

GRENADA IS NOT ALONE



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SPEECHES BY THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY  
GOVERNMENT AT THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
IN SOLIDARITY WITH GRENADA, NOVEMBER 1981.



*The delegate from the Congo Republic acknowledges the welcome from other Conference Delegates.*



# GRENADA IS NOT ALONE

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Cover Photograph: The Pioneers perform for the Conference delegates.

## INTRODUCTION

*It is like a breath of fresh air, a tonic to the frayed nerves of a people long-betrayed, battered and bruised by a breed of wheeling-dealing politicians. It is a monument to the Caribbean man's resoluteness and courage: the political will to stand up to imperialist diktat and blackmail.*

This was how the irrepressible Cheddi Jagan described the Grenadian Revolution during his stirring address to the 112 delegates of 90 delegations from 41 countries, who formed the assembly at the First International Conference in Solidarity with Grenada at St. George's, from November 23rd to the 25th, 1981.

Truly this was a historic event. Here was one of the world's smallest independent states with its 344 square kilometers and 110,000 people, hosting the world's progressive forces from New York to Mongolia, from Yemen to Belize. In the thirty months since its rupture with the sordid dictatorship and buffoonery of the Gairy years, Grenada had established by the struggle and determination of its people and government, this extraordinary level of international respect and support — and in the full face of that most rabid and warmongering beast of imperialism that glowers over the Caribbean basin.

In this book, the reader can determine the advances already made by the Grenadian Revolution, and some of the steps that will shortly follow. So great was the interest and involvement in the workshop sessions of the conference and so many the pledges of solidarity, that there was not sufficient time for all the speeches that were prepared, although they were all duplicated and given out to the delegates. Yet the ministers' speeches, considered together, are the fullest account so far in print of the processes of the Revolution in its various sectors, and a commentary on the achievements and problems of the first two and a half years since the revolutionary dawn of March 13th, 1979.

This book is also the first to be produced by *Fedon Publishers*, named after another great Grenadian revolutionary, Julien Fedon, who unfurled the flag of revolt against British colonialism in 1795. That same will for freedom inhabits every village of Grenada now, and as Comrade Jagan so eloquently expressed it at the conference, it continues and strengthens through the popular organisation and the remarkable leadership whose words

ring through these pages:

*... revolutionary-democratic Grenada has a principled and dedicated leadership, headed by the courageous, indomitable and incorruptible Maurice Bishop, who like Fidel Castro is the measure of the new Caribbean man — a leadership which is one with the people, a leadership which by self-sacrifice and example has inspired the Grenadian people and restored their self-confidence — a people who with gun in hand as citizen-soldier-militiaman is willing to die to defend the revolutionary gains.*

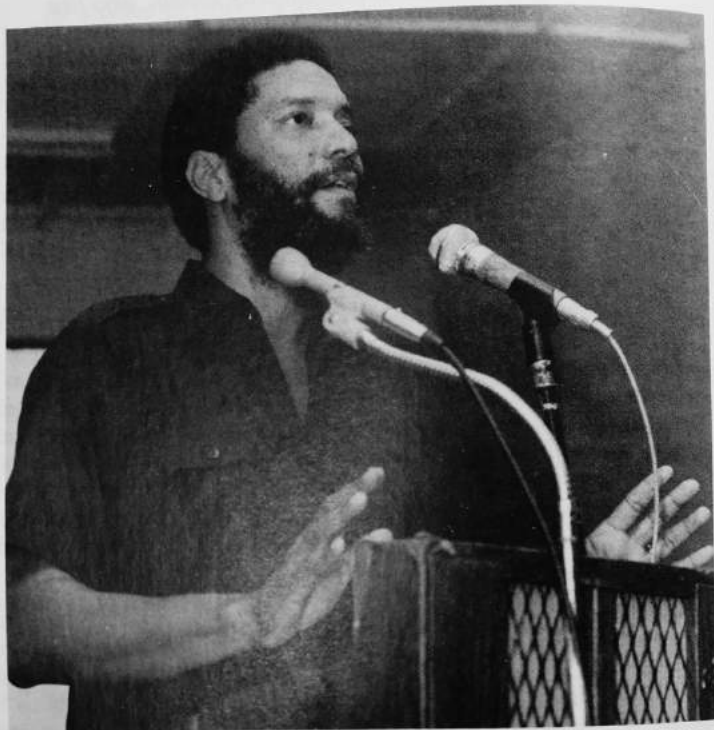
*The Grenada Revolution is the dawn of a new era in the struggles of the English-speaking Caribbean peoples for liberation, peace and social progress.*

FEDON PUBLISHERS, February, 1982.



Cde. Cheddi Jagan, Delegate, People's Progressive Party, Guyana.





*Cde. Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of Grenada.*

#### OPENING ADDRESS:

CDE. PRIME MINISTER, MAURICE BISHOP

Comrade Chairman and Minister of National Mobilisation  
Cde. Selwyn Strachan,  
Comrade Members of the Political Bureau and Central Committee  
of our party, The New Jewel Movement,  
Comrade Members of the People's Revolutionary  
Government,  
Invited Guests,  
Friends from around the world,  
Comrades All,

Comrades, in the name of our Party the New Jewel Movement, in the name of the People's Revolutionary Government, and in the name of the people, the workers, the youth, the women and the farmers of free and revolutionary Grenada, I join comrades in extending to you our fraternal and esteemed guests from all continents of the globe, a most warm and cordial welcome. We are extremely happy to host you here on our soil, and we pledge to ensure that your stay here is both productive and enjoyable.

The importance of this historic conference on International Solidarity with Grenada cannot be overstated. In the first place this Conference manifests our continuing strict adherence to international principles. We have always scrupulously avoided viewing our struggle, our revolutionary process, from a narrow nationalist perspective. We have long understood that the world revolutionary process, the struggle of oppressed mankind everywhere is one and indivisible. Thus, this International Solidarity Conference holds grave importance as it bears testimony to our commitment to the noble concept of internationalism.

This Conference derives additional importance from the fact that your presence here will indicate to imperialism in a clear and forceful way, that Grenada is not alone. It will tell the imperialists in the boldest terms that their schemes, their machinations, their manoeuvres to isolate the Grenada Revolution have all failed miserably — as the Grenada Revolution enjoys broad popular support not only at the national level but also internationally.

Thirdly, for us this Solidarity Conference is a momentous occasion, as we understand very clearly that the force and weight of international public opinion cannot be dismissed and constitutes indeed a significant factor in the struggles of the people.

## March 13th — A Bright New Dawn

Comrades, March 13th 1979 was a bright new dawn for the people of Grenada and the working people of the Caribbean. That dawn marked the end of the long, dark night of terror and the beginning of a new day. Our heroic people — the anti-Gairy masses — rose to the challenge of history and, in the words of the Caribbean Poet, Edward Brathwaite — “shattered the door and entered that morning, fully aware of the future to come, there’s no turning back”. As it has been said so often before, when a conscious, determined people rises as a united body and cries “enough”, injustice, tyranny and exploitation are doomed . . . and thus begins a new and glorious chapter in the history of Man: the construction of a just and equal society by the poor, for the poor and with the poor. The people’s struggle through time for the realization of that dream is the long march of history. From the very inception of our Party, the New Jewel Movement, we have been guided by the clear understanding that the struggle against the dictatorship was not an end in itself but a necessary precondition for the infinitely larger struggle of building that new and just society.

Building the New Society involves a long and difficult process of national re-construction. Twenty-five years of Gairyism had devastated the social and economic fabric of our society. It had destroyed our country’s international standing — Grenada was reduced to the laughing-stock of the international community, land of a tin-pot dictator lost in extra-terrestrial dreams, (*laughter*) pre-occupied with UFO’s, obsessed with his divinity but brutal and ruthless in the exercise of power. Fifty percent of the labour force of our country was unemployed. Our infrastructure was totally dilapidated. Our tourist industry was one which brought little benefit to the country. Despite our fertile soil, and with Gairy’s political interference in the development of agriculture, the production of our main export crops had stagnated. Food crop production had declined, and our food import bill was approximately 40% of total imports. Due to the dependent status of our economy and with a combination of ineffective price controls and monopoly profiteering by merchants, inflation rates were very high. Financial mismanagement over many years had reached staggering proportions, and left the national treasury in debt to local commercial banks and in considerable arrears to local, regional and international agencies.

Our People’s Revolution was therefore faced with the difficult twin task of economic reconstruction and democratization of the society.

## What Objectives Did We Set Ourselves In Those Early Days?

Our fundamental objective has always been, as detailed in the 1973 Manifesto of our Party, the construction of a New Life and New Society. In June 1974 we issued a ten-point statement of Principles. This document reads —

“We stand for:

- 1) People’s Participation, People’s Politics, People’s Democracy
- 2) People’s Cooperatives for the collective development of the People
- 3) Health care based on need
- 4) Full development of the people’s talents, abilities and culture
- 5) Full control, as a people, of our national resources
- 6) Employment for all
- 7) A decent standard of living for every family
- 8) Freedom of expression and religion
- 9) The liberation of black and oppressed people throughout the world
- 10) A United People . . . A New Society . . . A Just Society”

These principles and objectives were as valid at the dawn of our Revolution as they were five years before when they were formulated, and as they are today — almost three years after that first morning of our Revolution. Already we have begun to implement these aims, although in addition there were certain initial priorities that we set ourselves upon taking power, based on an assessment of the most pressing needs of the people — jobs for the thousands of unemployed, health care, the improvement of the agricultural infrastructure, mass education, and above all, the process which would facilitate all other developments, the democratization of the society. Yet our progress has been hampered by certain objective difficulties which have prevented us from moving as rapidly as we would wish towards the attainment of our goals.

## Struggling Against Odds On The Economic Front

Like our sister Caribbean islands, we continue to be plagued by natural disasters. Each year since the Revolution, hurricanes, high winds or torrential rains have caused considerable damage to

our agriculture and infrastructure. In 1979 we suffered US\$6 million worth of damage — in 1980, the total destruction of 27% of our nutmeg crop, 40% of the banana and 19% of the cocoa, amounting to some US\$20 million. In 1981, damage to crops, roads and bridges totalled US\$5 million.

With an open, dependent economy tied to the economies of the capitalist world, we have suffered and are suffering, from the ongoing economic crisis in the capitalist world. Demand for our principal commodity exports has dropped. World market prices for nutmegs, cocoa and bananas, which account for 97% of visible exports earnings, fell by 22% in 1980 over 1979. To compound a difficult economic situation, tourism (our second most important industry) declined by 8.8% in 1980. This problem which is also experienced by our Caribbean neighbours led to reduction in foreign exchange earnings, employment, income generation and some stagnation in economic activity. The decline in stay-over visits to Grenada fell not only because of the worldwide economic recession but also because of active propaganda destabilisation by US imperialism. This year, our tourist industry, poised for recovery with full house bookings at all the main hotels, was dealt a major blow with the sudden destruction by fire of undetermined origin of a substantial part of our largest hotel — the Holiday Inn. Revenue losses such as these serve to aggravate an already unfair, unjust and unequal balance of trade. Although the total volume of Grenada's imports remained constant, the total cost of these imports between 1979 and 1980 rose from US\$50 million, due largely to steep increases in freight rates and fuel as well as imported inflation from the Western industrial countries.

### Imperialism — Trying To Strangle Us

Another economic difficulty facing us at this moment, is the US economic squeeze. US imperialism has embarked on a co-ordinated campaign of economic strangulation of our country designed to deprive us of access to financial resources from the bi-lateral, regional and international sources.

These unprincipled tactics include attempted sabotage of an EEC sponsored co-financing Conference to raise US\$30 million desperately needed to ensure completion of our International Airport. The determination of US imperialism to squash this process is evident in its vulgar and direct interference on the executive board of the IMF and the World Bank to block loans required for vital capital investment and public investment. At the insistence of the US, Grenada was recently excluded from receiving

financial assistance from the Windward Islands Banana Growers Association from funds provided by USAID for banana rehabilitation.

Confronted with the belligerence of US imperialism, and having the vicious legacy of 25 years of "Hurricane Gairy" to recover from, how has our Revolution responded to the urgent tasks of national reconstruction?

### National Reconstruction Within The Revolution

In agriculture — the pillar of our economy — our main policy and tactic has been one of diversification. Diversification of agricultural export production to increase the range of agricultural commodities which can earn foreign exchange; diversification of agricultural export markets with the objective of penetrating new markets and lessening our dependence on any one buyer; diversification and expansion of domestic agricultural production for import substitution, as a basis for agro-industrial development, and the linking of the domestic agricultural sector with the tourist sector. Since the Revolution 50 times more money has been allocated in the national budget for agricultural development. In the building of the New Tourism, we have also been diversifying our tourist markets through increased promotion in Western Europe, the Caribbean and Latin American market, while nonetheless attempting to maintain and indeed to achieve diversification in our traditional North American Market.

With a 50% increase in our energy costs, energy conservation measures have been put into effect, resulting in a decrease in consumption by private motorists but a 20% increase in state consumption (mainly in the operation of equipment) on account of increased developmental activity. Several major infrastructural improvements have been undertaken: a new International Airport, highway development of the East Coast, the construction and opening up of 67 miles of agricultural feeder roads, improvement of electricity services, vastly increased water supply, major expansion of telephone service, forestry development and conservation. These efforts at national reconstruction and towards the solution of the main difficulties faced by our economy are the consistent and creative application of the basic programme of our Party as we set out in our 1973 Manifesto for People's Power and the achievement of genuine national independence. This document



states — and I quote:—

“NJM has always stood for *real* independence, *genuine* independence, *meaningful* independence. At our People's Convention on Independence on 6th May, 1973 at Seamount where 10,000 of our supporters were present, our two major speeches were called “*Meaningful Vs. Meaningless Independence*” and “*New Directions for Genuine Independence*”. This Manifesto of ours sketches the things we must do as a people under new leadership to achieve *real* independence. For we believe independence must mean better housing for our people, better clothing, better food, better health, better education . . . more jobs . . . in short a higher standard of living for workers and their children.”

The seizure of State power on March 13, 1979 by the people, led by its vanguard party, the NJM, has opened up revolutionary possibilities for the implementation of that programme. (Applause)

#### Concrete Benefits To The Working People

The Revolution, with the active participation of our people, has brought concrete benefits to our working people. Unemployment has been reduced from 50% of the working population to less than 30% by the expansion of the co-operative and state sectors. The People's Budget has removed the burden of income tax from the backs of the 30% of the lowest paid workers. Financial assistance to the tune of \$4 million has been provided to the poorest sectors of the population for house repair and a Ministry of Housing with responsibility for a National Housing Programme has been created. Conditions of life in the villages are being progressively improved by the construction of Community Centres, bath and laundry facilities and Post Offices by the voluntary labour of our people in their Community Work Brigades.

In Education the Revolution has made important gains: the establishment of a National Literacy and Adult Education Programme, the Centre for Popular Education, the institution of free

Secondary Education, a 300% increase in the number of University level scholarships; the creation of a National In-Service Teacher Training Programme for the professionalisation of all our Primary School teachers. The Revolution has placed emphasis on the expansion of educational opportunity because our Party has always recognized the fundamental link between education, the process of national development and the construction of a participatory democracy. (Applause.)

As in the vital areas of housing, jobs and education, the Revolution has brought concrete benefits to the masses in the field of health. A national milk distribution programme has distributed 1,100 tons of milk to the elderly, to our youth and to expectant mothers since 1979. Free health care made possible by increases in medical personnel and the expansion of services particularly in the rural areas has transformed the pattern of health.

#### The Fruits Of March 13th Manifest The Basic Programme Of Our Party

The transformation of the national economy, begun since the People's Revolution, has been guided by the same basic conception of an economy at the service of the working people and freed from external domination and control, which we proposed since 1973. It is worthy of note, that the vast majority of the new programmes and bold initiatives embarked upon by the Revolution are not bright ideas spontaneously conceived in some moment of inspiration but the product of collective discussion and analysis within our Party and among the broad section of our people, of needs, problems and long term goals.

On the economic front, new institutions, new programmes all aimed at the strengthening of the national economy and the laying down of a sound material basis for future development are being built. The Grenada Farms Corporation — a State enterprise, has been established to coordinate the operations of all Government farms. These farms, scandalously mismanaged and their produce shamelessly misappropriated during the Gairy era, are now the centres of a new thrust forward for our agriculture. More importantly, agricultural workers — the producers of the green gold of our country — on these State farms are learning self-management, and more and more are taking on the responsibility for increasing production. On these farms the arithmetic of workers' participation has been replaced with a new language of workers' participation in the establishment of production targets, profit sharing and the teaching of the real history of struggle of our working people. (Applause)

The establishment of an agro-industrial plant now makes it possible for us to make full use of local crops which in the past, were never fully utilised. Mangoes, tamarinds, soursops, guavas, to name a few, are now valuable cash crops because of the demand created by this agro-industrial plant. Spice Island Products now embrace a proud range of juices, jams and canned local fruit and vegetables.

Likewise, the Marketing and National Importing Board has reduced the high cost of living and broken the backs of the monopolists in sugar, rice and cement. This body now has the responsibility to import specified commodities from the cheapest sources and ensure internal distribution at much cheaper prices than obtained previously. Like the Grenada Farms Corporation, the Grenada Resort Corporation was set up to manage government hotels and other tourism enterprises, and has been achieving modest successes.

At the same time, the organisation of a National Fishing Fleet, the establishment of a Fishing School and a fish processing plant are all together serving to build an integrated and sound Fishing Industry.

Other critical measures and economic programmes set up include:

- A Coffee Processing Plant, to process local coffee for domestic consumption and export.
- Construction of 3 Bio-gas Plants and the carrying out of detailed studies of our hydro power, hydro carbon and geothermal potential as a possible means of alternative energy.
- The introduction of scientifically evaluated systems of work planning in Government departments and Ministries to ensure productive use of Government finances and as a basis for budgetary allocations.
- The setting up of a People's Bank — the National Commercial Bank — which after just 2 years is already the second largest Bank in Grenada.

All of these, comrades, represent some of the initiatives taken in our attempt to place our national economy on a sound footing. We have always given priority to this task because it is a strong national economy that will guarantee the social and material well-being of our people. We have a slogan, comrades, by which the masses understand quite simply this logic "You can only take out what you put in." (Applause)

## People's Participation, The Motor Of Our Process

But more important, comrades, more significant than all the other achievements of the Grenada Revolution, because it is the means whereby we achieve all other benefits and will move to achieve even more social and economic benefits as this process unfolds, is the outstanding success of the Grenada Revolution in the task of the democratization of our society.

One of the earliest acts of the Revolution was the repeal of all anti-worker laws and the enactment of democratic, progressive labour laws such as the Trade Union Recognition Act which guarantees the right of workers to form and participate in Trade Unions of their choice. As a result, there are nearly 10,000 workers organized in Trade Unions today and most of these Unions are developing programmes of democratic participation and education for their members.

The Revolution has also taken several steps to stimulate and make possible the participation of women in the development of our nation. There can be no talk of real democracy if half of a nation's population is either disqualified from participation or can only participate in a very limited sense. And there can be no talk of women's participation if the conditions for this participation do not exist. Our sisters cannot participate fully unless the society encourages their participation. And in Grenada in barely 2½ years of Revolution, we have a proud record of measures taken to bring the women of our country fully into the development process.

Consistent with our slogan, "Idle Lands And Idle Hands — An End To Unemployment", in year 2 of the Revolution we moved to set up a National Land Reform Commission, with terms of reference to identify existing idle lands, (unemployed youth willing to work such lands co-operatively) and make recommendations for their productive use. In like manner the preparation of our National Budget has since the Revolution involved the participation of Trade Union representatives; and this year the process of deciding how our resources will be used for our national development will involve and even wider participation. This year the Budget discussion is being taken to the people — our National Budget will be debated and shaped not by a handful of men sitting in an exclusive "Parliament", but by our organized people in their thousands, in their community groups, their Zone Councils, their Parish Councils.



## Democracy — A Daily Expression Of Our People Organized

And the mention of these structures, comrades, brings us to the fact of the spectacular growth of mass organizations in our country in the 2½ years of the Revolution. Our National Youth Organization, National Women's Organization, both founded by the New Jewel Movement and our NJM Young Pioneers are mobilizing increasing numbers of our youth, our women and our children. The youth organization (NYO) is close to a target for this year of organizing one third of the country's young people. Our Sisters in the NWO have passed the 6,000 mark and are fast approaching their target of 7,000 (or nearly 1/3 of the women of the country) organized for action, participation and community development.

The Revolution has fostered the formation of Student Councils in every Secondary School, linked into the National Students' Council.

In the villages you will find Community Work Brigades, which, in fact, determine priority needs and spearhead work on community building, cleaning and maintenance projects.

Three weeks ago the Productive Farmers' Union, one of the most unique organizations that the Revolution has produced, held its first Annual General Meeting with its full membership of just over 1,000 small and medium farmers in militant attendance.

In addition to the many organizations and action groups operating at community, parish and national level, our people meet *regularly* with the leadership of the country in parish and zonal councils and in Workers' Parish Councils where the twin principles of the *accountability* and *responsibility* of the leadership to the people become a reality for the first time in the English-speaking Caribbean. The leadership is accountable because in its face-to-face meetings with the people it must report on the achievements and the difficulties of particular Ministries and State bodies, it must answer the questions of the people on those issues which affect their lives. The leadership is responsible to the people because it must take action where the people indicate that action is required.

In Grenada the people do not only listen passively to their leaders, they talk back. They do not only glimpse their so-called "representatives" now and then in the Press, they meet them regularly, they rub shoulders with them. In Grenada structures have grown up and are developing daily to ensure the real participation of people, a continuous, day-by-day process, not a seasonal exercise which changes nothing. Our democratic process

is our strongest weapon for change for development, for the improvement of life in our country. (*Applause*)

## Why Solidarity With Grenada Is Important

There are many reasons why your solidarity with Grenada is important. There are many reasons why you must not only feel solidarity with the Grenada Revolution but you must also *express* this solidarity loud and clear.

First of all, our Revolution is an attempt to build a new socio-economic development model. It is an attempt to solve our problems by new methods. It is the boldest attempt, in the history of the English-speaking Caribbean, to tackle the dire problems of under-development which so drastically affect the lives of the mass of people in our region, the problem of poverty, illiteracy and poor education, sub-standard nutrition, unemployment and all the other evils. It is an approach which rejects some of the manifestly inadequate strategies which the ruling classes in most of our sister islands are still clinging to, because these strategies are guaranteed to safeguard their own position and to yield nothing but the barest minimum of political power and material benefits to the majority of the people.

Therefore, comrades, when you show your support for our Revolution, you are asserting with us the right of a small and poor, but courageous and determined people, to build their own process, to solve their problems in their own way, without threatening the sovereignty of any other people, nor compromising with their own proud and unshakable principles.

## Peace And Self-Determination

Our people, led by our Party the NJM, are demanding the right to build this new society in peace. We desire *peace*. We know that peace is a precondition for the realization of the people's wish for a better and more just existence. But this wish for peace, this insistence on our right to self-determination is being denied us. Daily we are threatened by the aggressiveness and the hostility of a power thousands of times our size, thousands of times richer in resources than us. Daily our process is the object of threats both veiled and undisguised, coming from the mighty United States and its string of yardboys and yardgirls in the region. Once again, comrades, we assert that we are the masters of our own house, we stand upright, with dignity, ready to defend this land, this sea, this region.

## The Historical Struggle Of Caribbean Masses Bearing Fruit In Grenada Today

We need your solidarity, comrades, because this Revolution is increasingly a light, a beacon of hope to the poor and exploited masses of the Caribbean. The aims, objectives and achievements of this Revolution are a crystallization of the most profound of human aspirations of Caribbean people towards a better life. For 400 years the exploited masses of the region have struggled with dignity for bread, jobs, justice and peace. Today in Grenada, today in Free and Revolutionary Grenada, this struggle at last, is beginning to bear fruit. And this fruit is not for us alone. It is not the property of ourselves alone. Just as our struggle has been a part of the broader struggle of the working people of the Caribbean and the world, so now, our Revolution is an integral part of the forward movement of working people regionally and internationally.

We need your solidarity, comrades, because we are conscious of these responsibilities not only to ourselves but to oppressed and exploited peoples everywhere. That is why in every forum, at every opportunity, we have resolutely condemned apartheid, zionism and racism, we have unwaveringly accused and unmasked imperialism, and we have added our voice to the condemnation of exploitation, injustice and inhumanity in all its forms and manifestations. You shall find us marching in your ranks, our voice shall not be stilled. (*Prolonged Applause*)

And this important role of the Grenada Revolution is clearly recognized by the working people of the region. For whatever the volume and bitterness of the attacks made upon us by the decrepit leadership of the region and its decadent press, however often the voice of Washington is mindlessly echoed by its agents in the region, the real people have again and again demonstrated their confidence in, and support for, this process which they see as theirs too. Behind the smoke-screen of misinformation they somehow perceive the real issues, that this Revolution is a unique process in which new benefits are being brought to the people, and a popular process in which the people participate more and more each day.

The Caribbean people refuse to be misinformed about the process. The Caribbean people understand the undemocratic and anti-worker position of the regional press. This is borne out by the survey recently conducted by the '*Jamaican Daily Gleaner*,' itself a major organ of anti-Grenada propaganda and a tool of international reaction, a survey which revealed that the majority of

people are not affected by the negative propaganda put out against our Revolution.

There is also the recent example of the strong protest made by workers of the '*Trinidad Express*' and other workers in the media in Trinidad, (another regional rag in the service of U.S. imperialism). These workers came out in protest against what they correctly identified as a vulgar, concerted anti-Grenada Press campaign, they came out and demanded the right of the Caribbean people to undistorted information about a sister island.

There is the evidence of the Trade Union Conference that we have just hosted and which turned out to be the biggest in its 3 year history. It was the largest ever gathering of representatives of the Caribbean working-class. The hosting of this Conference has been for us both a duty and a pleasure. This Conference has been held at a time when the working people of the Caribbean are beginning to feel the full weight of the capitalist world economic crisis, and when the regional ruling-classes have agreed on common solutions, which can only mean harsher conditions, austerity, more and more hardship and increased exploitation of the poor.

## This Conference Is The Highest Expression Of International Solidarity

One of the highest expressions of international solidarity with the Grenada Revolution is precisely today's Conference. For the first time since our Revolution, people like yourselves who have been consistent friends and allies of our struggle, are meeting all together. You come as friends, as Comrades-in-arms, as firm consistent defenders of the truth of this Revolution. The presence of comrades from all continents is not only an indication of the support of the international community for our Revolution, but is also a testimony to the oneness of our struggle against a common enemy and to the unity of our aspirations.

Another living example of the regional support that our Revolution has attracted is the presence among us of internationalist workers from the Caribbean region as well as from other parts of the world. In all the key sections of our development, these internationalists are co-workers, facing with us the historic challenge of creating the New and Just Society.

## Imperialism Does Not Rest

Comrades, one of our most important reasons for calling upon your support is the threat we face from U.S. imperialism.

From the earliest days of the Revolution we have been subject to threats and attempts by U.S. imperialism to undermine and destroy our process. The strategy of imperialism has been to fight us on all fronts: political pressure, propaganda destabilization, economic warfare, and now, imminently, the military solution.

From the very morning of our Revolution pressure was brought to bear upon us by the U.S. in an attempt to dictate the character and direction of our political process. We were warned, for example, that relations with Cuba would not be countenanced.

The propaganda campaign also began very early, with an impudent plan to use the local media to wage war upon the Revolution *from the inside*, like a worm surreptitiously eating away at the heart of a healthy fruit. The lesson that imperialism learned from that early impudence was that this Revolution must be respected; and every subsequent attempt, including the recent action of a group of counter-revolutionary planters, merchants and professionals, has been firmly dealt with. The Revolution, having silenced the local mouthpieces of imperialism, faces increased propaganda aggression from outside. This campaign was taken to a new level with the prime time broadcasts on the U.S. National Television Network, feeding to the people of the United States of America the most vulgar distortions of the Grenadian reality.

On the economic front we have been faced with recurrent acts of sabotage; the vulgar abuse by the U.S. of its dominant position in international institutions like the IMF and the World Bank to stifle the legitimate rights to assistance of small, developing states in the region like Grenada and Nicaragua.

### Neutron Warlords Are Rattling Their Sabres

Today the assumption of power by a fascist clique in the U.S. and the failure of imperialism's attempts to destroy our process have brought our Revolution face to face with the ugliest side of imperialism — naked military aggression. In the last two months alone there have been two major manoeuvres carried out upon Caribbean land and sea by the warlords of the North; 'Ocean Venture' 81: Operation Amber and the Amberines' and 'Red X 183', have been shameless rehearsals for eventual invasions of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada and/or preparation for an armed entry into El Salvador on the side of the fascist Junta.

But it is not only here in our Caribbean that the enemies of peace have been rattling their sabres. These Neutron war-mongers have been seeking military confrontation on several continents.

