williams moved in with the "club". A state of emergency was declared and more than 50, including 12 principal NJAC leaders, were arrested and detained.

Meanwhile, nearly three-quarters of the Trinidad and Tobago regiment, under the rebel leader, Lt. Rex La Salle, revolted at their Teteron Bay headquarters. Williams called for outside help. The Venezuelan and U. S. governments airdashed arms and ammunition. U. S. warships steamed into Trinidad waters and the British navy in the Caribbean was put on the alert. Venezuela moved troops on its border near to Trinidad. Within a week the rebels were pacified by what now appears to be a betrayal of trust.

The civilian and military leaders now face treason and sedition trials. Williams has regained the initiative and is hastily proceeding with a reformist programme, no doubt with the active support of the British and American imperialists who so quickly rushed to his support. While the leaders cool their heels in detention camps and go through frustrating legal battles, the forces of revolt carry out an agonizing reappraisal.

OPPOSITION AND REBEL FORCES

Opposition to the PNM regime has come from a mixed bag. The Democratic Labour Party (DLP) is the traditional parliamentary opposition. At the beginning it was led by Bhadase Sagan Maraj who, as a millionaire and leader of the Maha Sabha, practised politics which combined business and gangsterism with Hinduism. Serious illness of Maraj resulted in the leadership passing over to the late Dr. Rudranauth Capildeo, who was content to lead the party from London, where he carried

on as a full-time professor. There was and is no concrete programme of change. All that was offered was a vague form of "democratic socialism".

Absentee and ineffectual leadership led to dissension and split of the DLP. Peter Farquhar, representative of local small-sized business and the French-creole, formed the Liberal Party. Stephen Maraj, with the help of C. L. R. James, George Weekes and others constituted the Workers and Farmers Party (WFP) just prior to the 1966 general election.

At the 1966 general election, the voting machines gave the PNM 24 seats and the DLP 12. The Liberal Party and the WFP did not secure a single seat.

These parties failed largely because they were elitist in approach with no distinct programme and little or no pre- or post-election work among the masses. Dr. Capildeo and James were seen to be on an equal intellectual footing with Williams. Actually, the DLP tailed the PNM, always a step behind.

The NJAC brought together at first about 26 large and small groupings. Eventually, six groups constituted the core with Geddes Granger and Dave D'Abreu from UWI students, Clive Nunez and George Weekes from the trade unions, Aldwin Primus from the Black Panther group, and Errol Balfour from the Workers Educational Association (WEA).

As events developed, the NJAC was identified with "black power". This led to some confusion among some Indo-Guyanese who attacked the PPP for supporting the NJAC. They identified the "black power" struggle as racist, not only anti-white, but also anti-Indian. It is true that the dynamic, militant and magnetic Granger was a "one-issue man" who without a coherent programme for change (the Marxist WEA was at one time expelled and subsequently brought back) saw blackness alone as the entire basis for a political movement. Nevertheless, this did not make him anti-Indian. Separately, Nunez and Weekes, in calling for nationalization of sugar and oil, had pointed the way. Even Vernon Jamadar, leader of the Indian-based DLP, was able to see that NJAC was not racist when he said:

What is going on is rather a struggle for social and economic status on the part of the deprived section of the Society. If it happens that the line between those who are protesting and those protested against appears to follow a racial line one could interpret it as racialism, but I think that would be wrong — an over-simplification. The real point of the unrest is the situation in Trinidad after one and half decades of PNM rule. Our problems are grave — unemployment, cost of living, nepotism, maladministration and incompetence.

Other opposition forces are Dr. James Millette's United National Independence Party (UNIP) and Lloyd Best's Tapia House. Millette and Best, formerly of the New World group, broke on the question of elections. UNIP sees the next election as the road to power, drawing multiracial support both from the African-based PNM and the Indian-based DLP. The Tapia House approach is not electoral politics from above, but "change from below" through education, community work and particularly democracy.

GAINS AND SETBACKS

The NJAC-led revolt has temporarily failed. But Trinidad will never be the same again. The legitimacy and so-called popularity of Eric Williams have been exposed. The PNM regime is no longer regarded as invincible. It will now rely more and more on force and fraud.

About the necessity for revolution in Trinidad, there can be no doubt. The relevant question in Trinidad, the rest of the Caribbean and Guyana is how to make the revolution. As I see it, there is need for a party of a new kind — Marxist-Leninist type. Had there been a party such as the P. P. P. in Trinidad, there would have been a different ending to the February revolt.

U.S. military presence in Trinidad waters clearly indicates that Caribbean revolutionary strategy and tactics must be internationalist-oriented and must synchronize with those of the Latin American revolution. Cuba, the Dominican Republic and now Trinidad have brought home clearly, as the P. P. P. perceived, that the Caribbean is geographically a part of Latin America. West Indians and Guyanese must not fool themselves about their cultural, political and historical exclusiveness.

It is now clear that a revolutionary situation did not exist in Trinidad and Tobago. The objective and subjective factors were not mature for a revolution. Flushed with initial success — the government's payment of the fines for the Trinidad students, and the 5% "black power" tax — and carried away by mass adulation, Granger felt that the population was ready for anything. In this he was mistaken. The strike movement collapsed after the declaration of the State of Emergency. Few defied the Emergency and came out in the streets. And after George Weekes's detention, there was little protest from his Oilfields Workers' Union, the most powerful in the country.

Clearly, enough preparatory work of an educational, ideological, organizational and political nature had not been done. An almost spontaneous, "putschist" approach was adopted. The result was that although Granger was free for a few days after his colleagues were detained, there was no contingency plan for action.

Revolution is a serious matter, not something to be toyed with. It cannot come about spontaneously, nor can it be "pushed". Lenin always argued against those who advocated "pushing the revolution", and attacked the Blanquists who repudiated the class struggle, expecting the "emancipation of mankind from wage slavery to be brought about not by means of the class struggle of the proletariat, but through a conspiracy of a small minority of intellectuals".

In 1918, Lenin wrote:

Of course, there are people who believe that revolution can break out in a foreign country to order, by agreement. These people are either mad or they are provocateurs. We have witnessed two revolutions during the past 12 years. We know that revolutions cannot be made to order or by agreement: they break

out when tens of millions of people come to the conclusion that it is impossible to live in the old way any longer.

Looking back, it seems that the best course for the NJAC was to consolidate its forces after the initial successes, build up a sound organization, work out an anti-imperialist programme, develop strong links with the working class in the sugar and oil belts, in the waterfront and in the communications systems, and confront the PNM regime at the 1971 general election on the issue of free and fair elections without voting machines; in other words, the fight for democracy, in defence of the constitution, for national independence and against imperialism.

Confrontation on that basis would have brought a united opposition to Eric Williams, including legitimate support from the police and defence force. If he failed to concede, revolutionary armed struggle would have had a better chance of success.

Unfortunately, this course was not pursued probably because of ultra-leftist tendencies — not a flexible but a dogmatic boycott approach to the question of parliamentary struggle and elections; the role of a political party in a revolutionary struggle, etc.

In any case, the first round has been lost. But there is no turning back. Despite palliatives and capitalist reforms, the coming revolution can no longer be diverted and contained.

The Trinidad revolt must not be viewed in isolation. It must be seen as the last of a series of events in a region of turmoil, of instability. Mounting unemployment and underemployment, declining standards of living, uncertainties and frustrations in the Caribbean have led to a groundswell of discontent and to a people in revolt — popular uprising forcibly suppressed by U. S. marines in the Dominican Republic; secession of Anguilla from the associated state of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla; labour unrest in Antigua; labour disturbances in Curacao; anti-police riots in Montserrat; demonstrations leading to the resignations of the Pengel regime in Surinam, racial eruptions in Jamaica; disturbances in Guadeloupe; Rupununi (Guyana) secession attempt; "black power" confrontation in Trinidad and Tobago.

These and many more events must be seen as a new awakening of a people long oppressed and subjugated.

The February revolt offers valuable lessons to Guyana in particular. It has demonstrated the impermanence of racism as a political tool. It is distilled experience for those Indo-Guyanese inside and outside the P. P. P. who, on the false assumption that the "black people will never change, will never leave Burnham", argue either for a P. P. P. compromise with imperialist U. S. A. or for an Indian party.

Actually, Burnham's racist, neo-colonialist regime is following closely on the heels of Williams' PNM regime. The only difference is Burnham's greater demagogic skill and the ease with which he employs leftist phraseology. Besides, Williams has been in office for fourteen years; Burnham for only six. Time has caught up with Williams. It will inevitably do likewise with Burnham and other puppets.

TRINIDAD REBELLION

Once again, in less than two years, an emergency has been declared in Trinidad and Tobago. Civil rights are suspended and the government has resorted to detentions. Many of the leaders of the February-March 1970 revolt are again imprisoned.

The government's excuse for the "big stick" methods is trade union, particularly the Oilfields Workers Trade Union (OWTU), irresponsibility, which led to the closure of the construction operations of the desulphurization project at Point-a-Pierre, and the loss of employment to over 1,000 workers.

The OWTU's case has not been given the publicity it deserves. It is clear from weighing the evidence that the general attitude of the government and the high-handed methods of the employers contributed to the precipitation of the crisis.

The first seat of trouble arose out of the recruitment of labour. Just prior to the general election in May 1971 the government, contrary to past practice, embarked on the recruitment of labour, and preference was given to those holding party cards. A government recruitment office was set up and the unions which had intimate knowledge of the work force were completely bypassed.

Few of the workers thus chosen had experience with trade union procedures, discipline, etc. This, coupled with the fact that there was no legal right to strike under the Industrial Stabilisation Act and that the employers relied more on coercion than conciliation, resulted in wildcat strikes.

One of the major causes of the breakdown of relations was the exploitation of the workers by the system of subcontracting. Generally as is well known in Guyana, contracts are awarded to foreign construction companies on the basis of bids made in which prevailing wage rates are specifically calculated for. The contracting company then subcontracts to others who pay lower wages. This seems to have happened in Trinidad.

Badger Pan American Incorporated, the contractor, subcontracted a large part of the work to Wimpey. The latter company paid less than the wage agreed to between OWTU and Badger. In a statement to the public, George Weekes, the President General of OWTU put it this way:

The union negotiated a wage agreement with Badger. Subsequent to this Badger decided to sub-contract a large part of its work to Wimpey, the biggest foreign contractor in Trinago. This company, at one time, operated from a plant at Point Fortin and its men there were members of the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union. They were paid under an Industrial Agreement between the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union and Wimpey. In order to defeat this Agreement Wimpey shut down its Point Fortin Plant, laid off hundreds of workers, and moved up to Point Lisas. They claimed they intended to work for the sugar companies

and required employees there to belong to the Sugar Union. By agreement with the Sugar Union wages paid by Wimpey were much lower than those they had paid under the Agreement with the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union but owing to the delays and constraints of the I. S. A. no solution has yet been achieved.

The Union had consistently warned that it would be impossible to keep two different wage scales for similar jobs in the same operations. It accused Badger of taking advantage of a "legal" loophole and standing obstinately on its right to subcontract. At the same time, it blames the government for failure to enact legislation to control contractors and the evil of contract work.

The Union also accused the government of conspiring with the Badger company. Its executives were granted tax clearance and allowed to leave in chartered government owned BWIA aircraft. This was done, claimed the President of the OWTU, to create a state of hysteria and to give the government an excuse to proclaim a State of Emergency so that it will be able to force through the Industrial Relations Act as it did the Industrial Stabilisation Act. The new measure retains the anti-strike provisions of the I. S. A. and at the same time confers on the Minister of Labour wide and unchallengeable powers to decide which leaders or what unions are to represent workers.

What is being unfolded is really not just an industrial dispute. It is a complex drama of disillusionment, frustration and rebellion.

Time has clearly caught up with Dr. Williams and his regime. Fifteen years ago, he rode on the crest of an anti-colonial wave and swept into office. Petty-bourgeois nationalist ideology and demagoguery sustained him in the colonial era, but as was to be expected, became a liability in the post-independence (1962) era. Problems have snowballed. The unemployment figure stands at 15% to 20% of the labour force. And about a third of this is in the ranks of youths, age 15 to 25 years. Trinidad, like Guyana, has a very young population; 40% are under 15 years of age, and 65% under 25.

Many today are quibbling about a one-party or multiparty state and whether the Westminster parliamentary model is suitable. These people are confusing form with content. The basic issue today in Trinidad as in Guyana and elsewhere in the Caribbean is political power, how it is to be attained and for whom it is exercised.

Throughout the Caribbean, independence has merely brought a change of masters — US neo-colonialism has supplanted British colonialism. Now that the Puerto Rican economic planning strategy has abysmally failed, the puppet regimes in Guyana and Trinidad have resorted to demagoguery. They talk glibly about cooperatives, socialism and state participation. All this is in keeping with the new imperialist strategy of partnership for the 1970's.

In Guyana, the PNC puppet regime holds power through proxy and overseas voting and ballot-box manipulation. In Trinidad, rigging takes place through voting machines. The PNM has consistently refused to reform the voting system — the removal of the voting machines and the

reduction of the voting age to 18. The May 1971 general election, boycotted by the Opposition, gave the PNM 28 per cent of the total electorate; it exposed the utter bankruptcy of the Williams regime.

A revolutionary situation is rapidly developing in Trinidad and Tobago. What is clearly needed is the consolidation of all the opposition forces, the creation of a United Front as in Chile under which Marxists and non-Marxists can come together and struggle for an anti-imperialist programme and democracy; for the end of the state of emergency, the release of the detainees and the overthrow of the PNM regime.

FIGHT FOR DECENT STANDARDS

Sugar workers not only get low wages. Engaged mostly in task or piece work, they suffer exploitation from low rates and speed-up. And because of MPCA-company unionism, the sugar planters generally take advantage of certain variable factors — soil conditions, moisture, etc. to change the task rates.

But the greatest hardship facing workers is the lack of work, thus the lack of income, in non-grinding periods. Two or three day's work per week cannot sustain a family, especially under today's daily rise in the prices of consumer necessities.

What is needed is a minimum guaranteed wage; work or no work. This has been instituted in several countries. The workers and their militant unions have fought and obtained this right as a condition of their employment. And this right must be fought for in Guyana. After all, it is not the role of the workers only to slave while the employers continue to make huge profits.

The sugar planters must accept blame and responsibility for the present plight of the sugar workers. At the latter's expense, the former continue to modernize and mechanize and to export raw products — rum molasses and dark sugar to be processed and manufactured abroad.

From the days of slavery, raw sugar is still being sent abroad and sent back as refined sugar. Rum and molasses are sold overseas at dirt-cheap prices — about \$2 per gallon for high-proof alcohol and about 50c per gallon for molasses.

The sugar industry can provide more jobs and the workers have to struggle for this. Take Cuba as an example. Before the Castro revolution, the sugar workers suffered from the usual problems affecting Guyanese workers — poor living and working conditions and high unemployment.

Today, there is no more unemployment. Cuba has a labour shortage problem. Civil servants have to volunteer one week's labour every month to help with cane-cutting.

The unemployment problem has been licked in Cuba because a transformation has taken place in the countryside. Every sugar estate has become a hive of activity and the centre of a huge agro-industrial complex. Waste and by-products of sugar are now being used to establish other industries for the enhancement of national income and employment opportunities. As much income is earned from by-products of sugar as from sugar itself.

A factory converts molasses into high-protein yeast. Molasses, yeast, bagasse (burnt in Guyana) and fish meal (produced from fish waste from an expanded fishing industry) produce a cheap stockfeed, which has revolutionized the livestock and dairy industry.

Guyana has to pay in cash for the buses bought from Leyland Motors,

of Great Britain. Cuba pays for buses from the same company by the sale of eggs, millions of which are produced yearly by chickens feeding in cheap stockfeed.

Then there is the cattle — beef and dairy — industries. Here again cheap stockfeed has radically changed the situation.

Beef cattle not only provide beef, but the raw material for many related industries — leather, medicinal, etc.

From milk, there are the dairy industries — butter, cheese, ice cream, condensed milk, etc.

Norman Girwar, the manager of Trinidad's Cane Farmers Association, after a visit to Cuba in 1971 told newsmen that "the Cuban experience indicates that a greater measure of diversification of the economy and the dedication and commitment of its people to nation-building hold lessons for us which might be followed by profit in Trinidad and Tobago".

Mr. Girwar went on to say that Cuba had more than seven million head of high grade cattle and the total area for cattle farming was greater than that for sugar cane. In addition, large acreage was under citrus, corn, tobacco, pineapple and coffee. Nickel and copper were being mined and an increasing quantity of petroleum was being produced.

He observed also that there was no unemployment, no begging in the streets. A cane farmer lived in a house a little less comfortable than that of a general manager of a factory.

In Guyana, on the other hand, there is not progress but retrogression under the PNC and the poor are getting poorer... Rene Dumont, FAO agronomist had recommended that Guyana should concentrate on the dairy industry. We have a captive market, he said. About \$8 million of milk and milk products are imported into Guyana annually. But under the PNC regime, which penalises the farmers, milk production is going down.

In Guyana, the problems of the people are compounding. Apart from unemployment, there are rising prices and cuts in educational and health services.

In Cuba, on the other hand, one is constantly hearing of more and more benefits and free services for the people.

In addition to previous free-of-charge services (in housing, education, popular participation in sports), there have been added the following items to the free or nearly-free list.

1. Nursery schools, entirely free of charge since January, 1967, including pedagogical and medical care, breakfast, lunch and dinner, and in some, bed and board for six days of the week.
2. Free admission to all types of national sporting events.
3. Reduction of urban bus fares.
4. Elimination of the tunnel fare under Havana Bay (the only toll that still remained in Cuba).
5. Free public telephone service throughout the nation (and the installation of 800 additional public telephones).
6. Completely free funeral services (since August 1967).

7. Elimination of the tax on water in all kinds of dwellings.
8. Elimination of a series of taxes on the peasant population (which had been paid by the private peasants).

To all this, we must add free education from grade school to the university, including technological training; public medicine on a nation-wide scale; reduction of charges for electricity and private telephone (earlier achievements).

The coming years will bring the elimination of payments in Cuba's clinic or "mutualist" system, the elimination of all rents (on dwellings whose owners still pay rent) for all dwellings throughout the country, without forgetting that the Revolution had already reduced rents by 40% to 50%.

The latest praise for Cuba has come from a study by the Twentieth Century Fund. Entitled "The Alliance that lost its way", the study stated that Cuba had come closer to some goals of the Latin American countries, and in health and education, the Castro Government had carried out more ambitious and nationally comprehensive programmes than any of the other Latin American countries.

Guyana must follow the lead of Cuba. Sugar faces a difficult future with Britain's proposed entry into the European Common Market. The sugar planters will either curtail production or go into further mechanisation. In either case the workers will suffer.

While the sugar workers are fighting for reforms — increased wages, profit-sharing, better working and living conditions — they must demand revolutionary changes. This means firstly, the nationalisation of the sugar industry; and secondly transformation as has been carried out in Cuba.

APRIL 14, 1972

IX

RADICAL CHANGE

How committed are the Caribbean leaders to change? Business circles have held, and continue to hold, the view that the capitalist system of private enterprise must remain dominant.

This position has not materially changed. Opportunism reigns supreme. And cold-war anti-communist hysteria is still a dominant factor.

In Trinidad a ban has been placed on all communist and leftist literature, including the *Guyana Information Bulletin* of the People's Progressive Party and all publications of the World Peace Council which has consultative status with the United Nations.

One of the reasons given by Premier John Compton of St. Lucia for withdrawing his signature from the Granada Declaration is the danger of foreign influence in any union with Guyana as any communication with Dr. C. Jagan and the P. P. P. was seen as threatening.

Obviously, there is a complete failure to comprehend that only through the anti-imperialist programme tied to a progressive foreign policy can social and economic progress result. Without commitment to an anti-imperialist and pro-socialist ideology and framework, which combines patriotism with working class internationalism, narrow nationalism and chauvinism prevail. Compton and his ilk cannot conceive of overall regional planning and unit-territorial specialization.

While Compton talks about the small being swallowed up by the large, Jamaica with the highest population, talks about being ganged up by the smaller Eastern Caribbean. Big Businessman, Leslie Ashenheim, chairman of the Board of Directors of the *Gleaner*, and a director of companies engaged in telephones, power, chemicals, etc. charged that Jamaica "hardly ever" gets a fair deal in any matter that comes to a vote in the regional organizations! And pro-capitalist, Robert Lightbourne, Minister of Trade and Industry, prefers Jamaica to be aligned with the United States of America. Soon after the last Conference of Caribbean Heads of Government proposed that the region must own and control its wealth and resources, he hurried to New York to assure Wall Street and Washington that his government had no intention of taking over any U. S. property.