The shooting down of 2 Libyan planes, the military manoeuvres code named "Bright Star", the South African invasion of Angola, the open attack by Zionist Israel on Iraq, Beirut, Southern Lebanon and the Palestinian people and the tons of lies being spread today against the revolutionary peoples and governments of Cuba and Nicaragua in preparation for an armed invasion, the role of the U.S. in El Salvador are all examples of this trend.

The peoples of the world, however, including the people of the United States, conscious of the grave danger to mankind posed by these adventurist actions and policies are standing up for peace.

### International Public Opinion Is a Force For Peace

Comrades, world public opinion is increasingly a force in international affairs. The voice of the working masses can no longer be ignored. We saw the part it played in the Vietnam war. International public opinion has become more and more powerful in recent times when the balance of forces has been shifting towards anti-imperialism and national self-determination. Again and again we have seen world public opinion respond indignantly to acts of military aggression against small, weak nations, again and again we have seen world opinion condemn and curb the attempts of imperialism to intervene and turn back popular processes.

And this comrades, is another reason why your solidarity is so important to the *continued forward movement* of the Grenada Revolution. But it is important that international public opinion be mobilized not only against the military subversion of popular processes. It is important that we recognize the equally devastating effects of the other forms of aggression. International public opinion must treat with equal gravity attempts to block aid to countries like Grenada, the financing of counter-revolutionary journalism and other propaganda destabilization, and the landing of marines on the soil of other countries. For all of these have the same aim of overthrowing our Revolution, all of these are acts of aggression against our people.

### How Can Friends Help Our Process?

So how can you, the friends of the Grenada Revolution, continue to help us build and consolidate this process? How can your solidarity safeguard and promote our Revolution?



Comrades, solidarity meetings such as this are a vital forum for galvanising world public opinion. Educating and informing the people of the world about the reality of this Revolution is a necessity. This task by itself is part of the general struggle of the poor for the right to information. It is part of the broad struggle against the imperialist, monopoly control of the media and for a new world information order.

As a poor, underdeveloped country, our efforts to break the vicious cycle of poverty and exploitation, the programmes of the Revolution designed to improve the social and economic well-being of our people, depend to a large extent on the material assistance that we receive. And we are therefore always very appreciative of the internationalist assistance which we receive from so many different peoples.

Friends of our Revolution, you can help us by organizing Grenada Friendship Associations in your country. Providing a framework for organized and ongoing solidarity work, providing a framework within which peace forces, friends and other well-wishers can be drawn into concrete political, educational and fund-raising activity. Alongside the formation of Friendship Associations is the organization of tours to Grenada. The most often reiterated position of the Revolution in response to the absurd lies and distortions has been to "come and see for yourself."

Our Revolutionary process is one guided by principles of honesty and integrity, our Revolutionary process is one defended and made by the Grenadian masses. We say to our friends "come, share our experiences", we say to the Doubting Thomases "come see for yourself". (Applause)

By coming and seeing for yourself, and by encouraging others to do likewise, you not only dispel the falsehoods of imperialism, but you also help our economy, by contributing to the New Tourism.

So here you are among us, brothers and sisters, to witness for yourselves the evolution of what we aspire to build into a New Civilization in the Caribbean. What is new about our model, what is different about our process? The answer to this can be assisted by a whole series of questions which might be posed by any visitor to our shores who is struck by the evidence that something is afoot here which does not quite fall into the pattern of life in most of the rest of the Caribbean. Some of the questions that are most usually asked are the following:—

Why did we, as one of the priorities of the Revolution, send volunteers into the field to find out how many of

our people were illiterate, and then move decisively into developing a national programme of adult education?

- Why have we stretched our human and financial resources to set up a training programme for all primary and junior secondary teachers, instead of continuing the traditional Teachers' College model of training 50 select teachers per year?
- Why are we instituting primary health care?
- Why do we hold so many mass meetings?
- Why do we hold so many solidarity rallies and events with so many National Liberation Movements and friendly Governments around the world?
- Why are we working so hard to expand the NYO, and NWO and other mass organizations?
- Why are we the only country in the English-speaking Caribbean that has decided to arm our people and create a People's Revolutionary Militia? What has inspired this confidence?
- Why are ordinary, grassroots men, women and youth being exposed to leadership training and Political Science courses?
- Why are we developing so many new organizations, and popular democratic organizations such as Workers' Parish Councils, Youth and Women's Parish Councils and Community Zonal Councils within every Parish?
- Why is the distribution of milk in every community carried out voluntarily by the organized members of that community?
- Why have we established Work Brigades to involve our people in the task of rebuilding our country on a voluntary, patriotic and unpaid basis?
- Why are our community organizations able to set up and run Day Care Centres and Kindergartens with only minimal inputs from the Government?
- Why, in the face of serious transportation problems, in the face of ongoing attempts to undermine the confidence of the people in their Revolution, in the face of serious ongoing objective problems, why, in the face of all this, were we able to bring to Seamount yesterday a

crowd far, far bigger, and far more militant, united and conscious than the 10,000 who came out to the N.J.M.'s first People's Congress held on that same spot around 8 years ago?

- Why is the anti-Grenada lobby becoming so strident and hysterical?
- Why does the newspaper of our Revolution, *"The Free West Indian"* encounter so many obstacles to its distribution in the other Caribbean islands, while their newspapers sell freely on our streets, notwithstanding the lies and the distortions which they print about Grenada?
- Why is there no propaganda campaign, no accusations of human rights violations, no calls for elections, no policy of isolation, no economic blockades nor any threat of military intervention against a country like Haiti, where people are literally jumping into the sea every day to escape the unbearable conditions under which they live?
- Why?

We invite you to explore our country, examine our process, experience our Revolution, and assess for yourselves the new directions that we have taken.

Comrades, beloved friends, once again we reiterate our pleasure in having here with us. One hundred and twelve delegates from so many countries from all continents is a definite statement of militant solidarity that "Grenada is Not Alone".

Comrades, we urge you to enjoy your stay in our country and hope that whatever our modest hospitality lacks will be more than made up for, by the warmth and friendliness of our people.

We assure you of our total support in your struggles against injustice, exploitation and war-mongering and for Peace, Social Progress and National Liberation.

LONG LIVE SOLIDARITY, FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION AMONG PEOPLES!

LONG LIVE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-FASCIST UNITY OF PEACE-LOVING AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES WORLDWIDE!

LONG LIVE THE FORCE AND WEIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION!

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONALISM!

LONG LIVE THE GRENADA REVOLUTION!

FORWARD EVER, BACKWARD NEVER!

## NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE GRENADIAN REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

ADDRESS BY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF PLANNING, FINANCE AND TRADE,  
CDE. BERNARD COARD

I would like to start this discussion of our efforts at National Reconstruction, the problems and difficulties we have inherited and the ones which still remain and our attempts to deal with these problems, by first of all placing the question of the economy in the perspective of the Revolution as a whole as we perceive it in the New Jewel Movement and the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG).

### The 3 Pillars of our Revolution

We see the Revolution as having three main pillars. These pillars are not only fundamental as a group but each pillar is fundamentally important in its own right in the revolutionary process. We see these three pillars as being interlocked. Success in only one or two of the three would still mean disaster and failure of the Revolution. Only success in all three would mean success overall and enhance our ability to move forward into the future with absolute confidence.

#### The People: The First Pillar

What are these three pillars? First of all there is the mobilization, organization and raising of the consciousness of all our people. This is because the Revolution first and foremost is about the people and the people are the centre of the revolutionary process. That is what genuine people's democracy is all about. It is about TOTAL PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE PEOPLE IN ALL ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF OUR COUNTRY. It is about constantly raising the consciousness of our people. All of these elements form in our view, the first of the three pillars of our Revolution.

#### National Defence: The Second Pillar

Secondly Comrades, a Revolution which has the support of the people but which cannot defend itself very soon would be no





*Cde. Bernard Coard, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Trade, Industry and Planning.*

revolution at all. Therefore the question of National Defence is another pillar without which there can be no Revolution. Having the people but not having the material means for the people to defend themselves is a lesson we have to learn from Chile, Jamaica and other countries. But having the material means and not having the people is what Pinochet and Duvalier are all about. Therefore, comrades, the people and the material means to defend the people are indispensable and interconnected in the process of the Revolution. That is why the question of the arming of all of our people, the involvement of all of our people in the People's Militia, is of such fundamental importance. The very process of building the Revolution creates the backlash, creates an impetus towards counter-revolution on the part of the enemies of all revolutions, on the part of Imperialism. So, the second pillar is National Defence and the total involvement of all of the people in national defence.

#### **The Economy : The Third Pillar**

The third pillar without which there can be no revolution is the economy. For if a revolution is initially successful in the task of total involvement of the people to develop their level and quality of participation in the whole process, and is able to arm the people so that they can defend themselves and the Revolution, but the economy in fact collapses, then there is no revolution. It is on this element of the three pillars that I want to address you.

#### **What We Inherited**

I want to start first of all by pointing out the devastating condition of our roads. You would have noticed that our roads require total reconstruction.

Our shipping Port, the only one we have in the capital, St. George's, was congested and almost no facilities for cargo existed at the same time of our Revolution; 1¼ forklifts were functioning. Don't ask me about the quarter, that's the report we have from the dockworkers. In other words, one that worked all the time and another that worked a quarter of the time, so the dockworkers called it the 1¼ Forklift Port in St. George's. That of course created tremendous difficulties for the economy.

#### **Public Utilities**

In the area of electricity the utility was controlled by an infamous British company by the name of Commonwealth

Development Corporation (CDC), infamous in other islands of the Caribbean as well. We inherited a situation of seven generators to provide total electricity supply in Grenada. These generators were in the most incredible worn out condition, virtually ready for the museum of antiquities. Tens of thousands of hours of usage beyond the time required for regular servicing according to the manufacturer's manual, with the CDC taking massive profits out of the country every year. Last year they voted themselves almost three times as much dividends as the profits the Company actually made for that year. In other words, when we talk about economic rape and plunder, the CDC is one of the finest examples. And they tried to squeeze us to the wall in every possible way, launching a campaign of electricity black-outs, a direct result of their refusal to order spare parts to conduct simple and basic maintenance of the equipment. We have inherited a grave crisis in the area of electricity supply.

In the area of water, 62% of the population at the time of our Revolution had no pipe-borne water in their homes and had to walk long distances to obtain a bucket of water. Even those, the 38% with pipes in their homes, could not obtain water in many areas two to three to five years preceding the Revolution. These pipes were dry; pipes in the houses but no water in any of them.

The telephone system was and is nearing complete break down thus providing serious communication difficulties for the people of our country and for the economy. In fact, I can go so far as to say, that the telephones system which over the last 20-25 years was run by an American Company left us in very sad state in terms of communication for reasons similar to the CDC in the area of electricity. So much so, that we are now in a very stiff competition with Trinidad and Tobago for first place for the worst telephone service in the Caribbean.

#### Education

On the question of Education, all our school buildings, the sixty-five primary school buildings, were in a dilapidated condition. Classrooms were overcrowded, furniture and teaching aids virtually non-existent in many of the schools, approximately 2/3rds of the teaching staff untrained at the time of the Revolution.

#### Health

In the case of health, the hospitals and clinics were badly neglected, lacking basic medicines, beds, bandages, drugs, linen

and other facilities. In fact, the masses of our country used to call our General Hospital in St. George's, which is supposed to be 'The Best' of the three hospitals in Grenada, the fourth branch of La Qua's and Sons Funeral Agency. You went there to die not to be treated so as to live. That is how bad our health conditions were at the time of the Revolution. Of course it didn't matter to Gairy and his clique because when they fell ill they went to Trinidad, Barbados and America for treatment.

#### The Airport

The Airport, the one you came through, is approximately 5000 feet without night landing facilities. According to all the technical studies done it is incapable of night landing facilities because of the mountainous terrain. Also, according to the experts, there are no possibilities for expansion or extension of that Airport. So that our air access both for tourism and agro-industrial as well as fresh agricultural commodities exports through air cargo, would be and were stultified and stagnant.

#### Agriculture and Tourism

In agriculture, despite an agricultural economy with fertile soil, volcanic ash and abundant rainfall approximately 40% of all imports into Grenada to the time of the Revolution consisted of food. The crops which we produce, cocoa, nutmegs and bananas were in a state of stagnation in terms of development of the base of our agricultural export economy. These three commodities — cocoa, nutmegs and bananas at the time accounted for 97% of our visible export earnings. Tourism also, over a period leading up to the Revolution was basically in a state of stagnation.

In the area of manufacturing, we literally had no manufacturing industry to talk about. We had no industrial base in Grenada, that was something for the future.

#### Oppressive Inflation

In the area of inflation because of the openness of our economy, because of the total refusal to implement the policy of effective price control, because of the existence of wide spread profiteering by a large section of the merchant community, inflation rates were very high thus eroding constantly the real income and standard of living of the working people of our Country.

#### Gairyite Corruption

In the area of public finances, financial mis-management and corruption over many years reached staggering proportions and

had left the National Treasury in massive debts both to the local commercial banks as well as to local, regional and international institutions. The public accounts of the country had not been audited for 7-10 years, depending on which set of accounts you are referring to. The country had become black-listed by every donor agency and government, even the ones closely associated with and supportive of the regime, because of the tendency of Gairy administration to 'disappear' the funds, as effectively as PEOPLE BEGAN TO DISAPPEAR in the last year of the Gairy regime.

It is interesting to note that Gairy who returned to power 12 years before he was kicked out by the people, just weeks before he returned to power in 1967, had seventeen cases in the High Court of Grenada for bad debts. He was about to be declared bankrupt as a result of these 17 cases of massive debts. But twelve years later, when the people threw him out, Gairy's property including hotels, guest houses, night clubs, restaurants, great houses and other properties amounted to a value of some \$20m. That tells you something about the public finances of Grenada through the 12 years preceding the March 13th, 1979 Revolution.

#### \$600m To Build The Infrastructure

Comrades, we have estimated, and this is not an exaggeration but an extremely realistic figure, because we have sought to develop the infra-structure of the country, more and more the correctness of this rough estimate that we made has been borne out by reality; the estimate of the cost to put back the infra-structure of the country in some kind of decent shape, following the devastation of 'Hurricane Gairy' and in addition to that, developing in infra-structure to meet the requirements and the needs to develop a real economy for Grenada, a self-sufficient economy, a dynamic economy, an economy which is able to provide the necessary material well-being for the people of the country, and to provide an infra-structure which not only restores what has been destroyed but goes well beyond that in terms of what is absolutely necessary for the foundation upon which direct production can be based; SUCH AN INFRA-STRUCTURE WOULD COST APPROXIMATELY \$600m.

That is an enormous amount of money for a country of only 133 sq. miles or 344 kilometers and only 110,000 people. Also an enormous undertaking for a country whose gross domestic product, depending on whose estimates you take, is in the vicinity of EC\$200 - 250m. And remember that the development of infra-structure, the International Airport, the Port Expansion

Programme, the reconstruction of all of our main roads which are the arteries on which our commerce, industry and our export agriculture have to travel, our Feeder Roads required to open up the development of the country-side where agricultural development has to take place, the development-and modernization of the telephone system, the development of water supply to meet the needs of households, the tourist sector, the developing industrial sector, the development of basic housing, schools and other educational facilities, hospital and clinics, public transport system, in other words, both economic and social infrastructure. And after the mobilization of this sum of money to achieve these objectives we still have the task of mobilising further resources for direct production, expansion of production in agriculture, agro-industries, fisheries, tourism and in light industry that is not agro-based and so on. A herculean task.

#### Setbacks

But not only do we have the enormous task of trying to mobilize the material, financial and technical resources for this effort, we have also experienced during the 2½ years of the Revolution five natural disasters an average of one every six months. Quite frankly, in examining the historical records as they exist we cannot discover a time in the last 400 - 500 years when this country experienced five natural disasters in 30 months. It raises certain questions as to whether certain people are not tampering with the weather situation in the Eastern Caribbean. This is a matter for some thought, reflection and speculation. We cannot claim that we have any evidence at this point except the statistical odd of five natural disasters in 2½ years is fairly high. Two hurricanes, two sets of flood rains and then three months ago, a mysterious burst of wind, 10 minutes of wind, virtually no rain, destroyed half of the banana crop of the country. The Prime Minister yesterday already discussed the damage and the cost of the damage to our cocoa, nutmeg and banana industries, from the previous disasters. Every time millions of our dollars have been spent since the Revolution in fixing to the best of our ability, our roads, bridges, and sea defence walls, another disaster would come and rip up all the roads again, make rivers out of them, destroy the bridges which are costly, and also the battering from the sea part of the phenomena, the destruction of our defence walls. So the roads of our country have been fixed four to five times during the 2½ years of the Revolution and they have to be fixed all over again.



## Problems In Agriculture

Apart from these five natural disasters we have also had during the first 2½ years of the Revolution, the collapse of the price of our export commodities on the world market. Unlike some economies with only one source of foreign exchange we have been fortunate, in Grenada to have five sources. Most economies have one or two. We have been fortunate to have cocoa, nutmeg and mace, as well as bananas, tourism and remittances from Grenadians abroad. Our cocoa prices have collapsed over the last 2½ — 3 years on the world market. Now we get less than ½ the price that we earned on the world market, 2½ to 3 years ago. The nutmeg prices have fallen badly and the quantity of nutmeg being ordered by different countries has fallen also. The normal production of nutmegs in Grenada was 5 — 6 million pounds yet for the last year we have had in storage in different warehouses some seven million pounds of nutmegs, unable to find buyers on the world market for them. And what makes matters worse, our farmers who have been increasing their energies in agriculture, through husbandry, the application of fertilizers and other practices have produced this year, as fate would have it, the largest crop of nutmegs in our history. Instead of 5 — 6 million pounds, the pattern for the last two years, this year is estimated at some eight million pounds. In fact, just a few weeks ago during a six week period, nutmegs brought by the farmers of our country to the Nutmeg Association, which is the co-operative of all our nutmeg farmers in Grenada, the farmers brought to the Association 1.3 million pounds which is the entire consumption of nutmegs by the Soviet Union in one year. That is the situation with nutmegs and with cocoa.

### A Disease Called Geest

With bananas we share the same fate of the other Windward Islands, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Dominica, the collapse of the banana industry, with the very low prices which our farmers get for bananas right now. Our farmers get 12 cents per pound from the British Multi-National Company, Geest Industries. Yet the price of the carton, the box is 10 cents a pound so that you can see for yourself the extent to which one of the inputs in the process eats away the income. If the price of the carton was five cents per pound then it would mean that the farmers would get, instead of 12 cents a pound perhaps 17 cents. The cost of imported fertilizer to the farmer is massive, the cost of the carton

is high and of course over the years, Geest continues to purchase more and more ships and get wealthier and wealthier, while our farmers have more and more difficulties in buying a cutlass, a hoe and a fork.

### Tourism And Propaganda

In the area of tourism, because of the world capitalist crisis in recent times, virtually all Caribbean countries have suffered significant declines in tourism. Grenada is no exception. And in addition to that, we faced for the first two years of our Revolution a tremendous propaganda campaign by the US Imperialists. This also affected our tourism. In fact there was one month this year when our Mission did a study, collecting all articles, just took one month at random and discovered that there were 169 articles in the American Press, attacking Grenada. That this tiny country, of all the countries in the world, should receive the attention of so many leading American publications to the tune of 169 articles in the space of 30 days is important. Of course, we are supposed to believe it was purely accidental and that each newspaper entirely on its own, in the tradition of "freedom of the press" all decided that it was just the right moment to write an article on Grenada, and to write the same garbage on Grenada at the same time. And that kind of statistical improbability we must also believe here.

### Fightback

Of course comrades, this year because of our efforts in fighting back on the propaganda front with the assistance of the friendship societies and the comrades who have been very supportive of the Revolution, we have reached the stage where this winter season, the high season, we had the greatest bookings ever for many years, virtually every hotel fully booked with the Holiday Inn 110% booked for December and January. And then a fire wipes out the Holiday Inn, the hotel which has 1/3 of all the hotel rooms in our Country and half of the first-class rooms in the tourist sector. So while we have our plan for construction of additional hotels to synchronise with the coming on stream of the International Airport, it means that in the meantime despite the fact that we have been able to turn around the propaganda campaign in terms of its effect on tourist arrivals, we have been hit by another 'Natural Disaster'.

And then we have finally comrades, in terms of problems and difficulties which our Revolution has faced in the 2½ years, the many attempts by the US Administration, the Government of Ronald Reagan to put a world wide economic squeeze in our country. Fearing that the five natural disasters and the collapse of the prices of our commodities would not be enough to turn back the Revolution, they tried to block our International Airport Project. One comrade from Kuwait showed me an entire book of newspaper clippings in the Kuwait press dealing with our International Airport. That would give you an idea of the world-wide campaign, translated into several languages. The objective was to prevent us from getting the additional US\$30m required to complete the building of our International Airport, the total cost of which amounted to US\$71m including the entire strip of 9000 feet, the terminal building, the night landing facilities and so on.

Then pressure on the European Economic Community (EEC) to cut aid to Grenada, pressure on the International Monetary Fund not to provide any loans to Grenada, pressure on the World Bank similarly, pressure on the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), other international institutions, also instructions to many of their companies not to give any credit to the local merchants who import basic commodities into Grenada. In other words, they have to pay in cash up front for everything.

Fortunately for us comrades, less than three percent of Grenada's imports came from the USA, and the situation in respect to exports is also similar. So the direct effect that the USA can have on the Grenadian economy in terms of imports and exports is extremely minimal. The few items we purchase from the US are not of strategic importance and can be purchased very easily from other countries. They also do not have any banks in our country. That too had made it very difficult in terms of financial manipulation of our country. Therefore, they have to work through other governments and countries, through different regional and international institutions. Not having any direct leverage, they have been working indirectly to try to squeeze us. The Foreign Minister of a leading West European country has told us that he has never experienced in his whole life so much pressure as over aid to Grenada and he has been a politician all his life. Despite all of that we are pleased to announce that US economic squeeze attempts on Grenada have been a total failure. A disaster for US imperialism up to this point in time.

They tried to stop different countries from attending the EEC Conference and to smash the conference before it started but that failed. The conference was a success. We have been able to raise approximately the vast majority of the remaining money for our International Airport, over ninety percent of all the funds. Therefore, their efforts failed completely and our International Airport is being built on schedule and will be completed on schedule.

They attempted to get the EEC to cut back on its assistance to Grenada. As a matter of fact, the EEC has increased its assistance offering, in addition to its normal programmes which would amount to some \$25 - 30m when you include all aspects of it over the next five years, an additional EC\$6m for the International Airport Project.

### Now The IMF - A Failure

They attempted in the IMF to block US\$19m which we had in fact applied for and which the American Executive Director demanded be removed unceremoniously and indefinitely from the agenda and which management had removed from the agenda. As a result of our mobilization - diplomatically with ninety member countries on the IMF, the item was restored to the agenda and when the time came to vote, of the 21 executive directors on the Board representing 141 countries, Grenada received twenty of the twenty-one votes.

### Now The CDB - A Failure

Even in the case of the Caribbean Development Bank, where they were hoping to use the hostility of certain Governments in the region against the Grenada Revolution as a means of trying to create disunity and to smash a regional institution, the CDB, that also failed. The US could easily provide bilateral assistance. There is no treaty or law which says that one country cannot give bilateral economic assistance to a country if it so desires, yet the US instead of providing the money directly to Barbados, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Antigua or whoever they wanted to give it to, they gave the money to the CDB to get it to break its own Charter so that it would achieve one or two objectives, either to throw Grenada out of the CDB or to smash the regional institution. We are happy to say that a number of governments recog-



nized this and in fact were saying among themselves privately 'today it's Grenada, tomorrow it could be us.' When the time came to vote, every single Caribbean Government who was a member of the CDB voted to reject the money on the terms and conditions demanded by the Americans. Another defeat for the US.

#### Hence The Manoeuvres

It is in this context that we have to understand the Amber and the Amberines Manoeuvres, and the Red X Manoeuvres, and the flashing of Aircraft carriers and other battle ships with over 100 fighting aircraft and 8000 men within our waters and within 2-300 miles off Grenada shores in recent weeks and months. We must understand this in the context of their failure on the propaganda front, their failure of their actual financing and arming of counter-revolutionaries within our country whom our people dealt with firmly. In other words, all their usual tactics of fermentation of internal counter-revolution, of external economic squeeze and of propaganda destabilization, the consequence of total failure on all of these fronts combined with the growing strength of the revolution internally and internationally have led to the greater flexing of muscles and greater practice runs for military intervention and general open threat of use of force.

#### Corruption And Confusion

Comrades, what steps have we tried to take in terms of dealing with these different problems? The infra-structure inherited from Gairy, the five natural disasters, the collapse of the price of our export orders, the decline in tourism. What have we done? What have we tried to do in dealing with these problems? And apart from dealing with these problems, what have we tried to do positively in terms of developing the economic and social well-being of our people? One of the first tasks we had at the time of March 13th, 1979 Revolution, which freed up a lot of resources in order to use these resources on behalf of the people, was to smash corruption and waste. We estimated that we saved in the first year of the Revolution alone some EC\$6m. And in a budget as tiny as ours that is a hefty amount, almost 12% of the recurrent budget.

One of the steps we took secondly was the computerization of the budget. The incredible thing about the country was that Gairy ran the country on a day to day and hour to hour basis, not knowing whether the amount of customs revenue and inland revenue on any day would match the Government's demands. He

never knew whether government revenues could meet the demands from business houses from which government had purchased things and also from different international institutions. In other words, the expenses of government each day, the revenue of government each day, was a joke operation with people going to collect cheques for their salaries or their bills and being told to come back a week from now, two weeks from now. This was literally how the Ministry of Finance was run for years right up to the time of the Revolution.

We put the entire national budget, the expenditure side specifically, on the computer, computerized them, every Ministry and department, every project, every programme so as to be able to control the expenditures very strictly because we are running the Government with a bureaucracy inherited from the colonial and Gairy eras. So, before anything could be spent, it has to be stamped by the computer and any business house or anybody who provides materials or services to any Ministry or Department, without the computer stamp on, that bill would not be paid by the Ministry of Finance. This was in fact advertised and announced, so that everything had to be cleared centrally because the entire programme, the entire budget was computerized based on the process of budget formation which is an elaborate process in our country. This was in order to maintain tight expenditure control and to be able to scrutinize every bit of expenditure. Because our country is so poor, because we have limited finances, this was absolutely indispensable and it really paid off enormous dividends for our country. Through the computer we have daily control over expenditures of all Ministries and departments and all projects and programmes of the Government. Any Ministry or Department can make a phone call and find out from the Budget Section in the Ministry of Finance exactly what funds are made available to them, what they have spent and what remains etc., the entire breakdown virtually up to that minute in time, since everything has to go through the computer before anything is spent.

#### Work Plans

The third principle we introduced was the principle which was gradually introduced over the last 2½ years with the work plans and work schedules in all Ministries and Departments and linking that to the budget. The pattern until then was that people would look and say last year we had \$150,000 for this thing, but I think we need a couple more filing cabinets, a few more typewriters, maybe we could do with an extra secretary, already we

got \$150,000, let us ask for \$200,000 this year. This was the process by which the budget was prepared in the previous years.

#### And Work Schedules

We introduced the principle of forgetting what we got last year completely and instead drafting a work plan for all of the aims and objectives, ways and means of achieving them for that particular Ministry or Department for the entire year ahead, and then deriving the budget both in material terms, human resources terms, financial terms that met the requirement of that work plan.

#### And Democratization

Also democratization of the Ministry, the insistence on the holding of staff meetings regularly. That still is a struggle because the guys at the top in these ministries did not like the idea of staff meetings. We have been fighting a battle on insisting on regular staff meetings at least once a month and in some cases, twice a month so that all matters affecting that Ministry or Department can be raised and discussed democratically. In the formation of the budget this process is critical. It is a constant struggle that is being waged within the different ministries and departments. There can be no saving on light bills, there can be no savings on other forms of energy wastage, on wastage of stationery, the general wastage of material and so on, quite apart from the question of corruption, without the democratic involvement of every worker within the Ministry or Department. Ideas for the creative development of work in that Ministry or Department too, can only come through the democratic involvement of everybody in the Ministry, breaking down the old system of orders from above going downwards and that's the beginning and end of it all. Of course, the principle of work plans and work schedules was intended to prevent a system of simply pushing paper, which was totally unable to evaluate whether any work was being done at all in the relevant Ministries or Departments by the people there.

#### And A National Plan

Fourthly, the development of a one year budget into a one year plan. We have been in the process of trying to develop our one year budget and transforming it into a one year plan for the

country as a whole and as part of that exercise too, the democratization of the whole process.