The Guyana government is calling for a political union on the ground that there is a clamant demand for social and economic change which is bound up with such questions as ownership and control of West Indian resources. As Mr. S. S. Ramphal, the chief spokesman took it: "An urgency for change is our mandate for unity."

An examination of the record of the PNC government in Guyana, however, will show that while a great deal of money and effort has been and is being spent to create a favourable impression at home and particularly abroad, actual performance belies public posture.

At the last conference of non-aligned nations at Lusaka, Guyana's Prime Minister, Forbes Burnham, projected a radical anti-imperialist image. But his government pursues domestic and foreign policies dictated by the USA.

Despite the claim of non-alignment, the United States has leases to Guyana's territory under the wartime bases-for-destroyers deal between Britain and the USA. And still binding is the agreement concluded by the coalition government (1964—68) of the United Force which permits the USA to erect military installations and to land military aircraft, equipment and supplies.

Like the discredited Eduardo Frei's regime in Chile, the PNC regime is ruling by sloganeering and demagoguery. In place of Frei's "revolution in liberty", there was Burnham's "consultative democracy", now replaced by "Cooperative Republic", under which "the small man will become a real man". Now that the "small man" is becoming smaller, the new slogan reminiscent of the "free milk and cassava" of 1961 is "feed, clothe and house" ourselves by 1976. Cooperatives, the Guyanese people have been told, would be the means to bring socialism to Guyana, and not the reverse as the P. P. P. holds. Instead of revolutionary anti-imperialism, there is state capitalism and reformism.

Like Eduardo Frei's "Chileanization of copper", in Chile, there was Burnham's "meaningful participation" in bauxite. Under pressure from the P. P. P., the Ratoon Group (academics and students) and the Association for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA), the government reluctantly nationalized the Demerara Bauxite Company, a subsidiary of the Aluminum Company of Canada. But it has not taken over Reynolds Guyana Mines Limited, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the U. S. Reynolds Metal Company; it merely proposes "majority participation". Nor has it agreed to carry out progressive nationalisation of other foreign-owned and controlled companies — sugar, banking, insurance, etc. — and to adopt new domestic and foreign policies advocated by the P. P. P.

The fact is Burnham's policies are dictated by Washington which brought him to power. This was documented by Arthur Schlessinger, Jr., special adviser to the late President Kennedy in his book *A Thousand Days, John F. Kennedy in the White House*, who wrote:

Thus far our policy had been based on the assumption that Forbes Burnham was, as the British described him, an opportunist, racist and demagogue, intent only on personal power.

One wondered about this, though, because the AFL-CIO people in B. G. thought well of him... Then in May, 1962, Burnham came to Washington... Burnham's visit left the feeling as I reported to the President that 'an independent British Guiana under Burnham (if Burnham will commit himself to a multi-racial policy) would cause many fewer problems than an independent British Guiana under Jagan'... And the way was open to bring it about, because Jagan's parliamentary strength was larger than his popular strength: he had won 57 per cent of the seats on the basis of 42.7 per cent of the vote. An obvious solution would be to establish a system of proportional representation.

This, after prolonged discussion, the British government finally did in October, 1963; and elections held finally at the end of 1964 produced a coalition government under Burnham.

West Indian, Asian, African and other freedom fighters must not be fooled by the gift which the Burnham government has given to the African freedom movement — a gift which the People's Progressive Party has welcomed. This contribution is part and parcel of the regime's opportunistic approach (politics, the Prime Minister once said, is the art of deals), and the means of refurbishing its tarnished anti-people and pro-imperialist image.

Burnham will give aid to the African freedom fighters, but nothing to the Vietnamese freedom fighters; he will give sanctuary to the African Freedom Fighters, but not to the Brazilian freedom fighters; he condemns racism in Southern Africa, but remains silent about racism and harassment and murder of black leaders in the U. S. A.

Indeed, some manoeuvrability is permitted by imperialism to the puppet regimes in overall pro-imperialist policies, domestic and foreign.

In this era of neo-colonialism, certain concessions have to be made to the newly free countries by imperialism, provided of course, that these do not basically run counter to its main objectives; that is, to continue to exploit the peoples and their resources and to prevent these countries from achieving real economic independence and social progress. These are in keeping with the new socio-economic strategy of imperialism in this decade of growing confrontation between the forces of reaction and progress.

PEOPLE'S POWER

As in Latin America, the problems of poverty and unemployment of the Guyanese and West Indian people will worsen rather than improve. There will be no improvement unless an anti-imperialist, pro-democratic and pro-socialist programme is adopted as formulated by the P. P. P.

1. Nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy — foreign-owned and controlled mines, plantations, factories, banks, insurance and foreign trade;
2. Expansion of the public sector; concentration on industry and agriculture rather than infrastructure; transformation of the economy from primary to integrated production;
3. Foreign policy based on genuine non-alignment and meaningful relations — cultural, aid, trade and scientific — with the socialist world;
4. Emphasis on education to raise the cultural, ideological, scientific and technical levels of the people;
5. Land reform;
6. Rent, price and exchange controls;
7. Workers control and involvement of the people at all levels.

There is much talk of consultation with the people and involvement of the masses. But the tendency has been for regimes to assume more and more dictatorial powers and to achieve their ends by coercion rather than by persuasion and participation.

The new form of Caribbean political union, it is said, will be determined by a Constituent Assembly. But this will not be on the basis of free and fair elections. The existing governments, some of which like that of Guyana do not have a real mandate from the people to govern, will decide who will constitute the constituent assembly.

Like the Vorster and Smith regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, the Burnham regime is an undemocratic, minority regime. It has no right to speak for the Guyanese people. Without extensive electoral fraud, through padded voters lists, proxy and overseas voting and ballot box manipulation, the People's National Congress would not have obtained a majority of votes at the 1968 general election.

The rigging of the election was made the subject of a thorough exposé by the Granada Television Company (UK) in its two "World in Action" films — "The Trail of the Vanishing Voters" and "The Making of a Prime Minister". The transcript of the second film declared that "a hanged man voted in the Guyana General Election. So did children." Granada's Research Editor, Gus Macdonald commented: "It is my firm conclusion that the election inside Guyana was neither free nor fair."

Mr. Humphrey Taylor, Director of Opinion Research Centre, which conducted an independent survey, in a second Granada film, said:

Obviously I don't know what happened in Guyana, but so far as Britain is concerned, the compilation of the register was a totally dishonest and corrupt operation. And, as we have clearly established, the great majority of the people listed, do not exist. This I would think is unprecedented for a Commonwealth country, as far as I know: and it's you know, a pretty awful and disgraceful episode.

Soon after the 1968 general election, the unrepresentative PNC regime rapidly moved to erode further the rights of the Guyanese people. It assumed powers to censor and ban films — progressive films dealing with revolts of students and black people, and with struggles against colonialism and imperialism, and more particularly, the two Granada films.

The laws passed also empower the government to create "protected areas" and to prevent the movement of persons in these areas. The government now has powers to withhold or confiscate passports of anyone leaving the country.

A bill providing for compulsory arbitration and the banning of strikes was introduced in the National Assembly but fortunately under pressure has been shelved.

Still hanging over the heads of the Guyanese people is the National Security Act (1966) which gives the government many arbitrary powers. Since the promulgation of this Act, police harassment has been continuous and widespread.

Not only the Police, but also magistrates and judges are used by the government for political harassment of its opponents. Like the frame-up charges against Angela Davis and other black leaders in the USA, supporters, activists and leaders of the People's Progressive Party are being persecuted.

Peaceful demonstrations are generally prohibited. And any means, including attempted murder as in the case of University of Guyana lecturer, Joshua Ramsammy, is used to stifle dissent and to silence opponents.

There is clearly no sound basis for the launching out now of a new Caribbean political union. CARIFTA was to be the first step leading to an economic and political community. But on almost every fundamental issue — a common external tariff; regional industries or the location of industries; regional carriers of the Caribbean; harmonisation of fiscal incentives — there has been disagreement and deadlock. There has been a failure to ensure the effective operation of the Agricultural Marketing Protocol. Benefits from CARIFTA have been unevenly distributed. An attempt to join foreign representation at the diplomatic and trade levels between Barbados and Guyana has been disrupted.

The latest display of disunity was on the question of the valuation of currencies consequent on the devaluation of the U. S. dollar. Barbados and the Associated States which are tied to the pound sterling, and Trinidad and Jamaica did not devalue; Guyana alone decided on devaluation.

Disagreements on vital issues are an obstacle to further economic cooperation. And so long as they exist, there will either be no political

THE CARIBBEAN REVOLUTION - TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES

The world situation in this last third of the 20th Century is characterised by a sharpening of the struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and national liberation on the one hand and imperialism on the other.

In this revolutionary epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the balance of world forces has shifted in favour of socialism. One-third of the world with a population of about one billion is now socialist; socialism has grown from a single country to a world system of fourteen states, a powerful bastion economically, militarily, ideologically and politically, and a decisive force in the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. In no international issue, however big or small, can the world socialist system be isolated and excluded.

To the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, who make up about two-thirds of the two billion population of the non-socialist world, socialism acts like a beacon of light, a ray of hope from the pangs of colonial and neo-colonial sufferings. More and more countries of the so-called third-world are moving against imperialism and the monopolies, and are being attracted inexorably to the world socialist system.

The imperialist camp, at the same time, has grown relatively weaker. Its post-war coldwar "containment of communism" policy, based on multilateral treaties (NATO, BAGHDAD PACT now CENTO, SEATO, ANZUS, OAS) and a world-wide system of military bases in puppet client states, has failed in its objectives to destroy socialism and to suppress national liberation.

The imperialist camp is also torn by many internal contradictions. In each capitalist country, there is an intensification of the class struggle as evidenced by the increasing numbers of strikes. In Britain, the militant workers have forced the Tory government to retreat and to make one concession after another. In the United States, the peace movement has grown and the political situation has been radicalized because of the scale of involvement in manpower and resources in Vietnam.

In the economic sphere, there is a sharp struggle between the imperialist powers and between the capitalist monopolies for spheres of influence. Industrial and commercial competition is growing more intense, and the financial and currency war is spreading.

While imperialism has grown weaker vis-à-vis socialism, it is still a strong and dangerous enemy. And the leader of the imperialist camp, the United States of America, has grown more aggressive.

All those fighting against imperialism must neither over-estimate nor underestimate the strength and aggressiveness of imperialism, and they must recognise it in its true form and many disguises.

Imperialism has changed its methods, not its aims. The core of its aggressive policy remains the same as under the Truman doctrine, which unleashed the cold war; namely, as stated by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow in 1969, "to weaken the positions of socialism, to suppress the national liberation movement, to hamstring the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries and halt the irreversible decline of capitalism".

In 1947, the then President of the United States, Harry Truman, equated the "American way of life," the free enterprise capitalist system, with freedom and democracy. He regarded governments which conducted planned economies and controlled foreign trade as dangerous to freedom and warned that "the American system could survive in America only if it became a world system".

Under Dwight Eisenhower and Foster Dulles, brinkmanship was practised and "liberation" and preventive war contemplated. Basing his policy on "peace through strength," Eisenhower declared that the U. S. government "with cold finality must tell the Kremlin that we shall never recognise the slightest permanence of Russia's position in Eastern Europe and Asia." (The 1972 Soviet-German and the Polish-German treaties and the Four-powers Agreement on Berlin set the seal on the post-war boundaries in Europe).

The Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations initiated U. S. involvement in Vietnam, the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and CIA subversion in Guyana.

Under the Johnson (President Lyndon Johnson) doctrine the U. S. government, after the armed intervention in the Dominican Republic, assumed the right to intervene in any Latin American country which it considered was "threatened" by communism. In 1970, its warships entered the territorial waters of Trinidad and Tobago in support of the unpopular PNM government.

The Nixon administration, faced with the debacle in Vietnam and the consequential radicalisation of U. S. politics, talks in honeyed words about "negotiations not confrontation". But the objective of its main backers, the military-industrial-complex, is by a combination of methods — political, economic, military and ideological — to uphold and strengthen the system of imperialist exploitation and to regain lost positions. Nixon poses as a man of peace while, 10,000 miles away, he rains bombs on civilians and dykes, and mines ports and waterways in North Vietnam.

POLITICAL

Because of the strengthening of the international positions of socialism and national liberation, imperialism has resorted to a flexible policy, using different tactics for different regions and situations sometimes for the same region. It practises détente and destruction, the "carrot" and the "club", at the same time.

In the socialist world, it resorts to the age-old game of divide-and-

rule. It has taken advantage of the differences in the international communist movement, particularly during the past 12 months, and manoeuvres to perpetuate disunity within its ranks.

U. S. imperialism has reversed its more than two decades of "two-Chinas" policy and its self-imposed isolation and containment of People's China — a policy long ago recommended by Nixon's security adviser, Henry Kissinger, who as Harvard University Professor in 1962, in his book *The Necessity for Choice*, referred to "the frequently held view that we should conduct our diplomacy so as to bring about a rift between Communist China and the U. S. S. R. . . ." He went on to say that the possibility of a rift must not be overlooked, and if it occurred, the U. S. A. "should take advantage of it rather than force the erstwhile partners into a new alliance through intransigence".

This "new" policy had become a political necessity in the 1970's. With industrial production stagnated at 83 per cent of capacity, a growing balance of payments deficit, a foreign trade deficit for the first time in a hundred years, the convertibility of the "almighty" dollar suspended and its devaluation forced by its competitors, U. S. big business looked with anxious eyes on the potentially large China market which had been invaded earlier by its competitors, chiefly Canada, France and the United Kingdom.

At the political level, the U. S. A. was becoming isolated as pressure year after year from more and more countries was mounting for the seating of China in, and the expulsion of Taiwan from the United Nations.

There was also a growing polarization at the United Nations between the forces of progress and reaction with the socialist states and the progressive "third-world" states on one side and the imperialists and their client states on the other — a polarization which eventually led to the walkout by the U. S. A. and the U. K. from the decolonization Committee of Twenty-Four.

It is hoped that a confrontation between China and the Soviet Union at the United Nations will change this polarization, create ideological confusion, and take western imperialism off the political hook.

By propagating the "super-powers" line in the non-aligned movement, imperialism hopes through some of its puppet, client states to isolate the "third-world" from its natural allies, the world socialist system.

Meanwhile, attempts have been made, in some cases successfully, not only to get independent states such as Jamaica, Barbados, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago to join the imperialist-controlled regional groupings such as the Organisation of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Bank so as to keep them in line, but also to get client states to fill the political vacuum (Japan and Australia in the Far East; Brazil in Latin America; Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia in the Caribbean) which would be created with the departure of the major imperialist powers.

New political structures are also being created such as a new Caribbean political union including initially Guyana and the Commonwealth Caribbean. Because of the political upheavals throughout the Caribbean, especially the revolt in Trinidad and Tobago in 1970, there is a growing

fear of danger of some territories breaking out of the imperialist orbit and pursuing an independent course like Chile, Peru and Cuba in the Western hemisphere.

This manoeuvre in the neo-colonialist stage in "third-world" affairs is similar to that employed by Britain in the late 1950's and the early 1960's when political independence became inevitable; that is, the creation of political federations for the containment of radical national liberation movements.

ECONOMIC

The imperialists impose planning strategies which are not intended for real economic and social transformation of "third-world" countries. Their bourgeois economists propose models which maintain foreign economic domination, create a status of dependency and underdevelopment and maintain neo-colonial rule.

The Puerto Rican model based on the creation of an investment climate with incentives to foreign capital failed to solve social and economic problems.

It was replaced by the E. C. L. A. (Economic Commission for Latin America) model based on import-substituting industrialization, land reform, regional integration and partnership with foreign capital.

This too has not solved the problems of underdevelopment. While industrialization has greatly expanded it has taken place under a deformed, dependent type of capitalist development. It is not geared to the needs of the Latin American economies; rather, it is integrated through the multi-national corporations to the economies of the developed capitalist states.

Regional integration facilitated the foreign monopolies through their "branch" assembly plants to shut out foreign competitors, to strangle local handicraft and small-scale industries and to extract super-profits.

Partnership of private and/or governmental capital with foreign capital has provided the imperialists with a social base for neo-colonial rule. A political-administrative, bureaucratic capitalist elite of politicians, civil servants, professionals and technicians develops into a clientele class defending not national, but foreign interests.

The E. C. L. A. model, which is now being introduced in the Commonwealth Caribbean, will fail as it has failed in Latin America because foreign aid (grants, loans and investment) is given by the imperialist states on condition that "third-world" countries join in their aggressive military alliances and provide military bases and/or so plan their economies as to strengthen foreign domination. Loans and grants are given provided, of course, that private sector control of the commanding heights of the economy remains virtually intact, and further that the aid is used mainly for infrastructure "development", which acts as an indirect aid to foreign private capital.

Some "third-world" countries are also urged to concentrate not on simultaneous industrial and agricultural development, but mainly on agriculture, cooperatives and self-help while the main levers of the economy remain in private, primarily foreign, hands.

ECONOMIC AND MILITARY - POLITICAL CONFRONTATION

The connection between economics and politics in the context of a rapid change in the world economy (the scientific and technological revolution, the state-monopoly character of capitalist economy, the deepening crisis of capitalism, the advance of socialist economy) is becoming more and more apparent in the sphere of international and national relations.

The deepening crisis of capitalism (deficits in foreign trade and balance-of-payments, devaluation of currencies, high unemployment, falling living standards) has forced the bourgeois ruling class to abandon positions held sacred ten to twenty years ago. Faced with the growing might (economic and military) of the world socialist system, they have decided on peaceful coexistence and negotiation in place of cold war confrontation. The socialist countries open up new possibilities, particularly for trade.

The build-up of armaments, including the most sophisticated weapons, and limited wars no longer provide the safety-valve escape from the crisis of capitalist overproduction. And the war in Vietnam has been a costly misadventure.

On the "third-world", the ruling class in the capitalist states is divided. One section sees limited wars like Vietnam undermining the moral position and prestige of the U. S. A., and also at the same time radicalizing U. S. domestic politics. The victory of George McGovern as the Presidential nominee of the Democratic Party against the "machine" candidates is an indication of this process.

Another section is determined to perpetuate the old system of colonial and neo-colonial domination so as to ensure the supply of needed raw materials and to earn super-profits. With this group, only methods have changed. The "gun-boat diplomacy" and direct massive military intervention of the Johnson era has changed in the Nixon era to "Vietnamization" — Asians fighting Asians, Africans fighting Africans and Latin Americans fighting Latin Americans. This is not only more crafty but also racist in conception. Indirect intervention is less costly and also not so politically explosive as direct intervention.

In Africa, U. S. imperialism has brought together South Africa, Rhodesia, Portugal, and Brazil into a South Atlantic pact to "contain" and destroy national liberation. To maintain the military and economic strength of these fascist regimes, Britain resumed arms shipment to South Africa, and was prepared to give *de jure* recognition to the Smith regime in Rhodesia, an attempt to break the back of economic sanctions. Similarly, the U. S. A. resumed the purchase of chrome from Rhodesia.

Because of the sharp opposition to direct U. S. military intervention

with 65,000 troops in the Dominican Republic in 1965, U. S. imperialism set about to establish an Inter-American Peace Force with Brazil, Nicaragua, Haiti and Paraguay. The brutal right-wing dictatorships of these countries, particularly Brazil, have become the instruments of U. S. indirect subversion and intervention against Latin American liberation; it was Brazilian troops which replaced the U. S. armed forces when they withdrew from the Dominican Republic.

Brazil is posing as the friend of Guyana in her dispute with Venezuela over the latter's claim to two-thirds of Guyana's territory. This is an imperialist manoeuvre to develop the closest relations between Brazil and Guyana so that the Brazilian dictatorship, if necessary, can come to the rescue of the PNC puppet regime when it comes under attack from the Guyanese people.

Similarly, Venezuela is extending her influence in the Caribbean. Together with the United States, it supplied arms to the P. N. M. minority, dictatorial regime, and moved her troops to the border adjacent to Trinidad and Tobago.

Militarization of politics is the inevitable development of neo-colonialist rule. Pro-imperialist domestic and foreign policies and a neo-colonialist economic planning strategy lead to increasing state expenditure for an ever-expanding corrupt clientele, bureaucratic-capitalist elite and the repayment of debts. This is met by indirect taxation mainly on consumer goods and/or a cut in social services. Resulting discontent leads to political unpopularity for the puppet regimes, which then resort to denial of civil liberties, electoral fraud and force.

Disguised colonialist and neo-colonialist dictatorship as in the many territories of the Commonwealth Caribbean is supplanted by a military dictatorship as in many of the Central and South American republics.

CARIBBEAN INTEGRATION

The Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA), the counterpart in the Commonwealth Caribbean of the Central American Common Market and the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) in Latin America, was established by imperialism for the benefit of its multinational corporations. Because it has failed to "deepen" into a Caribbean Market, the imperialist strategists see the need for a political union as was enunciated in the Grenada Declaration of July 1971.

There are political and strategic, apart from economic, considerations for the new move. With revolutionary momentum accelerating in the region — the breakaway of Anguilla, the February-April 1970 revolt in Trinidad, labour unrest in Antigua, labour disturbances in Curacao, anti-police riots in Montserrat, eruptions in Jamaica, demonstrations in Surinam leading to the resignation of the Pengel regime, disturbances in Guadeloupe, the strength of the liberation movement in Guyana, the victory of the progressive forces in St. Vincent in 1972, etc. — the imperialists see the possibility of revolutionaries coming to power and, like Cuba, Chile

and Peru, moving out of the imperialist orbit. A political union would provide an umbrella to prevent this eventuality and to "contain" national liberation.

Direct armed intervention — U. S. troops in the Dominican Republic, U. S. warships in Trinidad waters, British paratroops in Anguilla, British warships in Montserrat, Dutch troops in Curacao, French troops in Guadeloupe — is a source of embarrassment to the imperialists. They would prefer indirect intervention in keeping with their new policy of "Vietnamisation". A West Indian army of a Caribbean political union could replace the foreign troops.

In the case of Anguilla, British troops were used because of differences among Caribbean states — Guyana agreed but Trinidad and Jamaica refused to send an armed force to quell the secessionist move by Anguilla from the associated state of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla.

A political union would obviate such differences and no need would arise for outside intervention. Suppressing a national liberation movement thus becomes an internal affair. What the armed forces of a unit state would be incapable of doing, a unified Caribbean force, it is no doubt felt, could effectively deal with.

IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE

Imperialism has also created a vast world-wide apparatus for the purpose of subversion and ideological warfare. In 1948, one year after the U. S. A. declared the cold war with the Truman doctrine, it set up the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) with an annual budget of billions of dollars.

Many progressive, anti-imperialist governments were overthrown through CIA instigation and interference.

Powerful radio stations were established in Europe to beam anti-communist propaganda to the socialist countries.

Thousands of newspapers and magazines were financed and controlled. Student, religious, cultural, trade union and political organizations were bribed and corrupted.

In the 1967 expose of the CIA, it was disclosed that the National Students Association of the U. S. A. was in CIA pay with one million dollars a year.

Billy Graham's Latin American Crusade was also financed by the CIA. Little wonder that a steady stream of crusaders to the Caribbean peddle the line that no politicians, no socio-economic system can solve the ills of society, that only a turning to God and the return of Christ will save mankind.

The Christian Anti-Communist Crusade admitted spending US \$ 45,000 during the 1961 election campaign to defeat the P. P. P. and prevent Guyana from becoming "another Cuba". The American Consulate also for the first time took their 16 mm. projector and films to the street corners to show anti-communist and anti-Castro films.

Norman Thomas' Socialist Party of the U. S. A. was given a million dollars to finance the establishment of seventeen socialist parties in Central and Latin America to fight communism.

In the Caribbean, the trade union movement came under the reactionary pro-imperialist, George Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO, and the CIA-backed Institute of Free Labor Development. Together they have established labour institutes like the Critchlow Labour College in Guyana and the Cipriani Labour College in Trinidad to brainwash labour leaders, actual and potential, and to develop a docile, collaborationist leadership working for limited economic gains, not a militant leadership fighting for politico-economic transformation — the kind of leadership which played a counter-revolutionary role against the P. P. P. government in the 1962—64 period.

Reformism, anti-communism, narrow nationalism and chauvinism constitute the main ideological positions of imperialism.

Kennedy's Alliance for Progress has given way to Nixon's "equal partnership". President Lyndon Johnson called for "ideological frontiers" in place of "geographical frontiers" aimed at integrating the Latin American countries economically, politically and militarily with U.S. imperialism.

L. F. S. Burnham has designated Guyana a "Cooperative Republic", under which "the small man will become a real man"! The PNC puppet regime has declared demagogically that it is socialist and that cooperatives will be the means by which socialism will be brought to Guyana, and not vice-versa as the People's Progressive Party holds; namely, cooperatives and cooperativism can succeed only in a socialist society, supplementing the dominant public sector.

In the service of imperialism, it is also propagating the two "super-powers" ideology, equating quantitatively the U. S. S. R. with the U. S. A. It fails to point out that the main world issue today is not "super-powers" versus "non-super-powers", but between two socio-economic systems, capitalism and socialism, between imperialism and national liberation, between the working class and the capitalist class.

Such ideas come from others also, both from the "right" and the "left". Tun Abdul Razak, rightist Prime Minister of Malaysia, echoed the same imperialist line as Shridat Ramphal, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guyana, at the second preparatory meeting of the non-aligned Foreign Ministers Conference.

Previously, at both the Lusaka Non-aligned Conference and the Singapore Prime Ministers Conference, L. F. S. Burnham warned of the self interest of the super-powers, and the necessity of the "third-world" countries to come together.

At other international forums, this same idea is championed by others.

In the Caribbean and Guyana, other groups, though critical of the PNC regime, follow the same line without explicitly saying so. This includes the Ratoon Group, Movement Against Oppression (MAO), Tapia, New Beginning, etc., the ideological orientation of which is a product of the

"New Left," Trotskyism and neo-anarchism. Consequently, at times rightists and ultra-leftists come together.

This has happened at the national level in Guyana, where the rightist P. P. P. splitters (led by L. F. S. Burnham in 1955) and the ultra-leftists splitters (1956), one-time bitterly opposed to each other, were leaders in the PNC regime (1968—1971). The same is happening at the international level.

There are still others who talk of "relying on our own forces" (in some cases extended in meaning to include "third-world" or non-aligned countries) and developing our own ideology, our own socialism, akin to the concept of "Asian socialism", "African socialism" and "Arab socialism," advocated at one time.

These ideas are dangerous for the Latin American and Caribbean revolution; they sow illusions and divisions, and prevent the unity of all progressive anti-imperialist forces, which is so necessary for success.

Victory will never be achieved in isolation. In the Caribbean, the struggle is not only against the internal enemy; it is, above all, against the external enemy in Washington, as was so forcibly demonstrated by the U. S. warships during the revolt in February-April 1970 in Trinidad.

There is need to unite the three great revolutionary streams as was pointed out in the Document of the Meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow in June 1969:

"The present situation demands greater militant solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries, of all contingents of the international working-class movement and national liberation against imperialism."

This correct Marxist-Leninist approach is essential for success. Without such an approach, the Vietnamese people would not have humiliated the U. S. war machine. Nor could Cuba, a beacon of light, have survived against U. S. aggression. The Caribbean revolution too must be prepared ideologically, organizationally, politically and psychologically to fight against U. S. intervention.

To those detractors and splitters who talk about "taking orders from Moscow" and "one directing centre", Lenin made it quite clear that each Marxist-Leninist Party must determine its policies and forms of activities in accordance with national conditions. He said that fundamental Marxist principles should be applied in a way "that will correctly modify these principles in certain particulars, correctly adapt them to national and national-state distinctions" (Vol. 31 p. 92). In another context, he advised "to apply the general and basic principles of communism to the specific relations between classes and parties, to the specific features in the objective development towards communism, which are different in each country and which we must be able to discover, study and predict." (Ibid., p. 89).

Those who take an anti-communist position and attack the Caribbean vanguard for importing a "foreign ideology" must be told that Marxism is not a lifeless dogma, not a completed, ready-made, immutable doctrine,

but a living guide to action. It is a science, it requires a concrete analysis of a concrete situation. Like all sciences, it grows and develops in accordance with changing conditions and times. Its guiding principles are the instruments which permit a correct interpretation of objective reality, and an evaluation and understanding of historical development.

Lenin said:

"We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists must develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life". (Vol. 4 pp. 211-12).

But some reactionary elements will distort the feeling of national identity and pride, turning it to nationalism and chauvinism. They deny the Marxist principle of proletarian solidarity and internationalism. They contrapose patriotism, independence and sovereignty to internationalism. They do not want to admit that it is possible and necessary to harmonize national interests with international duties. They exploit nationalism and chauvinism to sow strife and divisions not only inside the socialist camp, but also between the socialist camp and the working-class movements in the imperialist states and the national liberation movement of the so-called Third World.

A Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party is accountable not only to its own working class and people but also to the international working class and to mankind as a whole.

Lenin observed that "capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed." (Vol. 30 p. 293).

Those who take a narrow nationalistic position accentuate "definite peculiar features" — economics, politics, culture, ethnic and religious divisions — and talk about national and cultural identity and the necessity to develop, "relying on one's own forces". By refusing to make any real distinction between the imperialist and the socialist world systems, by equating Western imperialism with what they refer to as "Soviet imperialism," they help to prop up the main ideological pillar of U.S. imperialism, namely, anti-Sovietism, the modern garb of anti-Communism, and at the same time to create disunity in the struggle against imperialism.

Charges of Soviet "imperialism" are closely related to the specious idea that imperialism and socialism have some "common features". One hears in response to the specific charge of conditional, "tied" aid from the Western imperialist states that all nations have egoistic objectives and are motivated primarily by self-interest.

This observation does not take into consideration that the policies of the socialist countries are influenced by the trenchant dictum of Marxism that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations". And this sets them apart from the policies of imperialism.

Another weapon in the ideological armoury of imperialism is the theory of "convergence"; namely, that socialism by adopting certain capi-

talist methods is moving towards capitalism; that capitalism by coming more and more under state control and welfarism is moving towards socialism. This erroneous idea is propagated with the objective that militant struggle against capitalism will be discontinued.

BLACK POWER

Black power as a slogan has had a tremendous appeal. Positively, it has succeeded in arousing masses of people rapidly to militant action. However, as a strategy and theory for revolution, it has grave shortcomings.

Black power has many honest adherents. But many charlatans and opportunists have also jumped on its bandwagon.

Abdul Malik, alias Michael X, capitalized on it. Guyana's Sir John Carter, as Ambassador to the United States and High Commissioner to Canada, in a remark during the black-power protest in the West Indies in solidarity with the Caribbean students who had been charged in Montreal in connection with the Sir George Williams University incidents, said that he could not understand all the fuss about black power since "black people were in power in the West Indies."

During the 1970 revolt in Trinidad, Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, broke a long silence with expressions of sympathy with "black power", if it meant black dignity, black consciousness, and black economic power.

Black power has different connotations for different people. In the Commonwealth Caribbean, its ideological content has been largely a reflection of the positions taken from time to time in the United States.

The Ras Tafari movement drew its inspiration partly from Garveyism, a petty-bourgeois-led mass movement in the U. S. A. and the Caribbean against colonialism in the Caribbean and Africa. In its ranks are the working class, unemployed, poor peasants, artisans and the lower petty-bourgeoisie. Some are purely religious, seeing Haile Selassie as God and demanding repatriation only. Many others support an anti-imperialist struggle in Jamaica and see the struggle in the Caribbean as an integral part of the world struggle.

From the Black Muslims who posited black against white, and Islam against Christianity, came the emphasis on "cultural nationalism" and black capitalism on the one hand and militant class-consciousness under Malcolm X on the other.

Michael Deefrietas, imitating the Black Muslims and Malcolm X, became Abdul Malik, alias Michael X... L. F. S. Burnham began wearing "dashikis".

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of the West Indies, Sir Hugh Wooding, taking his cue from Stokely Carmichael's advocacy of black capitalism, sees the salvation of the black West Indian as a businessman.

These cross-currents have tended to create ideological confusion. But the fog is clearing as more and more black-power leaders are moving

towards Marxism-Leninism. The beautiful Angela Davis, one of the most popular, militant black fighters, is a leading member of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

The Black Panthers, though maintaining the militancy of SNCC, have substituted socialism for black capitalism, and black-white (working class) unity and struggle for black-white confrontation. Huey Newton supplanted Stokely Carmichael, the first Panther Prime Minister.

In Guyana, the Ratoon Group withdrew their joint (with SCRIA) sponsorship of Stokely Carmichael after he advocated separate organizations for Afro-Guyanese and Indo-Guyanese. The Group claimed that their definition of black included all non-white (black, brown and yellow) and their concept of struggle for liberation meant a black-white confrontation nationally and internationally — at the international level, the black “third-world” fighting against the white world.

The Ratoon's position, though an advance on Carmichael's, is erroneous and harmful; it can contribute to grave problems in creating the broadest anti-imperialist united front.

Experience has shown that millions of white Americans — workers, students, peace-fighters, etc. — have marched against their own government and in support of the Vietnamese liberation struggle. Apart from the socialist countries, social-democratic Sweden with a largely white population, makes a substantial contribution to the Vietnamese and African liberation movement.

Italy has withdrawn its contribution to the Portuguese Cabora-Bassa highdam “development” scheme in Africa.

White Australian workers through their strike and boycott activities succeeded in getting the cancellation of the Springboks (South Africa) tour of Australia.

Experience teaches the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis; that is, that there are three revolutionary streams — the national liberation movements of the “third-world”, the world socialist system, and the working class, democratic and peace forces in the capitalist world — and that there is the urgent necessity to unite as far as possible these three streams.

If the black power movement is to have relevance for the Caribbean revolution, it must either rapidly transform itself from emotional rhetoric to the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism or work in close cooperation with a vanguard, Marxist-Leninist party. It must have not only a correct world outlook based on the unity and solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces, but also a correct theory of revolution — the combatting of revolutionary impatience and right and “left” opportunism, and the ideological, political and organizational development of the masses.

Objectively, the situation is favourable to revolution — high unemployment, low living standards, inflation, conspicuous consumption side by side with abject poverty, higher expectations, etc.

But subjectively, the situation is far from satisfactory. The traditional political parties are reformist and social-democratic taking their ideological line from European social democracy — the Labour Party in Britain,

the Labour Party in Holland — which has from the beginning sided with imperialism in the cold war.

Apart from the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, there is no mass Marxist-oriented party in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Elsewhere, the position is a little better. Black power groups have sprung up, but these are largely based on “spontaneity” and are “putschist” in outlook.

The National Joint Action Committee (NJAC) which led the revolt in Trinidad and Tobago, is a classic example of the strength and weakness of the black power movement.

It achieved a phenomenal success when it got 60,000 Trinidadians in the streets and forced the Williams government firstly to pay the 65,000 dollars (Canadian) fines imposed by a Montreal Court on Trinidadian students involved in the student revolt at Sir George Williams University; and secondly, to impose a special 5 per cent “black-power” tax on companies for the creation of jobs for the unemployed.

Flushed with these successes and carried away by mass adulation, the NJAC leadership considered that the time was ripe for revolution. But the puppet Williams regime, though willing to make minor concessions, was not prepared to surrender power. After it struck back with emergency rule and detention, the strike movement collapsed. Few defied the Emergency Order and came out in the streets. There was little protest from the powerful Oil-Field Workers Union after its President, George Weekes, was detained. Geddes Grainger, leader of NJAC, was free a few days after his colleagues were detained, but no contingency plan was put into action.

In retrospect, it seems that the best course for the NJAC leadership was to make a strategic retreat after the initial successes, consolidate its forces, build up a sound organization along Marxist lines, work out an anti-imperialist programme, develop strong links with the working class in the sugar and oil belts, in the waterfront and in communications systems, and confront the PNM regime at the 1971 general election on the issue of free and fair elections without voting machines; in other words, the fight for democracy, in defence of the Constitution, for national independence and against imperialism.

Confrontation on that basis would have brought a united opposition to Eric Williams, including legitimate support from the police and defence force. If he failed to concede, revolutionary armed struggle would have had a better chance of success.

Having failed to do so, the NJAC gave the Williams regime the excuse to pose as the defender of the Constitution and to arrest and detain its NJAC leadership on the ground that it was attempting to use force to overthrow a constitutionally elected government.

The NJAC leadership opted out of the 1971 electoral struggle. The united boycott campaign of the opposition parties succeeded in exposing the PNM for the minority regime that it is, but unfortunately because of poor leadership, divisions and dissensions in the post-election period, the Williams regime again took the offensive with emergency rule, detentions, and the enactment of anti-working class laws.

The setback of the revolutionary movement in Trinidad is tragic. It is largely due to ultra-leftist tendencies of the NJAC leadership, which has taken not a flexible, but a dogmatic approach to the question of parliamentary struggle and elections and which underestimates the role of a political vanguard party in a revolutionary struggle and fails to see the necessity for national and international solidarity.

The Caribbean is a sea of unrest. As in the pre- and post-World War II era, there is today a great revolutionary upsurge in the whole region. Then it was directed against colonialism; now it is directed mainly against those who led the anti-colonialist wave, who have established neo-colonial rule.

While the Caribbean revolution has many similarities with the Latin American revolution, there are many differences. The concrete situation in the Caribbean demands not a dogmatic but a flexible approach, a combination of all forms of struggle — parliamentary and non-parliamentary, legal and illegal, armed and peaceful — and the capacity to change with the greatest speed from one form to another. Above all, there must be developed the mass line for mass struggle.

TASKS

The basic task of the Caribbean revolution in the present stage is the ending of colonialism, the overthrow of U. S. imperialism, semi-feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, the gaining of political power and its consolidation in a people's democratic republic.

The first stage can be characterized as a people's national-democratic revolution to be succeeded in a second stage by a socialist revolution. The Caribbean revolution must consequently have a socialist perspective.

All efforts must be exerted to achieve a national revolution against British, French, Dutch and U. S. colonialism and imperialism, and a democratic revolution against semi-feudal and dictatorial rule.

With the erosion of civil liberties and the militarization of politics at the national and regional levels, the fight for democracy is an indispensable part in the struggle for national liberation. The imperialists and their puppets are constantly proclaiming their beliefs in freedom and democracy.

While the Nixon administration intensifies its genocidal aggression in Vietnam, it is forced, in the face of world public opinion, to talk about a political solution and elections.

The puppet Burnham regime denies fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution while it talks about "consultative democracy".

The Williams-led PNM-government of Trinidad and Tobago, incapable of making, or unwilling to make, a distinction between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy, attacks the Cuban revolution for a denial of democracy, while it rules by emergency and detentions and without the mandate and consent of the governed, and the social and economic gains achieved by the Cuban revolution.

The vanguard, anti-imperialist parties must take the lead in organising the broadest possible unity — political parties and other mass organizations; cultural, religious and professional bodies; progressive individuals — at the national and regional levels in the fight for democracy.

Such mobilization will unmask and expose the enemies of the people. In Guyana, a Civil Liberties Action Council has been formed. Similar organizations must be established at the national and regional levels.

The aim of Caribbean revolution must be to set up a new people's republic which will be a genuine democracy of all revolutionary classes and strata under the leadership of the working class.

An economic planning strategy for social and economic transformation should be formulated which is anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, anti-feudal and socialist-oriented. It should include a clear-cut integrated programme, which is a real alternative to the Puerto Rican and ECLA models and the reformism of the puppet regimes.

Such a programme should be based on the following fundamentals:

- (1) Nationalisation of the commanding heights of the economy — foreign and local "comprador" capitalist-owned and controlled factories, mines, plantations, banks, insurance companies and foreign trade.
- (2) Planned proportional development of the economy with simultaneous concentration on industrial and agricultural rather than infrastructural development; expansion of the public and cooperative sectors; transformation of the economy from primary to integrated production.
- (3) A genuine policy of non-alignment with the closest relations with the world socialist system.
- (4) An almost total centralized planning and control; full democracy and workers' participation and control at all levels; educational development to raise ideological, cultural and scientific levels; a truly national health service.
- (5) Radical land reform and a sound all-embracing agricultural policy.
- (6) Strict system of foreign-exchange, rent and price controls.

The people's republic will put an end to foreign economic domination. There must also be a struggle against all those who collaborate with imperialism and the monopolists who exploit the people. The national patriotic bourgeoisie will be permitted to function so long as they do not dominate or hamper the welfare and livelihood of the people.

Foreign relations must be based on the principle of international working class cooperation and solidarity. Help must be given to all national liberation movements. All efforts must be exerted to achieve the unity, and to maintain the strength, of the world socialist system.

A national culture must be developed with the active participation of the broad masses of the people. This culture must have a scientific

basis to oppose the idealist "mumbo-jumbo" and demagogy of the imperialists and their paid agents and whatever superstitions still persist. The ideological and cultural superstructure must be revolutionized to correspond with the material anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly base.

A Caribbean people, educationally, ideologically and culturally developed, will gain the self-confidence to combat the psychological warfare and propaganda of the imperialists and their puppets about their invincibility, to fight against despair, and to bring an end to puppet rule which breeds poverty and underdevelopment.