#### And Human Resource Development

The fifth point was the critical area of human resource development. Through massive training programmes which the Revolution has undertaken, sending over 300 youths on university scholarships, several more on medium level, technical college level scholarships, reduction of the cost of secondary education from \$37.50 to \$25.00 to \$12.50 then from last September completely free secondary education so as to involve everybody. The development of the Nursing School, the establishment of the Hotel Training School, the establishment of the Fisheries Training School, the establishment of the In-Service Training Unit for the training of public servants as well as secretaries, accountants and everyone, the development of the Grenada Technical and Vocational Institute which process has only begun and has a long way to go, the development of the Institute for Further Education, all of these institutions and more as a direct attempt to develop the human resources potential on which the development of the economy rest fundamentally.

#### They Come To Help

In addition to that, the return of many dozens of Grenadians from abroad with professional skills have also made a tremendous difference in the development of the economy of the country. In addition to that, we have many Caribbean people, Jamaicans, Guyanese, Trinidadians, St. Lucians, Vincentians and Barbadians who have come to Grenada to live and work for our people and our Revolution, making tremendous contributions to our process of economic and social transformation.

#### New Institutions

The sixth area of great concern to us, which we started to work on right away is the area of institution building and in some cases, restructuring institutions already in existence, in order to meet the needs of the new situation. We had the development of the Marketing and National Importing Board, which is a state trading corporation for the importation of basic necessities for the people in order to eliminate the profiteering by certain merchants and the monopoly practices of these merchants, and to provide

certain basic necessities for the people of Grenada at the cheapest price possible. The development of the Grenada Development Bank (GDB) which existed before but which was in a state of total bankruptcy with most of the money having been stolen by the Gairy regime in a very vulgar way, with money moving from one bank to another and half of it disappearing in between. This bank has been playing a tremendous role especially in the area of small and medium farmers and middle people in expanding production developing projects.

#### Our Own Bank

The development of a state commercial bank, the National Commercial Bank, which was started about two years and one month ago, has had tremendous impact in forcing the foreign banks to pay better interest to the people, to lend money at lower interest rates and other factors of this sort. The National Commercial Bank now accounts for somewhere between  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{3}$  of all bank deposits in Grenada and is the second largest bank in the island. Whereas most banks in the first two or three years of operation go through a period of losses while building up their deposits and loan portfolio, we are happy to say that the National Commercial Bank in its first year of operation made \$12m profits and in the second year \$1.2m, a profit which goes to the people of Grenada to be spent on programmes to benefit them, rather than in the pockets of a few individuals.

We also set up the Grenada Resorts Corporation (GRC) pulling together the state owned hotels into one company. The Grenada Farms Corporation groups the different Government estates inherited from the Gairy regime, which were in a dilapidated and run-down condition, not being worked in a commercial basis. We put them in one company to develop agriculture in a serious way as well as to develop surplus in the area of agriculture, for the state. We established Grenada Agro-Industries Limited to develop nectars, juices, jams, jellies and so on, as well as coffee processing. We set up the National Fishing Company which comprises both a fishing fleet to catch fish, as well as a processing plant which has begun to provide salted fish, smoked fish for the local market and which has already begun to export a few thousand pounds of salted fish to Caricom countries, and we set up of the National Housing Authority to provide housing for our people. In terms of a housing repair programme, funds have been mobilized for that to such an extent that more than 5% of all the houses in Grenada have received materials and have been repaired under this programme. Before the end of this year, based on

funds already committed and materials already ordered, approximately 10% or one in every ten houses in Grenada, and I might add the poorest 10% of the houses in Grenada, would have been repaired under the House Repair Programme, involving repayment of the funds by the recipients over a period of five to ten years, interest free.

We have also set up Grencraft, which is an institution located in the capital where over 300 handicraft people, some of our most skilled handicraft people through the length and breadth of Grenada, have submitted their handicraft work, their art work, furniture and artifacts of some sort for sale. So we have developed an outlet requiring and demanding high quality for the handicraft of our country.

Apart from this, we had to restructure completely the Ministry of Planning and are still in the process of doing so. The same for the Budget Section in the Ministry of Finance and we are now seeking to develop a Department of Statistics in the Ministry of Planning. This is a critical ingredient in the planning process as well as to develop the computer centre also for the same purposes.

We have sought, therefore, to build the state sector, to build the co-operative sector through the development of associations and institutions that are oriented towards production, towards the creation of a surplus and not with a mentality of being subsidised by the Treasury because with that mentality, their value as organs of production would be useless.

In the area of re-building the infra-structure of the country, several developments have taken place. Comrades, I am sure if they have not yet done so, will visit the International Airport Project. The runway is under construction, there is the stone crushing and asphalt plant operation which is important not only for the Airport Project, but also for the restructuring of the roads and feeder roads once the Airport is completed. Add to this all the other items of infra-structure that I have mentioned before: the Port Expansion, Roads and Feeder Roads Development, electricity generation, telephone, water, housing, hospitals, clinics and so on. I can tell you that we have been able, despite tremendous difficulties and pressures, and the attempts of imperialism to stop us, during the two and a half years of the Revolution, to mobilize over \$300m of the \$600m required for the infra-structural development of Grenada.

What then are some of the most fundamental aspects of the strategy of development which we are pursuing?



Firstly, in terms of the ownership structure, we are pursuing a mixed economy with a dominant state sector. As we see it, there are four possibilities, theoretical possibilities. One is a total state sector approach. A second is a total private sector free enterprise approach and then the third and fourth are both mixed economy approaches, one the mixed economy — private sector dominant and the other mixed economy — state sector dominant. It is the latter that we adopted. We adopted this approach because it is the only approach in our view that is realistic, possible and feasible within the context of our country — a small developing country starting from an extremely primitive economic base.

I want comrades to note, those comrades of whom I suspect there are very few in this room but nevertheless, those who may have in their minds any dominant bourgeois ideology on the question of economic development, they being products of the kind of text books that I, for one have been brought up on in the field of economics, I want you to note that in the last 400 years of private sector in Grenada, it took the PRG to develop saltfish right here in Grenada, instead of importing it from Canada. Four hundred years saw the private sector quite happy to import salt fish. With 400 years of private sector in Grenada, it took the PRG to develop smoked herrings in Grenada. With 400 years of private sector, it took the PRG to produce mango slices, mango juice, mango nectar, soursop juice, soursop nectar, tamarind juice and nectar and all the other range of juices. With 400 years of private sector and eight million pounds of mangoes falling on the ground and rotting in Grenada, it took the PRG to take those mangoes, to can and bottle the nectars, nutmeg jellies and others, first of all researched, developed, perfected and now mass produced by the PRG, after 400 years of private sector. For those developing countries who wish to wait for the private sector to develop their economies whether local or foreign, we say good luck, we would examine you again in 400 years time.

We therefore see from the evidence of Grenada stripped of theorising and arm-chair speculations and the usual theological and theoretical acrobatics of some so-called economists, free from all of that, we see in the context of Grenada, that the leading entrepreneur, to use that word, is the state sector and we make no apologies for it. So therefore, our strategy of development based on our concrete condition is a mixed economy, state sector dominant.

The second point I want to make is that the main centres for concentration of our economic efforts are agriculture, agro-industries, tourism and fisheries. Therefore, further down the line

in terms of their weight within our country in the foreseeable future come the non-agrobased light industries and handicraft.

### Export Orientation

Thirdly, I want to make the point that the mobilization of capital required for these different sectors of the economy, for the infra-structural development, as well as the need for human resources development, including management and skill training, all of the points I have already made and which are critical in the whole process of development, to these points I wish to add as a critical factor, the need for a strategy (as we are pursuing) of export orientation. Which is not to say that we are not pursuing a policy of import substitution with respect to our large import bill. But it is to emphasise that the moment we start to produce anything in our economy in a serious way or even half serious way, if we don't find export markets for it, we dead. A very simple reason is that our population is 110,000. The experts told us that we only need 300 acres of our rich and fertile soil to produce all of the fresh foods required to feed all the people of Grenada. Therefore, even for the lettuce, tomatoes, carrots and cabbage, not to mention manufactured items, even for the most basic fresh foods and vegetable items, we have to find external markets in order to satisfy the needs to employ all our people and to raise their income and hence their material standard of living. So export orientation in the situation of a tiny domestic or home market is one of the fundamental requirements of our developmental efforts.

### End Unemployment

The area of agriculture is recognised as the most important sector of our economy, the base, the bed-rock of anything else we do. Agriculture would then fit directly into the agro-industry and also into tourism expansion. A lot of our fresh agricultural products can also be exported directly in that state, and are being exported directly at this time as faraway as to Britain.

But in developing our agriculture, we have, as a necessary ingredient, to move rapidly to develop what we have already begun, which is the Land Reform Programme. We have to have a Land Reform Programme. One third of our land is idle, one third of our people are idle and one third of the cash in the foreign banks is idle. We have in our country, which is of course one way of defining an under-developed country — idle lands, idle hands and

idle cash. Our intention is to combine the three and in that way to deal with the question of unemployment. That is the reason for the importance we attach to the NCB and the CDB, to the growth and expansion of the state sector in the area of financial institutions. That is why we have to attach such importance to the setting up of the Land Reform Commission and Land Utilization Law. Already the Land Commission has been able to identify some 7 — 8000 acres of idle land. We have in our country, some 10,500 unemployed people of whom 77% are between the ages of 15 and 29 years of age and of whom 50% approximately are women. We believe that the expansion of agriculture through the mechanisms of the Land Reform Programme, the development of co-operatives of unemployed youths and women, as well as the development of the agro-industrial sector, the tourism sector and Fisheries industry, that we can in fact eliminate unemployment from our country within the next 5 — 8 years and we think we can achieve it.

Our policy in agriculture not only stresses therefore the development of the state sector in agriculture, through the Grenada Farms Corporation and Land Reform Programme to deal with the idle lands, and the mobilization of the idle youths through the co-operatives. In addition to that, there is the provision of markets, fertilizers, feeder roads and other forms of assistance to the small and medium peasantry of our country, assisting them in better organization of themselves and also providing them with better agricultural extension services. This is all in the interest of expanding their production so that we can in fact have a tremendous increase in agricultural production and in exports from the state sector in agriculture and from the small and medium farmer private sector in agriculture.

Finally comrades, in terms of just hitting on some of the high points of our strategy of economic development, I want to end by pointing out the last one which I plan to outline which is the area of political education and organization of the working class and the peasantry — all of the working people. And to emphasise that in our view this question of political education and organization of the working people of the country is of fundamental and decisive importance in any strategy of economic development. In that sense, pillar No. 3, the economy, links directly with pillar No. 1, political mobilization, organization and education of the people.

That comrades, is an overview, an outline of the economy we have inherited of the different objectives and otherwise, which we have encountered in the first 2½ years of the Revolution, what steps we have sought to take in dealing with this problem, the

main area of our concern and the main features and strategy of development we are seeking to pursue.

LONG LIVE THE WORKING CLASS OF GRENADA!

LONG LIVE THE PEASANTRY OF GRENADA!

LONG LIVE SOLIDARITY WITH THE GRENADIAN REVOLUTION!

FORWARD EVER! BACKWARD NEVER!





*Cde. Jacqueline Creft, Minister of Education.*

## THE BUILDING OF MASS EDUCATION IN FREE GRENADA.

ADDRESS BY CDE. JACQUELINE CREFT,  
MINISTER OF EDUCATION

Comrades:

Nearly four hundred years of colonial rule left many deformities in our country, but it would be true to say that such deformity had the most serious and pervasive consequences for our *Education* system. On the minds of our people were left permanent and profound scars which have not been easy to wipe away, and which will require revolutionary transformation in our schools and right through the institutions of our new society, to finally eradicate.

What were the results of the colonial education system, both upon our economy and upon our minds? Of course, now in Grenada, our perception of Education is that it is a basic, unquestionable right for all our people, a permanent right as our Comrade Prime Minister is always saying, from the cradle until the grave. But if we look backwards, both to the days of British rule and to the neo-colonial dictatorship of Eric Gairy, we would see clearly that Education — like Health or *any* form of social security — was a *commodity* to be bought and sold. It was something which, in those backward years, could only be afforded by the few, by the upper class group of expatriates, planters and the small comprador class that gradually grew up in our country.

Education could also be afforded by the tiny local middle class whose primary function was to service the oppressive administrative structures set up by the British colonialists.

### Education and Colonialism

But the vast mass of the people, the *workers* who produced the wealth of our country for the purpose of enriching Britain were excluded from genuine education. Some of them got no formal schooling at all, but spent their lives from early childhood to the day they died condemned to illiteracy which went with unremitting toil. Others were put into formal school buildings, but what they received there could hardly be called education. A sketchy and imperfect knowledge of the "3 R's" — reading, writing and arithmetic — was driven into these children of workers, often by the harsh, unnecessary, and sometimes downright cruel use of the strap. They learnt by a system of rote learning and chanting things by heart which precluded thought

and reasoning. They had little access to books, little or no access to the Arts or the Sciences, no outlet for their talent and creativity, little or no opportunity for expressing their physical energy through sport. Their four or five years of primary or so-called "All-Age" schooling was all too often a kind of imprisonment. All but the exceptional emerged from this only able to sign their names or read with difficulty, only able to do the simplest addition and subtraction of their daily pennies. They were, at best, semi-literate. Added to this they were brain-washed into seeing themselves as dunces without any future except that of obeying instructions from above, without any future other than to be agricultural serfs receiving daily blows as passively as they had received their daily licks in school. Workers got their licks from employers and from the society, children wilted under their licks from parents and teachers. It was a society of violent oppression, of ugliness and deformity through and through.

The educational structure I have described obviously reflected and perpetuated the class society that the colonialists established in their empires to suit their purposes. It was no accident that the masses of the people received either no schooling at all, or only the most rudimentary schooling in appalling physical conditions, to which was usually added the handicap of inadequate nutrition. This was how the colonialists fashioned the working people into instruments of labour, toiling from morning till night with medieval tools to cut the cane and cocoa that swelled the coffers of the British Empire. In contrast the ruling-class minority received preparatory and secondary education at sophisticated academic levels that could match those of elite education in Britain.

But because this elite education for the colonies was made, packaged and wrapped in England like all the other products we were forced to import, it also carried the stamp and postmark of England, so that those few who received it would copy and learn to mimic all those camouflaged vices from the metropolis, which were behind the economic and mental oppression of the Caribbean people.

The elite "Mimic Men" learnt through their schooling to serve with reverence the interests and culture of colonial power. They absorbed the lesson that they were the obedient subjects of the British monarch, and many ended up despising the country of their birth. Those who stayed in Grenada helped the British to perpetuate the oppression of the majority. But a great number of them seeking the advancement they were denied here, often determined to wash the dust off their feet, emigrated to the

centres of imperialist power to work there. This represented an immense brain drain that drained away from our country the hundreds of thousands of dollars that those oppressed labourers in banana, cocoa, nutmeg and sugar had poured into their education. And, of course, it further subsidized the economies of the already rich exploiting countries of Britain and North America.

### The Need For Transformation

Comrades, ever since our party was formed, in March 1973, high upon our list of priorities has been the transformation of this twisted education system that we inherited from colonialism and from Gairy. We were determined to change a system which so powerfully excluded the interests of the mass of our people, and which also wove webs of fear, alienation and irrelevance around our children's minds . . . . Whether it was Little Miss Muffet, The Cow Jumped over the Moon, William the Conqueror, Wordsworth's Daffodils, or the so-called "discoveries" by Christopher Columbus of the so-called "New World".

The lucky few of us who went to secondary school learned about Cromwell's revolt but not about that of Fedon. We learned about the reforms of Wilberforce yet nothing of Marryshow. They made us read Shakespeare and Jane Austen, but kept silent about George Lamming. Right from the beginning of our struggle we called for an Education system which not only serviced *all* our people, secondary schools which would freely open the doors to *all* our people, without the constraint of fees but also a curriculum which would eliminate absurdity from our classrooms and focus our children's minds upon their own island, their own wealth, soil and crops, their own solutions to the problems that surrounded them. For too long we had been brainwashed to think that only Europe or North America held the answers. We wanted a system which caused our people to *look to themselves* and extract the riches *from the genius of our own people*. As one of our great anti-colonial thinkers T. Albert Marryshow was saying in 1917, 'We feel that we are being sufficiently grounded to stand on our rock, keeping the West Indies of the future true to our particular identity'.

The main cry of our people and the thrust of our people's new vision was for mass education at all levels to counter the elitism and exclusiveness of colonial education. The goals of mass education are to develop in our people those very qualities and skills which colonial education had attempted to crush and destroy. *Firstly* the new education aims to develop in *all* our

people, not just a few, the self-knowledge and self-confidence which will motivate them to make important decisions about, and participate fully in, their country's development. *Secondly*, the new education must give all our people the technical and academic skills and attitudes necessary for the scientific and creative production which alone can lift Grenada's economy out of the morass of dependence and under-development, and on to a level which will be the basis for genuine development. *Thirdly*, the new education must provide our people with practical organisational skills, so that the more developed can pull those who are less developed into the new democratic programmes, and help them to reach the stage of educational take-off and political motivation that will involve them in their country's growth.

Let me give you, Comrades, a brief overview of the steps we have taken since the Revolution to put into practice the goals of mass education.

#### Teacher Education: NISTEP

We are putting into practice *mass education for teachers*. The National In-Service Teacher Education Programme, or NISTEP for short, is the instrument designed as a result of the deliberations of primary school teachers together with education planners, to train, at one blow, the mass of 200 untrained teachers in the primary and all-age schools. NISTEP replaces the ridiculously impractical 'Teachers' College' which used to graduate only 25 teachers a year — many of whom left the teaching profession shortly after they entered it. NISTEP brings mass education to primary school teachers so that they will no longer be unwitting participants in destroying our children's creativity and productivity, but instead will be trained to build the skill base and the cultural and national consciousness in our children that will help develop them to their fullest potential.

How does NISTEP train the masses instead of the few? We organised a compulsory, three-year in-service programme for our 200 untrained teachers in three centres. The teachers go to the centres one day a week and for several weeks in the vacations to study Language Arts, Mathematics and Education Methods during the first two years, and Science, Social Studies, Agricultural Science and Health Education during the third year. The other five days a week they teach in their schools and learn to put into practice in their classrooms the new ideas and techniques they assimilate in their college courses. They are supervised in their classroom practice by NISTEP tutors and also by their fellow

teachers who are already trained. These trained teachers are called teacher partners, and they give on-the-job, regular counselling, demonstrations and assessment to their colleagues undergoing training. Thus almost every teacher in Primary and all-age schools throughout the country is involved in this programme.

NISTEP also seeks to lay the basis of curriculum development suitable for a proud young nation for the first time fashioning its own development. NISTEP's Curriculum Development programme seeks to lay the basis, through materials production workshops and piloting schemes, of a completely transformed curriculum to be developed through the active suggestions, participation and syntheses of the teachers themselves.

NISTEP in its first stage is for primary school teachers: in its second stage we want to expand it so that it trains all the teachers in our secondary system instead of the small proportion which is trained at present. This is mass education as opposed to inefficient elite education, for our teachers.

#### Our Youth And Women

We are also creating the structures necessary for the *mass education of our youth*. A little while back I described to you the British colonial system that made a mockery of education and snatched it out of the hands of the majority of our youth. We have started at many levels to reverse this situation. In the schools, the NISTEP programme will gradually have an effect by equipping teachers with professional training so that they can give children genuine tools of learning and cultural development. Children are being involved for the first time in the initial stages of meaningful work-study programmes. They are assisted in production by their parents and other members of the community, who come to the school to guide them while their teachers are studying in the NISTEP centres one day a week. This gives the children a new experience of productive work and community participation, two elements of a more meaningful education.

Added to this young people in their thousands are now joining the Young Pioneer Groups (ages 7 to 14) or the National Youth Organisation groups (ages 15 to late 20's). Through these groups they are getting their first experiences of studying and analysing their society and history, of developing organisational skills, and of engaging in specific nation-building tasks. All of these are aspects of the mass education which we have committed ourselves to bring to our youth who were so grossly deprived of education in the past.



We are putting into practice *mass education for women*. The National Women's Organization has already attracted an enthusiastic and dynamic membership of 7,000 women. This organization is committed to raising women's knowledge and consciousness of their society and of politics, and to giving them the organizational skills necessary for expanding community democracy and welfare.

Listen to the kinds of topics that more than 3,000 NWO women have been studying in serious seminars and courses since the Revolution:

- Grenada's history from the Caribs to 1979.
- Grenada's economy: how to overcome under-development.
- Topics in world history and international affairs.
- The role of women in Grenada before and since the Revolution.
- The importance of education in the establishment of Peoples' Power.
- Women's needs and participation in the establishment of a People's Democracy.
- Methods of organizing women's groups.
- Maternity law rights.
- First aid training.

The majority of NWO seminars have been held in rural areas, to help compensate for the grossly inadequate educational facilities that the British and Gairy left there. Special emphasis has been put on seminars for women agricultural workers, and women workers in general.

This is the beginning of mass education for women. In a short 2½ years it has already had dynamic results. *Firstly* there has been a marked increase in women's participation in areas of the economy they were previously not involved in. Every day more and more women are entering fields such as fishing, furniture-making, welding, driving buses, taxi and bulldozers, and studying dentistry and agriculture. *Secondly* there has been a tremendous upsurge of women involved in organs of popular power. Besides the 27% of the Nation's women who are NWO members, women are also playing the leading role in running the Young Pioneer Movement, are participating equally and sometimes more than men in Zonal and Workers' Council meetings and Community Brigades, and have greatly increased their participation in the voluntary militia. *Thirdly*, and perhaps this is the basis of the other two, women have been showing a tremendous increase in self confidence as a result of their march towards equal rights.

the upgrading of their education and their experience of participation in the many programmes and councils of the Revolution. If this is only the beginning of mass education for women, then our women have a bright future ahead of them.

#### 'Each One, Teach One'

We have started to build the structures for *mass education for all adults in the community* who want it. Holding fast to the maxim that democracy and illiteracy are irreconcilable, we created a mass literacy programme, the Centre for Popular Education, or C.P.E. This used volunteer teachers all around our island to tutor individually our illiterate and semi-literate comrades to whom education had always been a distant and unreachable process.

We reached everyone with the CPE. Teenage teachers were teaching peasant farmers in their sixties and seventies, grandmothers were teaching unemployed or drop-out youth.

The CPE became proof and symbol of our mass approach to education, and along with the teaching came other important features of our Revolution: mass mobilization of the community in the forming of new organizational structures, a blooming of song, dance, poetry and drama, a new apprenticeship in democracy and mass participation, and an embrace of the principles of *emulation* — to provide incentives and inspiration for further advance and achievement. We found that our people had a huge appetite to learn and organize, and also to teach. "Each one, teach one!" proclaimed posters on walls the length and breadth of our country, "If you know, teach! If you don't, learn!" The thousands who voluntarily answered these calls were living and real proof to us how much value all our people, children, workers and the aged, put upon the living, dynamic activity of *educating* themselves and each other.

The CPE in its first stage has helped hundreds of adults all over the country to become literate and catch up on the skills which they were so cruelly deprived of in the past. Because of the individual tuition method, it has had an unusually high success rate compared to literacy programmes in various other developing countries. The second stage and later stages of the CPE will offer adult education to the newly literate adults and also to others who feel that their past education has been inadequate and distorted in the bad old days of Gairy and the British rulers.

The CPE will be able to offer to the people of our communities the formal recognition and encouragement of their cultural expression that was despised and driven underground by

had been deprived and neglected throughout Grenada's history, while the Community School Day Programme has started the process of returning our schools to the community and the community to the schools. We encouraged anyone in the community who had a valuable, popular skill to come into the school — no longer the colonial fortress — and teach it to the children on the day when their teachers were studying at the NISTEP centres. We asked for and got farmers, singers, drummers, artists, carpenters, masons, accordionists, patois teachers, storytellers, boat builders, basket-makers, seamstresses, medical workers and others. All these brothers and sisters are making the schools their own on this day.

We started vacation workshops for community volunteers who were helping on this day and instituted emulation procedures to create more momentum in the programme. Despite being plagued by shortages of materials and money, we are finding that our people are responding very positively to the call to re-define their schools as workshops of the strengths and skills of the community. We are also trying to stimulate our craftsmen and builders in each neighbourhood to continue and consolidate the tasks of school repair through the programme. Such work, done voluntarily, would take enormous strain from our heavily besieged national budget, and make our people feel even more that the schools are truly their property.

And conversely, we also said to the children 'This is your day to get to know your community. Go out to the factories, the historical sites, the beauty spots, the fishing beaches, the farms, the workshops, the agro-industrial plants. Learn from the people, learn from the workers, respect their skills — for it is upon their excellence and productivity that our society will grow and flourish'. As a result of this, we began to see a new interaction between the schools and their communities, a regeneration of organized parental and community support and interest in the schools, and a new respect for all those vital aspects of our culture which had been shamefully locked out of the schools during the colonial time. We were beginning to see that our schools could at last become agents and catalysts which would in the words of our beloved Jamaican brother, Bob Marley, 'emancipate our minds from mental slavery', and attack and destroy all the complexes which they had helped to form in our minds before the Revolution.

#### A Revolution In Education Too!

Comrades, Education had become a grim farce on a collapsing stage under the dictatorship. In Grenada now it is a

serious, popular and many-sided activity that is penetrating the lives of *all* our people. The elitist concept of secondary education for those who can afford it has been blasted by the introduction of *free* secondary education.

We have seen the opening in 1980 of the Bernadette Bailey Secondary School in Happy Hill, only the second government secondary school in our history. Four hundred years of colonialism gave us one, the second year of the Revolution gave us our second! Free school uniforms and books were distributed this year through the national infra-structure of the National Women's Organization, involving the mass organization rather than paid government officials in tasks of community mobilization and distribution.

The one, yearly Island Scholar, that ornament to colonial elitism, has now grown to 300 university scholarships last year, to countries stretching as far as the world stretches. Look for us in Hungary, in Australia, India, the Soviet Union, in Venezuela, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Tanzania, Zambia, Nigeria, Cuba, Bulgaria, France and Mexico — you will see young Grenadians studying hard, preparing to return and serve our people! Look for our infants, you will find them in the many new pre-primary schools we have opened right through our country. Look for our primary school children — you will see them drinking free milk to nourish their growing bodies. Look for our workers — you will see them studying their history and struggles in the Workers' Education classes being organized in factories, farms, offices and workplaces all through our country. You will see them arguing, debating, putting their points, asserting their right to discuss, participate, frame and build the future of their country. Look for them at nights — you will find them organizing and educating each other at Workers' Parish Councils, panel discussions, solidarity meetings with the people of Chile, El Salvador, Namibia, Angola, Western Sahara and South Africa. For in our country the cause of education has elided with the cause of the mass mobilization of our people — to raise consciousness, raise activity, raise the will and organization to build a new country, over the debris of the old colonial and neo-colonial order.

Comrades, when we declare in our slogan that 'Education is a must!' we are declaring that for *everyone* in our country it is not only a right, it is an *imperative*. For without it we can neither grow nor develop, we can only regress — as we did under the gloom of the dictatorship. *With* it, we *can* and *will* transform our nation, and in doing so, transform ourselves and our children, and become a catalyst for the growth of people's power right through

our region. And as *production* becomes more and more a reality on our schools' curriculum, our schools will also become economic bases for our children's development. For we have to bring home to our students and youth the truth that Education is Production too, that any separation of education from the economic and productive strategy and drive of the nation is a totally artificial premise. Our education system must be synthesised with the thrust of our economy, which means that our schools need to become production centres that will, in the words of that great Caribbean man, José Martí, see our students holding hoes in the morning for their work in the fields, and books and pens in the afternoon for their work in the classrooms and libraries.

So finally comrades, let it be clear that the *Grenadian Revolution is a Revolution in Education too*. It is steeped in the belief that *knowledge and economic power* must be inseparable and that our people's total liberation can only come with the balance and equal consolidation of both.

Comrades, once more I extend a warm and fraternal welcome to you. May the bonds between us all take root and grow, as our brothers and sisters all over the world grasp education as a fundamental tool of liberation for their oppressed and working peoples:

LONG LIVE EDUCATION AS A RIGHT NOT A PRIVILEGE!  
LONG LIVE FRIENDSHIP, UNDERSTANDING AND PEACE!  
LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION!  
FORWARD EVER . . . BACKWARD NEVER!

## INDUSTRIALIZATION PROSPECTS IN GRENADA

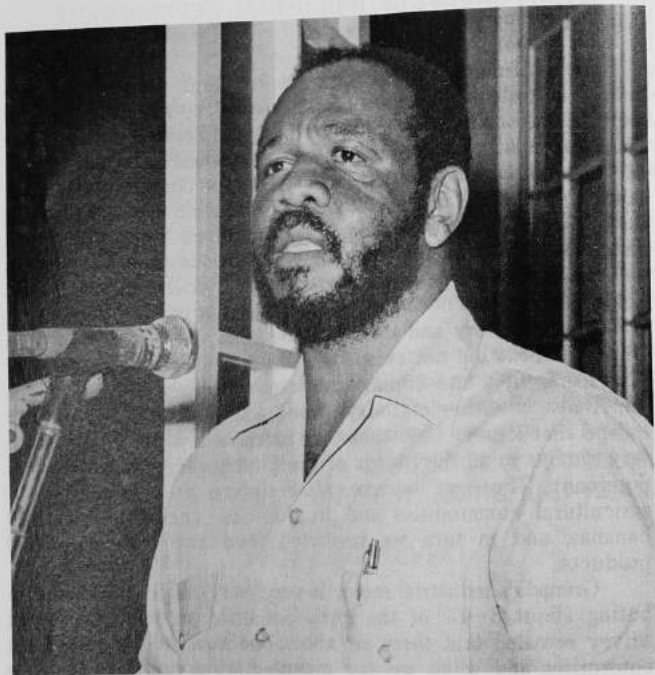
ADDRESS BY CDE. KENRICK RADIX  
MINISTER FOR JUSTICE, INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT  
AND FISHERIES.