The imperialist theory of "geographical fatalism" that no country in the western hemisphere can defy the "mighty" U. S. A. has been exploded by Cuba which has established the first socialist state in the Caribbean, the "U. S. lake" and "the gateway to America". Revolutionary Cuba's presence is increasingly being felt at international Conferences such as the meeting of the Group of 77 nations in Peru, UNCTAD III in Chile and the non-aligned Conference of Foreign Ministers in Guyana in August, 1972. Her dynamic stand in Georgetown no doubt contributed to the positive revolutionary decision taken for the seating of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (ORG) and the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia — a decision which has no doubt caused the shedding of tears in Washington.

U. S. imperialism is clearly unable, because of the change in the world balance of forces, and particularly changes in Latin America, to use "big stick" methods (landing of marines, economic blockade, restrictions and sanctions) so freely resorted to against Cuba, the Dominican Republic and other countries a decade or so ago.

Peru has seized U. S. trawlers, nationalized U. S. properties and generally embarked on a programme of anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic reforms. Sanctions under the U. S. Sugar Act and the Hickenloper Amendments have not been imposed.

For the first time in Latin American history, a Latin American people, Chile's, won power by constitutional means and have initiated bold steps for their independence.

Cracks have been created in the United States "inter-American system". The OAS is in a state of profound crisis and is no longer the monolithic tool of U. S. imperialism.

By entering into diplomatic relations with Cuba, Chile and Peru have breached the OAS, and thus the U. S. policy of isolating socialist Cuba.

Panama is advancing to genuine independence. The Lanusse regime of Argentina has opted out of the U. S. "Inter-American Peace Force," and with the Salta Declaration of the Presidents of Chile and Argentina and the Argentine-Peruvian communiqué reaffirmed the right of nations to self-determination, free choice of development paths and genuine political and economic independence.

Other developments not favoured by the OAS are joint efforts for independence of their economies and contact with the socialist world. In the late 1950's, only Mexico, Argentina and Uruguay maintained diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R.; now there are 13 countries.

Twelve Latin American countries did not support the U. S. "two-Chinas" policy in the United Nations.

At the meeting of the Special Latin American Coordinating Commission in September 1971, there was a vigorous demand for the repeal of the 10 per cent surcharge on imports into the U. S. A. The meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, held in Panama in September 1971, unanimously condemned Washington's attempt to "rescue the dollar" at the expense of the Latin American and other countries.

U. S. imperialism, the enemy of the Latin American peoples, is the enemy of the Caribbean peoples. Its face was clearly seen during the Trinidad revolt in 1970 in the form of U. S. warships in Trinidad territorial waters.

The Cuban people, the Vietnamese people and others have shown that this common enemy can be defeated.

To achieve success, unity is essential, not pro-imperialist unity at the economic level under CARIFTA or at the political level under the Granada Declaration, but anti-imperialist, pro-socialist unity.

There must be developed the closest cooperation and coordination of our revolutionary work in the Caribbean. There is need for militant solidarity in the region in the fight to bring down the puppet regimes. The Caribbean revolution must be seen as an integral part of the Latin American revolution and the world-wide anti-imperialist upsurge.

To wage successfully the revolutionary struggle, territorial and regional organizations must be established.

A vanguard, Marxist-Leninist party, fighting against right and "left" opportunism (the right poses a greater danger) must be established in each territory. It must work with other revolutionary groups or parties in a united front, as in Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela, etc., with an anti-imperialist programme. This United Front must function side by side with a broader civil liberties organization.

A regional anti-imperialist alliance like the Caribbean Labour Congress, which was disbanded in 1952, should be established, working side by side with a regional civil liberties organization.

The youths and students should be constituted in a militant Caribbean youth movement.

Other regional mass organizations, like the women's and trades unions, should be rescued from imperialist and puppet control.

Forward to unity of the Caribbean!

Forward to unity of the Caribbean and Latin American Revolutions!

Forward to militant solidarity of the world anti-imperialist forces!

Forward to victory!

(Address delivered at the Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference in Guyana on August 30—31, 1972.)

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

XI

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY DR. CHEDDI JAGAN, GENERAL
SECRETARY OF THE PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY
AT THE CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES
OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN,
HELD IN HAVANA, CUBA, ON JUNE 9-13, 1975**

The People's Progressive Party is most happy to be taking part for the first time in a meeting of fraternal Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean.

We express our gratitude to all those who have made this possible. And to the Communist Party of Cuba and its great leader, Comrade Fidel Castro, go our special thanks for hosting this Conference and for making all the elaborate preparations in spite of the many difficulties they faced and the many arduous tasks before them.

Our meeting is taking place at a very important juncture in the history of human development. We Communists the world over can be particularly proud of the role we have played, the foundations we have laid and the sacrifices we have made.

Despite setbacks as in Chile and Uruguay, important and significant gains have been made particularly during the past five years — in Bangladesh, Portugal, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Greece, Peru, Panama, Argentina, Laos and Vietnam, to name some of them. What greater gift could the workers of the world have received than the final defeat of the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys in Vietnam on the eve of May Day, 1975? Imperialism is in retreat and rent asunder by internal convulsions. In our own hemisphere, its aggressive policies and machinations have failed against the first free territory of the Americas. Revolutionary Cuba stands as a bastion of socialist strength — a constant reminder that there is an alternative road leading to peace, freedom and socialism.

What is more, in the face of a deepening crisis of capitalism, new developments are taking place in our continent in sectors traditionally associated with imperialism and the oligarchy. Positive trends have developed in the church and the military.

These people's victories have taken place under the influence of the growing strength of the world socialist system, at the heart of which is the mighty Soviet Union.

We agree with the main line expressed in the Document; namely, that the main enemy of the peoples of the Americas is U. S. imperialism; that it is the duty of all the Latin American Communist Parties to take the lead in uniting all the possible forces against imperialism; to isolate, weaken and destroy it.

In this regard, we can draw a valuable lesson from the Vietnamese

people's struggle. What were the ingredients for the victory of national liberation against the mighty colossus of the North?

Apart from heroism and sacrifice, there was the elaboration and implementation of correct tactics and strategy. Firstly, the great leader of the Vietnamese people, Ho Chi Minh, over many years patiently forged a vanguard workers (communist) party. Secondly, he united the great majority of the people in an anti-imperialist fatherland front — three political parties (Communist, Socialist and Democratic), trade union and other mass, including religious and cultural, organizations. At the same time, the closest links were developed with the socialist world (it is not without significance to note that the first liberation forces that entered Saigon rode in Soviet-made tanks). And political propaganda work was done in every corner of the globe, most importantly in the U. S. A. itself.

The Document also correctly points out that while our immediate goal is anti-imperialism, we cannot lose sight of our objective of socialism, the attainment of which will not be realised without the observance of the democratic rights and civil liberties of the people.

This point cannot be over-emphasized. History is full of examples where despite certain positive anti-imperialist steps by governments, attempts were made by them at the same time to halt or even to betray the revolution.

Haile Selassie led Ethiopia in an anti-imperialist struggle against fascist Italy, but maintained a feudal structure at home and later established links with imperialism.

Because of sharpening inter-imperialist rivalry, President Charles de Gaulle opposed U. S. capital (and political) penetration and domination of France and the European Economic Community, removed NATO headquarters from France, recognised the People's Republic of China and advocated a neutralist Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. But at the same time, he assumed internally near dictatorial powers and would not have hesitated to turn, as in the 1968 crisis, the army against the workers in the interest of the French bourgeoisie.

Paz Estenssoro's Nationalist Revolutionary Party nationalised the tin mines and carried out a land reform programme in the 1950's. But years after his overthrow, he collaborated with the Banzer fascist regime.

In Mexico, although with the nationalisation of the oil industry anti-imperialist steps were taken in the late 1920's and early 1930's, the growth of the big local bourgeoisie which established strong links with the imperialists, and the institutionalization of military-bureaucratic bourgeois power, make difficult the attainment of a social revolution.

In this regard, it is important not just to look at the establishment of diplomatic and other relations with the socialist states and the expansion of the public sector by some nationalisation. Equally important is consideration of the nature of the state.

In Guyana, for instance, nationalisation is leading to state and bureaucratic capitalism coupled with corruption, extravagance, racial and political discrimination and without basic democracy at the trade union, industrial, and central and local governmental levels. A minority regime

is rapidly expanding the military bureaucratic apparatus, not so much to defend national sovereignty and territorial integrity as to hold down the vast majority of the people and to deny them their fundamental rights. For example, the army and police are actively involved in tampering with the electoral process and in breaking strikes.

We must not forget that the deepening crisis of capitalism, the widening gap between the developed imperialist states and the developing states in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the consequent worsening social and economic conditions of the peoples have intensified the national liberation and class struggles, and have forced and are forcing bourgeois-led Social-Democratic and Christian-Democratic regimes to make changes. All shades of the liberal bourgeoisie are calling for change. But what kind of change?

With the cold-war policy of containment of national liberation and socialism, U. S. imperialism imposed the Puerto Rican model of economic planning for development, based on the creation of an investment climate and incentives to foreign capital. This strategy collapsed in Latin America and the Caribbean with the Cuban Revolution.

Faced with the revolutionary Cuban alternative, President Kennedy launched the reformist Alliance for Progress. Kennedy was for change — fiscal, monetary, land reform — to prevent social explosions à la Cuba, but change within the international *status quo* to freeze the international situation. There was to be no "second Cuba" whether in Guyana under the P. P. P. government in the early 1960's or in Chile under Allende's Popular Unity government a decade later in the early 1970's; there was to be no shift in the world balance of forces against capitalism and in favor of socialism.

Such was the situation that imperialism devised new tactics and strategy — a strategy to incorporate the people and the state within the tentacles of imperialism and to create a social base for capitalism. After the failure of the outright pro-imperialist Puerto Rican model, as evidenced by the political bankruptcy of the Alessandri regime (1958—64) in Chile, imperialism's chosen instrument was Eduardo Frei, who attacked the Cuban revolution and model as "revolution in dictatorship" and demagogically called for "revolution in liberty". This "revolution in liberty" was no more than the implementation of a new U. S. policy of "partnership", the establishment of joint ventures with government's ownership of even 51 per cent of the shares in foreign companies, and the replacement of the Puerto Rican model by the ECLA (Economic Commission for Latin America) model based on import substitution and import substituting industrialization, land reform and foreign capital.

In the Commonwealth Caribbean, where developments have always lagged behind Latin America, a similar process is developing. The collapse of the West Indies Federation in 1962 was the political expression of the failure of the Puerto Rican strategy of economic planning or development. What has also failed in Latin America, and particularly in Chile under Frei — the Alliance for Progress and the ECLA model — is now being introduced in the English-speaking Caribbean. "Joint Ventures" is the order of the

day. And for the benefit of the U. S. transnational corporations and for the penetration of U. S. monopoly capital in a formerly exclusive British preserve there was created in 1968 the Caribbean Free Trade Area: (CARIFTA), now the Trade Association and the Central America Common Market, which came into being in the late 1960's in keeping with President Lyndon Johnson's advocacy of the concept of "ideological frontiers" for "geographical frontiers".

In Guyana, in 1970, the PNC minority regime talked merely about "meaningful participation in bauxite" like Frei's "Chileanisation of copper". But under intense political and ideological pressure, mainly from the People's Progressive Party, it moved to nationalisation.

Here too it is imperative to make an objective appraisal. With the ever-widening gap in living standards between the industrialised capitalist states and the imperialist-dominated "third world" underdeveloped states, and the failure of the first UN Development Decade (1960—1970), intense internal political pressure and clamant calls for national control of natural and other resources and the creation of a new World Economic Order, petty-bourgeois reformist regimes are forced to make internal changes, even to move to nationalisation, and to take certain progressive steps in foreign policy.

To what extent are these steps "in accord with" or "against" imperialism?

The first post-war Labour Party (social-democratic) government carried out limited nationalisation. But the nationalised enterprises served capitalism, and Britain was kept firmly in the imperialist camp. Today, the same social democrats in collaboration with the reactionary forces have yoked Britain with the European Common Market.

Imperialism's tactics are designed to adjust to different political situations. In Bolivia, it "worked with" the Estenssoro regime after the nationalisation of tin, and with aid and other devices succeeded in compromising and eventually overthrowing the regime.

As the class struggle intensifies, imperialism even encourages "nationalist communism". And in the international arena, having been forced through economic difficulties in the 1970's — balance of payments and balance of trade deficits and devaluation of the dollar — to accept peaceful coexistence and *détente*, imperialism manoeuvres to divide the socialist world, to encourage Maoist China to attack the Soviet Union.

Operating in this context, and reflecting the twists and turns of U. S. foreign policy, and as former U. S. Secretary of State, William Rogers put it: to move "from confrontation to engagement", the PNC regime of Guyana voted against the seating of People's China in the United Nations in 1966 and 1967, abstained in 1968, 1969 and 1970 and voted for in 1971. Since then, it has been advocating the pro-Chinese and pro-imperialist "two super-powers", "two imperialisms" line, equating socialist U. S. S. R. with imperialist U. S. A.

The recent recognition of Cuba by Guyana and other Caribbean States which previously had a hostile attitude to the Cuban Revolution must also be seen against the background of the changed position of U. S. impe-

rialism to the question of peaceful coexistence in general with the socialist world. As regards Cuba, political considerations weighted more heavily than purely economic considerations for the U. S. ruling class, and thus there were contradictions and vacillations with respect to the lifting of the OAS blockade on Cuba. In the Caribbean, however, because of the small size of the CARICOM market (about 4 1/2 million) US subsidiaries, like their Argentine counterparts, and the local bourgeoisie wanted the door opened to the expanding Cuban market. In such a situation, and in the face of popular internal pressure, the recognition of Cuba became a political necessity.

Clearly, what is being witnessed in the composition of the petty-bourgeois regimes are two distinct trends. In the case of Latin America and the Caribbean, the trends are more polarized because of the aggravated nature of the national liberation struggle.

In some cases, there is a rightist trend towards authoritarian or even fascist dictatorship. Where pro-imperialist economic planning strategies and policies, domestic and foreign, are pursued, there is a worsening of the conditions of the people due to higher tax burdens to meet the costs of increasing debt charges and a burgeoning, and most often corrupt, bureaucracy.

With the inevitable dissatisfaction and discontent, nationalism leads to suppression, denial of civil liberties and a reactionary dictatorship.

In other cases, revolutionary nationalism is taking steps against imperialism. Whatever the motivation for these steps, they must be regarded as positive; they help to weaken imperialism and must be supported.

Such support, however, must be critical support, to ensure that the Communist Party plays its vanguard role, and is able continuously to exert pressure so as to influence the course of future development. It must be the duty of all fraternal communist parties to ensure that basic democracy is preserved and that no steps are taken, whether legal or administrative, to liquidate the Party.

Guyana presents a unique case in the continent. When the P. P. P. was in the government for its second term (1957—64), the People's National Congress (PNC), taking a strong anti-communist and anti-Cuban position, advocated democratic socialism. It collaborated with Anglo-American imperialism and the Central Intelligence Agency. The same CIA methods and subversion that were tried and tested in Guyana in 1963 were used in Chile a decade later in 1973. It came to power on a minority vote (40 per cent) and in coalition with the ultra-right United Force (12 per cent) in December 1964 when the P. P. P. polled 45 per cent.

U. S.-imposed pro-imperialist domestic and foreign policies led in the early 1970's to serious economic consequences and a grave crisis of confidence. The 1966—72 Development Plan, based on the Puerto Rican model, prematurely collapsed in 1970. With emphasis placed on infrastructural (roads, sea defences, airports and airstrips, stellingen and public buildings) and not industrial and agricultural development, the productive forces did not develop sufficiently to cope with the rapidly expanding

population. Consequently, unemployment increased and now stands around 30 per cent of the labour force, and is even higher among youths. Under-employment too is grave. This has led to a large-scale rural-urban migration and to a grave crime situation.

Also production did not expand sufficiently to meet debt charges which increased from G\$ 10 million in 1964 to G\$ 46 million in 1974 on a rapidly expanding national debt which escalated from G\$ 127 million to G\$ 813 million in the same period.

Simultaneously, the bureaucracy has rapidly expanded from 10 ministers under the P. P. P. government in 1964 to 27 in 1975 with big salaries and allowances for the benefit of the ruling elite. Personal emoluments (salary payments) have skyrocketed from G\$ 27 million in 1964 to over G\$ 100 million in 1975.

The burden of debt payments and a top-heavy administration was placed on the backs of the workers with increased taxation and cuts in social services. Budgetary allocation for the latter declined from 45 per cent in 1964 to 35 per cent in 1975 with grave consequences for the health and welfare of the people.

Erosion of living standards has led generally to discontent, and particularly to disillusionment in the rank and file of the ruling party.

The regime's response to growing criticism and dissatisfaction is repression, denial of civil liberties, and extensive electoral fraud in 1968 and 1973. At the 1973 general election, the army intervened, seized ballot boxes, transported them to army headquarters where they were tampered with. And this year, the armed soldiers and policemen were used in an attempt to break the six-week strike of the sugar workers.

At the same time, certain anti-imperialist steps have been taken which we have helped to bring about. We see as our duty constantly to apply mass pressure for the completion of the anti-imperialist national revolution.

Unfortunately, demagoguery in the form of "cooperative socialism", namely, the false idea that socialism will be achieved by means of cooperatives, offers the excuse for not dismantling the imperialist socio-economic structure. It also poses the danger of developing a new form of capitalism.

Guyana unlike any other country in the hemisphere presents the unique opportunity for a rapid completion of the national revolution. There is no immediate danger of a military coup as the army is not of the traditional Latin American type, but is the creation of the regime itself. And there is on strong ultra-rightist force which can act as a base for CIA subversion.

Only political opportunism prevents a determined move forward. Even the limited anti-imperialist steps are compromised as for instance by excessive compensation and the appointment of Philipp Bros., the subsidiary of the giant South African Anglo-American Corporation, as the sales agent of the nationalized Guyana Bauxite Company. And the training of technical personnel, police and military officers in countries such as Brazil, Malaysia, the United States and the United Kingdom, and the

building of a highway linking Guyana and fascist Brazil with technical help and aid from "the U. S. gendarme in Latin America" poses a danger to the anti-imperialist direction.

And unless the tendency towards military-bureaucratic form of rule and the deliberate administrative strangling of the P. P. P. is counteracted by other processes taking place in favour of the involvement of the masses and democratisation, there is also the danger of the anti-imperialist process being retarded and of the inhibition of the unfolding of the full potential of the anti-imperialist and democratic movement.

Nevertheless, the balance of forces continues to change in favour of national liberation. And the perspective is opening up for the broadest unity of action of the patriotic forces in the struggle for democracy and against imperialism.

"Leftist" elements, which attacked us before 1973 as revisionist and non-revolutionary, but against which we always took a critical but principled position, are now working with us — a process which was facilitated by the attitude and behaviour of the Chinese government in Guyana. Also with two other small petty-bourgeois parties, we have a working relationship for united action. The trade unions which were compromised by ORIT and the CIA are in a state of flux. Faced with growing contradictions, their actions in certain circumstances correspond to our positions. Contradictions are also developing in the Christian Church, particularly the Catholic, which took a strong reactionary, anti-communist stand against us in the 1960—64 period.

Similar trends are developing in many areas of the Caribbean. Consequently, we of this part of the hemisphere which is somewhat isolated from the Latin American mainstream look forward to receiving firm solidarity from the other Latin American Communist parties for the struggle against imperialism and for democracy.

The Document calls for the ending of colonialism. In this respect too, firm solidarity is necessary for bringing an end to the vestiges of colonialism in the Caribbean.

We demand the immediate release of Luis Corvalán and other political prisoners in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Paraguay, Puerto Rico, Guatemala, Haiti and elsewhere on our continent.

In conclusion, we support the call for the convening of an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. This we believe will greatly facilitate the anti-imperialist struggle.

Long Live the unity of Latin American and Caribbean Communists!

Long Live the working class!

Long Live Marxism-Leninism!

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

XII

TRANSNATIONALS PLUNDER CARIBBEAN

"Quick! Name the fastest growing energy company in America ... Its net profits were US \$ 13.4 million for fiscal first quarter 1974 — up from US \$ 4.4 million in the same period in 1973: Tesoro's per share earnings have exceeded 30 per cent per year ..."

This was how an advertisement of the Tesoro Petroleum Company was proclaiming its good fortune and selling itself — a company which started out with a capital of US \$ 50,000 was earning net profits of US \$ 13.4 million for the first quarter of 1974!

How was this achieved? According to Tesoro:

The company's continuing performance in Trinidad and Tobago is based on the abundance of talent and national resources there; and from experience on the unquestionable integrity and stability of the Trinidad government with whom Tesoro's relations were excellent.

This is a tale of imperialist plunder under colonial and neo-colonial rule in the Caribbean, the gateway to U. S. imperialism's backyard, Latin America.

In 1967, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Canada had a total of US \$ 2.6 billion (USA — \$ 1,508.5 million, UK — \$ 637.5 million, Canada — \$ 431 million) in direct foreign investment in the English-speaking Caribbean distributed sectorally as follows: mining and smelting — \$ 541.3 million; manufacturing — \$ 466 million; petroleum — \$ 463.4 million; agriculture — \$ 191.6 million; trade — \$ 185.3 million; tourism — \$ 161 million. "The heaviest investment is found in Jamaica (\$ 667.8 million) and Trinidad and Tobago (\$ 646.8 million).¹⁾ Generally, returns on investment are over 20 per cent.

In petroleum, Tesoro Petroleum Company is only small fry. Take the giant Texas Oil Company (Texaco), which was established in Trinidad in the late 1950's by the sensational takeover of the British-owned Trinidad Oil Company for a price of \$ 302.4 million — \$ 19.36 for every \$ 1.20 share. It owns the two largest refineries and accounts for nearly 86 per cent of the refined oil throughout.

So highly profitable have been Texaco's operations that the larger of its two refineries Pointe-a-Pierre was valued in 1975 at US \$ 1,800 million. According to economist, Dr. Trevor Farrell, "... Texaco's refinery capital investment through depreciation allowances has been paid for long ago. Further capital expansion is done largely by reinvesting profits that we create in that refinery."²⁾

Like Texaco, other transnational oil companies operate throughout the Caribbean with refineries and storage depots — Shell in Curacao, Stan-

dard Oil of New Jersey in Aruba, New England Corporation and Standard Oil of California in the Bahamas, Shell and Commonwealth Oil Refinery Limited in Puerto Rico, Esso in Jamaica, etc.

Despite the energy crisis, the "seven sisters", the oil monopolies increased their earnings in the third quarter of 1973 compared with the same period in 1972 as follows: Exxon — 80.9 per cent; Gulf — 56 per cent; Standard Oil of California — 50.6 per cent; Mobil Oil — 58.5 per cent, Texaco — 47.2 per cent; British Petroleum — 285 per cent; and Royal Dutch Shell — 275 per cent.

For 1974 as compared with 1973, the increase of income of the transnationals connected with the Chase Manhattan Bank was 87 per cent gross and 40 per cent net.

Undoubtedly, the Caribbean region contributed substantially to the exorbitant profits for this precious community.

In mining, the dominant sector in the Caribbean is bauxite. This sector which presently contributes two-thirds of the basic raw materials for the North Aluminium industry is in the control of six transnational corporations. Together they extract more than 14 million tons of bauxite from the region. Bauxite was produced during the war and immediate post-war era mainly in Surinam and British Guiana (now Guyana). Since then Jamaica, Haiti and the Dominican Republic are also significant producers. With the exception of Guyana where the bauxite companies had been nationalised (the Demerara Bauxite Company, owned by the Aluminium Company of Canada, in 1971; the Guyana Mines Limited, owned by Reynolds Metal Company, in 1975), bauxite production is still under the control of the transnational companies, mainly North American — Alcoa, Alcan, Reynolds, Kaiser, Revere and Alpart in Jamaica; Reynolds Metal Company in Haiti; Alcona in the Dominican Republic; Alcoa, Alcan, Billiton International Mines, and Reynolds in Surinam.

MANUFACTURING

Manufacturing holds second place next to mining in foreign capital investment of the U. S. A., U. K. and Canada in the English-speaking Caribbean.

Of the 181 companies operating in the manufacturing sector in Jamaica up to 1968, 81 or 45 per cent were foreign-owned. In the strategic sectors dealing with the manufacture of rubber, steel and fertilizers, there was 75 per cent foreign ownership.

In Trinidad, the percentage of foreign capital in manufacturing was higher than in Jamaica — 83 per cent. At the top of the list in a commanding position, is W. R. Grace³ and Co.'s Federation Chemicals Ltd. According to the American Congress for Latin America (NACLA), "Grace in effect, has more than doubled its ammonia capacity in the island using Trinidad government funds and US taxpayers' money, and "now depends on the Caribbean for 49 per cent of its ammonia output and 35 per cent of its urea."⁴

In Barbados, about 73 per cent of the largest nineteen companies are foreign-owned.

AGRICULTURE

In agriculture, as in mining and petroleum, foreign capital plays a decisive role. Here too the transnational monopolies hold sway particularly in sugar and bananas.

Although mining and petroleum contributed about 40 per cent of direct private investment of the United States, United Kingdom and Canada in the English-speaking Caribbean in 1967, foreign investment in agriculture exerted a more pervasive influence on the economy and on the lives of the Caribbean peoples. The transnational corporations control 60 % of the cultivated land and 85 % of the productive forces in sugar production.

The foreign transnational monopolies — Tate and Lyle in Trinidad and Tobago, Belize and Jamaica, and Booker Bros. Mc Connell and Co. Ltd. in Guyana — accounted for over 90 per cent of production.

In sugar, the plantocracy exerted control through ownership of plantations, shipping, and processing. Generally, the raw sugar and its by-products, rum and molasses, were shipped abroad for processing.

In bananas, control has been exerted mainly through marketing by Elders and Fyfes, a U. K. subsidiary of the powerful United Fruit Company of the U. S. A. (now United Brands) and Geest Industries, a British monopoly.

The stranglehold of the United Fruit Company on the Central American Republics — "the banana republics" — has been extended to the Caribbean. And according to Dr. Ralph Gonsalves, "*it is generally recognised that Geest indirectly controls the economies of St. Lucia and St. Vincent.*"⁵)

FINANCE

Banking is predominantly under foreign control through the main international banks — Barclays Bank, Chase Manhattan, First National City Bank, Bank of America, Royal Bank of Canada, Bank of Nova Scotia, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce.

Over 130 international banks have been registered in St. Vincent between 1973 and 1976. They have been attracted by the International Business Companies (Exemption from tax) Act of 1966, which stipulates that to qualify for exemption from tax, corporations must be at least 90 per cent foreign-owned. The Act also exempts from tax shareholders who may visit from time to time on legitimate business pertaining to the company.

The transnational corporations also play a key role in insurance, distribution, land development, construction, shipping, tourism, mass media and transportation.

The means of air transportation is also under the control of foreign capital. Eighty % of the Bahamas Airlines is controlled by the Squire Group in London. Sixty % of Air Jamaica belongs to Air Canada. BWIA, the principal airline operating in the Caribbean, has been sold to a group of investors, International Caribbean Corporation. Two of the three directors of BWIA are North-Americans. (CLAT News, November 1976.)

UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Underdevelopment of so-called third-world countries is caused by the exploitation of manpower and resources, and the extraction of super-profits, most of which is drained overseas.

The development of the Caribbean is arrested because the transnational corporations are more concerned to serve their own interests and the global aims of world capitalism.

Take the case of the oil multinationals which operate in the Caribbean.⁶⁾ Trinidad has the basis for a huge petrochemical industry. But the giant Texas Oil Company, with one of the largest refinery capacity in the world, does not enter the petrochemical field. Because Standard Oil of India is a "crude short company" (more refineries and refining capacity than crude oil) its subsidiary in Trinidad, the American Oil Company (Amoco), fails to set up a refinery. It produced for export 30 million barrels of crude oil out of a total production of 68 million barrels in 1974. According to Dr. Trevor Farrell:

Amoco came to Trinidad precisely because it was crude short and it desperately wanted to find supplies of crude to use those refineries that it has. Amoco is not interested in refining in Trinidad, it does not wish to enter petrochemicals in Trinidad; it is not in the Company's interest.⁷⁾

In the field of bauxite mining, the transnational corporations have ensured that the bulk of operations remain at the primary extraction stage. Proportionately, very little alumina and aluminium is smelted only in Surinam) is produced in the Caribbean; the bulk of aluminium smelting and all fabrication is done outside of the region. The result was that in the early 1960's the Caribbean territories received about US \$60 for four tons of bauxite, which are required to produce one ton of pig aluminium, but paid about US \$ 1,200 for one ton of aluminium fabricated products.

Consequently, enormous profits were earned. For Surinam, British Guiana and Jamaica in 1961, Philip Reno⁸⁾ in his study "Aluminium Profits and the Caribbean Peoples", wrote:

Profits (about US \$ 70 to \$ 75 million) as a per cent of investment would thus amount in one year to somewhat between 26 per cent and 34 per cent, and as a percent value of product (about \$200 million) to at least 35 per cent. These figures suggest that this could well be among the most profitable U. S. investment structures in the world.

Part of this plunder was due to sheer manipulation. Between 1949 to 1959, the price of bauxite in British Guiana and Surinam stood still while it doubled in the U. S. A.!

For Jamaica alone, Dr. Norman Girvan estimates the "loss of value added materials, income from employment, wealth for corporate shareholders and revenues to the American and Canadian governments — between 1950 and 1967 — at a staggering £ 7,773 million or well over twice the cumulated Gross Domestic Product of Jamaica for the 1950—57 period."⁹⁾

In sugar, there is as in bauxite, through intra-company transactions, low prices for raw materials and artificial padding of accounts for "services and materials", which benefitted the metropolitan country.

For example, in Guyana rum and molasses were sold dirt cheap abroad, mostly to subsidiaries of the parent companies. Highproof alcohol (rum) was sold in the early 1960's at a price of about \$ 3 per gallon — about the retail price of sweet (soft) drinks — and molasses at 50 per cents per gallon.

In Guyana, from 1956 to 1966, profits after tax from sugar alone were \$ 54 million a year. This represents an average ratio of issued share capital to profits of 28 per cent. For sugar and other investments (rum, molasses, etc.) total profits during the same period was \$ 71 million or \$ 6.5 million a year, an average ratio of issued share capital to profits of 37 per cent.

In 1956, the foreign sugar companies share capital in British Guiana was G\$ 17.5 million. It increased to G\$ 32.9 million in 1961, G\$ 41 million in 1970 and G\$ 79 million in 1973. Revenue reserves increased from G\$ 50.7 million in 1961 to \$ 106.1 million in 1971. Additions to fixed assets less depreciation also increased in the 1967—71 period by \$ 14 million. None of this increase came from the investment of any new foreign capital.

As Dr. Clive Thomas put it in his *Sugar Economics in a Colonial Situation*:

In sum we may note that a *one dollar share* in 1956 would now be worth about *two dollars*. Its owner would have received an extra *one dollar* in bonus shares. His share of the capital assets of the company at present valuation would be about *three dollars* and the dividends received to date would be equal to *two dollars* on each share. *The ploughing back which has occurred has meant that the industry has not had to bring any new capital into the industry.* All the increased capital used by the industry was made available from our own natural resources.

Writing about the Bookers balance sheet in the *Caribbean Business News*, of June 1970, Jeff Burton commented:

"...as the latest accounts show only too well the Group (Bookers) had to fall back on the traditional end of operations, where profits from the Caribbean rose £ 209,000 to £ 1,411,000, and the 'growth areas' in Britain slumped 89 per cent to show a profit of £ 139,000 (1968 — £ 624,000)".

The banana producers are also cheated. At one time the sale price in England was \$ 1.20 per pound, but the real producers were getting only 10 cents per pound. Worldwide, they got only US \$ 245 million, a mere 11.5 per cent, out of a final retail price of US \$ 2,114 million.

A substantial drain of capital overseas results also from royalties, fees and service charges.

The branches of the transnational banks and insurance companies severely restrict their credits to the productive industrial and agricultural sectors, and thus perpetuate the deformed lop-sided structure of the economy.

The industrialization which has taken place is primarily of a deformed nature. So powerful are the transnational corporations that their "industrial-military-complex" backers succeeded in getting, apart from tax holidays, duty-free and other lucrative concessions, the Treaty of the Caribbean Common Market so constituted as to include products ranging from apples, grapes, rye, barley, oats, wheat, paper, silk, iron, steel in all forms, copper, nickel, tungsten, zinc, tin, molybdenum, tantalum, to all other non-ferrous base metals unwrought or wrought "as originating wholly within the Common Market". This has led to the establishment of "screw driver" factories or branch plant assembly production.

Underdevelopment is caused also by the exploitation of manpower. For example, in the bauxite mines, workers in Guyana received a daily wage almost equal to the hourly wage of North American workers in the bauxite mines in Arkansas.

In Jamaica, wages amounted between 1959 and 1966 for only 15% of dried bauxite production and 18% of all the operations connected to the bauxite industry.

In Trinidad and Tobago, because of low wages, tax incentives and other concessions, foreign investors made in 1965 profits 30 per cent to 40 per cent higher than in the U. S. A. In 1968, these profits reached TT\$ 130 million. And between 1956 and 1967, the average annual outflow from investment income was TT\$ 106.5 million compared with an average inflow of direct investment of only TT\$ 78.4 million. This is typical of most "third world" countries.

Outflows also take place on account of capital and interest payments on loans, which on the basis of "aid with strings" are tied mainly to infrastructural projects and economic planning strategies geared to serve imperialism.¹⁰

As monopolies, the transnational corporation, taking advantage of closed free trade (now Common Market) area, fleece the consumers. Generally, the equality of merchandise is inferior and prices are higher. In this regard, the oil transnationals are particularly guilty. Fuel supplied by Texaco in Trinidad is sold at exorbitant prices. For example, the retail prices of gas oil in Guyana increased from about G.46 cents to G\$ 1.26 per gallon between November 1973 and April 1974. During the same period, gasolene retail price increased by 147 per cent as compared with 28 per cent in the U. S. A., Bunker C fuel increased from approximately G\$ 23 during 1972 to about G\$ 45 in October 1973 and G\$ 140 per ton in 1974.

After a subsequent price increase in October 1975, the People's Progressive Party (PPP) in a press statement (18:10:1975) pointed out:

After the first OPEC price increase in 1973, the 'weighted average' price (i. e., imported and domestic production) in the U. S. A. of crude oil increased by 115 per cent. But the increase in the price of gasolene to the U. S. consumers was only 28 per cent and for fuel oil 55 per cent.

In Trinidad, on the other hand, from which country our fuel comes, the weighted average increase in the price of crude oil was less than 142 per cent. But unlike the U. S. A. the oil companies increased the price of gasolene to the Guyana consumers by 147 per cent and Bunker C fuel by 211 per cent (from \$ 45 in 1973 to \$ 140 in 1974).

Now, with the 10 per cent OPEC crude oil price increase, the increase in the price of gasolene in the USA, according to *Time* (October 6, 1975) will be less than one cent (US) per gallon. In Guyana, however, it is G15 cents per gallon.

Since then there have been further increases¹¹, the most recent in June 1977 raises the price of regular gasolene from 79 cents in September 1973 to \$ 2.50 per gallon, equivalent to a 388.6 per cent increase, excluding tax.

The price of one hundred weight of fertilizers imported into Guyana and produced in Trinidad by Federation Chemicals Limited, subsidiary of W. R. Grace and Co. increased from G\$ 25 in 1973 to \$ 46 in 1976 (nitrogen phosphate and potash), and from G\$ 12.30 in 1973 to \$ 22 in 1976 (sulphate of ammonia).

REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE

Super-exploitation and drain of capital overseas result in an ever-widening gap in living standards between the underdeveloped countries and the capitalist-imperialist states, and to deepening economic and social problems.

The Caribbean region has not been able to escape the serious repercussions of the general crisis in the advanced capitalist countries. The shortages and high prices for food, poor housing and health facilities; poor water facilities and sanitation; high unemployment and underemployment have increased the cases of malnutrition and illness caused by vitamin deficiencies, anemia and undernourishment.

According to a report presented to the 10th West Indies Agricultural Economic Conference in 1975, Guyana had the lowest consumption of meat per person in the developed Caricom countries; Guyana — 28.08 lbs.; Trinidad — 42.42 lbs.; Barbados — 67.25 lbs.; Jamaica 41.63 lbs. per person for the year 1967. "This" Dr. John Dukhai commented, "is rather paradoxical since it was generally argued that Guyana has the potential of being the food basket of the Caribbean."

Deterioration of living conditions has led to disillusionment and dissatisfaction and an intensification of the national liberation and class struggles. As in the 1930's and 1940's, there is a revolutionary upsurge. In the previous era, it was directed against imperialism and colonialism; now it is aimed at imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In the service of the transnational companies, the response of the

imperialists and their client ruling elites in the earlier period was characteristic: resort to demagoguery, sloganeering, reformism, repression and force.

Indirect aggression was used against socialist Cuba in 1961, as in Guatemala in 1954. Direct aggression was launched against the Dominican Republic in 1968 as in British Guiana in 1953.

The Burnham-led PNC regime in Guyana promised "consultative democracy" with "free milk and cassava" and "not a soul would go to bed hungry" (1964); like Eduardo Frei's "revolution in liberty" in Chile. The latter's reformist "Chileanisation of copper" (51 per cent state participation with the foreign transnational corporations) was the former's "meaningful participation in bauxite", under "cooperative socialism" (1970), through which cooperatives would be the means by which socialism would come to Guyana, and "the small man will become the real man."

Dr. Eric Williams, the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago also opted for a reformist course. He declared that neither the pro-imperialist Puerto Rican model (industrialisation by invitation of foreign capital) nor the Cuban socialist model would suffice. He argued for —

A middle way between outright nationalisation and old fashioned capitalist organisation backed by monies and the dollars of the United States. That middle way is an active participation between Government and major foreign investors in both the formulation and the achievement of the Government's development targets and social objectives.¹²⁾

Little wonder that the Tesoro Petroleum Company and other transnational corporations express such great admiration and confidence in the Trinidadian government.

Generally, the inevitable result of this course in the Caribbean has been the denial of fundamental rights, the passage of anti-strike laws, electoral manipulation and fraud, and the use of police dogs, armed police and troops against the workers.

In Grenada, the granting of exclusive "offshore" concessions to Mafia-type gangsters, and close collaboration with the fascist Pinochet regime of Chile and the South Korean dictatorship are tending towards a Haitian type of rightist authoritarianism. The Gairy government recently signed an agreement with the Pinochet regime under which Chile will train and arm the Grenadian security forces. According to Latin American Political Report, the Chileans "claim that this aid is to counterbalance Cuban aid to Jamaica."

This has inevitably led to a worsening situation. The World Bank Report for 1975 for the Latin American and Caribbean region as a whole pointed out that economic growth had "slowed considerably, as increases in exports and output were much smaller than in the previous three years." Interest payments on foreign debt placed an increasing burden and were an important factor in steeper balance of payments deficits. For 22 countries in the region — except Venezuela — the total deficit rose from US \$ 12.6 billion (G\$ 31.5 billion) in 1974 to over US \$ 16 billion (G\$ 40 billion) in 1975, the Report said.

The growth rate was reported to be "particularly slow" in most Caribbean countries, with Trinidad and Tobago recording an increase of five per cent in the Gross Domestic Product (Trinidad and Tobago is the only oil-producing country in Caricom)¹³⁾.

In early 1976, the Secretary General, Alister McIntyre, told the Summit meeting of the Caribbean Economic Community that the region was faced with "unprecedented difficulties" including a 20 per cent inflation rate, "scandalous" food importation bill of \$ 1,000 million, a worsening balance of payments problem, high and growing unemployment, shortage of funds for the public sector and "startling increases" in consumption expenditure. In early 1977, he said that "with all the optimism in the world, the Caribbean region will be in deep trouble throughout 1977 and for a large part of 1978".

Mr. McIntyre is not a lone voice. President of the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), Mr. William Demas, has also described the 1977 economic outlook for the region as bleak: "*It is obvious to anybody that 1977 will be a hard year for Caribbean countries, except Trinidad and Tobago which is fortunate to have petroleum...*"

There are "persistent and not unreasonable" demands from the less-developed member-countries of the Caribbean Common Market (Caricom), the relative position of which has worsened. Expressing their dissatisfaction, they refused to ratify a new Caricom Process List, due to have come into operation in January 1977, and in a statement pointed out:

Despite the special measures, the LDCs share of the Caricom gross national product has been reduced by about 50 per cent and the gap between the relatively well off MDCs and the relatively worse off LDCs has widened.

The Caricom fiscal and other incentives have failed to stimulate the flow of investment into the LDC's and the relatively small exports of manufactured goods from the LDCs to the MDCs have been reduced still further by the impositions of import licensing restrictions in the MDCs.

Given these realities, it is true to say that Caribbean regional integration instruments and the direction which the integration movement has taken over the years do not reflect an appreciation of the situation in and economic characteristics of the LDC's.¹⁴⁾

Commenting on the situation, Mr. Lennie Hill, immediate past President of the Barbados Chamber of Commerce said on May 26, 1977, that Caricom was now "largely a skeleton of its hopes, a dismembered spirit from which all flesh like sincerity is vanished." Previously, on December 5, 1976, Prime Minister Eric Williams charged that "regional integration is moving backwards."