Sisters and brothers, comrade delegates, let me join the chorus of welcome that has been extended by the Leader of the Revolution, our Party, our Government and People to express our deep appreciation for your presence, our tremendous admiration of your unity and solidarity, and say that the Grenada Revolution salutes all the participants at this very historic meeting. I think the Comrade Prime Minister in his address a few days ago characterized the Grenada economy as an open economy. By this he meant that there were no vertical and horizontal structures linking the output of one activity as the input into another sector. In fact the history and the economic history of our region from which Grenada did not escape was the fact that we were primary producers, first and foremost of sugar-cane, which made the imperialist countries of today strong and powerful. We did not escape that legacy. And therefore industrialization in Grenada is very similar to all the islands of the Caribbean where slavery was dominant. Thus, we became after slavery prime exporters of agricultural commodities and in our case cocoa, nutmeg and bananas, and in turn we imported food and other industrial products.

Grenada's industrial sector is very, very small indeed, contributing about 3-4% of the gross domestic product. A recent survey revealed that there are about one hundred manufacturing enterprises and when we say manufacturing you have to say a small scale of manufacturing. Over 50% of these manufacturing enterprises can be classified as "Cottage Industries" employing less than five workers, particularly in the handicraft and furniture industry. About twenty enterprises are responsible for over 80% of the total industrial production by value. And these consist primarily of the manufacture of edible oil, soap, alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages and clothing. As we said, before the Revolution there was never even a match stick industry in the country.

Employment in the manufacturing sector remains constant over the past decade. For example in 1970 two thousand workers were engaged in manufacturing activities, 8% of the labour force. By 1975 only 300 additional workers found employment in this sector, whereas total employment increased by over four thousand.





*Cde. Kenrick Radix, Minister for Justice, Industrial Development and Fisheries.*

In 1980 estimates revealed that the manufacturing sector employed about 3,000 workers or 10% of the work force.

### Characteristics Of Local Industry

Industrial production in Grenada is geared primarily towards the satisfaction of local consumer demand. Only limited commodities including furniture, garments and lately, agro-industrial products are exported from this section.

A salient feature of the local manufacturing sector — and indeed the same can be said for the entire Caribbean — is the high import content of these manufactured products, resulting in a high-priced non-competitive product. This is so as quite often the basic raw material inputs imported are astronomically high.

Another characteristic of local industry is the high ratio of investment cost per job, as in the case of a new enterprise which was stated to be opened just before the Revolution. To create one single job in that enterprise, a flour mill, came at the cost of US\$46,000.00.

However, local industry is best noted for the absence of any functional systematic organization structures. This is so as most of the local industries are family type units, resulting in the absence of proper organization along proper business lines.

In the past, Grenada's true industrial potential remained unrealised. Several factors attributed to this adverse situation, the first being the absence over the last decade of any industrial development policy and strategy. Critical questions such as the desired kind of industries, their sectoral orientation and linkages, investment criteria, and methodical approach were never defined. Consequently industrial activities were ad hoc and often incompatible with the national interest.

In consistent attempts to promote industry under the Regional Fiscal Incentive Act of 1974, and the spurious "Operation Industrialization and Employment Bootstring" was one of the dictator's weird and fancy dreams in which there was a helter skelter dash for a greatly forwarding industrialization. But it had a zero effect in the country. It was yet just another dream. All failed to affect a satisfactory level of industrialization. This was primarily due to: the lack of proper infrastructural facilities such as water, roads, electricity, etc., the absence of a proper institutional framework for screening and implementing and monitoring investment activity, an inadequate Grenada Agricultural Industrial Development Corporation, generally inconsistent government practices as well, coupled with the fact of the 10% commission

which used to be payable to Gairy if anything was to take place in the country.

These internal problems are compounded by the smallness of the regional markets, high inflation rates and the low level of entrepreneurship existing in the country where the few innovative businessmen are in fact guided along a path of cautious optimism rather than productive adventurism. In fact one could say quite honestly that the situation in Grenada and indeed, in the so-called less developed countries is that a historic attitude has been developed in a class, whereby it simply gets a letter form, puts on a 10¢ stamp and writes off to England or the United States and says, "would you send me down ten yards of cloth please, two dozen needles and a couple of pairs of shoes?" And then that comes back and a high mark up is put on and they make the money that way. This is part of the historic legacy of this region. And our businesses, if one can speak collectively, have not been inactive. I think some call it in classical economics the entrepreneurship. In fact to break the historic cycle of economic dependence and stagnation means a much more active aggressive economic programme of development. Further, the public sector involvement as the vanguard of economic development is the key for opening the economic avenues for real development.

#### The Development Strategy

Conscious of the need for structural change in the economy, the People's Revolutionary Government has expressed and indeed acted to promote a strong commitment towards the principle of Industrial Development where feasible and compatible with National Interest. Unlike the Gairy dictatorship which promulgated the concept of "Industrialization by Invitation", our government is advocating a policy of "Import Substitution Industrialization" through the greater utilization of indigenous natural and human resources. This strategy will be affected by a vigorous and leading role of the public sector within the economy, joint ventures with local and foreign interest and the provision of the necessary incentives and assistance to the private sector.

Certainly we in the Revolution do not believe that we have so much freedom as that we would be so free as to wait for the entrepreneur to take his own time to come, as if by magic, where needs are identified and activities that are economic, that are profitable, that are compatible with social development. Where these are identified, the state will play a leading role in the development of the material and natural resources in our country.

The strategy is primarily aimed at finding urgent solutions to the problems of high unemployment and under-employment, high levels of inflation and towards diversification of the economic base of the country.

#### Policies And Incentives For Future Industrial Development

Along with the People's Revolutionary Government's participation and sectoral orientation of industrial activities, the role of the private sector is particularly important. The Government accepts the principle of a mixed economy and invites the participation of local and foreign private and cooperative sectors. To this end, a draft Investment Code has been published and is to be circulated to and studied by the mass organizations in the country. This code outlines the policies which will inspire and guide the role of the private and cooperative sector within our nation.

Basically foreign investment will be guided and inspired by the following broad principles.

1. Foreign investment must be compatible with Government's economic and social goals.
2. Foreign investment should mean that foreign funds must be invested into our economy. We have had a bitter experience historically where merely to be foreign meant that you didn't have to have security of any sort. You just walked into the bank and said, "Mr. Banker, I am from the United States or from England" and right away funds started flowing your way, whereas the local people in our country had no access whatsoever, whether they had skills or not, to these socially owned funds.
3. Foreign investment should actively signify a transfer of technology adequate for Grenada's stage of industrial development.
4. Foreign Investment, where possible, should take advantage of Grenada's surplus labour force. Agreements should provide for the training of nationals of Grenada to replace designated expatriate staff within a reasonable time.
5. New industrial activities should have the ultimate effect of stabilizing the cost of living and in the most extreme cases should not contribute towards an increase. The

retail price of similar manufactured products should be, at least, competitive with the price of similar imported products.

6. The most important industrial activities would be those which maximize the use of locally-available raw materials for conversion and supply to the domestic and export market.
7. Foreign investment activities which minimize the use of imported energy or supplement natural energy or supplement natural energy resources, such as solar, for the promotion of industrial efficiency will be more favoured.

Further, the Government has moved to provide the necessary institutional support by the recent establishing of the Ministry of Industry and Fisheries to deal specifically with the promotion, implementation and monitoring of industrial activity. This is unlike under the dictatorship, where activities related to industry were diffused among various Government departments resulting in continuous chaos and innumerable delays.

The massive infrastructural expansion already undertaken by the government will alleviate the former problems faced by local industry.

#### Industrial Opportunities And Potential

In the attempt at the greater utilization of local raw material and creating greater inter-sectoral linkages and value added, the following priority areas for manufacturing have been identified, and are in various stages of implementation.

Comrades here may have already been informed that in the 1973 issue of the manifesto of the New Jewel Movement, there were four basic pillars of the economy that were identified for development. Whereas in 1973 at the time of the advance of the independence of Grenada, the Gairy dictatorship went all round the country and in the world, telling people that independence would bring money and that he would get a money machine to meet the needs of the people. In our manifesto in 1973 we said that the pillars of the economy of Grenada were identified as Tourism, agro-industrial development, agriculture as well as lifting the educational standards and achievements of the Grenadian people. I think that the Revolution is on target, because the day after the Revolution we started to make every effort to in fact establish in Grenada the International Airport which is today a living reality

of our commitment to national development.

We started also immediately after the Revolution to establish the Agro-industries plant which is today styled and titled "Grenada Agro-Industries Limited" and proudly bears the Spice Island label which indicates the origin of the product. We have established at a cost of one million dollars the Agro-industrial plant in which some 21 people are employed full time and over 30 are employed part time. That in fact is the Agro-industrial sector to take advantage of the traditional fruits of our country which for hundreds of years went to waste. And we are happy to say that we have produced some products which won some success in the Bulgarian International Trade Fair, and I refer particularly to a unique product of Grenada, Nutmeg Jam, which won a gold medal this year.

So far, in terms of production we have produced in the six months since we began operating, 51,072 units of mango nectars, tamarind nectars to the extent of 17,693 units. Paw-Paw, 4,272 units, guava-banana 12,318 units, nutmeg jellies 14,147 units, hot sauces 12,798 units, chutney 4,379, spicy sauce which is an invention of the Revolution — 2,768 units, and the latest product of our line is Guava Cheese. We have produced 2,301 boxes of that commodity. So far the total sales of this enterprise which just recently started is \$298,725.74. So far also we have been able to give active support to 800 small farmers in the country as well as buying from 18 of the state owned farms. The basis of further production as we develop is the skills of the workers. As the scientists of our country, who are breaking through the barriers of a legacy of the disregard to science and technology, and as our farmers work harder to produce more, the Revolution seeks to combine the skill of the workers with that of the scientist and of course the quality production of the farmers of the country; all combining in fact to help us build production and to improve the material base of the society.

Our cocoa and nutmegs historically have been exported to developed capitalist economies. I have myself travelled to New York where I was able to see an enormously large nutmeg processing factory, a factory which employed over 3,000 people. Never in our history has any attempt whatsoever been made to establish a processing facility to process the bulk of our export products. A few months ago we invited an international organization to come to Grenada to conduct a feasibility study in the processing of our cocoa. Grenadian cocoa is sold at a premium price, as it has a 44% fat content and is used for blending with inferior cocoa from some other countries. What we are seeking



to do now is to in fact enter the manufacturing game where we will extract the cocoa butter, etc. So, we are now awaiting the report of this team, as we have made some approaches to our friends in a fraternal country, for the equipment necessary for us to become economically independent, by an introduction of cocoa processing.

This aim is the same in the area of nutmeg. At the present time there is an application before a regional institution for funding for the making of nutmeg oil in Grenada. This same history is true of cocoa as it is with nutmeg. In fact the scandal is well known that we export our cocoa for over just \$1 (U.S.) a pound, that is 16 ounces making the pound and when we re-import the processed product, it seems as if 14 ounces make their pound and it is over \$8 (U.S.) for their 14 ounce pound. So we're going to learn how to trade and we will be trading with the imperialist at 14 ounces equal to one pound.

We have also begun the processing on non-traditional exports in the area of coffee. We have now also the Spice Isle range of coffee, which has expanded considerably, and we are showing a very healthy economic return on investment.

There has also been established the Forestry Corporation in which the forest of our country is intended to produce up to one-third of our timber needs. Unfortunately the single tractor that we had available to haul the wood out of the forest was continuously breaking down thus we have approached again a fraternal country to assist us in helping ourselves with the provision of a tractor.

Fishing is a very important sector to the economy. In Grenada over nine million dollars a year is spent in the importation of fish and fish products. Capitalism and imperialism ordained that though we live on an island. In fact, while we sold nutmeg and we were busy toiling the land, we never paid any commercial attention to the sea. Since the Revolution, moreover the day after the Revolution, or to be more exact, before the Revolution, we identified the fishing industry as one of the pillars of the economy, and thus we moved with very great speed to effect this change, to seek to develop a non-traditional industrial approach to the question of fishing.

The first priority therefore, was the establishment of a Fishing School, which trains 18 students every six months, who are drawn not only from our country but we have offered the facility to our sisters and brothers in the Eastern Caribbean and we are happy to say that we have had a few graduates from the so-called LDC's to Grenada, in furtherance of the skills of the fishing in our region. We have established here a National Fisheries Com-

pany with the co-operation of the government of Cuba, who provided us with six fishing boats and we have been learning to fish, as it were, in a more scientific method. The boats are now able to stay out longer at sea. We have also been able to begin salting fish and in fact, already we are exporting some salted fish to some of our neighbours. We are also smoking some fish as well. There is under active consideration, a plan to establish a fishing port in an area called Halifax Bay which will have a modern ice plant with a capacity of 33 tons per day with a possibility of further expansion to 66 tons. We have already signed an agreement with the government of Bulgaria for the provision of this plant, and we are looking forward to further co-operation. In fact, we have already made the necessary arrangement to get the necessary boats and the people. The comrades are in training so that we will have a moderately large fishing fleet by 1983 to exploit the full potential of the resources of the sea in this area, and feed our people who have suffered from malnutrition for centuries. This is in the area of fishing and fisheries, comrades. I can also tell you as regard to result of international co-operation, certain scientific studies of the fisheries' resources of our country have been done, and we have information that there is a sizeable amount of fish there to be caught. We have also discovered new techniques of catching lobster, whereas before our people went down with an oxygen tank and a gun. But there are other techniques which we are learning, and learning rapidly and seeing that the lobster industry offers some lucrative activity for the benefit of our people.

Then, there is the question of local handicraft. I think if you look around the wall you will see the products of the Grencraft, which is an organisation that is promoting the skills and so on of our people, and in fact that is quite an achievement because they produce furniture and many other handicraft items.

There are certain other achievements in this area. Since the Revolution, our government and people have concentrated on the revival and resuscitation of the sugar-cane industry. The sugar-cane industry is no longer owned by the private company of plantocrats. It is today owned by the government for the benefit of the workers engaged in the sugar industry. And I am happy to tell you that this year, although the weather was inclement, that the factory was able to pay the farmers \$61 (E.C.) a ton for their cane which is a record in the history of our country, and next year we hope to pay them substantially more because the profits of that operation go back directly to the farmers who create the wealth in that industry.

There are other areas of activities that we have identified — that is the food and beverage industry. We are an importer of milk and we have decided that it is necessary for our people to get milk, and our children to get milk. Shortly we will be embarking on a Milk Reconstitution Programme as well as an Ice-cream Programme and local citrus juices to increase the calorie intake of the children of our country.

Poultry-rearing is another activity which has been identified, but there are many problems with this industry, as the protein content for feed is uneconomic. We will have to continue for some time with importing chicken backs and necks into the country, though it is not the best situation and we are seeking alternative activities in this area. So it would be very helpful if there is any specialist in animal nutrition and who can advise on the way of overcoming this problem. We are in dire need for assistance in this area.

Then of course there are the questions of house building and boat building materials that have been identified. All items have to be imported and I am sure that given the local know-how that blocks and tiles, etc., can be made from indigenous resources.

There is also the question of energy. We do have a unit that is specialized in energy. Our neighbours in Barbados, our neighbours in Trinidad and Tobago, and our neighbours in Venezuela have some hydro-carbon deposits and I do believe that there are some in our waters. It is a question of time before we can mobilize necessary assistance in exploring this area. In fact quite recently as a result of a visit by the Comrade Prime Minister to Mexico, certain agreements in this area were discussed and are being implemented.

So sisters and brothers and comrades, this in brief has been the activity of the People's Revolutionary Government in the field of Industrialization. As I said, it took the Revolution less than two years to begin the establishment of the Agro-Industrial Plant in our country. It had not been done in 400 years. The same is true, sisters and brothers in the area of the fisheries industry. More and more as our process develops and unfolds, the People's Revolutionary Government would try to scientifically determine what are the most advantageous activities from an economic and scientific point of view that can be developed for the benefit of our people and our country, that would lift the quality of life for our workers and farmers and would make us independent, and ever more revolutionary and strong so that the political slogan of the revolution 'FORWARD EVER, BACKWARD NEVER!' would be guaranteed to the masses of our country, the region and the world.

THANK YOU COMRADES.

## HEALTH CARE: ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROSPECTS

ADDRESS BY DEPUTY MINISTER OF HEALTH, COMRADE  
CHRIS DE RIGGS

Comrade Chairman,

Esteemed honourable guests  
at this historic Solidarity Conference,

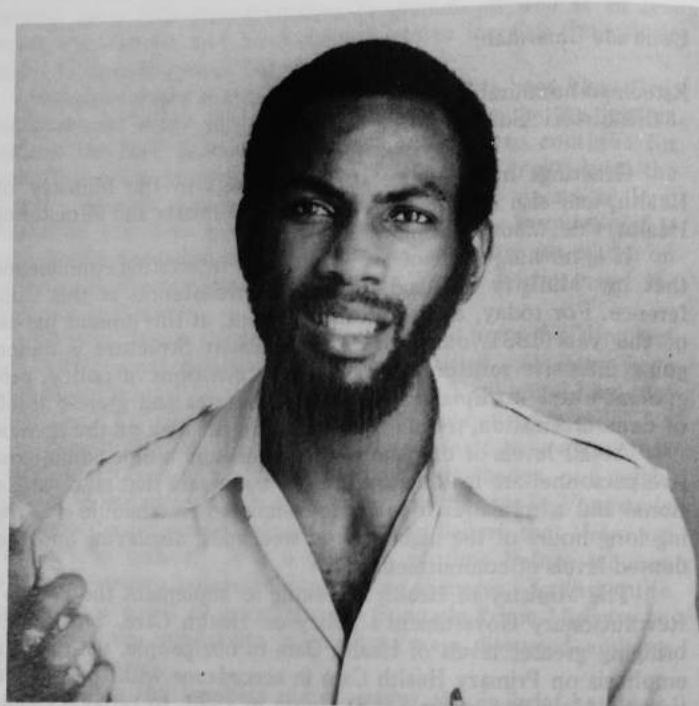
Greetings in the name of the workers in the Ministry of Health, and also in the name of the Prime Minister and Minister of Health, Cde. Maurice Bishop.

It is nothing short of a tremendously interesting coincidence that my Ministry is asked to make a presentation at this Conference. For today, at this precise moment, at this present period of the year 1981, our entire Administrative Structure is undergoing intensive scrutiny and analysis — questions of policy, programmes and workplans, functional structures and greater levels of democratization, training and budgeting are high on the agenda.

At all levels of our Ministry, workers and senior administrative personnel are making sacrifices to make sure that all organizational and administrative tasks are completed on schedule — working long hours of the night and on weekends, displaying unprecedented levels of commitment.

The Ministry of Health is seeking to implement the People's Revolutionary Government's policy on Health Care. This means bringing greater levels of Health Care to our people, with special emphasis on Primary Health Care in accordance with the declaration of Alma Ata in the Soviet Union in 1978, to provide Health Care to individuals and families in the Community through their full participation and at a cost that the country can afford. We are constructing a Health Care that forms an integral part of the country's Health system, of which it is the central function and main focus of the overall social and economic development of the Community — a system that provides the first level of contact of individuals, the family and Community with National Health Care, bringing Health Care as close as possible to where people live and work and constituting the first element of a continuing process.

This is two and a half years after the Revolution, when indisputable progress has been made in the area of Health Care in our country. Certainly, next to Education, Health represents the



*Cde. Chris De Riggs, Deputy Minister of Health.*

greatest area of progress since the Revolution and continues to be an area of dynamic growth and development.

#### What We Inherited

Perhaps, in order to appreciate how we have moved forward, we need to reflect on the system of Health Care delivery as it was in 1979 at the time of our Revolution.

The situation could be summed up in the following way:—

- (1) Poor medical coverage of Health Care services — a particularly critical shortage of doctors and other trained personnel.
- (2) An acute shortage of existing services, supplies and equipment.
- (3) Low quality Public Health Services as compared to the relative better quality of the Private Sector.
- (4) Very little preventative medicine or strictly remedial type services.
- (5) Problems in Environmental Health, shortage of trained Public Health Inspectors and Junior Inspectors. Equipment necessary for performing the functions of this department was not available in many instances.
- (6) Delapidated and Inadequate Health Care facilities and physical infra-structure in many Institutions.
- (7) A large number of untrained Health Workers, causing a massive state of demoralization among Health Workers.

These were the principal features of the health care system in our Country, which when taken together, were responsible for a tremendous amount of frustration and discontent among the masses of our Country. In fact, as early as 1970, the situation had been recognized as being intolerable and hundreds of Nurses, Hospital Workers and members of the Public had taken to the streets of our Capital protesting against the scandalous conditions in the Hospital. History must record and acknowledge the contribution made by these valiant workers in 1970. Especially those who suffered the brutality of the dictator Eric Gairy as a result of their brave and heroic stand. They have no doubt played a key role in laying the basis for the building of the quality of Health Services which the people of our Country enjoy today.

#### The Revolution's First Priorities

From the early days of the Revolution, the P.R.G. sought to take quick and decisive action in the area of Health, in full recog-



nitition of the well established fact that Health in our Country was in a grave crisis. In a situation where the Revolution inherited an economy that was brought to its knees by the corrupt and arbitrary rule of the Gairy Government, and taking into consideration the urgent need to transform our Health Services, the P.R.G. put out calls to regional and international Agencies for help in upgrading and reorganizing the Country's health services.

One of the first countries to respond was Cuba, and from June 1979 a Cuban Medical Brigade has been functioning with local counterparts, some of whom had returned home here to Grenada on account of their deep patriotism.

The impact of the Cuban Medical Brigade on local health care services has been dramatic for they have enabled the following to happen:

- (1) Country-wide medical coverage for the first time in the History of Grenada.
- (2) The availability of special services — Ophthalmic, Paediatric, Orthopaedic, ear, nose and throat and internal medicine. These services are provided through a referral network.
- (3) Dental services for all segments of the population on a regular scheduled basis and at parish level. Today also, both prophylactic and curative Dentistry are practised at the public clinics.
- (4) The organization of new support structures to accommodate the increased medical component in the Health Care delivery system.
- (5) The availability of qualified personnel to help in the planning and restructuring our Health Care delivery system.

Consultant, financial and material help have also been obtained from regional and international bodies such as P.A.H.O., W.H.O. and CARICOM in the developing of different components of our Health Care delivery system. Personnel, facilities and services have been offered. The resultant effect has been a marked increase in the quality and quantity of Health Care services offered to the population.

Figures relating to the expansion and improvement in the quality of Health personnel and services are impressive by all standards.

There are now forty doctors and seven dentists providing free medical and dental care to the 110,000 people living in Free and Revolutionary Grenada.

In 1979 the figures stood at twenty three doctors and one dentist. The present ratio is 1 doctor to under 3000 people and 1 dentist to 16,000 people.

Before March 13th, 1979 the ratio was 1 doctor to 4000 people and 1 dentist to 28,000.

We have noted also the significant growth in the number of Registered Nurses, Public Health Officers, Community Health Aides, Health Education Officers, Pharmacists and Laboratory Technicians.

The big improvement in the quality of Health facilities is also worthy of mention.

In the area of external medical facilities a programme for upgrading and refurbishing 8 of our 33 visiting stations and health centres is presently underway (funding by US/AID). In areas like Morne Jaloux, St. Paul's and New Hampshire in the parish of St. George's, also in other parishes like St. John's, St. Mark's and St. David's where the Primary Health Care programme has been launched, and on the island of Carriacou work on two visiting stations is going ahead.

It should be noted that one of the big achievements of the Revolution is the massive level of free, voluntary, community participation in refurbishing these centres. This predisposition of our people to do voluntary work is not limited to the area of Health but is a major feature of the entire society.

#### A New Ambiance

Ultimately this new trend reflects in itself a veritable achievement of the Revolution. The absence of the terror of Gairyism has brought about a positive psychological change in our people. Much of the apathy, frustration and bewilderment has disappeared; a new spirit of buoyancy has pervaded the atmosphere in our free country.

Under external medical facilities it should also be noted that a completely new health centre will be opened in the parish of St. Patrick's in early 1982. Assistance for this particular project has been secured from the Government of Venezuela.

Finally, the assistance of the European Development Fund has been secured for the building of a health centre in the Island of Petit Martinique.

In the area of our hospital services quite a lot has been done:—

- (1) We have seen the expansion of the operating room facilities at the General Hospital from one to three function-

ing operating rooms — one specifically for Ophthalmic services.

- (2) The creation of an intensive care unit at the General Hospital to accommodate both Surgical and Medical patients.
- (3) The remodelling of the General Hospital Maternity Unit to better meet the demands of that service.
- (4) The rebuilding and extension of the General Hospital Casualty Department for better servicing of the emergency patients and for handling minor operations.
- (5) The construction of an out patient department at the General Hospital to meet the needs of the Primary Health Care approach.
- (6) Refurbishing and upgrading of the outpatient facilities at the Princess Royal and Princess Alice Hospitals.
- (7) The general upgrading of the Institutions for the physically and mentally handicapped.
- (8) The reconstruction and expansion of the X-ray and Laboratory facilities at the General Hospital and a similar programme for other hospitals.
- (9) The construction of an Ophthalmic Unit at the General Hospital to accommodate in-patient and operating facilities. Medical history in Grenada was made in this case when on the 15th of April, 1981 successful Retinal Surgery was done for the first time in our country and in the Eastern Caribbean. More medical history was created on 28th September, 1981, when a successful Corneal Transplant operation was done at the newly built Ophthalmic Clinic. Special praise and commendation must go to the doctors who conducted the operation: Dr. Gonzalez and Dr. Ivo Horta from the People's Republic of Cuba and our own Dr. Annette Alexis and a number of local nurses.

To date some fourteen thousand out-patients have received treatment in this clinic and at least 1500 eye surgical procedures have been done here also.

In the area of Public Health, emphasis has been placed on greater levels of training for our Public Health Inspectors and in our 1982 Budget we have made provisions for employing two more Medical Officers of Public Health.

#### Health And The Community

It is in this area we have seen the greatest level of community participation and involvement, as evidenced in Anti-Dengue fever

campaign.

It is this kind of community involvement which characterises the Primary Health Care we are trying to build in Grenada. This new thrust of Primary Health Care breaks in a revolutionary way with so many of the traditional weaknesses of our Health Care system. It means we are moving away from a system where health care is seen as restricted only to an environment of sophisticated and modern equipment and immaculately dressed nurses and highly specialised doctors. For we are creating a Health Care system that reaches the people in their communities, in their homes and workplaces, in schools and recreational centres, a Health Care which reaches the people where they are, and causes them to understand and participate in the process of delivering health services.

In this context, workshops have been organised in the parish of St. David's with fifty seven community health workers representing different groups and organisations, and twenty three members of the Model District Health Team for the purpose of identifying Health problems and finding solutions. At this moment, a comprehensive Health survey is being carried out so as to provide the basis for a more accurate and scientific approach to providing health services in this parish. A similar process will be developed in other parishes.

In Revolutionary Grenada we stand proud to *NOTE* that we are in the vanguard of the process of demystifying and democratizing the system of medicine and Health Care.

The new decentralized system of Health Care creates the basis for new and better services at out-parish Health Care Centres and visiting stations, services such as:

- (1) Physician services
- (2) Antenatal and Post Natal care
- (3) Child Health Services
- (4) Nursing Services
- (5) Social Diseases Clinics
- (6) Dental Clinics
- (7) Nutrition surveillance.

All these services relate in a co-ordinated way to the secondary and tertiary levels of Health Care offered at the General Hospital in St. George's.

It is difficult to measure the very many ways in which our people have benefited indirectly in the area of Health Care. We can note, however, that social legislation in respect to Maternity Leave, equal pay for equal work, and an end to sexual exploita-

tion have all helped to raise levels of health and productivity of our work force.

Also, the introduction of the Nutrition Council with assistants visiting schools and also the distribution of free milk in schools and communities undoubtedly raises the level of Health and Education of our people.

The organization of Health Education Programmes goes a long way towards raising levels of sanitation and the creation of more rational systems of birth control and family planning.

It is clear that a lot has been achieved by the people of Grenada in the area of Health Care during the last two and a half years. It is equally clear that a lot is still to be achieved.

#### Democratizing Health

As a result of intensive discussion initiated in the Ministry during the last few months at various levels, including suggestions coming out of Workers Education Classes, a number of specific objectives have been identified. Needless to say, the extent to which many of these goals can be achieved will be determined in great part by the prevailing situation in the economy. New and better medical facilities require greater resources. In the final analysis the quality of our Health Services will be determined by the quality of our financial and technical resources. No doubt we have to continue the process of seeking to draw in all the technical and material co-operation that can be realized through foreign funding agencies and support groups all over the world.

We will definitely continue the process of consolidating and expanding Primary Health Care services, at the same time seeking to improve and maintain levels of Health Care in the major institutions. We will continue also the process of decentralizing our administrative structures and the reorganization of our external medical services.

There is a critical need for better systems of Health Information and Planning. We need to devise systems that will help us analyse and programme the human and financial resources needed to comply with the national programmes, thus ensuring maximum efficiency and social relevance in their utilization. Training at all levels is also a critical factor.

We have to make every effort to step up the process of democratizing our Health Services and involving the people. The shaping of Health Policy will be based on community involvement and a scientific appreciation of needs and problems.

The Health of the Nation is not the responsibility of the Ministry of Health alone. Health planning and the delivery of

health services cannot be done in isolation. These must be collaboration with other ministries and with mass organizations and other interest groups. Some of this inter-sectorial co-ordination has started but certainly this is the way of the future.

In closing it must be noted that just as the level of consciousness and organization of our people is moving forward, so too will our health services.

We must express gratitude to all those who have contributed and are contributing to the development of better levels of health in our country.

Finally, we give our special commendation and gratitude to the revolutionary and free People and Government of Cuba who have displayed the finest quality of the spirit of internationalism.

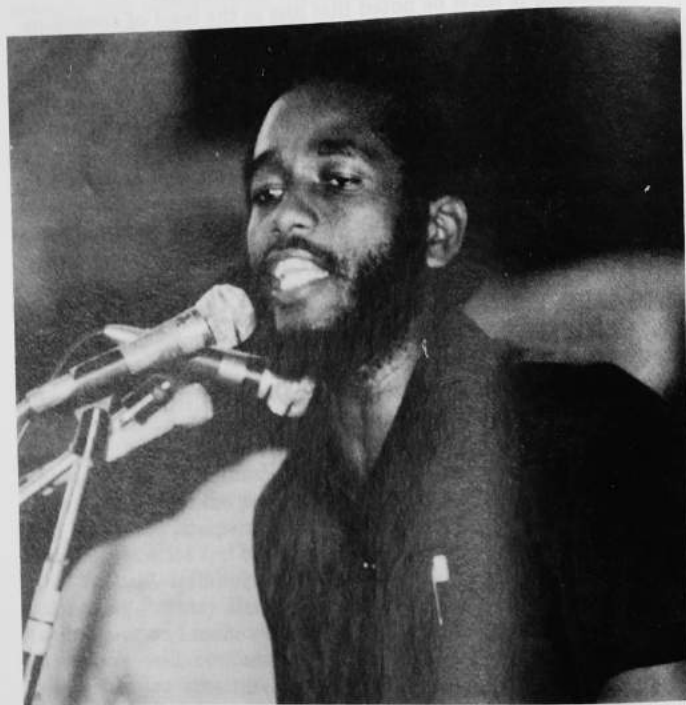
**LONG LIVE OUR FREE, HEALTH AND REVOLUTIONARY COUNTRY!**

**LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR BETTER HEALTH TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY THE POOR AND OPPRESSED!**

**TOWARDS THE SUCCESS OF THIS HISTORIC WORKERS' SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE!**

**FORWARD EVER, BACKWARD NEVER!**





Cde. Selwyn Strachan, Minister of National Mobilization.

## MASS PARTICIPATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

PRESENTATION BY CDE. SELWYN STRACHAN,  
MINISTER FOR NATIONAL MOBILIZATION.

Comrades,

Many of you may be wondering about the purpose and meaning of the ministry that I am presently holding, the Ministry of National Mobilization. It is true, certainly, if we examine the governmental structures of the region, or in fact, in the English-speaking world, we would not find many Ministries of National Mobilization!

You may also be wondering why we should use a term like 'National Mobilization', with its warlike associations, when we in Grenada are lovers of peace who want so much to see our Caribbean stay a zone of peace. However comrades, we *are* waging a war in Grenada, and it is a war which our particular history has forced us to wage: — a war against corruption, against arrogance, against the exploitation of our people, against the old colonial and neo-colonial bureaucratic ugliness, a war against patronage and mismanagement, against fraud and authoritarianism, a war to blast all these old deformities that our people have inherited, into the debris of History, *in order to* win the victory of completing a democratic transformation of all the processes of our country *in their totality*. And for this comrades, we are mobilizing our people for revolutionary democracy. This is our war, and this is why as a people, as a nation, we must mobilize to democratise *all* our institutions, as well as create new organs through which our new, effervescent, democratic blood can freely flow.

Comrades, we were born into, and lived through a situation which manifested not only the *absence* of democracy, but which in its every second, hour and day showed itself clearly to be the very *antithesis* of democracy. The Gairy dictatorship was a despotic farce. Here was a man, whose urge to control and manipulate everything in his sight became a *megalomania*. He lusted to control the agricultural workers so he formed his own abortive union: he wanted to be Chief Minister so he formed his own party — every structure he was a part of he had to lead, and as soon as his leadership clenched like a vice around the lives of those other people involved with him, the rotting stench of tyranny and absolutism began to stink through every nerve and fibre, until the structure withered away, infected by his corrup-

tion and decay. There was no health, no vibrancy in any structure associated with Eric Matthew Gairy and his dictatorship, only the lethargy and oncoming death of a cancerous organ.

### The Gairy Years: An Age Of Gangrene

Comrades, the age of Gairy was the age of gangrene: patronage, fear, intimidation, bribery, nepotism, terror, unidentified flying obscurantism — in such a governmental context democracy was impossible, undreamable! The dictator's hands held fast the levers of the official structures, and stretched out also towards the trade union leadership, either by *direct* control, as in the case of his own one-man-show — the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers' Union — or in the case of his control over the timid and feeble leadership of some of the other unions, which conciliated to the dictator and tried to suppress the anger and militancy of their own rank and file workers — as with the treacherous betrayal of our workers by the leadership of the Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Union in April 1974, when the independent action of our own working class had Gairy by the neck, but only saw their leadership run to his rescue, back down and sell out all their relentless and tireless weeks of struggle.

The pattern was the same: rule from the top in ignorance and defiance of the wishes and well-being of the masses. And when there was opposition, it was crushed mercilessly, brutally, murderously, in an atmosphere of fear and terror. Repression was total: criticism was answered by threats and blows, active opposition by hounding and death. Can you see these faces which surround us comrades, as we sit here in this conference room? Can you see the face of Alister Strachan, gunned down in the sea as he tried to swim to safety on June 19th, 1977, after Gairy's thugs had broken up one of our meetings? Can you see the face of Harold Strachan, one of our taxi drivers and a firm comrade, killed by a member of the mongoose gang, two days after Christmas in 1973? Can you see Rupert Bishop, cut down on January 21st, 1974, as he stood in a doorway protecting children from the dictator's hoodlums? Can you see our two beloved sisters, Edith McBain and Scotilda Noel, whose struggles and commitment to end tyranny forever in our country have become legendary? These, comrades, are some of our heroes, our great fighters. They lived in a time of horror and suffering and yet their dreams of democracy and a new life for our people never wavered. I men-

\*Comrade Strachan is referring to the giant portraits of martyrs of the Grenadian Revolution, which hung from the sides of the Conference Room.

tion them comrades, not only to honour their beloved memory, but to emphasize that throughout those dark days, they *always* saw a democratic vision and plan, they grasped and organized those dreams, and though they have not lived to see their fruition in the mass democratic upsurge now sweeping through our country, it was their inspiration that gave nourishment and strength to those of us who survived and carried on.

### The Sham Of Democracy

Having experienced these things, comrades, what other alternative was there for us but people's revolutionary democracy? We had seen those years of sordidness given outward respectability by a parliamentary cloak which hid from the world the suppurating sores of Gairyism. We were told the system we inherited was 'truly democratic' as we saw our comrades bludgeoned and murdered — oh yes, they said, it had to be democratic, because *Westminster* had deemed it so. There was a parliament, a senate, a speaker, elections every five years, an official opposition — *this was democracy, they told us*. And yet that didn't save Alister, that didn't save Harold, that didn't mean that Rupert didn't die. For the parliamentary paraphernalia which British Colonialism left with us to mystify us like a blindfold, and which was meant to the *model*, the badge and guarantee of our democratic advancement, was nothing but a grotesque charade played out in a fifteen-member chamber of horrors.

We were told that democracy equalled elections every five years — and they still tell us that now! — when a vote would cost half a bottle of rum and a tin of corned beef, when our illiterate comrades were told to put a mark next to a pretty picture, when loud speakers were banned to us, when it was illegal for us to publish or sell our newspaper, when our meetings were broken up with staves and guns, when the dictator broadcast that our party would murder all Grenadians over the age of forty and turn all the churches into discotheques, if we came to power. This was democracy in Grenada, comrades, this is what we inherited. It had the brand of Westminster so it must have been real, true, proven democracy! It was the kind of democracy that the late President of the United States, Jimmy Carter, applauded when he said during his administration that: 'Democracy is a vital force in the Caribbean region. We want to encourage that vital force.'

Comrades, the only vitality of *that* brand of democracy was in the strength and speed of its decay! We stood aghast as we realized we were part of this macabre tragedy. This was our coun-

try, so spoiled, so deformed. Can you imagine a country as beautiful, as sublime as Grenada as the venue for such an orgy of fear and hypocrisy?

### The Struggle For Real Democracy

Comrades, when we formed the New Jewel Movement in 1973, and for the years before when we had been active in other opposition and resistance movements, *we swore an end to this*. We knew that our people would only awaken from this nightmare if resistance and democracy were one. We had to provide a genuine democratic alternative. It was an unquestionable truth for us, we had to create organs of a new democratic power that would *fully* realize *all* the hidden, submerged strengths and beauty of our people, that would grow, prosper and finally explode in the face of the dictatorship, as it did on March 13th, 1979. There was no other way for us. Democratic organization was inevitable for us, it was a necessity and a *guarantee* that we were serious, that we truly loved and respected our people and wanted to draw out all their strengths and hugeness. It was also a surety against our own internal stagnation. When we conceived our slogan, 'NOT JUST ANOTHER SOCIETY, BUT A JUST SOCIETY', we were saying that our aim was not to replace Gairyism by another smothering neo-colonial deformity which would continue to keep our people passive and exploited, but we were unfurling our banner of *direct* democracy, *revolutionary people's democracy*, whereby we were not seeking to act on the people's behalf or as their self-appointed representatives, but our aim was essentially to engage our people in a process of building their *own* liberation, and in doing so they would *transform themselves*, and free their country of the quivering grip of the dictator.

Right from the very beginning comrades, we knew that democracy and freedom do not tumble from the sky, they do not appear miraculously or spontaneously. We knew our democracy had to be *built, created, made* from the raw material of the genius and originality of our people. You would have seen, and hopefully read, the little book in your conference packs about our new democracy, called "IS FREEDOM WE MAKING." The phrase comes from our people, and behind its apparent simplicity is a rich truth upon which we have always based our approach to democracy. We must *make* it, we must *forge structures* that will *sustain and nurture* it, and guarantee its health and true, popular vitality. We do not trust to chance or believe in simply letting things happen, comrades. Our people are makers of freedom,

carvers of freedom, artisans of freedom because *they themselves* are building the structures upon which our new society is being raised. *They* have built the foundations, and are now raising up the superstructure of democracy that will consolidate our Revolution and make it stand firm against all the lies, abuse and destabilization attempts that are futilely hurled against it by the goliaths of Imperialism.

So comrades, if we briefly look at our pre-revolutionary struggles and ways of organizing, as a party and before that as a resistance movement, we would see that the mass, democratic involvement and mobilization of our people has always been the primary characteristic of our way of organizing. In late 1972 we organized a People's Court to try the arrogant English peer and landlord, Lord Brownlow, who had cut off access to a popular beach in the Parish of St. David's, at La Sagesse. The people's voice was heard and the people's sentence was given: the unworthy lord was found similarly unworthy of owning land in Grenada. Then, as a proud, defiant people we marched upon his barricade, which was guarded by Gairy's police, and dismantled it, reclaiming our beach. In May 1973 the newly-formed New Jewel Movement called a People's Convention at Seagoon — where many of you would have attended our Bloody Sunday commemoration last weekend — resolving that new, democratic organs must be founded in our country, and that Gairy's one-man rule be replaced by a system of People's Assemblies. This event drew 15,000 people. Such a policy to create the new democracy was the logical outcome of the ideas of our party, which had been formed in March 1973 out of two organizations that gave central importance to the question of democratic organization. Even in their names these twin organizations showed this: THE MOVEMENT FOR ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE and JOINT ENDEAVOUR FOR THE WELFARE, EDUCATION AND LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLE.

Then, in 1973 again, in November, the N.J.M. successfully organized a *People's Congress*, also at Seagoon. We mobilized a further ten thousand people for that congress, which was chaired by Comrades Bishop and Whiteman, and we collectively charged Gairy with 27 crimes against the people, and gave him and his government two weeks to resign or an island-wide shut down would enforce the will of the congress.

Comrades, this was the kind of mass mobilization of the people for democratic participation that our party has always embraced. And we can see much that has developed since the Revolution, in relation to democratic activity, in the *genesis* of



our popular organs that were being developed during the years of the anti-Gairy resistance. We went through our democratic apprenticeship in that period, and we learned many lessons about democratic organization that we apply now. For example, we organized house repairs for the victims of Gairy's barbarism — like the family house of young Jeremiah Richardson, shot point blank in the head on the streets of Grenville by a policeman. We organized parents to set up day care centres, we inaugurated Freedom Schools, our youth founded student movements like the Organization for Education and Liberation (O.R.E.L.), and we even organized a clandestine network of parish meetings, which successfully evaded the pursuit of the mongoose gang — and these became the direct ancestors of the Workers' Parish Councils that we have today. All this activity was intended to fully involve our people in organized resistance to the dictatorship. So, when we finally triumphed on March 13th, 1979, we did not triumph through spontaneity or good fortune. We triumphed because we had laid an *organizational and democratic base* that had fully engaged our people in the process of national resistance. 'So when the moment of liberation came through our popular insurrection, we already had a mass organization to support us and carry on the dawn's revolutionary work. It was only because our people had been democratically involved in the work and preparation for resistance that they became also involved in the Revolution — and that involvement has grown with great muscle in the thirty two months since.

#### Building New Democratic Structures

So comrades, that is something of the background of our grasp of democracy. We have always placed, as I have emphasized, maximum concentration upon the *building* of new structures. But we have found additionally, that our democratic structures have often grown their own *organic independence*, as a result of the health and true vitality of their organisms. When we established, for example, Workers' Parish Councils, we surprised ourselves at their astonishingly swift rate of growth. It was as if we planted a seed, which germinated, and soon its spreading shoots and branches were sprouting out in all directions towards the 125 villages of our country. Parish Councils became too large, we couldn't accommodate all the people who wanted to come to them. You remember the vast chamber of Butler House, comrades, where you enjoyed yourselves Monday night? That became too small for all the workers in St. George's and so we split the

single parish council into *zonal* councils, and soon, it is already clear, we shall have to split them again into village councils. Grenadian soil is remarkably fertile, as you would have seen. Our trees — nutmegs, cocoa, bananas and a wealth of others — grow with impunity in our earth. It is as if our democratic structures are inspired by them, comrades, for you can step nowhere in Grenada without meeting one! It means a complete transformation in the life of our country. The age of gangrene and corruption has given way to vibrant, healthy, prospering structures that support and inspire the genuine mass participation of our people.

Take our women's organization comrades, the National Women's Organization. This has seen perhaps the most remarkable growth of all. Again, it was already grounded before the Revolution, in December 1977, so after March 13th, its roots were already firmly planted. The Revolution was the manure it needed! And it is moving with real force and speed towards its target of 8,000 members before the end of the year — having already attained its primary target of 5,000 members two months before its deadline. It has taken these enormous leaps forward as a result of the permanent mobilization of its existing membership to create more members, and the extraordinary inner momentum of its democratic organization. All posts are elected and every group is represented on its parish committees — and each parish on its National Executive. For in Grenada comrades, *elections* are a daily phenomenon, not once every five years. The simpletons and ignoramuses who are screaming, 'There are no elections in Grenada!' ought to be here. In one week they would see more elections than they would in a lifetime of living in the United States of America!

The N.W.O. is having a remarkable effect upon inspiring and educating our sisters. Look at the attendance of any rally, go to any Workers' Parish Council, study who makes up the Militia, look at our sisters taking vital and responsible positions in our ministries and state enterprises, and you will see the effect of the N.W.O. Look at the way they are recommending those areas of the *Law* which need changing for the benefit of women — like the drafting of the Maternity Leave Law, and you will see the influence of the sisters. The passage of that law, preceded as it was by consultation with trade unions, N.W.O. groups, community and church groups all over the country, was also monitored by our sisters. Look at the mass increase in pre-primary education, the Primary Health Care Programme, the distribution of free milk and books and uniforms for our school children — all this is the responsibility of the N.W.O. For what

they are creating is a new *national infrastructure of supplies, distribution and social welfare* which we have never previously had in our country. Their very mobilization has proven to be hugely advantageous, not *only* for the sisters themselves, but for the entire social health and organization of the country.

The same is true of our youth. They too have taken massive strides forward through the National Youth Organization. Like the N.W.O., they have used mass *emulation* techniques to increase their membership, setting targets and boldly marching towards them by instituting fraternal competition at the group level, to create incentives. The success of YOUTH CAMP 1981 in July and August of this year was directly due to the imaginative application of the processes of emulation, which lifted the activity and the quality of the participation and achievement substantially as the two months progressed. Sports, skills training, agricultural production, cultural events, political discussion and education — all helped to shape the youth at this camp into disciplined and committed servers of our people, eager to participate much more actively and directly in the hard process of national re-construction.

Comrades, you experienced yourselves the joy and beauty of our Young Pioneers at the beginning of our conference, and their proud announcement of 7,000 members. These young comrades are building the spirit of patriotism and revolutionary love for their people in their groups, aspiring to the examples of the Grenadian heroes who give names to their brigades: Rupert Bishop, T.A. Marryshow, Buzz Butler, Julien Fedon. Their grasp of popular culture, their appetite for learning, discussion and debate — a favourite topic at their summer camp was, 'What is more important, Money or Education?' — is helping to form them into the new men and women our country is going to give to the world and our own people, over the coming years.

*Mass participation*, comrades, is an integral principle of our Revolution. This has been shown perhaps in the most stunning perspective in the transformation of our most militant and democratic trade unions. The old, deadening, conciliatory leadership, the disciples of passivity, are making way for the new *elected* militants whose mission is to *unionise* all the workforces, democratise the unions they lead with regular meetings, new internal committees and structures, *educate* their members through trade union seminars and Workers' Education Classes and *mobilize* them to play their full part in the tasks of building a new society, alongside party structures and other mass organizations. As our Comrade Leader said last week in his opening address to

the Third Trade Union Conference for the Unity and Solidarity of Caribbean Workers in this very centre, invoking the genius of our great Grenadian trade union pioneer: 'In the spirit of Butler, unionise! Mobilize! Educate! Democratise!' We have seen not only huge increases in the membership of some of our long established unions like the Commercial and Industrial Workers' Union and the Technical and Allied Workers' Union, but new unions growing into formidable organizations in just a few months. The Bank and General Workers' Union, whose epic struggle with Barclays' Bank helped to lay the popular base for our Revolution, has risen from a hundred members to three thousand in thirty months. The new Agricultural and General Workers' Union, which rose phoenix-like out of the ashes of Gairy's monstrosity, has gone from nil to 2,300 members in just over two years.

#### Democracy And Accountability: Parish Councils

But perhaps our most profoundly original mass democratic development has been the growth of our Parish Councils and Workers' Parish Councils. These institutions, genuine innovations, which have been sprouting so profusely all over our nation, are proud and totally characteristic creations of our Revolution. Our people attend them in their masses, in a spirit of eager anticipation, and they are themselves a clear symptom of their huge democratic appetite. The hunger for democracy that reached starvation level through the Gairy years, is now being satisfied. The atmosphere of these events has a little touch of theatre, something of a rally, and sometimes the suspense of a court house. But the central ingredient is democratic seriousness. For here is the regular reality of democratic accountability at work, which the people must have over their leaders and administrators. At these functions, that accountability is fully executed. Members of the People's Revolutionary Government, plus civil servants of high responsibility are made accountable, and must answer directly to the people, as well as report to them on the progress of their enterprises. Recently we have seen the head of the Electricity Company, the Head of the Water Commission, the Public Health Inspector, the Minister for Fisheries and Agro-Industries and the Commissioner of Police all putting themselves before the judgement of the people to explain and account for their work in a spirit of open criticism and self-criticism.

The example of the session with the Commissioner of Police was particularly remarkable. The Council, to begin with, took place at Calliste, in the South East Zone of St. George's. The area

had been somewhat notorious under the dictatorship, as it housed the barracks of some of Gairy's worst police thugs. Now the new, transformed revolutionary leadership of the police had to face the people. The roles had been reversed, for under Gairy the police were accountable to no-one but himself. The Commissioner of Police and Superintendent of the local Police Station had to face an angry and indignant assembly. A criminal had escaped from custody at the local station and had been terrorising one particular village in the zone. This had been continuing for several weeks, and the people were dissatisfied with the performance of the police — why weren't they doing more to catch this dangerous man who had attacked several people? The officers had to take all the criticisms of the people and pledge to put in a much greater effort to apprehend the man. The people were *adamant*! 'You must catch him!' they declared, 'that is your job — do it!' Within four days the man had been caught. The police had taken the criticism of the masses, applied greater efficiency and commitment to the task and supplied the remedy. The police had been accountable to the people, and had responded! Can you imagine that in Brooklyn, comrades? Can you imagine that in Chicago, in Detroit, Oakland or Watts? Can you imagine that in Alabama or Louisiana? Can you imagine that in Brixton or Southall or Liverpool? Yet it is happening here, day by day, in revolutionary, Free Grenada.

Directly out of the Parish Councils and Workers' Parish Councils have come ideas from the workers themselves which are turning into realities: a Rent Restriction Law, a Workers' Compensation Act, a new public transport system — comrades, these needs and insights are coming from *the lips of our people* through their democratic structures, through the mouthpieces of the Revolution, to be taken up and implemented by the revolutionary leadership. That is why the Parish Councils are so vibrant, they are active and pulsating agents of social change.

#### Mass Education And Democracy

We hold fast to the truth that mass education and mass mobilization are vital components of the same process. Democracy and illiteracy or democracy and ignorance cannot live together. In addition to our Centre for Popular Education which we discussed earlier in the week, we have our Workers' Education classes which are now held in 45 workplaces and 24 communities throughout the country, on a weekly basis. Here our workers discuss and analyse their recent history, particularly from the 1951

revolt onwards, using their ideas and direct experiences to come to conclusions about the development of the struggles of their class and their people. These have often proven to be lively and stimulating classes, full with adult students who, for the first time in their lives, are realizing the importance of adult and permanent education, of the truth that education must be with us all through our lives — and the accompanying truth that education and democratic organization are both sides of the same coin.

In addition comrades, this informal mass education has often taken the form of large outdoor rallies — we have seen fifty since the Revolution — and innumerable smaller meetings and panel discussions. This is where our people learn about subjects that vary from co-operatives to family planning to the dangers of venereal disease — to the struggles of the people of El Salvador, Chile, Vietnam, Namibia, South Africa, Angola, the Western Sahara and Palestine. In fact, Grenada experienced the most practical and remarkable instruction in preventive medicine through the mass clean-up campaign against the Dengue Fever in July and August. The conscientiousness of our people and their organised commitment not to let the Dengue break out in Grenada was due to their experienced and organized level of democratic mobilization. Thousands of our people came out voluntarily in community work brigades to cut back branches, clear drains, dispose of stagnant water and other breeding places of the mosquito — and thus reduce the risk of an epidemic. And they succeeded comrades! For although we had a few cases, our people's serious and principled mobilization in the clean-up saved many lives and much misery. And this is only one significant example of community work and mobilization: community work brigades are out in our villages most weekends, and many a house has been repaired over the last 2½ years through the collective community effort which drives forward the House Repair Programme.

#### The Dynamo Of Revolutionary Democracy

Comrades, in reality, there could be no end to this speech. For the *democratic energy* of our people is endless, and is writing its own epic poem to their creativity each new day that our Revolution continues and flourishes. Just this single month alone has given us 68 mass activities, and that doesn't include *international* events in which our people are urged to participate, as in the opening of this conference and the reception to welcome you to our country. But we should perhaps finally end with what



is our most *formidable* democratic achievement, our People's Revolutionary Militia. For here our people have answered the provocations of imperialism and organized themselves with the utmost seriousness and resolution for the most important task of all in our present phase — national defence. You will find unemployed youths and grand-mothers, small farmers and bank workers, school students and teachers all ready, all vigilant, all organized, all training side by side to defend their homeland. This *voluntary* people's militia, where our people are picking up guns every week to prepare to defend the benefits brought to them by *people's revolutionary democracy*, shows their ultimate commitment towards our process. For this same democracy, comrades, such as we are at the genesis of creating here in Grenada, is the *greatest threat* to the bogus, artificial and hypocritical lie of democracy that imperialism suspends over the world to cover up the repulsion and shame of its own bloodsoaked crimes.

Can I finally quote from the words of one of our militant militia members, a 61 year-old road cleaner, whose interview you can find in *IS FREEDOM WE MAKING*:

"I goes to the militia every Wednesday night. You see, I'd do anything for the Revo. We learn a lot at the Militia; how the older must respect the younger and how the younger must know how to behave themself. We is all together as one people. We drill and we train together, young and old. I never hold a gun before, but if Gairy or the mercenaries come, we go bury them in the sea, they never be able to make it!"

Comrades, my thanks and firm wishes of solidarity to all of you, who have come to Free Grenada to add your heart and soul to our struggle.

LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY!

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLING MASSES OF THE WORLD!  
FORWARD EVER, BACKWARD NEVER!

## THE ROLE OF AGRICULTURE IN THE REVOLUTION

PRESENTATION BY CDE. GEORGE LOUISON,  
MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT  
AND CO-OPERATIVES

Allow me to express the deep satisfaction of having the opportunity to address you as part of this historic first International Conference in solidarity with the Grenada Revolution. Looking at the proceedings over the last two days, the warmth, easy flow of communication and exchange of views among delegates has confirmed once again for me that those who fight oppression have an easy rapport, a common language that imperialism could never understand and never break.

This conference is not only taking place in the 32nd month of the Revolution but in the 11th month of the YEAR OF AGRICULTURE AND AGRO-INDUSTRIES, a year designated by the Revolution to restore rationality in an agricultural sector ravaged by the storms of Hurricane Gairy. For our agriculture has been battered by natural disasters over the past two years and has suffered from no real linkage with the rest of economy in any overall strategy for national development. This year of Agriculture and Agro-Industries therefore necessarily has two basic prongs: one of corrective action and another of seriously beginning to plot the new course in agriculture.

### A Devastated Inheritance

There is a long list of problems which the revolution inherited that had become almost perennial to agriculture under Gairy. Only recently in an agricultural census carried out among the farmers, they listed nine major problems that limited their production:

(1) Praedial larceny (2) Pest and Disease (3) Lack of enough planting material (4) Bad roads (5) Lack of extension help (6) Poor marketing system (7) Water (8) Credit (9) Labour shortage in Agriculture.

These problems were compounded by the collapse of the Ministry of Agriculture in the years of the dictatorship; where morale was so low that most people had forgotten how to work. In addition Gairy had seized and abolished the elective principle within all three farmers' co-operatives in Cocoa, Nutmeg and Bananas. The total destruction of agriculture was well on its way. This decline can be seen in land movement in Agriculture.

In 1961 there were some 60,197 acres of arable lands being utilized for agricultural purposes. This figure fell to 46,577 acres



*Cde. George Louison, Minister of Agriculture, Rural Development and Co-operatives*

by 1975 accompanied by a reduction in the number of agricultural holdings from 14,096 to 12,000. Even more disturbing was that 1/3 of all arable lands were idle with over 40% among holdings of the size 100 acres and above. This situation was further aggravated by the Gairy Government's ill-conceived land Acquisition Programme.

Not only did acreage under cultivation decline, thus affecting output considerably, but more serious was the effect on the attitude of people towards agriculture.

Gairy's mismanagement and corruption was coupled with 400 years of colonial agriculture that had made sure that we reap and export the Cocoa, Nutmegs and Bananas in the same form that they were picked from the trees. It was the kind of agriculture that had seen to it that we never grew our own food, an agriculture based on a plantation system structured to crush every attempt by the workers and peasants to organize themselves to win more and better returns from their labour. Instead the agricultural workers and peasants were doomed to torn and patched clothing, broken-down houses and forever struggling to continue life.