Growing frustration is causing everyone to drift off, "doing his own thing".

In Trinidad and Tobago, the Cabinet has decided to carry out an investigation into illegal immigrants, deemed by the *Trinidad Express* as "unexpected guests".

The Barbados government is considering to give greater incentives to foreign banks. No doubt it is looking for capital from banks, such as the International Bank and Trust Company of the Middle East with directors from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Arab Emirates, which have recently registered in St. Vincent.

In Guyana and Jamaica, on the other hand, because of the aggravation of the situation and the intensification of the political and ideological struggles for national and social liberation, changes have been made in domestic and foreign policies in an anti-imperialist direction.

In Guyana, the government has nationalised¹⁵ the two North American-owned bauxite companies, and the sugar plantations and the commercial companies, owned by Jessels Associates and Booker Bros. McConnell and Co. Limited (UK). Increasingly, it has also taken an anti-imperialist position on foreign affairs.

The Manley government of Jamaica imposed a levy¹⁶ of US \$ 11.16 per long ton on bauxite which increased revenue in that sector to J\$ 174,972,000 in 1974, a 428 per cent increase over the 1973 figure of J\$ 40,840,000.

The government also acquired 51 per cent interest in the mining assets of Kaiser, Revere and Reynolds, land held by ALCOA and sugar land owned by Tate and Lyle at Frome, Monymush and Bernard Lodge.

Jamaica has moved like Guyana progressively in an anti-imperialist direction in foreign affairs. After Mr. Manley's visit to Cuba in mid-1975, he remarked that "Cuba and Jamaica have both been destroyed by capitalism, but now we are building bridges to unite our two people," that it was a great opportunity to look at "our sister country and to see a great people and to meet a great leader in Dr. Fidel Castro", and that "all the members of the delegation had been very impressed by the quality of happiness and contentment which was obvious to us wherever we went in the country."

Because of the forthright acts and statements, the imperialists and their local collaborators made a concerted drive to destabilise the government as in Guyana in 1962-64 and in Chile in 1972-73. The CIA, working closely with the local reactionary opposition, engineered mob violence, terrorism and arson; the transnational companies embarked on a course aimed at curtailing production and the North American monopoly-controlled press carried out a campaign to scare away the tourists.

The result was that in the 12-month period ending June 30, 1976, Jamaica's total exports were 14 per cent lower than in the previous year. The largest share (78 per cent) of the shortfall was contributed by alumina, which accounted for half of Jamaica's export earnings in 1974-75. For the first six months of 1976, Jamaica's balance of payments registered an overall deficit compared with a small surplus for the corresponding period of 1975. But the People's National Party weathered the storm and won the general elections with an overwhelming victory.

Imperialism is now resorting to more subtle methods. Having wreaked havoc on the economy, it is using economic levers such as making aid from the International Monetary Fund conditional on devaluation of the

Jamaica currency, and other measures in order to turn backwards the anti-imperialist process. In this regard, it is drawing on its rich experience in countries like Mexico, Bolivia, Egypt and Peru where it had succeeded in halting and reversing the revolutionary process.

In Guyana, it will use its influence to develop a new bourgeoisie, in addition to the large bureaucratic bourgeoisie of the ruling elite, as social support for capitalism-imperialism and for keeping the country on a capitalist course.

This has been hinted in a recent article in the *Guyana Chronicle*, (May 26, 1977), on the Eleventh Anniversary of Independence by Dr. Fred Sukdeo, a government economic adviser. He wrote:

The current foreign exchange problem suggests that a new economic policy is urgently required. The dialectics of this period requires a temporary shift to selected capitalist strategies for development. The state sector is not an efficient producer of wealth and is likely to continue to experience complex transitional problems.

Foreign private capital should be encouraged to invest with incentives that are even more favourable than similar developing countries. The local capitalist and the petty-bourgeois class should also be provided with opportunities to enhance the developmental process.

The Caribbean peoples must exert revolutionary vigilance. Socialist rhetoric, whether "cooperative socialist" or otherwise is not enough. Imperialism has learnt from experience that it need have no fear from certain brands of socialism. During the Angolan crisis, "Arab socialist" Egypt and "African socialist" Senegal lined up on the side of imperialism and apartheid racism. The "democratic socialist" stance of the British Labour Party and the Social Democratic Party of the Federal Republic of Germany and their governments has not prevented them from alignment with imperialism.

The grip of the multinationals in the Caribbean must be broken. Anti-imperialist unity, militancy and struggle are an urgent necessity.

JUNE 1977.

FOOTNOTES

1. Dr. Ralph Gonsalves, "The Spectre of Imperialism: The Case of the Caribbean," U. W. I., Barbados, p. 16—17.
2. Dr. Trevor Farrell, "The Petroleum and Petrochemical Industries," Oilfields Workers Trade Union, San Fernando, Trinidad and Tobago, back cover.
3. W. R. Grace and Co. is headed by J. Peter Grace, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the CIA-controlled American Institute of Free Labor Development (AIFLD), who in September 1965 said: "... AIFLD trains Latin Americans in techniques of combatting communist infiltration. This training had paid off handsomely in many situations. For instance, AIFLD trainees have driven communists from port unions which were harassing shipping in Latin America. After several years of effort AIFLD men were able to take over control of the port union in Uruguay which had long been dominated by communists. AIFLD men also helped drive communists from control of British Guiana. They prevented the communists from taking over powerful unions in Honduras and helped to drive the communists from strong "jugular" unions in Brazil."
4. NACLA — "How a US Corporation grows fat off Trinidad," *Caribbean Contact*, July 1976.
5. Dr. Ralph Gonsalves, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
6. Francesco Pistolese in "Oil Multinationals and the Economic Crisis," (*New Perspectives*, 2/70, pp. 16—17), contends that "the oil multinationals under the cover of aiming at tapping new power sources for the benefit of the whole world, are only trying to tap savings all over the world for their own benefit. As a matter of fact, they have been investing in the USA the profits they collect elsewhere; in the first nine months of 1974, they invested in the US \$ 8.9 billion, of which \$ 4 billion came out of profits collected abroad."
7. Trevor Farrell, *op. cit.*, back cover.
8. *Monthly Review*, New York, October 1963, p. 315.
9. Ralph E. Gonsalves, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
10. The Caribbean Development Bank, with connections with imperialism approved by the end of 1975 loans amounting to US \$ 90.9 million,

of which 41.2 per cent was for infrastructure, 22.6 per cent for agriculture and 15.6 per cent for industry. This is in keeping with the policy pursued by the imperialist-controlled World Bank, which by June 30, 1970, had loaned to Latin America and the Caribbean US \$ 5.4 billion, with 78 per cent for infrastructure and only 19 per cent for industry, agriculture, forestry and fishing.

11. The prices, expressed in Guyana currency, for fuel including an increase in government tax from 31 cents in September 1973 to 79 cents per gallon for gasoline, and from 0.5 cents in 1973 to 5.5 cents in 1977 for gas oil, are as follows:

	Pre-1973	May 1974	May 1977	June 1977
Kerosene	\$ 0.51	\$ 1.18	\$ 1.18	\$ 1.18
Regular Gasolene	\$ 0.79	\$ 1.95 1/2	\$ 2.24 1/2	\$ 2.50
Premium Gasolene	\$ 0.91	\$ 2.06 1/2	\$ 2.35 1/2	\$ 2.71
Gas Oil	\$ 0.44	\$ 1.26	\$ 1.44	\$ 1.56

12. Dr. Ralph Gonsalves, *ibid*, p. 21.
13. *Sunday Chronicle*, 3/10/76, p. 6.
14. Earl Huntley, "Caricom's Growing Problems", *Caribbean Contact*, February 1977, p. 11.
15. Generous compensation terms, amounting to 30 per cent of total debt payments in 1976, are now contributing to serious socio-economic problems — balance of payments and budgetary deficits, cuts in subsidies, shortage of foreign exchange, curtailment of essential imports, shortages and black-marketing, short work-week and retrenchment of workers.
16. Panama and other banana exporting countries sought to impose a levy of one dollar per case on the transnationals which were extracting more than \$ 3 per case. To surmount such moves, the transnationals resort even to bribery. United Brands admitted giving US \$ 1 million to a Honduran official to secure a cut in the banana export tax.

APPENDIX I

DESPATCH

(From the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the Question of West Indian Federation).

Colonial Office
Downing Street.

14th March, 1945.

Sir,

I have recently been considering the question of constitutional policy in relation to the Colonies of the Caribbean area considered as a whole. The declared aim of British policy is to quicken the progress of all Colonial peoples towards the ultimate goal of self-government and I take this opportunity of re-affirming that basic aim in relation to the Caribbean area. I feel, however, that the time has come to amplify this general statement of the purpose of His Majesty's Government by indicating the considerations which in their view should be borne in mind in the development of self-governing institutions in the British Colonies in the Caribbean.

2. It will, I think, be generally agreed that under modern conditions it has become more difficult for very small units, whatever their outward political form may be, to maintain full and complete independence in all aspects of Government. Nor do existing tendencies make it appear any more likely that such independence would be easier for those small communities in the future. Indeed the trend of post-war development, under the stimulus of greatly improved air communications, may well show a marked impulse towards a closer political and other association of those smaller territorial units which through proximity or a common language, have mutual interests. I consider it important, therefore, that the more immediate purpose of developing self-governing institutions in the individual British Caribbean Colonies should keep in view the larger project of their political federation, as being the end to which, in the view of the Royal Commission, policy should be directed.

3. The question of West Indian Federation has a long history which it is unnecessary for me to recapitulate here. I recognise that the existing differences between the Colonies of this area in their historical tradition, social organisation, would make it impracticable to set up immediately a federal organisation. Moreover, in spite of the desire which has been expressed in certain quarters for a West Indian Federation it may be that

public opinion generally would not be ready to accept a federal constitution and His Majesty's Government would not wish to endorse such constitution against the wishes of any large section of the community. It is their considered view that movements towards such political unity must come from within and not from outside the area. For the reasons which I have set forth in the preceding paragraph of this despatch, however, and in view of the greater economy and efficiency in general of large scale units of government, under modern conditions, I consider that the aim of British policy should be the development of federation in the Caribbean at such time as the balance of opinion in the various colonies is in favour of a change, and when the development of communications makes it administratively practicable. The ultimate aim of any federation which may be established would be full internal self-government within the British Commonwealth. But it will no doubt be generally appreciated that financial stability (which is of course very different from economic self-sufficiency) is an essential accompaniment of full self-government and that the latter cannot be a reality without the former. One important responsibility of any federation would therefore be to show that federal administration can be carried on without requiring recurrent financial assistance from outside. Another general consideration is that it may eventually be found that two federations, one of the eastern and one of the western groups, may prove to be preferable to a single federation, while the Bahama Islands may prefer to remain outside federation, at any rate for some time. These, however, are questions which I feel should not be prejudged. Further, any federation must naturally take account of the relationship of individual Colonies with their non-British neighbours.

4. In the light of these circumstances I regard it as desirable that a lead should be given by His Majesty's Government in favour of the aim of federation, and that British policy should aim at the fostering of a sense of West Indian unity and of the removal of the present obstacles in the way of federation. In particular the fullest possible use should be made of every unifying influence, as circumstances permit, by the development of joint West Indian services, joint conferences, and through the organisation established under the Comptroller for Development and Welfare. It will be recognised that in recent years, and particularly during the war, there has been an increase in the matters which have been dealt with on a West Indian as opposed to a purely Colony basis, and that a yet wider field where such unified action could advantageously be taken is now open, e. g. in such matters as the establishment of a West Indian meteorological service, the adoption of the same quarantine code, the development of broadcasting and so forth. Further it is important that in considering the question of federation, attention should not be focussed solely on political matters. There is scope for the development of unified action in the administrative and economic fields. Clearly the economic interests of the British West Indian Colonies would be furthered by common action in many fields. Here I would invite attention to the proposals in my published despatch of the 9th October, 1944, on the question of a West

Indian customs union. His Majesty's Government trust that these and other ways of promoting regional activities will engage the interest and attention of many members of all Colonial legislatures in the area and other persons in a position to influence public opinion and that they will be willing to lend their full and whole-hearted co-operation in the question of federation particularly by their encouragement of all efforts towards common endeavour for the public good.

5. In stating that the aim of British policy should be the fostering of a sense of West Indian Unity, and the establishment of federation at the appropriate time, I wish to make it clear that I should not regard the wide question of federation of the area as a whole as debarring in any way closer association between the existing groups. Such developments as the possible federation of the Leeward and Windward Islands, as recommended by the West India Royal Commission, should not be regarded as in any way alternative to the wider federation. Rather I should regard them as not only desirable in themselves but also as an important step toward the wider project.

6. With the aim of federation in view it is desirable that political developments in each Colony should be definitely related to the wider policy I have enunciated and should, as far as possible, follow similar lines. I recognise, however, that existing differences would make any uniformity of political development impossible at the present time and that constitutional advance in each colony must depend upon its circumstances and needs. At the same time, all such advances should be based on the general policy of fostering the growth of citizenship and a sense of responsibility. Much could be done in that direction by the development of institutions of local government which, even in the form they would have to take among the less advanced sections of any community, should give valuable experience in committee work and so forth, and might be expected, therefore to lead in time to more participation by the people in the work of the central government. I recognise that the history of local government organisations in the West Indies has been a mixed one and that there has been serious criticism of the work of some. Others, however, have proved themselves and I trust that they will develop since local government work is essential to the full participation of the people in the conduct of affairs and to the reality of West Indian citizenship. I attach particular importance to the development of village councils and community work on the lines already recommended, by the Comptroller and his Social Welfare Adviser, as a step towards the growth of social responsibility.

7. I consider that it is desirable that the policy of His Majesty's Government in this matter should be announced and full opportunity given for public discussion of it. I would propose, if you agree, that this despatch should be published in all the Colonies concerned, and it would, I consider, be an advantage if an early opportunity could thereafter be taken

to obtain the opinions of Colonial Legislatures by arranging for each of them to debate the issue of political federation in the West Indies. If all those Legislatures were then to declare themselves in favour of the aim of federation, the next step would be the consideration of the means whereby proposals could be drawn up for such closer association between West Indian Colonies as may prove immediately feasible. One possibility is that a conference of West Indian delegates should be held at a later date, either in the West Indies or in London, to consider the formulation of proposals for that closer association.

8. I am addressing a similar despatch to the Governors of all other Colonies in the Caribbean area, and copies are being sent to the Governor of Bermuda, to the Comptroller, and to the British Section of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission for their information.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
OLIVER STANLEY.

(Sessional Paper No. 21/1945 laid in the British Guiana Legislative Council on 8th August, 1945).

APPENDIX II

Despatch from the Secretary of State No. 216 of the 4th of December, 1947, regarding the Resolutions of the Conference on the Closer Association of the British West Indian Colonies held at Montego Bay, Jamaica, from the 11th to the 19th of September, 1947.

DESPATCH

BRITISH GUIANA
No. 216

Colonial Office
14th December, 1947.

Sir,

I have the honour to address you upon the subject of the Resolutions of the Conference on the Closer Association of the British West Indian Colonies held at Montego Bay, Jamaica, from the 11th until the 19th September, 1947. A copy of the Resolutions and copies of the Reports of the Sub-Committee of the Conference are enclosed. These documents have already been made public. A Report on the Conference will be laid before Parliament shortly, but in the meantime I feel sure that the Legislatures of the Colonies represented at the Conference will share my anxiety that consideration of its Resolutions should not be delayed. I should therefore be grateful if you would take an early opportunity to invite the Legislature of the Colony under your administration to consider the Resolutions in the light of this despatch, in order that I may be apprised of their views.

2. Before I deal with the individual Resolutions seriatim I desire to express my warm appreciation of the wisdom and statesmanship which were shown by the members of all the delegations to the Conference, resulting in the framing of Resolutions which, except for a single reservation by one delegation, were unanimously adopted. I congratulate the delegates upon the notable success by which their deliberations have so deservedly been attended.

3. It is now for the Legislatures which were represented at the Conference to take its recommendations into consideration. Should they agree in endorsing the Resolutions, the further action to be taken respectively by the Legislatures themselves and by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom might, I suggest, follow the lines indicated below. In order that, if they so agree, there should be no available delay, I am

already giving preliminary attention to the manner in which the Resolutions might be implemented, but I wish to emphasise that there can be no question of any such action being taken except at the expressed desire of the Legislatures.

4. I wish in the first place to record my concurrence in the terms of Resolutions 1 and 2. Resolution 1 states the goal to which most of the remaining Resolutions recommend lines of approach; and the recommendation in Resolution 2, that the political development of the British Caribbean territories should be "pursued as an aim in itself, without prejudice and in no way subordinate to progress towards federation," accurately represents the policy of His Majesty's Government, as I indicated in the course of the Conference. Neither of these Resolutions, nor Resolution 8 calls for specific action at this stage. On the basis of responsibility for action, the remaining Resolutions of the Conference may be divided into two groups, according to whether the initiative will rest primarily with the Colonial Legislatures or with His Majesty's Government. On receipt of the views of the Legislatures I shall address you separately upon the subject of each individual Resolution, or group of Resolutions; at this stage I propose only to comment briefly upon them together as follows:-

1. Resolutions Requiring Action Primarily by Colonial Legislatures:

(i) RESOLUTION 3:

I suggest that, if this Resolution is approved by the Legislatures, the proposal contained in paragraph 27 of the Report of the Fact-Finding Meeting on Shipping, held in Barbados in July 1947, should be varied by assigning the organisation of the projected British Caribbean Shipping Committee to the Chairman of the Standing Closer Association Committee, the appointment of which is recommended in Resolution 6, instead of to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies. The Legislatures might perhaps also agree each to appoint one representative to the Committee and to provide upon an appropriate basis of contribution any funds which it may require.

(ii) RESOLUTION 4:

Should the Legislatures endorse this Resolution, I suggest that they might:

- (a) at once inform the Comptroller for Development and Welfare to that effect;
- (b) arrange with the primary producers in their respective terri-

tries for the choice of representatives on — say — the basis of the Schedule to Resolution 6;

and

- (c) agree to provide in suitable proportions the funds required to meet the the cost of the proposed conference.

(iii) RESOLUTION 5:

If this Resolution is accepted, it might be convenient to hold a small ad hoc conference for the purpose of considering ways and means. Such a Conference might be convened independently or in connection with any other suitable regional conference likely to be held in the near future. In either event the Comptroller for Development and Welfare might appropriately be asked to make the necessary arrangements. I am meanwhile considering how best I can implement the recommendations contained in paragraph (c) of this Resolution, should the Legislatures desire me to do so.

(iv) RESOLUTION 9:

If it is agreed to set up the Committee proposed in this Resolution its organisation might, I suggest, be assigned to the Chairman of the Standing Closer Association Committee. One representative from each Colony would appear appropriate in view of the proposal that the Committee should be a small one. It is hoped that the Legislatures would be willing to provide any funds required by the Committee on a basis to be agreed between them.

(v) RESOLUTIONS 10 AND 11:

Resolution 11 is straightforward, but Resolution 10 covers a large number of complicated and important matters requiring much careful examination. It therefore seems advisable that, if both Resolutions are accepted by the Legislatures, the recommendations which they contain should be made the subject of early consideration by the Standing Closer Association Committee, which might be asked to make proposals for their implementation.

11. Resolutions Requiring Action Primarily by His Majesty's Government:

(i) RESOLUTION 6:

This is in many respects the most important of all the Resolutions

and it is clearly desirable that if it is accepted by the Legislatures, no time should be lost in taking action upon it. Tentative plans for this purpose are being prepared, and I am glad to confirm that all costs of the Committee other than the expenses of the delegates appointed to it by the Legislatures would be borne by His Majesty's Government.

(ii) RESOLUTIONS 7 AND 14:

I am also considering the action which will be required if the Legislatures agree that the two Commissions proposed in these resolutions should be appointed. In those cases also necessary expenditure would be borne by His Majesty's Government on the lines indicated in (i) above.