#### New Objectives

The Revolution made it clear that we had to move rapidly to give Agriculture a new role in our development, as well as to bring a new standard of living to the workers and peasants in that industry.

We therefore outline five (5) major objectives for the new agricultural industry:

- (i) Supplier of food for our people.
- (ii) Major earner of foreign exchange.
- (iii) Provider of the main basis for industrialization and the building of agro-industrial development.
- (iv) The main creator of jobs to overcome unemployment.
- (v) Increasing our self-reliance based on the full development of our main natural resource — the land.

These objectives are fully consistent with our work for:—

- (i) Reduced dependence on imported food,
- (ii) Increasing the prices we receive for our crops;
- (iii) Agro-industrialization,
- (iv) An improved nutritional level of the population,
- (v) Improved level of peasant and worker income,
- (vi) Full employment,

- (vii) Building the co-operative movement in agriculture,
- (viii) Bringing in more youths and thereby changing the age composition of those involved in agriculture.

It is with these objectives that we have worked developing two main ways of implementation. Firstly, by building state companies for commercial production and marketing to ensure that the state sector plays the leading role in the building of commercial agriculture. And secondly, by developing the Ministry as a force that can be swung behind the small and middle farmers to give material support and advice to help their production and organization.

That work is fundamental. As you were told yesterday, agriculture is the motor of our economy. And as you know, as with any car, no matter how pretty the body looks, or how flashy is the upholstery, without a good engine you just can't move. 36 - 40% of our GDP is contributed by agriculture and over the years it has brought in between 40 and 50% of all foreign exchange earnings.

In the agricultural sector there are some 8202 commercial farmers. 49% of these farmers are full time. In addition, there are nearly 3000 agricultural workers, which means that almost 7000 persons are full time in the industry. Given that the average Grenadian household consists of 5 people, it also means that 35,000 persons depend directly and solely on the soil for a living. This alone is an indication of the social and economic importance of the development of Agriculture. Therefore, in order to build the Ministry into an effective instrument for the implementation of this development, the Revolution has started a massive number of new programmes to solve the millions of problems that we have inherited in agriculture.

Let us consider that in 1977 the Gairy dictatorship spent \$230,000 (\$.2m) on capital expenditure in agriculture, but in 1980 the Revolution had moved to spending \$1,658,000 and in 1981 we are spending \$10 million or fifty times more than Gairy spent in 1978. At the same time we have moved the recurrent budget, (side of the budget that pays salaries and for keeping the staff of the Ministry functioning) from \$1,500,00 in 1978 to \$4,396,000 in 1981 - four times more than Gairy ever did. Between recurrent and capital expenditure we are now spending fifty-four times more money in any year than Gairy ever spent.

In addition, the programmes of the Revolution that benefit agriculture do not only come under the Ministry of Agriculture. A big slice of the budget of the Ministry of Communications and Works contributes directly for this improvement in agriculture.

This can be seen in the road programme that we are undertaking. The Eastern Main Road Project, the first Main road being reconstructed by the Revolution, is the most important main road to agriculture in our country. This road links St. George's to St. Andrew's, passing through St. David's and over 40% of all our export crops come from these two areas. Therefore the Eastern Main Road is a vital link for our agriculture, and \$10 million is being spent on this road during this year and next year.

Roads, particularly feeder roads, have been one of the burning problems of our agriculture. Through the Caribbean Development Bank we have raised EC\$6 million to repair fifteen miles of feeder roads around Grenada in 1981. Apart from the CDE Project, recognizing the plight of farmers as a result of this year's economic recession, the P.R.G. announced a special \$4.7 million EC emergency budget for farmers in July of this year. \$2.1 million of that amount is designated to buy equipment to repair some 52 miles of feeder roads over the next two years. Under this budget \$1 million (EC) will be used to establish a credit scheme for small and medium farmers to help them in their attempt to diversify their crops. Another \$300,000 (EC) will be used to start a fertilizer programme and \$250,000 (EC) to set up a farm shop to sell tools and implements at a cheaper rate to farmers.

#### Our Farmers

I want you to realize that Grenada has one of the largest percentages of small and middle peasants in the entire region. There are some 8202 farmers in Grenada. 66% of them own the land that they farm. The average farm size is 4.2 acres; 5581 of them own less than 2 acres of land and only 120 of them have farms over 25 acres in size. In addition, 4026 farmers do farming as their only job. Our work in agriculture inevitably has to give great attention to the small and middle peasants.

Apart from road development, the Revolution has greatly increased credit facilities for the farmers. There has been a significant increase in loans made available to the Agricultural sector by the Grenada Development Bank. In 1977, before the Revolution, loans totalled EC \$256,190; 1978 - EC \$141,943; but in 1979 the first year of the revolution, loans to agriculture alone totalled EC \$578,745, one and a half times the combined loans totals of 1977 and 1978. In 1980, total bank loans exceeded EC \$1 million, \$552,683 went to agriculture, \$73,739 to fisheries, \$488,300 to industry, \$11,750 to Tourism and \$57,885 for higher education.

What is even more significant is the fact that in 1980 - 62.5% of all loans to agriculture (from the G.D.B) were made to



very small farmers. This must be viewed in light of the fact that 95% of all agricultural holdings in Grenada are under 10 acres in size. The G.D.B. has been transformed from being the Piggy Bank operation in which Gairy and his corrupt friends dipped their hands into the till at will.

The coming of the N.C.B. has also brought about a change in commercial bank loans. The agricultural sector, as a percentage of the total bank loans portfolio has never exceeded 10% since 1975. The National Commercial Bank, established by the P.R.G. is now spearheading lending to the agricultural sector. By June 1980 the N.C.B. had loaned \$0.4m for agricultural purposes. This represented 16% of total commercial bank lending to agriculture. As of June 1981 however, N.C.B.'s shares of all agricultural loans comprised 69.1%, a sum of over \$2 million loaned for agricultural purposes.

In the past there was no system established for the marketing of our farmers' crops. Since the Revolution, we have moved to dramatically change that situation by the formation of a Marketing and National Importing Board. This move was the realization of a promise made long ago by our Party in its Manifesto of 1973 to our farmers and working people. As the Comrade Prime Minister indicated in his opening address, under Gairy, the poor suffered from the heartless exploitation of the monopolists in sugar, rice and food staples. Besides all the other problems of Agriculture, the farmer was virtually condemned to subsistence or low level production because he had to lose valuable farm time to carry out his own marketing — a costly, tedious, and frustrating exercise.

The establishment of M.N.I.B. therefore, as promised by our Party, was an immediate and historically dramatic answer to: (a) the burning issue of high, exploitative prices of basic items and: (b) the crucial issue of marketing facilities for our farmers. M.N.I.B. was historically dramatic because it immediately caused a reduction in the cost of living, as Cde. Coard pointed out yesterday. For our farmers M.N.I.B. has meant easy sale of their crops, a guaranteed market for non-traditional crops. The case of the Egg Plant Export Programme is an excellent example of success in this area. In 1979, some 33,000 lbs were exported through the Board. This year in the 2 shipments made to date, 19,000 lbs have already been exported. Egg Plant, formerly an obscure kitchen garden crop has become, through M.N.I.B., a commercial possibility for our farmers and yet another source of foreign exchange for our country. In the coming period the Board will look to expand sales within the region and internationally.

## Co-operative Strength

The youth of our country have also been given the chance by the Revolution to play their part in agricultural development. When we look around, we see that most of our farmers are elderly and that there were not many youths becoming involved in this vital aspect of our economy. Before our People's Revolution the average age of the farmer was 62 years, but as the recent agricultural census shows the average age of the farmer is now 51 years. This lowering of the average age is an indication of the fact that more young people have since become involved in agriculture. It is a small but hopeful sign for the future.

This development is a direct result of another important programme of the Revolution that is related to agriculture — the National Co-operative Development Agency (NACDA). In April 1980, with a fund of \$1 million, NACDA provided resources for youths to farm in a co-operative way, to beat back unemployment. There are now 12 agricultural co-operatives involving 160 youths working on a total of 146 acres. By the end of this year, we expect that 200 — 230 acres will be under production. NACDA has so far loaned over half (½) million dollars to co-operatives. The slogan of the Revolution — IDLE HANDS + IDLE LANDS = END TO UNEMPLOYMENT is being made a reality through the work of NACDA. We know that youth in agriculture is not only an additional and dynamic force for increased production today, but they are also the future to the development and sustenance to agriculture in the future.

This important co-operative initiative is going to be expanded. In the future, NACDA will work to develop greater links with the mass organization of the farmers — the Productive Farmers Union — in promoting and developing co-operatives among our small farmers so as to ensure the pooling of resources and collectivisation of our Agriculture.

## Grenada Green Again

There is always growth, there is always development taking place in agriculture. There is always new life replacing old life. New methods, new crops, new varieties have to be developed. Pests and disease have to be fought and destroyed, proper methods of conservation and field sanitation have to be employed or else we lose our precious resources of soil, water and plants. As basic as these truths are, they were totally ignored. All these areas in our agriculture were stagnated. Now the Revolution has begun to

bring new life back into these areas. Our agriculture is gradually becoming green once more. The Mardigras Soil and Water Conservation Project which was under the threat of abandonment under the Gairy regime now represents the most impressive agricultural innovation in our country and possibly in the Eastern Caribbean. This project is putting into full production 150 acres of land that was before, useless scrub and steep hillside. Production of vegetable crops is being done at record low cost.

What Mardigras has done is to open the way to develop about 10,000 acres of steep hillside and scrub land that existed in Grenada. The application and development of Science and Technology in Agriculture is overcoming old barriers and opening the way for increased production and full use of all our land.

In this regard, training has become a key element of our agriculture. In the early months of the Revolution we re-established the farm training school and have now moved from 50 students a year to 150 students. This was done in spite of a devastating fire which destroyed the premises of the school earlier this year. Training for extension officers in agronomy and all other areas is also taking place.

Recognizing the importance of educating our people into new food consumption habits which emphasize local foods, given the need for putting into effect the slogan of the Revolution "Let us grow what we eat and eat what we grow", we have established the Grenada Food and Nutrition Council. This institution has the responsibility for mass nutrition education, participates in the development of a national food strategy and handles the school feeding and national milk distribution programmes.

#### A Strong State Sector

While improving services to the masses in agriculture, the state has also built its own agricultural commercial sector. Today three state companies, the Grenada Farms Corporation, The Grenada Forestry Corporation and the Grenada Sugar Factory Ltd. are already playing leading roles in agricultural production.

The Grenada Farms Corporation developed from the total wreckage of mismanaged state agricultural lands under Gairy. In 1978 over (EC) \$4 million was spent on these farms, while the revenue was less than (EC) \$250,000, an operating loss of (EC) \$3.75 million. This massive loss was reduced by 1980 to only \$800,000 and based on present trends, can break even next year. Today the 25 farms in the corporation, with approximately 4,000 acres and employing 1,000 workers, are steadily improving.

The recovery story has gone so well that although there was an overall loss, two farms made profit-sharing schemes, and 54 workers received almost \$8,000 as their share of the profits. In addition another 8 farms have so greatly improved that the corporation paid 337 workers \$8,200 as incentive bonus. In 1981, G.F.C. has projected a budget of \$2.2 million, with \$1.4 of that being capital expenditure to rehabilitate the farms.

In our rural communities the two main strata in production are the agricultural workers and the peasants. G.F.C. has begun to transform the life of the agricultural workers. Their status has risen. The combination of the increased benefits to the farmers and the agricultural workers give a real possibility for rural development, not surrounding hand-outs and philanthropic schemes, but coming out of the production experience and the returns from their own labour of the workers and the peasants.

The Revolution has had to deal with the Sugar Cane Industry in a serious economic way. The state bought majority shares in the Grenada Sugar Factory. We are repairing the factory after years of inadequate maintenance. A 48,000 gallon storage tank has been installed to collect rain water so that operation can be continuous. Twelve new trucks and five (5) new tractors have been a major capital injection into the industry, to boost production. Already the PRG has put approximately \$1.0 million out of \$2.7 million earmarked for resuscitation to the industry. Next year we will deal with further rationalization of field operations.

Our forestry resources are also being developed through the Grenada Forestry Corporation. This company has recently started operations and expects to develop its work more fully in 1982.

#### Problems We Shall Resolve

Our Agriculture is however not a total success story. You heard of the six natural disasters and the extent of damage caused. These are not easy to recover from. The years of neglect have brought on some serious disease problems. The banana industry has been plagued by leaf spot and the dreaded Moko disease which broke out in the middle seventies. Thus far, nearly 200 acres of banana fields have had to be destroyed in an effort to combat Moko.

Cocoa too, has had great disease problems. Beetles, thrips and Witches' Broom are the scourge of the industry, contributing to declining production over the past few years. In 1979, 5.8 million pounds of cocoa were produced; in 1980, 4.7 million lbs.

Production for the 1981 crop is estimated to 5.5 million lbs, but this could well suffer a 20% reduction representing a potential income loss of EC \$3.6 million if thrips is not controlled.

Nutmeg likewise, has suffered from the random and arbitrary attack of a disease locally known as Nutmeg Wilt. Young and old trees alike, in all areas, are susceptible. The effect is rapid wilt and subsequent death of this major revenue earner.

Because of our continued primitive methods of production, yields are low. In banana, for example, the yield is approximately 4 tons per acre, when the break-even point is 8-10 tons per acre, and some areas get 14 tons. Cocoa averages 450 lbs per acre, but there are some holdings which yield up to 1600 lbs per acre. Nutmeg averages about 1200 lbs per acre when our land gives in many areas 2000 lbs.

I do not want to repeat the figures of low prices on the world market which have plagued our farmers and kept down our national income. As you know, for most developing countries, world market prices give us daily lessons on how imperialism operates. Our economies are so dependent on and open to the economies of those of the capitalist world that, as we say in the Party, when their economies sneeze, ours catch the cold. Now that their economies have a bad cold, we face fatal pneumonia.

The questions of food and agriculture are major international topics at this time. For countries like ours, a national food strategy, better terms of trade, the international fight against hunger and poverty and our firm opposition to these used as a political weapon, are issues which we have to develop our agriculture and our people to overcome.

As an integral of our agricultural policy, just as our foreign policy, we stand with the poor of the world, we stand with hungry millions, we stand with them, poor but dignified to demand food and economic justice.

In Free Revolutionary Grenada we are struggling to bring more and better services to our peasantry and agricultural workers. By working harder and developing our agriculture we will provide wealth for national development.

We stand with pride and dignity alongside our brothers of the Third World in their struggle against famine, exploitation and human degradation.

We join with our heroic Cuban brothers and sisters in affirming that a united and determined people can never be isolated, can never be blockaded to starvation. This proud and fertile soil will bear greater fruit.

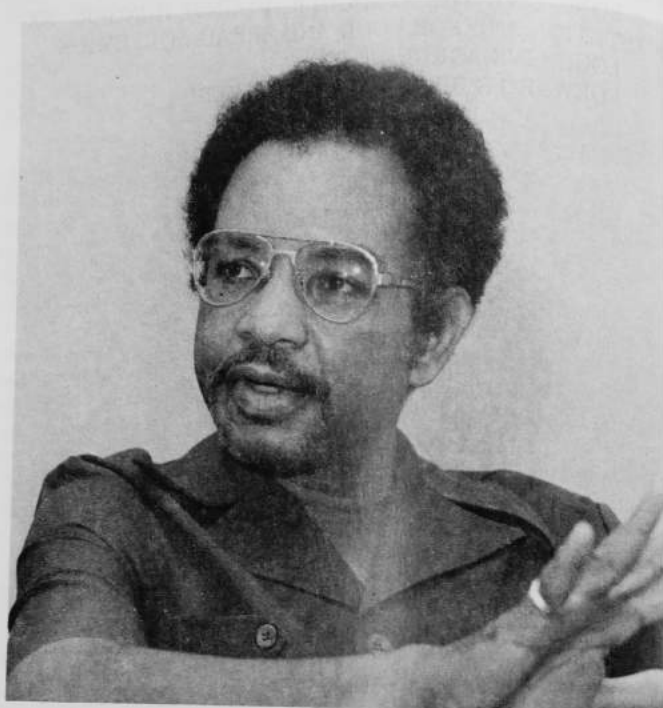
LONG LIVE THE AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND  
FARMERS OF OUR COUNTRY!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST HUNGER, EX-  
PLOITATION AND FOR FOOD AND BREAD WORLDWIDE!

LONG LIVE AGRICULTURE!

FORWARD EVER, BACKWARD NEVER!





*Cde. Unison Whiteman, Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

## BIRTH OF A NEW FOREIGN POLICY

PRESENTATION BY CDE. UNISON WHITEMAN,  
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Comrades,

A revolutionary adjustment of a nation's profile on an international front and a broadening of its horizons in the field of foreign affairs, constitute a critical element in that agenda of change which follows immediately upon a popular take-over of political power. Any social change would not be worthy of the name — Revolution, — if it did not produce the political will to adopt a new and radically different approach to the question of external relations. Soon the new revolutionary leadership must begin to forge new links, adopt new external strategies and seek to find true friends and genuine internationalist brothers and sisters. The inevitability of such a development must be seen especially in the light of the aggressive tactics of the guardians of the old order.

From the earliest days of the people's triumph in March 1979, the dynamics of the internal revolutionary process were at work in Grenada's international relations. In our case the course of events internally flowed side by side in the most natural way with the change towards the new foreign policy direction. The Grenadian Revolution was anti-imperialist from the start and so, the very nerve centre of imperialism and the powerful beneficiaries of that system were swift with their usual reaction, namely, expressions of hostility and threat of counter-action. It was the world anti-imperialist forces and nations and peoples of good will (some of whom had scarcely heard of Grenada before), who stretched the hand of friendship to us. Ours was and is a Revolution of the poor by the poor and dedicated to the upliftment of downtrodden and oppressed working people. The exploiters of the world's poor would naturally turn their backs on our appeals. It is those governments that shared our "people's philosophy", and who sympathized with the just aspirations of mankind, who would dare to stand with us and to support our efforts to defend our cause. In the early days the administration of the United States of America threatened to blockade our young Revolution. Our first appeals in the face of such danger went out to our Third World brothers in Guyana, in Jamaica and in Cuba. Events have

sped us on our new course. From that moment People's Grenada would be hastened to seek its salvation amidst the solidarity of Third World nations, the internationalist brotherhood of socialist and anti-imperialist states. These were our natural friends and allies. Worse than turning their backs at us, the Washington/London axis had pointed their guns at us.

In that light we must establish that the Foreign Policy of the new People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada was not a strange task, or an awesome experience thrust upon its leaders by the demands of that moment. Ever since the start of the revolutionary struggle in 1973, the vanguard party of the Revolution, the New Jewel Movement, demonstrated in its manifesto that it had fully grasped the complex nature of the world situation, and pointed unequivocally to the principles that would guide a government of the party in the field of international affairs. The manifesto declared:

"We support completely the political and economic integration of the Caribbean. But . . . we believe in real and genuine integration of all the peoples of the Caribbean for the benefit of all the people. We stand firmly committed to a nationalist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist position.

We fully support the Organization of Non-Aligned nations in their courageous attempts to prevent big-power domination of their economies and internal politics, and propose to join that organization at the earliest possible opportunity.

We condemn in the strongest possible terms the intervention of the U.S.A. in the internal affairs of the South East Asian countries, and the genocidal practices being committed on their peoples. We support in particular the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam and Cambodia. We reject the right of the U.S.A. or any other big power to control the economies and the lives of any people anywhere.

We support fully the liberation struggles being waged by our African brothers in South Africa, S.W. Africa, "Rhodesia", Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau for self-determination.

## 'FOREIGN POLICY' UNDER THE GAIRY REGIME

The theory that a country's image on the international stage is conditioned by, or, is a manifestation of its internal political reality and the socio-economic policies of its government, could not have been more forcefully demonstrated than was the case in the days of the Gairy dictatorship. Grenada had no foreign policy in the true sense of the term — no integrated set of principles and established guidelines for action vis-a-vis the rest of the world. For those who bothered to take note of Grenada under Gairy, the country's disastrous low-profile and embarrassing performance on the world stage was characterized by three factors:

1. Close friendship and collaboration with the most reactionary, repressive and genocidal regimes in this decade. That is, Chile under Augusto Pinochet and South Korea under Chung Park;
2. Superstition and occultism accompanied by harangues from the podium of the United Nations on extra-terrestrial phenomena;
3. The open talk about Grenada being an embarrassment to the Caribbean and a laughing-stock of the rest of the world.

The government of Gairy moved to establish the closest links with the Pinochet government at the very moment, when that barbaric fascist regime had become an outcast in the region and international leper number one after South Africa. Pinochet sent his secret police to Grenada to give Gairy's forces the assistance requested in training in methods of torture. Chilean arms were sent to Grenada disguised as food and medicine. Grenadian police were sent to Chile for training. South Koreans were brought in as experts aiding in the development of the fishing industry. In fact, they deprived Grenadian fishermen of their livelihood and engaged in anti-people activities on behalf of Gairy and his government. Little wonder that the strengthening of links with the above-mentioned regimes coincided with stepped-up terror and repression against the Grenadian people. The course of Gairy's foreign relations suggests that next in line would have come the Zionists and soon afterwards, the racists of South Africa disguised, no doubt, as a North American transnational. The events of March 13, 1979, changed all that.

## FOREIGN POLICY IN THE REVOLUTION — POLITICAL

Two and a half years after the demise of Gairyism, Grenada occupies a position of relative pre-eminence on the world stage.

Our country's profile is that of a small, independent nation fully articulating the needs and the just aspirations of its people and firmly in the front lines of the struggle for a better world. The shame and the backwardness, the dependency status and the 'backyardism' of the Gairy years are well behind us. Grenada is a proud nation and Grenadians are a free, proud and confident people at last.

Five basic principles, enunciated by the party since 1973, guide the conduct of the Foreign Policy of the People's Revolutionary Government. They are:

1. Anti-Imperialism and Non-Alignment;
2. Achievement of a New International Economic Order;
3. Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation;
4. Pursuit of Regional Co-operation and Integration;
5. Support for National Liberation struggles.

#### ANTI-IMPERIALISM AND NON-ALIGNMENT

The principle of anti-imperialism and non-alignment is undoubtedly the main pillar supporting the edifice of our international relations. In fact many of the other principles mentioned are but off-shoots of this central theme.

By October 1979, the P.R.G. had fully enunciated the essence of its policy of Non-Alignment. Speaking before the 34th General Assembly of the United Nations, the Prime Minister said:

"Non-Alignment does not imply for us that we must be neutral in the sterile and negative sense, nor does it imply that our country must regard itself as a political eunuch in the conduct of our international affairs. Our non-aligned policy will certainly not lead us to surrender our independence of judgment in world affairs, or to retreat from our right and duty to fully participate in international forums and discussions concerned with issues vital to our interests, concerns and principles. On the contrary, non-alignment for us is a positive concept characterising a vigorous and principled approach to international issues. It is an affirmation of that fundamental attribute of all peoples and states to sovereignty, independence and the right to freely determine their own domestic and foreign policies".

Grenada obtained membership in the Non-Aligned Movement shortly after the triumph of the Revolution. Delivering his address to the 6th Summit of the Movement in Havana in September,

1979, Cde. Bishop declared:

"We affirm before this great assembly, our resolute and unwavering opposition to imperialism in all its forms.

We affirm equally resolutely and unwaveringly our opposition to colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations. We affirm the strongest objection to the hateful and despicable system of Apartheid which continues to hold millions of our brothers and sisters in South Africa in the most inhuman bondage.

We affirm the strongest objection to racism including Zionism and racial discrimination.

We affirm our resolute stand against economic exploitation and foreign occupation or domination in all parts of the world.

We affirm our rejection of all military pacts or blocs designed to bolster or defend imperialism, expansionism, fascism and racism.

We stand firmly on the side of national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity and equality of all races and peoples of the world".

On that occasion also, the Non-Aligned Movement gave ample demonstration of its full solidarity with the Grenadian Revolution, including answering the appeal to the Prime Minister for assistance to Dominica which had just been severely affected by a hurricane. History has since proven that it is from within the membership of the Non-Aligned Movement, that Grenada found some of its truest friends and the most unforgettable demonstrations of internationalist solidarity and brotherhood.

#### NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The peace of the world is threatened by increasing pauperization of more than half of mankind and the acquisitive enrichment of a segment of the citizens of the western industrialized world. From every international forum, the voice of Revolutionary Grenada has condemned the manifestation of injustice inherent in such a situation, and called for the launching of global negotiations designed to achieve the realistic and attainable objective of a re-distribution of world economic wealth and power. Again in his address to the 34th Session of the U.N. General Assembly,



Prime Minister Maurice Bishop explained our concept of the NIEO:

"By the New International Economic Order, we mean the assertion of national sovereignty over the ownership and control of our economic resources. Further, we mean the establishment of the freedom to determine the disposition and the use of our resources in whatever ways our people wish, in furtherance of their own aspirations for economic development. We mean the creation of an equitable system of international trade based on just prices for our exports. We mean the opening up of markets internationally, in particular in the wealthy countries to facilitate the growth of exports in the Third World. We mean the establishment of an international agreement on the exploitation of the resources of the sea which would secure a just share of the resources and the wealth generated therefrom for the developing countries. . . . We desire a new system of international inter-dependence, based on mutual respect for sovereignty and a collective will to put an end to imperialist machinations designed to disrupt our unity and purpose".

Because of the nature of the Grenadian economy, the solution to the problems of limited markets, limited resources and increasingly unfair terms-of-trade are critical to the country's development. Grenada has resolutely supported the North/South dialogue and feels that the foremost western industrialized nations must bear the responsibility for the achievement of a more equitable economic order in the world, given their long history of imperialist expansion and control of Third World economies. Besides, Grenada has taken a leadership role in making the question of the specially disadvantaged nature of small-island developing states a major topic of international debate and concern.

#### WORLD PEACE AND CO-OPERATION

The achievement of lasting international peace and tranquility is one of the lofty goals of Grenadian foreign policy. It derives from our realization that without peace and co-operation there can be no real progress for mankind.

Grenada has therefore given its full backing to the idea of detente, has called for the ratification of SALT II and for an end to the reckless manufacture and installing of new weapons of mass destruction like the neutron bomb.

Above all, Grenada has worked tirelessly for the declaration of the Caribbean as a Zone of Peace. The Grenadian delegation took the initiative to secure the passage of a resolution on this matter at the 9th General Assembly of the OAS in Bolivia in 1979. Subsequently, at the 35th Session of the U.N. General Assembly in October 1980, Grenada proposed that the Member States adopt measures to:

- 1) Prohibit the introduction of nuclear weapons in the region;
- 2) Stop all military manoeuvres in the region;
- 3) Dismantle all foreign military bases that exist in our area;
- 4) End the colonization of all territories once and for all; and
- 5) Establish machinery to end all forms of aggression, including assassinations, mercenary invasion, propaganda intervention and diplomatic and economic pressure.

#### PURSUIT OF REGIONAL CO-OPERATION AND INTEGRATION

Because of geographical location and shared historical and cultural experiences, Grenada is naturally linked to the Caribbean and the broader Latin American region. We are therefore firmly committed to strengthening the existing ties in this region.

For us the Caribbean includes not only the English-speaking islands, but in fact all those islands washed by the Caribbean sea, including the Dutch, French and Spanish-speaking islands together with Belize, Guyana, Surinam and Cayenne.

We are convinced that the Caribbean as defined has a natural and close connection with the continental Caribbean, and also the rest of the Latin American region.

This Caribbean and Latin American perspective therefore accounts for our consistent efforts over the past two years to maintain and develop principled and good neighbourly relations with the entire region.

As an expression of our commitment towards deepening and strengthening integration in the region, we have continued to work towards further developing the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), a regional grouping of thirteen English-speaking Caribbean countries.

Our commitment towards sub-regional cooperation was clearly demonstrated in the Declaration of St. George's signed in July 1979. Through this Declaration, the Governments of

Grenada, Dominica and St. Lucia undertook to further strengthen the ties of friendship and co-operation between the people and Governments of these three nations.

This commitment has also influenced our position towards the creation of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), a sub-regional grouping of seven of the smaller islands of the English-speaking Eastern Caribbean, which was formally inaugurated on July 4, 1981. We believe that this new organization will be a positive force in strengthening the regional integration movement.

In Grenada's relations with her Caribbean neighbours we insist on respect for the principles of legal equality of all nation states, mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, ideological pluralism, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and the right of every country to develop its own process in its own way free from all forms of outside dictation and pressure.

#### SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

Complete support for the national liberation struggles was pledged by the New Jewel Movement in its manifesto of 1973. Even before the PRG made its public confirmation of this stand in the address of the Prime Minister to the 6th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in September 1979, it had given ample proof of its loyalty to this principle when in June 1979, Grenada became the second country in the world (after Panama) to recognize the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua.

Ever since the early months of the PRG, every genuine liberation struggle has enjoyed the support, encouragement and solidarity of the government and people of Grenada.

Like the FSLN of Nicaragua, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, now the Government of that Republic, enjoyed the support of Grenada.

Today, Grenada remains solid in our moral support of our fighting brothers and sisters.

##### a) Latin America

The patriots of Chile who struggle daily against one of the most barbarous tyrannies in the history of this hemisphere namely, the Pinochet regime;

The Broad Front of Uruguay;

The Liberation Movement of Guatemala.

Above all, Grenada continues to experience a deep sense of outrage at the atrocities committed by the Duarte junta against the people of El Salvador.

We proudly associated ourselves with the French-Mexican initiative and expressed our unreserved support for the view, that the alliance between the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation and the Democratic Revolutionary Front constitutes a representative political force ready to undertake responsibilities, and obligations with a legitimate right to participate in negotiations towards a political solution.

##### b) In Africa

Revolutionary Grenada has always made the achievement of self-determination, and complete independence by the people of Namibia one of the goals to which we totally dedicate ourselves. We will continue to condemn the machinations of those who support the racists of Pretoria in their bid to hold on to Namibia, whether by direct colonial means, or through a neo-colonial edifice with a facade of self-rule. The people of Namibia led by their sole, authentic and legitimate representative, SWAPO, can always count on the unswerving support and solidarity of the government and people of Grenada.

We continue to offer as we have always done, our firmest solidarity with the ANC and the people of South Africa, as they struggle against the cruelty and inhumanity of apartheid, racial oppression and the most vicious form of exploitation imaginable.

Grenada also fully supports the POLISARIO in the struggle to free their country completely from Moroccan control. We were early in recognizing and establishing relations with the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic.

##### c) The Middle and Far East

The continued martyrdom of the people of Palestine by the forces of Zionism will long remain a blot on the conscience of humanity. Once more the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada restates its recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization, as

the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine and condemns firmly any partial approach to a solution of the issue.

Similarly we are firmly by the side of Iraq in solidarity against the bombing of that country's nuclear reactor by Israel.

We reiterate our support for the people of Libya as they face the might of imperialism, represented by the Reagan administration.

We call for the peaceful reunification of Cyprus and of Korea.

We express our solidarity with the people of Vietnam, who are constantly threatened by the expansionist designs of the leadership of the People's Republic of China.

Finally, the Government of Revolutionary Grenada reaffirms as one of the central factors in its regional policy, its resolve to work for:

1. The elimination of colonialism from the Caribbean and the granting of self-determination to Puerto Rico, and to all those other states who are still denied that inalienable right;
2. The end of the criminal blockade against Cuba and the return of Guantanamo Bay to Cuban sovereignty;
3. The cessation of threats, destabilization attempts and acts of aggression against our sister Republic of Nicaragua.

#### FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION WITH THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND WITH OTHER DEMOCRATIC AND PEACE-LOVING STATES

The consistent anti-imperialist position of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada has led, quite understandably, to the establishment of strong bonds of friendship with the socialist world and with other democratic and peace-loving nations. Grenada enjoys diplomatic relations with all the countries of Eastern Europe and our fraternal links with them grow stronger and stronger. The co-operation and internationalist assistance offered to us by the Soviet Union, the German Demo-

cratic Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria and above all the Republic of Cuba has contributed immensely to the speeding up of our domestic development process. We maintain warm and friendly relations with Yugoslavia, Vietnam, Mongolia, Laos and People's Kampuchea and in some of these cases enjoy close and meaningful collaboration within the Non-Aligned Movement.

Grenada has also made the preservation of excellent relations with a number of countries one of the cornerstones of its Foreign Policy. They include Mexico, Nigeria, Canada, Algeria, Panama, Sweden, Venezuela, India and Tanzania and now also France under Mitterand and Greece under Papandreos. All will continue to work increasingly to cement even further the friendship and the spirit of co-operation which characterize our relations with these countries.

#### STRENGTHENING OF LINKS WITH THE E.E.C. ON THE BASIS OF GENUINE NORTH/SOUTH CO-OPERATION

The European Economic Community has been increasingly demonstrating its readiness to collaborate with Third World countries on the basis of equality, and mutual respect and with some evidence of consciousness of the historical responsibility Europe bears in this regard.

Grenada enjoys good relations with the E.E.C. and has benefitted considerably from those programmes resulting from the accords between the E.E.C. and the A.C.P. (African, Caribbean and Pacific) countries, as well as from direct bi-lateral collaboration. The People's Revolutionary Government places a very high premium on this new relationship with Europe which continues to have a notable impact on Grenada's development programme.

#### SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

Membership in and support for the United Nations in the face of growing attempts by certain major powers to destabilize it, remains another major element in the foreign policy of the People's Revolutionary Government.

It is our belief that the world body should be further strengthened and its integrity as the maximum forum of the world's peoples jealously guarded. The preservation of the United Nations, as that symbol of international authority and of respect for the voice of the smallest country on the basis of the accepted principle of the juridical equality of states, will always be given



priority consideration with the context of Grenada's external policy.

### FOREIGN POLICY IN THE REVOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC MATTERS

The international economic policy of Grenada, results from the interaction between its internal development process, and its political foreign policy. These two factors are themselves rooted in the socio-historical process of the Grenadian society.

To understand the economic foreign policy, we need to take a brief look at the result of the underdevelopment of the Grenadian society. That is, we must understand the degeneration of the social fabric in an economic sense, which has led to the particular international economic policy the country chose.

Degeneration of the economic sphere was reflected in the absence of adequate economic infrastructure — as fundamental as roads, and other communication systems, an adequate airport to support the tourist and agricultural sectors; and generally a lack of systematic planning for the nation, aimed at increasing the level of material and psychological well-being of our people. At the time of the Revolution, half of the people were unable to find work.

It is against this background, and after achieving the political Revolution on March 13, 1979, that the PRG launched an economic revolution on two intrinsically related fronts.

First of all, a backward dependent capitalist economy had to be transformed, and secondly, the existing international economic relations needed to be realigned, to replace those countries which blocked the progress of new economic initiatives by those who were supportive.

For Grenada to pursue an independent economic process, we need to break away from the stranglehold of imperialism, that has usurped the independent economic process of our nation. At present we are still entrapped within the vicious circle of dependent underdevelopment.

The basis of our foreign economic policy was formulated within the context of the need for a rapid and revolutionary change of the economy and also on the political stance of:—

- i. No compromise of our ideology as a way of achieving external material and technical support;
- ii. Mutual respect;
- iii. Official government to government assistance, reflecting our ideological position of a mixed economy, with a dominant state sector.

With the general objective being independent development, we have launched into the international scene to cement relationships, within the framework which has been defined before.

In this respect, relationships on a bilateral level were established with the following countries:—

Cuba: — here we have an agreement encompassing economic, scientific and technical co-operation. This agreement was signed on the 20th May 1980, and covers the supply of experts, and the training of our people in the first instance. Cuba has also provided technical assistance in the following sectors; construction, fishing, public health, transport, agriculture, the sugar industry, education, sports, culture and planning. On one specific project — the major one at this time, the Point Salines International Airport construction, Cuba is providing over E.C. \$30 million worth of heavy equipment, on the job training for sixty (60) Grenadians in the operation and maintenance of heavy equipment and over 250 construction workers (engineers etc.), as technical assistance.

Iraq has provided grants and soft loans to assist with the construction of the terminal building for the international airport.

Both Libya and Syria have provided lines of credit to assist in airport construction also.

Algeria has also given some assistance to Grenada and the PRG has initiated discussions with Nigeria on the question of a broad programme of economic and technical co-operation.

Tanzania has provided scholarships for the training of Grenadian nationals.

From among the Eastern European countries, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria have given very generous international support and assistance to Grenada. Hungary and Czechoslovakia are considering proposals for co-operation made in discussions held with each of them.

From Western Europe, France has provided assistance in the vital area of the study and examination of potential alternative energy sources including hydro-electric power. Sweden has shown considerable interest in our

development plans. And, despite the efforts of the U.S. Government to hinder meaningful co-operation with "Europe", the E.E.C. is already one of the major sources of financial support for airport construction, as well as in the providing of urgently needed technical skills for certain development programmes.

From within our own hemisphere, Mexico has already initiated a far-reaching programme of assistance covering such areas as oil supply, oil storage facilities, oil exploration and forestry and tourism development. Venezuela generously assisted in the area of oil supply for the airport project and with scholarships for training and upgrading of skills. Canada has provided assistance in at least one area of major significance in Grenada's development thrust.

It must be emphasized that none of the above countries have made the least effort to compromise our freedom, or to usurp our economic process for their own ends. Economic relations in each case, have been approached within a framework of the utmost mutual respect.

On the multilateral level, Grenada has tapped new sources of assistance. One of these, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), has provided financing for the International Airport through their special facility. OPEC has also provided the funds for the establishment of a National Bus Service for Grenada.

Our previous international economic relations were almost exclusively with countries in the imperialist sphere, and this factor guaranteed us perpetual economic dependence and backwardness. We have however, not severed relations with such countries but we are seeking new arrangements based on mutual respect and recognition of our independence.

The new thrust is, naturally, with those countries who do not use economic assistance to pursue imperialist designs.

## THE CARIBBEAN COMMON MARKET

Grenada has always given full support to the economic integration process in the region and will continue to work for a strong and effective common market system benefitting, through trade and commercial contact, the peoples of the region rather than a few merchants and manufacturers.

## THE CARIBBEAN BASIN PLAN

Grenada welcomed the so-called Caribbean Basin Initiative for Central America and the Caribbean. This programme, if not manipulated by those powers who merely wish to use economic aid as an instrument of cold war foreign policy objectives, could be a useful channel for extra financial flows critically needed for the development processes in the Caribbean region.

Grenada will continue to insist that:

1. The plan must relate to the priorities established by the various governments;
2. No potential participants must be excluded for political or ideological reasons;
3. There must be no military component in the plan;
4. In relation to the LDC's especially, Official Development Assistance (ODA) should form the bulk of the resource transfers at this time.

## PROBLEMS GRENADA FACES ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

### I. Big-Power Hostility and Confrontation

From the outset, the anti-imperialist nature of Grenada's Revolution and the "danger" of a new, successful, non-capitalist model in the bosom of the English-speaking Caribbean was more than the Washington/London axis was willing to tolerate. The hostility of imperialism and the threat of instant confrontational politics were on the horizon the very week following March 13, 1979. The U.S. State Department spoke openly of a possible blockade around Grenada.

Ever since those days, our efforts to alter our state of backwardness and to overcome the legacy of underdevelopment arising out of centuries of colonialism have only increased the antagonism of the U.S. authorities.

With the coming of the Reagan Administration, the pressure has been more than doubled. You may ask yourself what is it in the Grenadian process which angers the U.S. to the point where that country, a military and industrial colossus, would stoop so low as to hurt Grenada, a small nation, as has been the case? It is clear: The U.S. authorities do not look kindly on Grenada's insistence on the sovereign right of Caribbean nations to develop

their own political processes in peace and without interference and pressure from outside; the Reagan Administration thinks Grenada a small but much too powerful counterpoint to its hegemonic psyche, rejecting the doctrine of the Caribbean as someone's "backyard", and stating publicly that we do; a small under-developed country, as Washington sees it, should not wish to be independent enough to want to choose its own friends without dictation from the guardians of the Pax Norteamericana. And, finally, the Reagan Administration and its most willing servants in the Caribbean are afraid, mortally afraid, the triumphs of the Grenadian people should provide a beacon for our brothers in those states which lie round about us.

The attempt by two consecutive U.S. Administrations, and more so, the Reagan Government, to overthrow the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada has manifested itself in four different forms. These have now almost become their institutionalized approach to destabilization of people-oriented governments in this region.

I. Like Chile (1970-73) and Jamaica (1976-80), Grenada and the leadership of the Revolution have been the target of a most vicious international media campaign of lies, disinformation, distortion and personal abuse. This is designed to vilify the good name of Grenada and undermine the international prestige of our leader. For instance;

- a. June 1981 alone saw the publication of 144 articles maligning Grenada;
- b. In January 1981, there was the CBS telecasting of the infamous documentaries "Attack on the Americas", and in May, 1981, "The Prisoner and the Police State";
- c. Only last week (November 15th - 21st) we saw the publication of seven most damaging front page articles in the "Mercurio" of the Caribbean, the "Daily Gleaner" newspaper of Jamaica.

II. Grenada continues to be the victim of economic sabotage designed by the Reagan Administration to strangle the Revolution. For instance, there was:

- a. The diplomatic offensive by the Reagan Government to prevent Grenada obtaining U.S. \$30m from a co-financing conference sponsored by

the E.E.C. in April last, to be used in the construction of our International Airport;

- b. The attempt by the Reagan Administration to block an IMF loan to Grenada;
- c. The Reagan Administration's successful blocking of U.S. \$30 million in IDA concessional Funds to Grenada;
- d. The U.S. demand that Grenada be excluded from participation in the benefits of a grant of U.S. \$4 million offered to the Caribbean Development Bank.

III. The Reagan Administration and its allies have encouraged and financed dissidents and counter-revolutionaries inside Grenada to plot, to murder and to disrupt as a prelude to seizing power. At the same time our detractors have unleashed a campaign to force elections before our time-table of priorities allows for this. This election they hope to manipulate and to rig as they have done elsewhere.

IV. Military intervention represents the fourth stage of the U.S. Administration's plan, to destroy the Grenadian process. This is the most dangerous of all. The threat of an invasion is manifest in the following events:

- a. In August 1981 the United States, as part of the military manoeuvres code-named Ocean Venture '81, staged a mock invasion of Vieques Island off Puerto Rico of a country code-named Amber and the Amberines. Based on an abundance of evidence, we are convinced that this operation is a rehearsal for the invasion of Grenada and its sister islands of the Grenadines;
- b. In addition, the recruitment and training of mercenaries in the U.S.A., particularly in Florida, for use against Grenada, continues openly and unashamedly;
- c. The near success of the group of Klu Klux Klan and Cuban exile mercenaries led by the U.S. citizen Perdue, who were on the point of sailing for the Caribbean. Their confessed ultimate target - Grenada.



The U.S. has, of course, denied any plans to invade Grenada. However, the lessons of recent history are fresh in our minds. They will never admit that these plans have been made.

#### GRENADA'S ATTEMPTS TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.

Consistent with our policy of good neighbourliness, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop has, on two separate occasions written to President Ronald Reagan, expressing Grenada's preparedness to engage in a dialogue at the highest level in order to normalize our relations. In his letter dated March 26 of 1981, our Prime Minister wrote:

"My government has *always* wanted good relations with your government and people" and "I would like to suggest that our two governments hold bilateral discussions at the highest possible level to discuss developments and to clear up possible misunderstandings."

This and a subsequent letter of August 1981 have both gone unacknowledged.

The Congressional Black Caucus wrote to Secretary of State, General Haig in March of this year without any positive results.

We shall continue to make every effort to normalize our relations with the United States, in accordance with our policy of seeking normal and friendly relations with all our neighbours.

#### SITUATION OF SPECIAL DISADVANTAGE: SMALL ISLAND DEVELOPING ECONOMY

The limitations placed upon us by the phenomenon of "smallness", prevent us from developing the momentum towards occupying our rightful place in the international economy. It must be accepted however that the economic and social consequences of "smallness", are shared by several independent states. These consequences include:

- (1) Limited resources;
- (2) An almost total dependence on external markets due to the very limited internal market;
- (3) Lack of an adequate number of trained personnel — those who receive an appreciable level of training soon go off to better living standards and more attractive salaries in metropolitan centres;

- (4) Lack of institutions and organizations designed for modern production;
- (5) Low level of scientific and technological know-how;
- (6) High import content of economy;
- (7) Propensity to natural disasters — hurricanes, earthquakes, freak storms, which because of the small size of the country, when they strike, devastate the entire country, not just one region or province of that country.

#### FOREIGN POLICY PROJECTIONS IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE AND IN THE LONG RUN

The preceeding has shown the background against which the PRG instituted a new direction in the field of international affairs. We have seen how this direction has manifested itself in concrete policies and actions. We have seen the opportunities presented by this new direction, as well as the challenges arising from our experiences on the world stage.

And now, what projections can there be for the future given the experiences of the past? We will seek resolutely to abide by the sacred principles which have guided us until this moment. We give the assurance that:

- a. Revolutionary Grenada will never compromise with imperialism;
- b. The Non-Aligned Movement, the U.N./OAU and all multilateral bodies which are dedicated to the genuine progress of mankind will continue to have our total support;
- c. We will always be by the side of those who struggle for their national liberation and self determination, and those who struggle for disarmament, for detente, for peace and a better world for us all;
- d. We will broaden and deepen our relations with our friends in the Socialist world, in Western Europe, in Latin America, in Africa and the Arab world and with all democratic and internationalist peoples everywhere;
- e. We will seek to have good relations with all.

In terms of concrete action Grenada serves notice, that imperialism's attempt to divide the Caribbean will be met with resolute action and organized opposition from us.

Most of all, Grenada intends to take the struggle of small-island developing states to overcome the disabilities of "smallness" to every forum on the globe. We are part of an exploited South in the North/South traditional relationship of a master and a slave, but our disabilities are special and our disadvantages far more numerous. Grenada, in concert with others of our number, shall lay our plight and our situation hard on the conscience of our traditional exploiters and on the good-will of the true friends of suffering humanity.

This then is the challenge of our future. The world is assured Grenada will not look back.

FORWARD EVER! BACKWARD NEVER!

## "GRENADA IS NOT ALONE"

CLOSING ADDRESS BY CDE. PRIME MINISTER,  
MAURICE BISHOP.

Comrades:

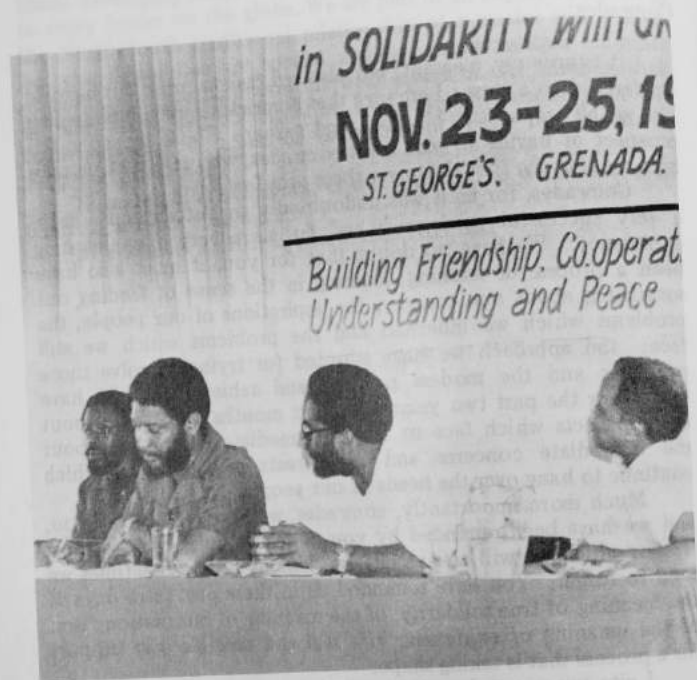
It is now my pleasant, but also sad task to bring this historic conference to a close. I am sure that comrades here will be feeling like we all are, a little bit tired, and perhaps a little bit sad at the prospect of having to part from comrades, who many of us may have met for the first time over these past few days.

Comrades, for us it was undoubtedly an historic conference, a very successful conference and for us a very deep learning experience. We have no doubt that for you, it must also have been a process of learning; learning in the sense of finding out something about our country, the aspirations of our people, the problems which we inherited and the problems which we still face; the approach we have adopted for trying to solve those problems and the modest progress and achievements we have made over the past two years and eight months; something about the prospects which face us in the immediate future and about the immediate concerns and the threats of aggression which continue to hang over the heads of our people.

Much more importantly, comrades, we have learnt from you, and we have been reminded by you of several important lessons; lessons which we will always cherish, lessons which sometimes we tend to forget. You have reminded us in these past three days of the meaning of true solidarity, of the meaning of internationalism, of the meaning of expressing in a real and tangible way support for a process that is taking shape.

I cite two examples of this solidarity. One comrade, who is the Ambassador to his country based in Cuba, when he could not get a flight to come to Grenada, chose to go all the way to Canada, and from Canada to work his way back down, in order to be here at the start of the conference — Comrade Ali Mohammed of Libya. (applause.)

I think of a second example that is no less dramatic and has no less meaning and significance for our people; a comrade who has come from a country, thousands and thousands of miles away, a country that would not even have been heard of by our people two years ago, a comrade who belongs to the Central Committee of his Party and is therefore one of the top leaders of his own country. This comrade had to fly for over 36 hours in order to get to Grenada. When I met with him today he said to me that



Comrades Maurice Bishop and Bernard Coard, with Cde. Josephine Butler of the U.S. — Grenada Friendship Society.

if he had to fly for 96 hours he would have done it. I refer to Comrade Dogin Yondonsuren from Mongolia. (applause.)

To have 112 delegates in our country, to have 90 delegations coming from 41 countries, to have all continents on our globe represented in our country at this time expressing solidarity with our process, means more than mere words could ever hope to describe for our people. This injects our people with a new sense of confidence, a new sense of courage and of direction, a much deeper understanding of what it is we are all about.

#### We Are Not Alone

Your presence has reminded our people of why we are united in this anti-imperialist struggle and why we are united to end poverty, oppression and exploitation in the world. This has brought a new depth of richness to our people. Comrades, listening to you speak of your experiences has also reminded us over these past days, that our struggle in Grenada is by no means a unique struggle, that our struggle is not one that is being trod for the first time in the history of mankind. This is a struggle that many have walked before. It is a struggle that many are walking today out of their conviction that even if the struggle looks hard and the road looks long there is only one road: the road of anti-imperialist unity, the road of destroying imperialism in the world. (applause.)

#### U.S. Arrogance on Namibia

You have reminded us, comrades, that we share a common struggle, that we have a common problem and a common enemy. When we speak to Comrade Kamwi from SWAPO, we are reminded that SWAPO is the sole authentic representative of the people of Namibia and they have to fight with arms in hand in order to gain their independence and their freedom, so as to begin in a serious way the process of social liberation. It reminds us that some of us were indeed lucky that we did not have to resort to armed struggle to gain our independence, that we got independence on a platter, that the Queen of England could have posted independence in an envelope, but other comrades have to fight with arms in their hands to win their independence.

This conference reminds us, comrades, that racist, apartheid South Africa is able to wage such oppression against our sisters and brothers in Namibia, because South Africa has an open mandate from the United States of America to do what it wants in Southern Africa.



In addition, it reminds us that some people are so arrogant that they believe they have a right to tell others what they must do in their own country, that they have a right to reshape even mandates that come from the highest international body — the United Nations. It is another aspect of the struggle that the comrades of SWAPO and the people of Namibia had to face. In 1978, after years of open, racist and arrogant defiance of international opinion by South Africa, the United Nations, through Security Council Resolution 435, finally laid down in no uncertain terms the conditions for a speedy independence for Namibia. But just two and a half years after that international organization had spoken in this very clear and unequivocal manner, one country, again it is the United States of America, decides that it must rewrite the will of the rest of mankind.

Thus, they set up this so-called Western Contact group of five and the United States thereafter brings consistent pressure on the other four to try to rewrite the mandate. The USA insists not that there should be elections first, as the United Nations had demanded, but that there must be a constitution first. They insist that this constitution must not infringe on the privileges and the exploitative rights of the tiny white minority inside of Namibia. On this model, what will emerge for the people of Namibia will be mere paper or flag independence. The United States abrogates this right unto itself.

#### We Remember Vietnam, Ethiopia, Libya, Palestine

Over the past few days, we have had the presence in our country of one of the bravest and most heroic people who are today still facing aggression, still facing difficulties, still facing armed force, by the new Chinese mandarins who have amassed 800,000 troops on their border and who every day engage in armed provocations. It has reminded us that the one people that other peoples all over the world have always admired and will always admire for the blows they struck against imperialism — not just Yankee imperialism, but also French imperialism — are the fighting, heroic people of Vietnam. (applause.)

We have also been reminded of the continuing struggles and the continuing difficulties, that our comrades are facing in Ethiopia with daily provocations from Somalia, with weekly and monthly threats of manoeuvres and aggressions by the friends of Somalia and the puppets of imperialism in the region. Their struggle has received our fullest solidarity over these past few days.

Likewise, the struggles of the people of Libya over these past few months, have engaged our fullest attention. Imperialism, using its twin sister the media, has been trying to portray over the past three months that "the most dangerous and wanted man in the world" is Mouammar Gaddafi, because he has stood up and supported national liberation struggles. Today, we find that his country and his people are openly vilified. Today, when their planes fly over their own sovereign territory they are subjected to being shot down. We now find that mobilization and preparedness must become a daily part of the existence of the people of Libya.

Over the last few days we've also been vividly reminded of the struggles of the courageous Palestinian people against brutal Zionist aggression and exploitation, and by talking with Comrade Imaad Zadaa who represented the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representatives of the fighting Palestinian people, our understanding of US imperialism's support for Zionist Israel's terrorism has been made sharper and clearer. To the millions of Palestinians who were forcibly displaced from their beloved homeland in 1948 the people of Free and Revolutionary Grenada say: "Press on with the fight till victory is won. You can always count on our total support and solidarity in your struggle to create a peaceful and democratic state on your own territory". (applause.)

#### Cuba and Nicaragua

In our region, we are again reminded by the presence of our revolutionary and heroic comrades from Cuba and Nicaragua, that they too face daily imperialist aggression. Revolutionary Cuba after 22 years is still not able to get a rest from imperialist aggression. Revolutionary Cuba which has had to face blockades, the blowing-up of El Coubre, the bandits in Escambray, the invasion at Playa Giron, the artificial crisis of Mariel; Revolutionary Cuba, whose people were the first to inflict a sound beating on Yankee Imperialism in this part of the world, (applause,) today still finds itself confronted.

Cuba and Nicaragua today find themselves threatened. Haig, Allen, Weinberger, Kirkpatrick and Reagan — the cowboy himself — today openly boast that no options will be ruled out, that a blockade is possible, that a quarantine is possible, that economic aggression will continue, that the propaganda will not cease and that if necessary an invasion will be implemented. The freedom-loving people of Grenada, however, will always stand firm in

revolutionary solidarity with our Cuban and Nicaraguan sisters and brothers. *(applause.)*

### Our Weapon Is Our Unity

Today, the threats that our sisters and brothers in the region face have also come back to us very forcefully, but comrades, the past few days have also reminded us in a very positive and forceful way, that we have solutions and that the one common solution that we have, is — UNITY. The internal unity of our people and the external unity of all forces interested in peace, in democracy, in social progress, in national liberation. That lesson has also come back because when we think of Southern Africa we cannot forget, that of the eleven countries in Southern Africa, nine of them, bar South Africa and Namibia, have come together in this South African Development Co-operation Committee and have joined together therefore, in a united way, to try to collectively fight against apartheid and imperialism.

When we see with us Libya, Ethiopia and South Yemen in our country, it reminds us that these three countries have only this year, (in the past few months) come together and signed a pact to defend their sovereignty, to defend their right to build their own processes, to defend their right to self-determination against the threat posed by the "Bright Star" manoeuvres, being waged by Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Oman, manoeuvres which receive the full backing of the United States and Zionist Israel. They too are showing us the importance of unity in action.

We see in our country the comrades from Vietnam, and we think of the united action that the liberated people of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos have forged in order to support and protect their sovereignty, their right to self-determination against China, against the United States, against some circles in the ASEAN pact countries.

### North American And European Support

Further, comrades, when we look around we see sisters and brothers who have come from Europe, who have come from Denmark where they have formed a Denmark-Grenada Friendship Society and those who have come from Sweden where they have formed a Grenada-Sweden Friendship Society. We recognize also those who have come from France where they have also formed a France-Grenada Friendship Society and those who have come from Britain where a similar association exists. When we speak to

them and when equally we speak to the comrades from North America, from the United States, where several friendship societies have been formed and from Canada where there is also a friendship society, what we are reminded of is that the people of Europe and the people of North America are not our enemies and that the majority of those people are our friends. Our enemies are the fascists like Reagan and imperialism.

### War And Peace: The Fundamental Problem

What we also recall is that brothers and sisters in Europe and North America have been going to the streets over the past two months, have been daily holding massive marches, have been daily calling for missiles not to be put on their soil, have been daily fighting for peace and for justice in their countries, have been daily saying that they want an end to the arms race and therefore have been joining the cause with the rest of progressive humanity who desire peace and fear war.

That is a very important reminder of what is today the fundamental problem — whether our planet will survive, or go up in a nuclear disaster. Over these past few days, comrades have also reminded us in a way I think we had come to forget, of the correctness of the path of socio-economic and political development we are pursuing in Grenada. That was also a very important reminder to our people, because we who are involved on a daily basis in trying to forge the people's revolutionary democracy, in trying to ensure that our problems are correctly analysed and evaluated by our people and that our people have the opportunity of contributing to the solution of these problems, tend to lose perspective on the historical significance of our process.