(iii) RESOLUTIONS 12 and 13:

These matters will be pursued in consultation with the Lord Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

5. In dealing with the general outcome of the Conference as embodied in these resolutions, it is necessary to refer to their important bearing upon the related proposals for closer union of the Leeward and Windward Islands, as set out in the despatch and accompanying memorandum which I addressed to the Governors of those territories on the 22nd of July, 1947. It will be remembered that in paragraph 8 of the despatch dated the 14th of February, 1947, in which I proposed that the Conference should be held, I expressed the opinion that the closer union of the Leeward and Windward Islands, which had been accepted in principle at the St. Kitts Conference, was most desirable in the interest of those Islands themselves, not least since it would enable them to take part more effectively in any wider federation. Nothing that has happened since then gives me any reason to take a different view, and it is still my hope that the Leeward and Windward Islands will eventually enter as one group into a federation of the British Caribbean Colonies. Nevertheless, I fully appreciate that this is a matter which can be decided only by the will of the peoples of those Islands, expressed through their representatives in the Island Legislatures, and that those Legislatures will now wish to consider the question afresh into the light of the Resolutions of the Montego Bay Conference. It may be thought appropriate to await the setting up of the proposed Standing Closer Association Committee; in any case the scheme envisaged by the St. Kitts Conference may require adaptation after the study of any proposals which that Committee may recommend.

6. In conclusion, I feel sure that the delegation to the Montego Bay Conference will wish me to record their gratitude to the Government of

Jamaica and to all those of its officers who contributed to the success of this historic meeting. Particular credit for the smooth and comprehensive administrative arrangements for the Conference is due to the Jamaican Secretariat, and especially to Mr. H. L. Lindo, who acted as Assistant Secretary to the Conference. I am most grateful to Professor C. G. Beasley, Mr S. A. Hammond, G. M. G., and the advisers to the delegations for their contribution to the work of the Conference and its Committees. I trust that the Legislatures will find themselves in early agreement that work should be begun, on the lines indicated, in building upon the foundations laid at the Conference. I shall be glad to facilitate this work by all the means at my disposal.

7. I am addressing this despatch to the Governors of Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, Trinidad and the Windward Islands. Copies are being sent to the Governor of the Bahamas, the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies and the Colonial Attache to the British Embassy, Washington.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,
A. CREECH JONES.

APPENDIX III

CARIFTA AGREEMENT, 1968 RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY FOURTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE ON REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Free Trade should be introduced with respect to all intra-Commonwealth Caribbean trade by May 1st, 1968, subject to a list of reserved commodities which would be freed within a five-year period for the more-developed countries and within a ten-year period for the less-developed countries; subject to special provisions for appeal by a less-developed Territory to the governing body of the Free Trade Area for further extension in any case where serious injury may be done to a territorial industry.

2. The Governments should approach the task of freeing of trade, by using the CARIFTA Agreement as a basis with suitable modifications.

3. The Commonwealth Caribbean Countries shall immediately take steps to initiate studies to determine whether the objective of achieving trade expansion to the mutual benefit of the member states can be facilitated by the establishment of a common external tariff in whole or in part.

4. The principle should be accepted that certain industries may require for their economic operation the whole or a large part of the entire regional market protected by a common external tariff or other suitable instrument. The location of such industries and the criteria to be applied in respect thereof, as well as the implementation of the principle accepted above, should be the subject of immediate study — such study to have special regard to the situation of the relatively less-developed countries.

5. Subject to existing commitments a regional policy of incentives to industry should be adopted as early as possible on the basis of studies mentioned in Resolution 7 below, bearing in mind the special needs of the less-developed countries for preferential treatment, such as soft loans.

6. Marketing agreements for an agreed list of agricultural commodities should be sought to come into effect at the same time as the commencement of free trade and the territories in the region should examine the possibility of restricting imports from extra-regional sources of agricultural products that are produced within the region and are available for satisfying regional demand.

7. The principle of seeking to establish more industries in the less-developed countries should be accepted and the ECLA Secretariat should be

asked to undertake feasibility studies immediately with a view to identifying industries which should be located in the less-developed countries and to devising special measures for securing the establishment of such industries in these countries. These studies should be submitted to governments no later than one year after the commencement of free trade.

8. The Commonwealth Caribbean Countries should endeavour to maintain and improve regional carriers to facilitate the movement of goods and services within the region.

9. The Commonwealth Caribbean Countries should agree to negotiate with the Shipping Conference the rationalisation of freight rates on extra-regional traffic.

10. The ECLA Secretariat for the Caribbean should be asked to undertake a number of studies, for example, studies on the harmonising of incentives and the feasibility of establishing certain regional industries.

11. A Committee of Ministers should be set up immediately, functioning as a sub-committee of the Heads of Government Conference, with general responsibility for the establishment of Free Trade Area.

APPENDIX IV

THE GRENADA DECLARATION, 1971

ACKNOWLEDGING it to be the inescapable destiny of the people of the West Indies to be bound together in Nationhood;

MINDFUL of the lessons of the past efforts in the cause of West Indian Unity;

CONSCIOUS of the urgent need to end all forms of colonialism in the Caribbean and to secure the effective independence of its peoples;

BELIEVING that the aspirations of the peoples of the West Indies for political freedom and social and economic justice can best be fulfilled through the creation of a West Indian Nation;

DESIRING that in the creation of the Nation the peoples of the West Indies shall be fully involved;

ACCEPTING it to be the responsibility of those who hold these truths to be fundamental to act now in their fulfilment and in so doing to create a West Indian Nation of which all the peoples of the West Indies may one day be a part.

The representatives of the people of Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, St. Kitts (Nevis) Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, assembled at Grenada this 25th day of July, 1971, hereby declare it to be their intention to seek to establish out of their Territories a new State in the Caribbean and to this end to proceed as follows:

- (a) A Preparatory Commission will be set up by November 30, 1971, to prepare for the establishment of the new State. The Preparatory Commission will, if possible, be established within the Commonwealth Caribbean Regional Secretariat under a budget to be separately provided by the Participating Territories.
- (b) The Preparatory Commission will be headed by a Chairman, to be selected by agreement between the Heads of Government of the Participating Territories, who will have responsibility for recruiting all necessary personnel within the ambit of the Commission's budget.
- (c) In addition to the Chairman, the Preparatory Commission will comprise members drawn from the Participating territories nominated by the respective Governments after consultation with the Chairman.

- (d) As far as practicable, Members of the Preparatory Commission will function as technocrats exercising specific responsibilities during the life of the Commission.
- (e) Questions of policy affecting the work of the Preparatory Commission will be referred by the Commission for decision by a Council of Ministers of the participating Territories that will meet periodically for this purpose. The Council will comprise one Minister from each of the Participating Territories designated for this purpose by the Government of that Territory.
- (f) A Constituent Assembly will be established by January 1, 1972, comprising not less than one and not more than three members from each Participating Territory nominated by the Government of that Territory. The Constituent Assembly will have a limited existence of not more than 16 months (ending April 30, 1973) and will be responsible for drafting the Constitution of the new State.
- (g) The Constituent Assembly will ensure the fullest participation of the people of the Region in the formulation of the National Constitution.
- (h) It will be the aim of the Constituent Assembly to complete the draft Constitution by December 31, 1972. It will be the aim of the Participating Territories to secure the necessary Parliamentary approval for the establishment of the new State and to take by March 31, 1973, the necessary constitutional steps (see (1) below) to provide for its establishment.
- (i) The new Constitution will be promulgated on April 22, 1973, and elections will be held throughout the State by June 30, 1973 — assuming this to be the arrangement for assembling the first Government of the State provided for in the Constitution.
- (j) During the life of the Constituent Assembly, the Governments of the Participating Territories will endeavour to coordinate their policies and programmes over as wide a field as possible, but more especially in relation to their dealings with the outside world, and it will be a particular function of the Preparatory Commission to secure such coordination.
- (k) During the life of the Constituent Assembly, Participating Territories will determine the nature of such changes as they may wish to make in their territorial Constitutions — taking account of the work of the Constituent Assembly.
- (l) If, in the light of the Report of the Constituent Assembly Parliamentary approval is secured for the establishment of the new State, the Participating Associated States will, by legislation enacted pursuant

to Section 10 and the Second Schedule to the West Indies Act, 1967, terminate their status as association with the United Kingdom as from April 22, 1973, and amend their Constitutions to give effect to the arrangements agreed upon by the Constituent Assembly for their association with the other Participating Territories in the new State and the Independent States by Constitutional amendment, will likewise provide for their association with the other Participating Territories in the new State.

- (m) Both the legislation to be enacted by the Associated States and the constitutional amendments to be made by the Independent States will empower the Constituent Assembly to promulgate the Constitution of the new State.
- (n) With a view to enabling other Member States of the Conference of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth Caribbean Countries to participate in this Declaration and in the action to be taken under it, this Declaration will be published simultaneously in the Capitals of all Participating Territories on and not before November 1, 1971. Prior to such publication and at the earliest opportunity the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Caribbean Regional Secretariat will bring this Declaration to the notice of the Heads of Government of such other Member States and convey to them the sentiment of West Indian fraternity that underlies the Declaration and the invitation which the Declaration extends for their participation in it.

MADE AT GRAND ANSE, GRENADA, THIS 25TH DAY OF JULY, 1971

Signed by Hon. E. O. Le Blanc
for the Government of Dominica

Signed by Hon. E. M. Gairy
for the Government of Grenada

Signed by Hon. L. F. S. Burnham
for the Government of Guyana

Signed by Hon. P. L. Bradshaw
for the the Government of St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla

Signed by Hon. J. G. M. Compton
for the Government of St. Lucia

Signed by Hon. P. M. Cato
for the Government of St. Vincent

APPENDIX V

TREATY ESTABLISHING THE CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY

PREAMBLE

The Governments of the Contracting States,

DETERMINED to consolidate and strengthen the bonds which have historically existed among their peoples;

SHARING a common determination to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of their peoples for full employment and improved standards of work and living;

CONSCIOUS that these objectives can most rapidly be attained by the optimum utilisation of available human and natural resources of the Region by accelerated, coordinated and sustained economic development, particularly through the exercise of permanent sovereignty over their natural resources; by the efficient operation of common services and functional cooperation in the social, cultural, educational and technological fields; and by a common front in relation to the external world;

CONVINCED of the need to elaborate an effective regime by establishing and utilising institutions designed to enhance the economic, social and cultural development of their peoples;
Have Agreed as follows:

CHAPTER ONE PRINCIPLES

Article 1

Establishment of the Caribbean Community

By this Treaty the Contracting Parties establish among themselves a Caribbean Community (hereinafter referred to as "the Community") having the membership, powers and functions hereinafter specified.

Article 2

Membership

1. Membership of the Community shall be open to:

(a) (i)	Antigua	(viii)	Jamaica
(ii)	Bahamas	(ix)	Montserrat
(iii)	Barbados	(x)	St. Kitts-Nevis- Anguilla
(iv)	Belize	(xi)	St. Lucia
(v)	Dominica	(xii)	St. Vincent
(vi)	Grenada	(xiii)	Trinidad & Tobago
(vii)	Guyana		

(b) Any other State of the Caribbean Region that is in the opinion of the Conference able and willing to exercise the rights and assume the obligations of membership in accordance with Article 29 of this Treaty.

2. States listed in paragraph 1 (a) of this Article the Governments of which sign this Treaty in accordance with Article 22 and ratify it in accordance with Article 23 shall become Member States of the Community.

Article 3

Definition of Less Developed Countries and More Developed Countries

For the purposes of this Treaty the States specified in paragraph 1(a) (iii), (vii), (viii) and (xiii) of Article 2 shall be designated More Developed Countries and the remainder listed in the said paragraph 1(a), other than the Bahamas, shall be designated Less Developed Countries until such time as the Conference otherwise determine by majority decision.

Article 4

Objectives of the Community

The Community shall have as its objectives —

(a) the economic integration of the Member States by the establishment of a common market regime (hereinafter referred to as "the Common Market") in accordance with the provisions of the Annex to this Treaty with the following aims: —

- (i) the strengthening coordination and regulation of the economic and trade relations among Member States in order to promote their accelerated harmonious and balanced development;
 - (ii) the sustained expansion and continuing integration of economic activities, the benefits of which shall be equitably shared taking into account the need to provide special opportunities for the Less Developed Countries;
 - (iii) the achievement of a greater measure of economic independence and effectiveness of its Member States in dealing with states, groups of states and entities of whatever description.
- (b) the coordination of the foreign policies of Member States; and
- (c) functional cooperation, including —
- (i) the efficient operation of certain common services and activities for the benefit of its peoples;
 - (ii) the promotion of greater understanding among its peoples and the advancement of their social, cultural and technological development;
 - (iii) activities in the fields specified in the Schedule and referred to in Article 18 of this Treaty.

CHAPTER TWO ORGANS OF THE COMMUNITY

Article 6

Principal Organs

The principal organs of the Community shall be —

- (a) the Conference of Heads of Government (hereinafter referred to as "the Conference");
- (b) the Common Market Council established under the Annex (hereinafter referred to as "the Council").

Article 7

The Conference

Composition

The Conference shall consist of the Heads of Government of Member States.

Any member of the Conference, may, as appropriate, designate an alternate to represent him at any meeting of the Conference.

Article 8

Functions and Powers

1. The primary responsibility of the Conference shall be to determine the policy of the Community.
2. The Conference may establish, and designate as such, institutions of the Community in addition to those specified in paragraphs (a) to (g) of Article 10 of this Treaty, as it deems fit for the achievement of the objectives of the Community.
3. The Conference may issue directions of a general or special character as to the policy to be pursued by the Council and the Institutions of the Community for the achievement of the objectives of the Community, and effect shall be given to any such directions.
4. Subject to the relevant provisions of this Treaty, the Conference shall be the final authority for the conclusion of treaties on behalf of the Community and for entering into relationships between the Community and International Organisations and States.
5. The Conference shall take decisions for the purpose of establishing the financial arrangements necessary for meeting the expenses of the Community and shall be the final authority on questions arising in relation to the financial affairs of the Community.
6. The Conference may regulate its own procedure and may decide to admit at its deliberations observers, representatives of non-Member States or other entities.
7. The Conference may consult with entities and other organisations within the region and for this purpose may establish such machinery as it deems necessary.

Article 9

Voting in the Conference

1. Each member of the Conference shall have one vote.
2. The Conference shall make decisions and recommendations by the affirmative vote of all its members.
3. A decision shall be binding upon each Member State to which it is directed. A recommendation shall have no binding force. Where, however, a Member State fails to observe a recommendation of the Conference, it shall submit a report to the Conference as early as practicable and in any event not later than six months thereafter, giving reasons for its non-compliance.
4. For the purposes of this Article, abstentions shall not be construed as impairing the validity of decisions or recommendations of the Conference provided that not less than three-quarters of its members including at least two of the More Developed Countries vote in favour of any decision or recommendation.

Article 10

Institutions of the Community

Institutions of the Community shall be -

- (a) the Conference of Ministers responsible for Health
- (b) the Standing Committee of Ministers responsible for Education
- (c) the Standing Committee of Ministers responsible for Labour
- (d) the Standing Committee of Ministers responsible for Foreign Affairs
- (e) the Standing Committee of Ministers responsible for Finance
- (f) the Standing Committee of Ministers responsible for Agriculture
- (g) the Standing Committee of Ministers responsible for Mines
- (h) any other Institution that may be established and designated as such by the Conference in accordance with Article 8.

Article 11

Composition of Institutions of the Community

1. Each Institution of the Community as set out in paragraphs (a) to (h) of Article 10 of this Treaty shall consist of representatives of Member States. Each Member State shall designate a Minister of government as its representative on each such Institution.

2. Where the Minister designated under paragraph 1 of this Article is unable to attend a meeting of the Institution the Member State may designate any other person as an alternate to attend such meeting in his stead.

3. Where the Conference establishes any other Institutions in the exercise of the power conferred on it by paragraph 2 of Article 8 of this Treaty, the composition of such institution shall be determined by the Conference.

Article 12

Functions and Powers

1. Subject to the relevant provisions of Article 8 of this Treaty, the Institutions of the Community shall formulate such policies and perform such functions as are necessary for the achievement of the objectives of the Community within their respective spheres of competence.

2. The Institutions of the Community may regulate their own procedure and -

- (a) may establish such subsidiary committees, agencies and other bodies as they consider necessary for the efficient performance of their functions; and
- (b) may decide to admit at their deliberations observers, representatives of non-Member States or other entities.

Article 13

Voting in Institutions

1. Each Member State represented on an Institution shall have one vote.

2. Unless otherwise provided for, decisions of an Institution shall be made by an affirmative vote of all its members. For the purposes of this paragraph, abstentions shall not be construed as impairing the validity of decisions of an Institution provided that not less than three-quarters of its members including at least two of the More Developed Countries vote in favour of such decisions.

3. Recommendations shall be made by a two-thirds majority vote of all its members including at least two of the More Developed Countries and shall have no binding force. Where a Member State fails to observe a recommendation of an Institution in whole or in part, it shall submit a report to the Institution making the recommendation as early as practi-

cable and in any event not later than six months after receiving notice of such recommendation giving reasons for its non-compliance.

4. Observers at meetings of Institutions shall not have the right to vote.

Article 14

Associate Institutions

1. The following Institutions shall be recognised as Associate Institutions of the Community -

- (a) the Caribbean Development Bank,
- (b) the Caribbean Investment Corporation,
- (c) the West Indies Associated States Council of Ministers,
- (d) the East Caribbean Common Market Council of Ministers,
- (e) the Caribbean Examinations Council,
- (f) the Council of Legal Education,
- (g) the University of Guyana,
- (h) the University of the West Indies,
- (i) the Regional Shipping Council,
- (j) the Caribbean Meteorological Council,
- (k) any other Institution designated as such by the Conference.

2. The Community shall seek to establish such relationships with its Associate Institutions as will promote the achievement of its objectives.

Article 15

The Community Secretariat

1. The Commonwealth Caribbean Regional Secretariat shall be recognised as the Community Secretariat. The Community Secretariat (hereinafter referred to as "the Secretariat") shall be the principal administrative organ of the Community. The headquarters of the Secretariat shall be located in Georgetown, Guyana.

2. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the Community may require. The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Conference (on the recommendation of the Council) for a term not exceeding 5 years and may be reappointed by the Conference. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Community.

3. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the Conference, the Council and of the Institutions of the Community. The Secretary-General shall make an annual report to the Conference on the work of the Community.

4. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and his staff shall neither seek nor receive instructions from any government whether of Member States or otherwise or from any other authority. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as officials of the Community, and shall be responsible only to the Community.

5. Each Member State undertakes to respect the exclusively International character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and his staff and shall not seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

6. The Conference shall approve the Staff Regulations governing the operation of the Secretariat.

7. The Secretary-General shall approve Staff Rules for the operation of the Secretariat.

Article 16

Functions of the Secretariat

The functions of the Secretariat shall be as follows: -

- (a) to service meetings of the Community and any of its Institutions or Committees as may from time to time be determined by the Conference,
- (b) to take appropriate follow-up action on decisions made at such meetings,
- (c) to initiate, arrange and carry out studies on questions of economic and functional cooperation relating to the region as a whole,
- (d) to provide services to Member States at their request in respect of matters relating to the achievement of the objectives of the Community,
- (e) to undertake any other duties which may be assigned to it by the Conference or any of the Institutions of the Community.

CHAPTER THREE

COORDINATION AND FUNCTIONAL COOPERATION

Article 17

Coordination of Foreign Policies

1. To the end that Member States aim at the fullest possible coordination of their foreign policies within their respective competences and seek to adopt as far as possible common positions in major international issues, there is hereby established a Standing Committee of Ministers responsible for Foreign Affairs.

2. The Committee shall have the power to make recommendations to the Governments of Member States represented on the Committee.

3. Only Member States possessing the necessary competence with respect to the matters under consideration from time to time may take part in the deliberations of the Committee.

4. Whereafter the coming into force of the Treaty a Member State achieves full sovereign status such State shall elect whether it wishes to be bound by the provisions of this Article.

5. The recommendations of the Committee shall be made by an affirmative vote of all the Member States competent and participating in the deliberations.

6. The provisions of Article 13 shall not apply to this Article.

Article 18

Functional Cooperation

Without prejudice to the requirements of any other provision of this Treaty, Member States in furtherance of the objectives set out in Article 4 of this Treaty, undertake to make every effort to cooperate in the areas set out in the Schedule to this Treaty.

Article 33

General Provision of the Common Market

The provisions of the Annex shall govern the establishment, membership and operation of the Common Market.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, being duly authorised thereto by their respective Governments, have affixed their signatures below this Treaty.

Done at Chaguaramas on the 4th day of July, 1973.

Signed by ERROL W. BARROW
for the Government of Barbados

Signed by L. F. S. BURNHAM
for the Government of Guyana

Signed by MICHAEL MANLEY
for the Government of Jamaica

Signed by ERIC WILLIAMS
for the Government of Trinidad and Tobago.