### The High Price Of Principles

We take for granted the arming of the people. Yet it is a very new and different matter in the English-speaking Caribbean section of this region. Our people now take this for granted, because they have come to understand that it is necessary to be armed in order to defend our homeland. They have come to understand that the People's Revolutionary Militia is for us both a practical matter and a matter of principle. A practical matter, because we could never afford to have a big professional standing army that has to be paid many dollars every month. Our economy is too poor for that. A practical matter because we know when the wardogs come for us, they are not going to come in their

hundreds but they are going to come in their thousands. Therefore, what we need, apart from our full-time standing army, is a part-time revolutionary army of the people waiting and ready to defend our country.

It is also a matter of principle for us, comrades, because we have come to understand better with every passing day, that one of the lessons that we can extract from the experiences of other revolutionary processes in this region is, that sometimes they had to rely on their standing armies, the same standing armies that got involved in coup-d'etats. Allende's Chile is perhaps the most classic example.

Comrades still ask us, how come we are not afraid to arm our people, how come we do not believe that at some point our people might use the same arms against us? We answer: when on the morning of the Revolution 46 of us went down to the radio station after charging the barracks and routing Gairy's green-beast army our lives were on the line, and the reason why our people responded magnificently to our call is because they trusted and respected our leadership. We are very, very certain that what our people knew in 1979 about our party and about this leadership they know a million times better in 1981. *(applause)*.

Comrades, we express our high appreciation that so many of you representing so many different organizations, parties, governments and countries have been able to come here and stand with us over these past three days. We very much appreciate the sincerity, and the feeling, that you have put into your messages of solidarity with our process. We very much appreciate the pledges which so many of you have made as a contribution that your organization, that your party is willing to make to help us build our Revolution, but most of all comrades, more, much more than your solidarity statements, much more than the pledges which you have made, we very much appreciate the sentiments which you have expressed, in favour of our people; we appreciate more than any thing else what you have said about our people.

#### Our People Are Our Riches

When you say that our people are not many in numbers, but they are united, they are determined, they are confident, they are assured of their future, they will confront and fight imperialism, that is the greatest praise you can give us and our people and that is what we appreciate most of all.

When the great Amilcar Cabral, founding father of Guinea-Bissau, was alive, there was a very famous statement he often

made. He would say that his country was not a mountainous country, and therefore there was not much possibility for traditional guerilla warfare against the Portuguese colonialists, but the lack of mountains did not matter because the people are the mountains.

We say in Grenada: our people will make up for limited land. The people are our land, they are our resources, they are our riches, they are our future, and we are confident that our people on this small island will yet make history in the future of this region *(applause)*.

#### Concrete Internationalism

The internationalism that you have shown over these past few days, also reminds me of something which Comrade Dr. Bernard Kamwi, delegate from SWAPO of Namibia, was saying to me today. Cde. Kamwi, as some of you may know, is not only a diplomatic representative of his party in Cuba but is also the principal of the school the Cubans built to educate over six hundred Namibian children on the Isle of Youth. *(applause)* That school, comrades, is the Hendrick Wittboy School, thus called after one of the early fighters for national liberation, in Namibia. That school was built to house six hundred students, Comrade Kamwi was telling me; and a few weeks ago Comrade Fidel Castro paid a visit from mainland Cuba to the Island of Youth to visit the school.

While he was engaged in discussions with Dr. Kamwi, Fidel inquired how many students are in the school. Cde. Kamwi replied six hundred and seventy-six (676); and Fidel's reply was: "that is too many since the school was built for six hundred students." Comrade Kamwi replied: "there are many more students in Namibia who still need an education, and that's why we have to ram and cram them into this school." Fidel replied that Cuba had just built one new school, designed for other purposes but because the people of Namibia need it, "I am telling you today that this other new school is yours for the people of Namibia". *(applause)*.

Immediately after he told me that story, Cde. Kamwi said something that would sound ridiculous. He said that act of solidarity was in fact very well appreciated by his party and people and any day now another six hundred students will arrive in Cuba. He went on: "But something else which was very much appreciated by our people was when in January this year, your small country with no resources contributed fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) to our national liberation struggle". *(applause)*.



I then said to Cde. Kamwi that in the light of the story he had just told me about Cuba I felt ashamed that we had contributed only fifty thousands dollars (50,000) and that it was for me a matter of the deepest regret that our process had not yet been sufficiently built, for us to make a much more meaningful contribution to the struggle of our brothers and sisters in Africa. I said to him: "we will try to make up for that, we are going to find a way even if it means that we have to call on our people to make more sacrifices and to band their bellies even more, we are going to help you to equip the school with typewriters, with duplicating machines, and with school books for your children of Namibia. We are going to find a way of doing it". (*Standing ovation and applause*).

We are very conscious, comrades, that we have virtually nothing in our country by way of material resources but we also know what our duty is and what our responsibility is, even if it means that we have only poverty, then we will share that poverty in order to make sure that others go forward! (*applause*).

As you return to your countries, we will be trying in Grenada in whatever ways we can to follow your own struggles as best as we can. We recognise the problems that you have, and in whatever ways we can, whenever we can, we will always stand up on the side of principle to try to ensure that your own struggles are successful. We know that revolution is one and indivisible, that there are no big revolutions and small revolutions, that all revolutions are revolutions and all must be supported. (*applause*.)

#### Desperate Imperialist Lies

We will help you to fight every lie that the imperialists in these desperate days are throwing against us. We will help you to combat every slander that is used against your own just struggles. Imperialism has moved now from small lies, medium-sized lies and big lies, to what in Grenada we call "Maco" lies. (*laughter*.)

Now, even when they are exposed and the lies catch up with them, instead of admitting that they were caught with their pants down they multiply the lies by ten or twenty or a hundred times. Take for example the lie they were spreading this month, that five hundred combat troops from Cuba were sent to Nicaragua and from there to El Salvador. When this was challenged by Fidel, when the article was sent to The New York Times and the Washington Post; instead of coming out and admitting that they were caught fair and square they proceeded to multiply the lie by six times. They then said it wasn't five hundred troops but it

was really three thousand troops sent to Nicaragua for El Salvador. And not satisfied with that lie they went on to implicate the people of Vietnam saying Vietnam had sent not one, nor five, nor ten, nor even twenty planes but one thousand planes and helicopters to Nicaragua and from there to be used in the fight in El Salvador. Just imagine one thousand planes and helicopters, more fighter planes than the industrially developed country of West Germany has, more fighter planes than the United Kingdom or France has.

What would it take to service one thousand planes and helicopters? At least fifteen hundred pilots, upwards of ten thousand specialists and logistics personnel, all of whom would have had to be trained at great expense.

Even the United States of America itself with all its power cannot train more than two hundred fighter pilots every year yet they claim Nicaragua has one thousand planes and helicopters.

They are so desperate and so determined to lie, that their lies are now becoming our greatest allies. The more they lie and the more they exaggerate, the more it becomes easy for us to be able to expose them, and to get the people of the world to understand that lies can never be a weapon against truth. (*applause*.)

One of the comrades who came in the last two days brought for us a paper now being circulated called "WEST WATCH" and it contains a series of nine articles including one entitled, "GRENADA - CARIBBEAN DICTATORSHIP". The rest of the articles are on Cuba, of course, Nicaragua and El Salvador.

This rag is put out by the Council for American Security, the same jokers who had published "Inter-America policy for the '80's".

They sometimes call themselves the "Santa Fe Committee" and one of their studies is sometimes called The Fontaine Report which has been used as one of the bases for Reagan's war-mongering campaign.

It was this study, which was used as the basis for saying that the time had come for the United States of America to once more resort to the Monroe Doctrine, to once more resort to open invasions of the territories of the peoples of Latin America, that that right was a sacred right the United States must reclaim and, that the people of Panama have no right to their Panama Canal, the Carter - Torrijos Treaties notwithstanding. These same people are now putting out this rag every month, and reading through this thing I came upon this paragraph which I want to read to you: "There are over seven hundred (700) political prisoners on the island (meaning Grenada). The number of prisoners far

exceeds the capacity of the jail, so Bishop has ordered the construction of prison farms, similar to those existing in Cuba. They are warehousing prisoners in semi-trailers received from Cuba in which they hold them for many hours under the intense heat of the sun, that practically cooks them". They say we are cooking prisoners (*laughter*), while multiplying by over 7 the number of detainees held in preventive detention.

The article continues: "Another technique being utilised is placing a loud-speaker close to the prisoner's ear and firing a gun by the microphone. Prisoners are continually tortured and beaten". Comrades, the truth is that we have shown the greatest humanity to the counter-revolutionaries. When on the 13th March, 1979 our people went out and picked up the "mongoose gang" and rounded up the secret police and the criminal elements in the police force, elements who systematically tortured our youths, who used to flush their heads into toilet bowls, who used to make our women eat cockroaches, these criminals arrived in the jail without even a scratch on them. Today, these liars behind this vile propaganda trash dare to slander the good name of the Grenada Revolution. (*applause.*)

#### Psychological Warfare

But, comrades, we know that this campaign is not accidental. We know it has been deliberately planned and carefully conceived. We remember only too well that when Salvador Allende was freely elected by the people of Chile in September 1970 and had to wait three months before he was formally inaugurated that former C.I.A. Director Richard Helms and former President Richard Nixon sat down within days of his election and worked out their famous plan, "Operation Make the Economy Scream", and a large part of that plan was the campaign of propaganda destabilization.

We remember only too well that when our friend Michael Manley, having won the elections in '72 and '76 in Jamaica, began to embark on a policy of reforms, on a policy of bringing benefits to the people of Jamaica, immediately the propaganda campaign started. That campaign was spearheaded by the "Jamaica Gleaner", the same Gleaner which was against the patriots Sam Sharpe and Paul Bogle, the same notorious Gleaner which praised the arrest and jailing of Marcus Garvey, the same Gleaner that today hypocritically praises all of these people as national heroes of Jamaica.

So, we can understand what the role of these rags is. On further examination, we know that the purpose of these newspapers is to prepare the ground psychologically for imperialism to strike. We know that they are used in such a way by the C.I.A. to prepare the people of the United States for a psychological invasion of the Cubas, the Nicaraguas, the Grenadas and the El Salvadors. We understand that role very well and we understand, too, comrades, that the purpose of the lies that they spread is to try to destabilize popular processes, to try to make people lose confidence in themselves and confidence in the government and party which leads them, to try to confuse the masses of the people.

We understand only too well that their role is and that is why we need vigilance, that is why we need always to be ready to expose these corrupt journalists when they try to use their newspapers and magazines as a business, in the same way as a businessman would sell a yard of cloth, or a pound of saltfish. The establishment newspapers sell news and buy news. They put in what they want, leave out what they want, tell what lies they want, fool people as much as they want. We have to be vigilant about that, we have to be ready to attack that when it happens. We have to understand the reason for that kind of attack and our people need to be able to see what the true role of these "saltfish" newspapers really is.

#### An Abundance of Negative Coverage

Only yesterday I was reading the usual fortnightly analysis that is done by the comrades in our information section which looked at different newspapers in the region, in this case from the 15th - 30th September. In this 15-day period, nine newspapers were reviewed and there were 103 articles in those nine newspapers or 6.5 articles per day on Grenada and the Grenada Revolution. Of course, a fair chunk of those were hostile and nasty slander.

Another period 21st October - 7th November, showed another 103 articles written by the same nine newspapers or 5.7 articles per day. In other words, we are helping these people sell their own newspapers. Every day there is some new lie being spread and vigilance on that is extremely important.

#### Arms Build Up In The Caribbean

Comrades, that is only a part of imperialism's plan to recolonise this region. Another part of the plan is to try to put arms

into the hands of every one in the region, whom they perceive to be their "friends", as they call them; those who are willing to act in their interest, those who they hope they can use to police sections of the sub-region for them. Here is an interesting fact of history: until two years ago, no country in the Eastern Caribbean had ever received any military assistance from the United States by way of arms sales. But we have recently been analysing another document entitled "Security Assistance Programmes" which is the U.S. Congressional Presentation dealing with their foreign military sales and financing programme, their economic support fund, their military assistance programme and their so-called peace-keeping operations.

The first page is highly instructive because it shows how they define the Eastern Caribbean. The Eastern Caribbean they say is Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Montserrat, St. Lucia, St. Vincent. Note there is no Grenada! Grenada probably is in Africa! (laughter).

In 1982, their proposal is to sell arms to the tune of \$5.5 million (U.S.) to these Eastern Caribbean countries. Their proposal for Jamaica is that, in 1982, they will sell arms to the tune of \$1,000,000 (U.S.). They claim here that their estimates for 1981 were \$1,587,000 (U.S.) in arms sales to Jamaica. Also, there is an interesting figure for Barbados. Next year they propose to sell little Barbados \$2,000,000 (U.S.) worth of arms and according to this official document, this year, they expect to sell Barbados \$5,000,000 (U.S.) worth of arms; altogether \$7,000,000 (U.S.) in arms to little Barbados. Now, I wonder where that war is going to be fought.

Comrades, this document is interesting for a second reason, in that part of this presentation to the Congressmen contains a justification of why they propose sales to these different countries. They have included a section that deals with how much they have provided by way of economic support. There are three columns here showing expenditure for the year 1980; the estimate for '81 and the proposal for '82. That again is very interesting. What these figures conclusively reveal in the area of "economic support and aid", as they call it, is that contrary to the lie that some of these people in the region like to spread, that it is because of Grenada they are no longer getting aid from the United States, what these figures show conclusively is that it is because of Grenada they are now getting so much aid from the United States. (applause)

There was no talk before the Grenada Revolution about a Mini-Marshall Plan and a Caribbean Basin Initiative. Now every

two weeks somebody is running up and down the region talking about one or the other. There was no such frenetic activity taking place before the Revolution. This document claims that in 1980, \$4 million (U.S.) was used for the economic support fund for the Eastern Caribbean. This document also says that in 1982, \$20,000,000 (U.S.) will be used for the Eastern Caribbean — remember, minus Grenada. Sixteen million (U.S.) more in bribery!

Sisters and brothers, comrades, we have no quarrel with this action at all. We have absolutely no hard feelings about the fact that the Grenada Revolution has been of service to our sisters and brothers in the region, but we want the facts recorded honestly. Let Eugenia Charles stop telling lies when she says that Grenada stops her from getting money. The truth is Grenada, instead, makes her get money. (applause.)

1980, as comrades would remember, was the last year of the Michael Manley Administration, and according to this programme, no money was provided under the economic support fund for Jamaica in that year. In 1981, according to this document \$41,000,000 (U.S.) was provided by way of economic support and in 1982 the proposal is that \$42,000,000 (U.S.) will be provided by way of economic support to Jamaica. What is perhaps even more interesting about this document is the rationale these people use to their Congressmen concerning the different programmes. After each particular programme they speak about the particular country and they explain why the country must get the money. I want to read sections of what they say about Barbados.

#### The Barbados Symbol

Under the sub-heading Justification of Programme these are the words: "The Caribbean in a very real sense forms our third border, and as a result United States foreign policy towards the region is driven in part by domestic concerns including illegal immigration, narcotics and the welfare of large numbers of American tourists. The United States has a major interest in assuring that the nations of the Eastern Caribbean are politically stable and economically viable, that they are free from undue outside influence and that they maintain their generally high standards of democratic practice and human rights performance".

The document continues and I quote: "As the most developed nation in the Eastern Caribbean, Barbados serves as a model for the entire region. A politically free, open economy and progressive nation — Barbados — has supported United States



global and international interests, including the promotion of human rights and regional co-operation. This modest security assistance programme proposed for Barbados is designed to build upon the foundation begun in 1981. This programme promotes a range of United States interests in Barbados, such as regional stability in the Eastern Caribbean, maritime security and navigation safety, search and rescue, anti-smuggling, illegal immigration control, fisheries, law enforcement and anti-pollution measures. It will contribute to a constructive and useful relationship with Barbados, and demonstrate our support for the island's democratic system, outstanding human rights record and willingness to initiate on a regional basis a modest but solid security programme of a type and structure that would be in concert with and complementary to that of the United States".

I pause to say that perhaps that explains better the presence of the nuclear carrier there last week.

The quotation continues: "The programme is a positive indication of our commitment to regional stability, in the light of continuing Cuban support for the radical government of Grenada". End of quote.

#### Manifest Destiny

So, comrades, these people are not even hiding what their intentions are. They are coming out very openly and saying they have the right to do what they want in our region, to assist in a big arms build up in the region, to promote countries that they feel correctly or incorrectly are in their interest and will support them and to try to use those countries to isolate countries like Grenada. All of that is very clear as a result of this document.

But, as I say, so far as the question of economic support is concerned, we not only support and welcome the \$20 million, we would tonight call on the Americans to move the \$20 million to \$200 million for the rest of the Eastern Caribbean. That would still be small compensation for years of colonial plunder and imperialist rape of all of our countries and our resources. (applause.)

#### International Solidarity

Comrades, in our respective struggles for peace, for justice, for social progress, we certainly hope that as you leave here to return to your homelands you will build or will strengthen even further the anti-imperialist alliances and fronts in your own

countries to fight for peace. We certainly hope that meetings like this can take place more regularly, so that we will have an opportunity to exchange information and to demonstrate our solidarity in as concrete a way as possible. We in Grenada will continue to support all of the struggles of the people of the world, against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism, fascism and imperialism. That is a firm pledge we are going to make. Grenada certainly pledges that we have no plan of turning back, that we are going to continue to go forward with revolutionary firmness. (applause.)

In the 1960's following the Great Cuban Revolution, the imperialists developed the slogan "no more Cubas in this hemisphere". That ran for over ten years. When Allende appeared on the scene, they developed another slogan, "no more Allendes, no more Chiles in this region". When Grenada and Nicaragua came on the scene, they said, "no more Nicaraguas, no more Grenadas". We certainly hope that by next year they will add to that "no more El Salvadors" (applause.) We also hope that by next year they will add to that "no more Namibias" and "no more South Africas". More importantly, we hope, comrades, that soon they will have to keep saying every single day, "no more this, that or the other," until the people of the world finally achieve total victory over imperialism!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLES OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

LONG LIVE UNITY, SOLIDARITY AND CO-OPERATION AMONG THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND DISARMAMENT IN THE WORLD!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE GRENADA REVOLUTION!

FORWARD EVER! BACKWARD NEVER!

## APPENDIX (I)

### FINAL DECLARATION OF FIRST INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE WITH GRENADA

We the 112 delegates to the First International Solidarity Conference with Grenada representing 41 countries from all parts of the world and meeting in St. George's from November 23rd – 25th, 1981 express our profound gratitude for the warmth, friendship and hospitality of the Grenadian people.

After observing and experiencing the revolutionary process taking place in Grenada we proudly declare our unshakeable solidarity with the Revolutionary people and Government of Grenada.

We acclaim and proclaim the enthusiastic involvement of the people of Grenada as an expression of people's democracy through the creation and growth of institutions and organizations such as Zonal and Workers Parish Councils, the National Women's Organization, the National Youth Organization, and the Young Pioneers and other mass organizations.

We have witnessed the participation and support of the masses of the people of Grenada for the programmes of the revolution under the courageous, committed and inspiring leadership of Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement.

We have recognized and appreciated that despite the fact that Grenada is an under-developed country which was devastated by the corrupt Gairy dictatorship; that despite the propaganda and economic destabilization of U.S. imperialism – the Grenada Revolution after only two years and eight months has been able to achieve free education for all the people at all levels; free and improved medical and health care, the creation of over 2,500 jobs; the establishment of significant agro-industries; is successfully combatting and eliminating illiteracy, has established a modern fishing industry, has firmly and clearly expanded workers' rights and the rights of Trade Unions, has given new dignity to women through equal pay for equal work and fully paid maternity leave for all working women; has developed co-operatives for unemployed youth and women mainly, and has created new benefits for farmers. The Grenada Revolution has fought inflation through the National Marketing Board by lowering the prices of essential goods, and, among other things too numerous to mention, is constructing a new international airport which will advance the development of all sectors of the Grenadian society.

We have noted the many threats of aggression, the several military manoeuvres conducted in the region and the world; the dangerous promotion of the arms race by the war-mongering Reagan Administration.

We see all this as a deliberate and calculated attempt by U.S. imperialism to intervene in and to set back the great progress by the people of Grenada, Nicaragua and Cuba and the heroic struggles of El Salvador and other parts of the world.

The Conference strongly denounces this policy of the Reagan Administration which threatens world peace and stands firmly with the people in the struggle for their rights to economic and social justice and self-determination.

The Conference expresses its firm solidarity with the struggle of the people of the world against racism, colonialism, apartheid, zionism and fascism and acknowledges and reaffirms the rights of all peoples to national independence and to choose their own economic, social and political system.

The Conference gives its fullest support to the efforts of all peace-loving countries to achieve disarmament, detente, co-operation and the preservation of world peace.

We unanimously resolve to combat the campaign of lies and distortion against the Grenada Revolution and to provide and widely disseminate information about the great achievements and triumphs of the people of Grenada.

We pledge ourselves to give all possible assistance to ensure the advance and development of the Grenada Revolution.

We commit ourselves to defend Grenada against all threats and aggression and firmly resolve to establish Friendship Societies and Solidarity Committees in our respective countries to expose the reality and express our militant support for the Grenada Revolution.

We also pledge to give the fullest possible publicity to this document.

ST. GEORGE'S GRENADA  
NOVEMBER 25th, 1981.

# APPENDIX: (II)

## FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SOLIDARITY WITH GRENADA NOVEMBER 23rd - 25th, 1981

### DELEGATES IN ATTENDANCE

| NAME                                  | COUNTRY/ORGANIZATION                                     |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Jasbor Jsomab                      | Bulgaria   |
| 2. Amb. Nguyen Hus Ngo                | Vietnam  |
| 3. Pham Phoi                          | Vietnam  |
| 4. Amb. Marco Antonio Martinez        | Nicaragua  |
| 5. Amb. Ahmed Ali                     | People's Republic of South Yemen                         |
| 6. Saleh Hassan Al Zubidi             | People's Republic of South Yemen                         |
| 7. Dogin Yondonsuren                  | Mongolia   |
| 8. Gorjnin Kluishigdorj               | Mongolia   |
| 9. Birgitta Dahl M.P.                 | Sweden/Social Democratic Party                           |
| 10. Christian Gonsalez                | Chile/Cuba - OSPAAAL                                     |
| 11. Amb. Pak Ri Ryon                  | Democratic People's Republic of Korea                    |
| 12. Pak Myory Guk                     | Democratic People's Republic of Korea                    |
| 13. Manuel Stephens Garcia            | Mexico Communist Party - C.C. Member/World Peace Council |
| 14. Alexandro Marien                  | Pres. TUC of the Ulvanovsky Region USSR                  |
| 15. Victor Kory Akovtsev              | U.S.S.R.   |
| 16. Dr. Jonko Lazarezski (Ambassador) | Yugoslavia   |
| 17. Ahmed Benyamina                   | Algeria - First Secretary Cuban Embassy in Havana        |
| 18. Raul Garcia Pelmez                | Cuba - Deputy Minister of Communications                 |
| 19. Mario Rotaina Martinez            | Cuba   |
| 20. Otto Morero                       | Cuba   |
| 21. Herbert Laderar                   | Communist Party Federal Republic of Germany              |
| 22. Sheila Healey                     | Ireland - People's Democracy                             |
| 23. Ronan Brady                       | Ireland - People's Democracy                             |
| 24. Amb. Harry Spindler               | German Democratic Republic                               |
| 25. Imaad Jadaa                       | Palestine Liberation Organization                        |
| 26. Bernard Kamwi                     | South West Africa People's Organization                  |
| 27. Jacon Dumas                       | Congo Republic   |

28. Gail Ann Rivera

29. William Rueben

30. Tim Hector

31. Adeldo Gonsalez

32. Bill Scharp

33. Ellen Ray

34. James Haughton

35. Mark Ellen

36. Jo Butler

37. Frank Schaffer-Corona

38. Nick Mathus

39. Michael Amon-Ra

40. Kathy Sunshine

41. Samori Marksman

42. Ossie Liburd

43. Esmeralda Brown

44. Deborah Jackson

45. Mary Boger

46. Sheldon McDonald

47. Peter Haden

48. Gloria Friedman

49. Amb. Aymro Gegmelm

50. Bobby Clarke

51. Michael Aberdeen

52. Mrs. Liseli Daaga

53. Bankole

54. Kamara

55. Bill Riviere

56. Jean Pierre Etile

57. Fernand Papaya

58. Rudy Glover

59. Eric Sealey

60. Victor Cuffy

61. Albert Maloney

62. Carl Pilgrim

63. Michael Douglas

64. John Odium

Puerto Rico - Caribbean Project for Justice and Peace

Costa Rican Socialist Party

Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement

Venezuela MEP

Covert Action USA

Covert Action USA

USA - Fightback and Black Workers

Organization

USA - Representing Mayor Gus Newport

US/Grenada Friendship Society

USA - D.C. Board of Education

Grenada/US Friendship Society

Black United Front, U.S.A.

USA - EPICA

Caribbean People's Alliance, U.S.A.

Agriculture Mission Inc., U.S.A.

USA New York/Grenada Friendship

National Conference of

Black Lawyers, U.S.A.

USA - NY Committee for Marxist

Education

President, Youth Arm PNP Jamaica

England - War on Want

Communist Party USA

Ethiopia

Barbados - P.P.M.

Trinidad - P.P.M.

Trinidad - NJAC

Trinidad - NJAC

Trinidad - NJAC

Dominica - D.L.M.A.

Martinique Communist Party

C.C. Member

Martinique Communist Party

C.C. Member

U.S.A. - Representing Ron Dellums

BAPAC

People's Pressure Movement, Barbados

St. Vincent - W.P.P.

U.P.M., St. Vincent

St. Lucia - WRM

Dominica - UDLP

St. Lucia - PLP



65. Amb. Ali Mohammed Ajili  
Libya (Ambassador)
66. Chris Searle  
Liberation, London
67. Veiko Saarinen  
Swedish/Grenada Friendship Union
68. Dr. Cheddi Jagan  
Guyana - PPP
69. Komal Chand  
Guyana - PPP
70. Kenneth Denny  
Guyana - PNC
71. Seelo Baichan  
Guyana - T.U.C.
72. Lionel Gomes  
Antigua Workers Union
73. Keith Layne  
Barbados Industrial Workers Union
74. Mishelk Mawema  
Belize - United General Workers Union
75. Andaiye  
Guyana - WPA
76. Rupert Roopnarine  
Guyana - WPA
77. Gemdrey Roland  
C.C. Member
78. Lino Fernandez  
C.P. Guadeloupe
79. Jesus Escandell  
Cuba - CTC
80. Rawlings Jemmott  
Cuba - CTC
81. Ellsworth Carter  
Dominica - NWU
82. Jose Duran  
Waterfront and Allied Workers Union,  
Dominica
83. Lorraine Walter  
Central Unitaria de Trabajadores,  
Dominican Republic
84. Clive Dobson  
Jamaica - University and Allied  
Workers Union
85. Camille Jacana  
Jamaica - National Workers Union
86. Precart Michel  
Confederation Generale des  
Travailleurs, Martinique
87. Nathaniel Moses  
Federation de L'Education National,  
Martinique
88. Orlando Peraltaz  
Montserrat Allied Workers Union
89. Hadrian Monroe  
Central Sandinista de Trabajadores:  
Nicaragua
90. Virginia Alexander  
St. Lucia - Vieux Fort General and  
Dock Workers Union
91. Lucien Small  
St. Lucia Teachers Union
92. Cecil Jack  
Commercial, Technical and Allied  
Workers Union, St. Vincent
93. Errol McLeod  
St. Vincent Union of Teachers
94. Michael Als  
Trinidad - OWTU
95. Lyle Townsend  
Trinidad - Council of Progressive  
Trade Unions, PPM
96. Geoff Mackler  
Trinidad - Communications Workers  
Union ULF
97. Ray Sparrow  
US/Grenada Friendship Society

98. Raba Hansen  
US/Grenada Friendship Society
99. Renny Lane  
Grenada Ottawa Labour Project
100. Angelina Gomez  
Grenada Ottawa Labour Project
101. George Lamming  
Barbados
102. Elombe Brath  
Patrice Lumumba Coalition, U.S.A.
103. Jim Blouden  
US/Grenada Friendship Society
104. Don Foster  
USA
105. Estelle Katz  
Communist Party USA
106. Amor John  
Canada/Grenada Friendship Society
107. Susan Supriano  
USA
108. Dr. James Millette  
Feb. 18th Movement, Trinidad
109. Soeren Thoby  
Denmark/Grenada Friendship Society
110. Policarpo Corvalon  
Chilean Resistance Movement
111. Michael Cummings  
Movement for National Liberation,  
Barbados
112. Pat Kane  
Britain/Grenada Friendship Society