APPENDIX VI

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CARIBBEAN ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONFERENCE HELD IN GEORGETOWN, GUYANA

August 30—31 and September 1, 1972

1. FOR A DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-IMPERIALIST CARIBBEAN UNION

WHEREAS the imperialist strategists in keeping with their new idea of "ideological frontiers" in place of "geographical frontiers" which was based on the principles of sovereignty — self-determination, non-interference and territorial integrity — advocated regional integration for the benefit of their multinational corporations;

AND WHEREAS in the Commonwealth Caribbean, the puppets of the imperialists established the Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA), the counterpart of the Central American Common Market (CACM) and the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA);

AND WHEREAS CARIFTA has failed to "deepen" into a Common Market because of differences arising mainly from narrow-nationalist, chauvinistic considerations and this failure, in addition to the acceleration of the revolutionary momentum in the region, has led to the move for a Caribbean Union, which is seen as a better vehicle for foreign control and domination of the area politically, militarily and economically;

NOW, THEREFORE, this Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference warns against this new imperialist manoeuvre, and resolves at the same time, to work steadfastly for a democratic, anti-imperialist Caribbean union.

2. STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM

WHEREAS we recognise that imperialism has as its objective the continued merciless exploitation and oppression of the peoples of the Caribbean in particular and the world in general;

AND WHEREAS imperialism manifests itself in the form of colonialism in the area; the so-called Dutch Antilles, Surinam, Cayenne, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and all those territories that have associated status with Britain are still colonies and are engaged in the struggle for national liberation; the manipulations and manoeuvres of imperialism seek to further enhance the grip on the Caribbean territories and at frustrating the efforts of the progressive forces to free the masses from their manacles, of allowing the free development of the productive forces and the

growth of true people's democracy; we are aware of the iniquitous and subversive role of the Brazilian government as the agent of U. S. imperialism in Latin America;

BE IT RESOLVED that this Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference strenuously condemns this mean and outrageous aggression against the peoples of the Caribbean, Latin America and all peace-loving peoples of the world;

FIRMLY supports the just struggles of the peoples in these colonies and semi-colonies for self-determination and national liberation;

STRONGLY urges the international agencies and the metropolitan countries to provide the aid necessary which would sustain these colonies and semi-colonies and associated states as independent;

AND VIGOROUSLY condemns the role taken by the government of Brazil as the spearhead and instrument of the Nixon doctrine in Latin America.

3. ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

RESOLVED that this Anti-Imperialist Conference condemns the restrictions on civil liberties and denial of human rights which many governments in the region have imposed on citizens, that is to say, the restriction on freedom of movement by banning the entry of persons, by denial of work permits on political or ideological grounds; the increasing trend towards control of the freedom of expression and ideas; the enactment of legislation severely restricting the freedom of the press; the freedom of workers to join the trade union of their choice and to demonstrate; and the denial of the right of the people to elect the government of their choice by free and fair elections.

AND CALLS upon the people of the territories in which these restrictions on civil liberties and denial of human rights occur to protest to their respective governments individually and collectively against existing violations as and when they occur.

4. RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

CONSIDERING that racism and racial discrimination is a social evil, a product of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism which hinders the development of the Caribbean and retards the development of the human personality;

REALISING that some Caribbean governments promote racism and racial divisions in order to perpetuate reactionary rule;

BE IT RESOLVED that this Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference condemns racism and racial discrimination in all its forms everywhere and more particularly apartheid in South Africa and Rhodesia, and jim-crowism in the U. S. A.;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Caribbean Anti-Imperialist

Conference demands the enactment of laws and the establishment of institutions which would prohibit the practice of racism and racial discrimination.

5. SOLIDARITY WITH CHILE

THE CONFERENCE, CONSIDERING

that the imperialist and oligarchical forces are carrying out a vast conspiracy against the government of the Unidad Popular in Chile;

that the international monopolies are intensifying their manoeuvres more rigidly in the economic blockade against Chile as they had tried unsuccessfully against Cuba;

that the information and press agencies controlled by imperialism are propagating news that the Chilean situation is nearly chaotic with the hope of reducing the support for the government;

RESOLVES that this Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference expresses firm solidarity with the Allende government and the parties that form the Unidad Popular;

AND STRONGLY recommends to the parties and revolutionary organizations represented at this Conference the promotion of an extensive campaign in support of the government and people of Chile.

6. SUPPORT FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

This Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference
ACCEPTING that every nation or people has the right to self-determination;

RECOGNISING that no nation is free if one nation is oppressed;

REALISING that imperialism, headed by U. S. imperialism, savagely oppresses many nations of the world;

ACKNOWLEDGING the need for the strongest unity and solidarity of all peoples everywhere;

CONCERNED that some pro-imperialist governments, posturing as progressives and revolutionaries, give financial assistance to the African liberation movement opportunistically to enhance their own image and to capitalize on the sympathies of the Caribbean peoples;

DEMANDS that all governments in the Caribbean give the broadest possible support to all liberation movements, including the African, and especially the Indo-Chinese who have been in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, and also to the struggle of the black people and other oppressed minorities of the United States.

7. END BLOCKADE OF CUBA

This Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference,
CONSIDERED that Cuba is a sovereign member of the international

community of nations and that the Cuban government and people are a guiding light to the Caribbean and rest of Latin America in their struggle against racial oppression, economic exploitation and imperialist domination;

DEMANDS that Caribbean and Latin American governments call on the U. S. government to end its anti-democratic and criminal blockade of Cuba, and further that they themselves extend full diplomatic trade, scientific and cultural relations with the Cuban government and people.

8. BLACK POWER

This Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference recognises Black Power in its revolutionary, anti-imperialist form. Such an expression of revolutionary Black Power becomes a new force in the fight against racism, cultural domination and economic oppression practised on the Caribbean and the capitalist world. We accept the revolutionary interpretation of Black Power as part of the world struggle against imperialism but firmly reject the narrow nationalist view, as manifested in some countries, that promotes black capitalism and retaliatory black racism.

9. ON VIETNAM

CONSIDERED that the recently-concluded Conference of Foreign Ministers of the the Non-Aligned countries, held in Guyana, in response to the heightened genocidal aggression by the United States of America against the Vietnamese people, called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Vietnam, accepted the 7-point programme of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG) as a just basis for a political solution to the Vietnamese problem, and seated the PRG and the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia;

BE IT RESOLVED that this Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference condemns U. S. aggression in Indochina, more particularly the intensive bombing and mining of ports and waterways in North Vietnam; and calls for an immediate end to the bombing and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. puppet troops;

AND BE IT RESOLVED that this Conference urges all governments and peoples of the Caribbean to support fully the decision on Indo-China of the Non-Aligned Conference of Foreign Ministers.

10. ON THE PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE

CONSIDERING that Puerto Rico is a Latin American nation with its own personality achieved during more than 400 years of struggle;

AWARE of the military intervention and occupation in Puerto Rico by the mercenary and invading army of the Yankee imperialism in 1898 which has continued to the present time;

CONSCIOUS of the nature of the political domination that the Puerto Rican people have been subjected to as a consequence of the imperialist military occupation, which has caused the disappearance of tens of thousands of medium and small businessmen, the imprisonment and arrest throughout the country of thousands of workers, peasants and students who try to recover their land, and maintains another similar number in the metropolitan prisons;

This Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference

DEMANDS the total and immediate independence of Puerto Rico from the U. S. A.;

URGES the Nations to implement as early as possible Resolution 1514 (XV) in the case of P. R.;

CALLS for the immediate release of all political prisoners.

11. ON FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

WHEREAS electoral fraud poses a grave threat to representative government and is a danger to peace and security of the Caribbean;

AND WHEREAS electoral fraud has resulted in a grave political crisis and unrest, and to an effective no-vote boycott campaign during the 1971 general election in Trinidad and Tobago;

AND WHEREAS the extensive electoral fraud resorted to by the PNC government during the 1968 general election, the 1970 local government election, and the 1971 Amerindian "captain" election has resulted in grave dissatisfaction and discontent;

BE IT RESOLVED that this Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Conference strongly condemns the practice of electoral fraud and urges concerted regional action for the setting up of adequate machinery to ensure that elections are free and fair.

APPENDIX VII

THE HAVANA COMMUNIQUÉ

The following is the official communiqué released in Havana, Cuba, by Participants at a meeting held in May 1977, of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Caribbean:

1. Having been invited to participate in the May Day activities in Havana, the representatives of the parties belonging to the international communist movement in the Caribbean sub-region, held a fraternal meeting, at which they had a fruitful exchange of views on the social, economic, and political situation in the Caribbean area, prospects for its development, and strengthening solidarity and cooperation among themselves.

2. Representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba, the Guadeloupe Communist Party, the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, the Unified Party of Haitian Communists, the Martinique Communist Party, the Puerto Rican Communist Party, the Dominican Communist Party took part in this meeting, along with the Communist Party of Venezuela as observer.

During their stay in Cuba, the participants were received by the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, Fidel Castro, with whom they had a fraternal and long conversation.

3. The representatives of the Communist parties of the area, recognized that the international situation is characterized by a continuous advance of the forces of democracy and national liberation, and by a growing tendency towards socialism which have been victoriously manifested on the African continent, and are also expressed in the Caribbean.

4. They appreciated as a positive element, the adoption of anti-imperialist stands among some governments of the region, as well as a favourable trend towards unity in the struggle for economic independence, among the states of the area.

5. They also noted the importance of the sustained development of revolutionary movements and currents in Caribbean countries, some of which embrace Marxist-Leninist theory as a weapon in the struggle for their peoples' definitive national liberation.

6. The parties verified the continuation of imperialism's hostile policy in the area, which is supported by internal reactionary forces, and is characterized by attempts to halt the advance of progressive ideas, and of the national liberation movement, to destabilize or overthrow Caribbean governments, and to prevent their unity in the struggle against economic underdevelopment, and for the preservation of Caribbean culture, thus perpetuating their colonial and neo-colonial presence, and maintaining their systems of aggressive military bases.

7. Under new conditions determined by the recent governmental change in the United States of America, there is an evident intent to use new forms in moving imperialist policy ahead, resorting to more subtle methods, that imply no modification in imperialism's essential aggressiveness against the peoples of the Caribbean and their progressive forces.

This new situation demands an adequate response in order to prevent imperialism from attaining its objectives.

8. The representatives of the Communist parties of the Caribbean verified once again Cuba's great success in building socialism and in developing its democratic institutions.

Hailing the firm internationalist position of Cuba, they energetically repudiated the continuing United States policy of aggression, and agreed on the need for the U. S. government to immediately and unconditionally lift the economic blockade against the first socialist state in America.

9. The existence of anachronistic forms of colonial domination in the area constitutes a flagrant violation of human rights, and a danger to peace and progress for the peoples in the region. Puerto Rico, which is threatened with being converted into yet another state of the United States of America, is one of the most dramatic cases.

In this regard, the parties noted the need to continue efforts to achieve the most firm and determined solidarity with the peoples of the Caribbean, in their struggle to eliminate colonialism, and for the right of the present English, French, Dutch and United States colonies to self-determination.

10. The parties repudiated the existence of regimes in the area which, serving imperialism's interests, surrender their natural resources, keep their people in the most abject cultural backwardness, block national unity and the development of class consciousness among workers; deny their people democratic liberties; subordinate their foreign policy to the dictates of foreign domination and, as in the case of Haiti, are directly responsible for the high degree of misery among the masses, whom they deprive of the most elementary human rights.

They therefore agreed on the need to mobilize world public opinion to demand that such crimes and torture be stopped, that the Haitian patriots in jail or missing be set free, and that democratic rights be respected in that country.

11. The Communist parties of the Caribbean ratified their common position on the meaning of the struggle against imperialism, for national independence, democracy, people's well-being, peace and socialism, as included in the final Declaration of the Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, signed in Havana, Cuba, on June 13, 1975, and they recognized that the essential principles expressed in it are still in force.

12. The Communist parties of the Caribbean joined in saluting the efforts of the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence among states, on the basis of mutual respect, equality and self-determination.

APPENDIX VIII

PART OF DECLARATION OF CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES AND GROUPS OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN,

March 30 — April 1, 1977

THIS meeting marks a significant and important stage of Marxist-Communist development in the area. It is an expression of growing anti-imperialist unity in an area, whose history has been one of economic balkanization and comes at a time when Marxism-Leninism is growing as a force in the struggle against imperialism.

The meeting carried out a scientific-realistic assessment of the political, economic and social situation in the region stressing the continuing danger posed by U. S. imperialism to the progress and well-being of the working people of the Caribbean.

At the international level, the meeting recognized that the characterization of this epoch as one of the transition from capitalism to socialism, is correct. The recent victories of Angola, Vietnam, Mozambique, Cambodia and Guinea-Bissau, have created a further change in the balance of forces in the world situation. The growing trend on the international scale towards socialism, has not gone unnoticed in the Caribbean, nor has any territory been able to remain untouched.

It noted the "unprecedented difficulties" facing the Caribbean Community. Recognising that imperialist domination and colonial and neo-colonial rule were the root causes of the exploitation, degradation, backwardness, and poverty of the Caribbean people, it urged Marxist-Leninist parties and groups to carry on an unrelenting struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, so as to lay the foundation for social progress and social Justice.

The Meeting expressed complete unanimity in support of all national liberation struggles for the removal of bases, and ending of military agreements; it pledged its support also for the bigger struggle for an end to the arms race, for disarmament and détente. All delegates signed the Stockholm Appeal 1975 and agreed to intensify the campaign in their respective territories for an end to the arms race, for disarmament and world peace.

The meeting agreed that the prerequisite for the achievement of these objectives was unity — anti-imperialist unity at the national, regional and international levels.

The meeting recognised the need for Marxist-Leninist and other revolutionary movements in the English-speaking Caribbean, to forge close

links not only with other Marxist-Leninist organisations and liberation movements, but also with the democratic working class movements in the advanced capitalist countries, as well as with peace forces all over the world particularly with the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries, for the attainment of the region's objective of national liberation and social progress.

Democracy and the complete involvement of the working people in all aspects of life are an absolute prerequisite to prevent the erosion of gains made, and to ensure social progress. Consequently, the Meeting noted the necessity for countries individually and on a regional basis, to ensure the practice of the fullest democracy. In very many states in the region reactionary governments which saw their privileged positions threatened, were eroding the fundamental rights and civil liberties of the people. Political and racial discrimination, restrictions of freedom of expression and freedom of movement, denial of or interference with the stream of justice, invasion of the rights of cultural groups of Caribbean life exist with different degrees of emphasis. Attention was given to these negative and retrogressive trends despite the changing position of countries like Guyana and Jamaica to an anti-imperialist direction. The duality of these trends necessitate a flexible yet principled position and approach by Marxist-Leninists.

It pledged to struggle for the incorporation into the Caricom Treaty a Convention on Human Rights.

The delegates saw the necessity to intensify their work among the working class and the peasantry, and progressive sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and the intellectuals in order to build strong communist groups and parties and a broad anti-imperialist front. The unity of purpose and exchange of information as well as the high level of ideological discussion among the Marxist Groups and Parties present fortify their belief in the correctness of the course. With such a basis being laid the Marxist Groups and Parties are better equipped to grapple with the situation each faces as well as gain a broad perspective of the region in a global context.

APPENDIX IX

EXCERPTS FROM THE DOCUMENT OF THE CONFERENCE OF LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, JUNE 1975

U. S. Imperialism

Since U. S. imperialism is the main, common enemy, the strategy and the tactics of the revolution in Latin America, for those of us who conceive it as a revolution whose final aim is socialism, go through anti-imperialism.

United Front

The anti-imperialist struggle that will lead Latin America to final independence allows and demands the participation of the broadest social sectors, and the leading role in that struggle corresponds to the working class. The working peasants are their natural allies. These are the social classes that aspire to the most profound transformation.

If anti-imperialist unity is essential, the unity of the forces of the left within it is even more essential.

People's Involvement

Economic development cannot attain the accelerated pace necessary for our countries to bring about a solution to their serious problems of backwardness, unemployment, misery, illiteracy without a decisive participation of the people's forces, of the workers, working peasants, and the urban and rural middle strata. And our peoples, just as Cuba's example indicates, will be mobilised to that extraordinary degree only through profound transformations which — in practice — prove to the workers of the countryside and the cities, to the intellectuals and professionals, that the revolution is theirs.

Nationalism

It is true that the measures of defence of the domestic economy are not always accompanied by a genuine anti-imperialist policy. In some cases, it is strictly bourgeois nationalism which does not result in aspirations of transformation of the domestic economy, nor places the govern-

ment that puts them into practice in progressive positions in view of the principal problems debated today. Nationalism can be transformed into anti-imperialist and revolutionary positions to the extent that the people's forces decisively participate in the struggle, to the extent to which the contradictions between nationalistic governments and imperialism sharpen.

Democracy

The battle for democracy for the masses, the struggle for urgent structural changes and for the transition to socialism, are indissolubly linked to the struggle against monopolies and imperialism which, aside from maintaining control over our riches, uphold and support the oligarchies and their governments...

The criminal blow against Chile confirms the urgency of closing ranks for the defence of democracy and against fascist threats in Latin America and its inseparable unity with anti-imperialist struggle...

The unity of the struggle for democracy is dialectically linked to the broader framework of the anti-imperialist revolutionary unity.

Maoism

This Conference energetically condemns the foreign policy of the leadership of the Communist Party of China which flirts with Yankee imperialism, defends its presence in Asia and in Europe, justifies NATO, stimulates West-German imperialism and revanchism, attacks and slanders the U. S. S. R. with the same viciousness of the worst spokesmen of international reaction, fosters the aggressive militarism of the world bourgeoisie against it, promotes the insane policy of cold war in the shameless connivance with the Chilean Military Junta to which it gives political support over the blood of thousands of communists, socialists, and other patriots murdered by the brutal repression of the fascist tyranny. The Chinese leadership also fosters everywhere, groups of pseudo-revolutionaries who, from a false radicalism, divide the left, attack the Communist Parties, obstruct progressive processes and frequently act as enemy agents within the revolutionary movement.

To confront this policy of treason against unity, solidarity and the best traditions of the world revolutionary movement is a duty for all the Communist Parties of Latin America.

Revolution

The revolutionary struggle of Latin America is characterised as a difficult and complex battle in which all forces that oppose U. S. imperialism have their place, and in which the most varied forms and methods of struggle should be used by the Latin American revolutionary

movement, adequately adopting its location and moment of use to the diversity of conditions in each country. The utilisation of all legal possibilities is an indispensable obligation of the anti-imperialist forces, and the defence of the right of the peoples to decide, through democratic means, the transformation they demand, is a constant principle of our struggle.

Revolutionaries are not the first to resort to violence. But, it is the right and duty of all people's and revolutionary forces to be ready to answer counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence and open the way, through various means, to the people's actions, including armed struggle, to the sovereign decision of majorities.

The Chilean experience evidently shows that revolutionary movements cannot discard any way of democratic access to power and that it must also be fully prepared and ready to defend, with the force of weapons, the democratic achievements.

Patriotism and Internationalism

In proclaiming close unity and solidarity for the common struggle against imperialism, which has working class internationalism as its firm basis, we communists of Latin America reaffirm that each of our parties, following the principles of Marxism-Leninism and taking into consideration concrete national conditions, elaborates its own policy.

Unity in Action

The anti-imperialist unity means above all, unity in action. Unity to mobilize the large masses and incorporate sector and forces that still remain aloof from the struggle, although they suffer from exploitation and misery. Unity to coordinate concrete and diverse forms of struggle. Unity to act, with audacity and imagination, so that firmness in principle be joined to the necessary broadness so as not to lose a single force which could be incorporated.

BASIC STATISTICS ABOUT THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN

Countries	area	pop. 1970	GNP per capita 1970 US \$	Average growth % (per year)
Independent countries				
BAHAMAS	13,935 km ²	170,000	2,300	3.4%
BARBADOS	430	256,000	570	3.4%
GUYANA	214,970	745,000	370	1.1%
JAMAICA	10,991	1,888,000	670	3.5%
TRINIDAD & TOBAGO	5,128	1,027,000	860	1.9%
GRENADA	311	105,000	300	5.6%
Non Independent Countries				
ANTIGUA	280	70,000	370	5.2%
BARBUDA	160			
REDONDA	1.5			
DOMINICA	751	75,000	280	3.7%
ST. KITTS - NEVIS	168	34,000	320	4.9%
NEVIS	93	12,000		
ST. LUCIA	616	112,000	340	8.1%
ST. VINCENT	368	96,000	240	3.4%
BELIZE	22,965	120,000	590	1.9%
BERMUDA	54	60,000		
CAIMAN ISLANDS	253	10,650		
SOURCES: 91(1) Problems of Economic Development in the Caribbean (D. Powell - 1973)				
VIRGIN ISLANDS, U. S.	345	63,000		
TURCAS & CAICOS ISLANDS	430	3,675	(2) World Almanac - 1975	
MONTSERRAT	83	12,300		
ANGUILLA	88	5,810		
VIRGIN ISLANDS GB	152	11,000		

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre