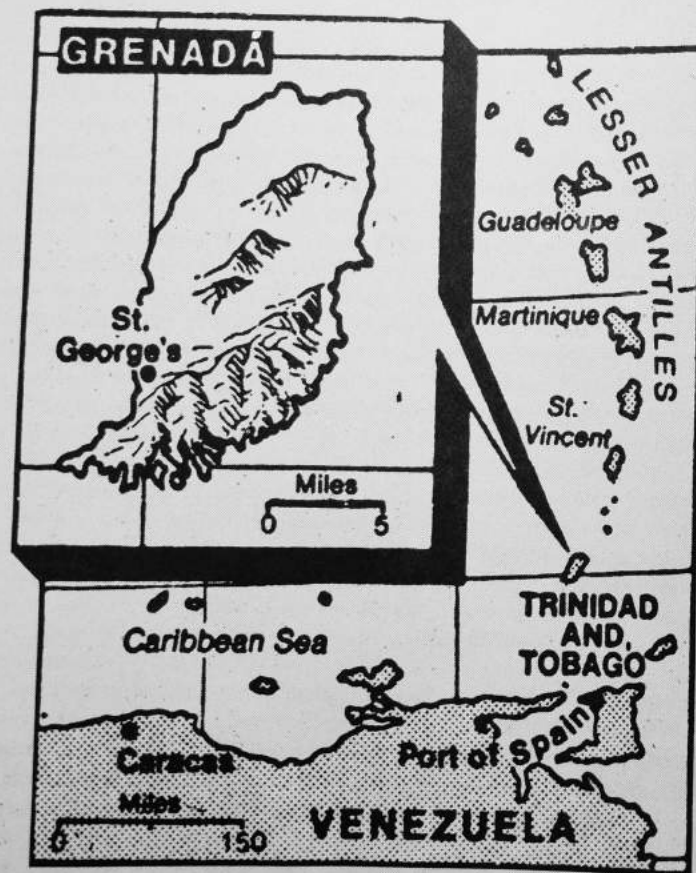


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# The Grenada Revolution at Work

by W. Richard Jacobs  
Grenada's Ambassador to Cuba

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W. Richard Jacobs is Grenada's ambassador to Cuba. He has authored or coauthored several articles and books, including *Grenada: The Route to Revolution*.

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## The Grenada Revolution at Work

by W. Richard Jacobs

*This pamphlet was written in September 1979.*

On March 13, 1979, the people of Grenada, led by the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA), overthrew the tyrannical regime of Eric Gairy. The newly established People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) has enshrined this heroic and patriotic act of the people in its first declaration, which states that "constitutional government in Grenada has been interrupted as a consequence of the violations and abuses of democracy committed by Eric Matthew Gairy under the guise of constitutionality." The PRG undertook "to do all things as it may deem necessary for the restoration and preservation of the Peace, Order and Good Government of Grenada" and pledged "to return to constitutional rule at an early opportunity and to appoint a Consultative Assembly to consult with all the people for the purpose of establishing a new Constitution which will reflect the wishes and aspirations of all the people of Grenada."

As its first priorities the PRG established:

1. The maintenance of stability, peace, order, and good government.
2. The final eradication of Gairism.
3. The protection of the people's revolution.

To understand how this heroic and historic task was accomplished, we have to take a broad overview of the contemporary political scene in Grenada.

A people's revolution, unlike a coup d'etat, cannot be accomplished unless both the objective and subjective factors operating in the society are mature. Basically, the objective factors are those conditions relating to the degree and level of antagonism between the various classes in the society and specifically the extent of alienation existing between the ruling class and all other classes in the operation of the political economy. The subjective factors relate principally to the quality of the revolutionary leadership, its philosophical predispositions, its inspirational and organizational ability including its capacity to develop the class consciousness of the people and instill in them their ability to win and rule.

It is the maturity of both factors that allows them to merge and permits a revolution to be achieved. Once this merging takes place, a revolutionary

situation exists and the achievement of the revolution becomes inevitable. If the objective conditions are not mature, no amount of effort by revolutionaries can bring about the revolution. At the same time, the maturing of the objective alone is insufficient for the revolution to be successful. In all circumstances the people must be determined to achieve the revolution. They must be conscious of their historic role. They must be organized to take power and they must be guided by a system of ideas which envisages the kind of fundamental change that will bring the broadest section of the masses into the decision-making process.

History has shown that in Grenada all these conditions had been satisfied, which made possible the revolution of March 13, 1979. The objective factors leading to the development of a revolutionary situation were fueled by the dictatorial tyranny conducted by Eric Gairy over a prolonged period. This tyranny was characterized by:

1. The almost total personalization and centralization of national political power in the hands of Eric Gairy. This in turn led to (a) personal corruption on a massive and unrestrained scale; (b) personal arrogance that apparently knew no bounds.
2. A paralysis of the political directorate, including top party and government institutions.
3. The arbitrary and capricious operation of the bureaucratic machinery.
4. A fanatical and repressive hostility to all competing political or quasipolitical organizations.
5. The systematic violation of a wide range of fundamental human rights.
6. The establishment of firm political and economic links with international imperialism.

These factors led to an objective situation which saw the progressive alienation of the vast majority of the working class from the Gairy regime. A significant proportion of other classes in the society also developed an alienation to the regime.

At the very top, the personalization of power and the crude and frequent display of arrogance by Gairy contributed to the intimidation of large segments of the political directorate, especially those who lacked serious parallel employment options. As a result Gairy was surrounded, even at the level of cabinet, by a number of frightened individuals whose loyalty to him was therefore very fragile.

The lack of rapport at the highest political and governmental levels isolated Gairy to a great degree. This meant not only that he was cut off from the mass but also that he was not accessible for advice and as a result his policies, programs, and pronouncements relied almost exclusively on personal instinct. A self-confessed mystic, Gairy, unrestrained by advisers or institutions, became entangled in some bizarre concerns. Chief among them was his preoccupation with unidentified flying objects (UFOs) which he introduced at every opportunity and made strenuous efforts to get the United Nations to establish a special committee to deal with this phenomena. His

fascination with titles and physical badges of honor led him into a pattern of dress, especially on official occasions, that was ridiculous in the extreme—sashes, bows, stars, and medals competed with each other for attention on his chest. Even his affected manner of speaking made him an object of ridicule.

During his twenty-three years of tyrannical rule and especially in the last five years when Grenada functioned as an independent nation thus giving Gairy access to various platforms, he developed the reputation and image of an international buffoon and as a consequence became a supreme embarrassment to significant segments of the Grenada population, especially the educated elements. This in itself was a factor in their alienation from the Gairy regime.

Gairy's personal corruption, which is legendary in Grenada, also contributed to the alienation of the business class. In his dual capacity as president of the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers Union (GMMWU) and premier of Grenada, Gairy seized every opportunity to extract personal gain. He routinely demanded that employers take onto their payrolls persons whose only qualification was their friendship with Gairy. Just as routinely he demanded and received money from employers for signing industrial agreements, for running election and other campaigns. It was not unusual for Gairy to enter a business establishment and announce that the wages had been changed—either up or down—depending on the situation. If workers protested they were dismissed; if managers protested Gairy took a personal hand in their dismissal or transfer (as was the case in Barclay's Bank) or deportation (as was the case with the Kirpalani garment factory).

Gairy utilized his office to gain patrons for his hotels and restaurants. The significant group of hotel owners in Grenada took exception to this because it negatively affected their trade and this led to the alienation of the hotel-owning middle strata from Gairy, who might otherwise have supported him and his regime because of its clear and open commitment to a capitalist political economy.

As these elements became increasingly hostile to Gairy, he sought to reinforce his strength among his traditional supporters in the agroproletariat. It is in these circumstances that Gairy found it necessary to confiscate land from the estate owners for the purpose of giving it to his constituents to buy support. This policy of course alienated this landed element. But the inadequacy of the land—both in size of plot and quality; the absence of infrastructure—particularly feeder roads, water, and electricity; the absence of technical advice, seeds, and machinery; and most of all the absence of any marketing arrangements for the goods produced—led ultimately to the alienation of the agroproletariat too.

Of course everything that Gairy touched involved some measure of corruption. Not surprisingly he received kickbacks from estate owners who would pay him not to nationalize their lands and he also received payment from poor peasants who were given title to nationalized land. Because of his objective of extracting personal gain from every national policy initiated, it



was vitally necessary for Gairy to be personally involved in the formulation and implementation of all such programs. This personalism and centralism paralyzed the political directorate, which could do nothing without Gairy's personal approval.

The bureaucratic apparatus was in essentially the same situation. The need to get the prime minister's approval for every and all projects and even routine decisions created severe and frequent bottlenecks, sapping the initiative of the civil service, and ultimately led to the development of a frustrated and alienated civil service anxious to escape from the debilitating clutches of Gairy.

This in turn led to inordinate bureaucratic delays, which further alienated the business class and entrepreneurial elements, who found dealing with the civil service a near impossible exercise. All proposals that had little or no potential for the personal aggrandizement of the tyrant were put in their appropriate cubbyholes. Begging for action or approval or an audience with Gairy became a national pastime. Those who did not condescend either went into liquidation, bankruptcy, or deep personal depression. The mood of the middle strata was reflected in high instances of hypochondria and hypertension. People spoke in whispers and euphemisms for fear of being victimized.

Such fears were well grounded. Any group that appeared to threaten the hegemony of Gairy was declared to constitute a threat to national security and was harshly and brutally repressed.

In the political arena the New Jewel Movement (NJM), which represented the most serious threat to his authority, was his favorite target. He accused them of being communists who were intent on overthrowing the capitalist political economy that he had so meticulously built. Gairy's record of brutality to leaders and followers alike of the NJM is well documented and legendary. Although well-established opponents of the regime, Gairy's methods made the members and supporters of this party bitter and uncompromising enemies of all that he stood for.

In the trade union field, Gairy forced employers to recognize his union, and when workers at great personal risk chose another union to represent them, Gairy would instruct the employer not to recognize the union—as was the case with the Bank and General Workers Union and Barclay's Bank. This kind of action alienated the organized working class and their institutions—particularly the urban-oriented groups, as well as the employers who felt imposed upon.

In the case of the peasants and small farmers in nutmeg, bananas, and cocoa, Gairy forced upon them an unrepresentative board of directors for their cooperatives, which, the evidence now shows, plundered and squandered the resources of the cooperatives and imposed upon the small producers artificially low and unfair prices for their goods. This naturally alienated this group as well.

When all these political measures failed to dampen the determination of the people to resist the tyranny, Gairy turned to the criminal elements in the society—"the roughest and toughest roughnecks," he called them—to mete out unbridled violence to any and everyone who dared to oppose his rule. These opposition elements included the Rastafarian and black power elements, whom Gairy denounced as nasty criminals and preachers of hate; the unemployed—a group which by the end of Gairy's reign constituted 57 percent of the workforce; and the vast majority of the youth, who saw no future for themselves under Gairy. The Mongoose Gang—armed criminals—roamed the streets terrorizing that broad cross section of the population that opposed the tyranny. Illegal detentions and searches, torture, murder, and random violence became the order of the day.

It is in these circumstances that the moralistic elements in the society, led by the church, found it necessary to speak out. The whole spectrum of their congregation were recipients of the terror. They expressed their concern and horror at the operation of the Grenadian society, in which the rule of law had been effectively subverted and peace, order, and good government ceased to exist. Gairy naturally objected and lectured the church on its true role in society, insisting that they should be concerned with winning souls rather than preaching politics. But the whole tenor of politics in Grenada drove the church to be alienated from the Gairy regime and the tyrant's response compounded that alienation, particularly in view of his determination to confuse superstition and cultism with traditional religious beliefs.

It is the combination of all these features of Gairy's regime that came to be known as Gairism—corruption, antidemocratic activity, arrogance, personalism, tyranny, violence, criminality, and buffoonery, among others. The existence of these phenomena severely reduced Gairy's credibility within the international community of nations. Prime Minister Barrow of Barbados characterized him as a "political bandit." Others, while agreeing privately, remained publicly silent. Even so, only those forces which had a fanatical and irrational hostility to communism countenanced his plea for additional repressive mechanisms and diplomatic support. It is in this context that Chile became one of the leading patrons of the Gairy regime. This Chilean link, through which Gairy received arms and training for his military and police forces, removed all doubt in the international community that Gairy had voluntarily aligned himself with the most backward imperialist elements in the world. This alignment, which was characteristic of Gairy's own backward profascist tendencies, alerted the progressive world forces to the threat and extensive dimensions of Gairism, and they in turn grew closer to the progressive forces in Grenada led by the New Jewel Movement. The development of this international link permitted the NJM to expose the world community to the internal and international features of Gairism and increasingly Gairy became isolated in the world community of nations.

Thus on March 12, when Gairy left Grenada for another one of his joy

rides and issued instructions to his police, military, and paramilitary forces to exterminate the eight leaders of the NJM, he had almost no base in Grenada or the international community.

At home he had alienated the business class, including the hotel owners and the landed elements. He had alienated the organized working class, the unemployed, and the unemployables. The bureaucratic elements had become frustrated and hostile to Gairy. The middle strata and the youth were contemptuous of all that Gairyism represented. The agroproletariat and the peasantry, while maintaining traditional and historical support for Gairy, found life under his regime unrewarding. In the face of all this the church could not stand idly by, and in seeking to defend the rights of citizens to exercise their fundamental human rights they found themselves alienated from the Gairy regime. The regular police had no particular commitment to Gairy. They viewed themselves as doing a job, which was basically carrying out the orders of the government of the day. The army was an undisciplined, largely untrained, underpaid group, without modern arms, who functioned as errand boys for Gairy and his colleagues. They were not, as the evidence dramatically demonstrates, prepared to fight for anything except their personal existence.

The core of Gairy's support was the cabinet and supporting political directorate, who have since acknowledged that they were terrified of him. The criminal elements who were recruited into the paramilitary Mongoose Gang terrorized the society on behalf of Gairy and were in fact his main base of support as he was indeed their main source of sustenance.

In all these circumstances we can see that the objective conditions made Grenada ripe for revolution. But these objective conditions, important as they were, could not by themselves bring about a people's revolution. It was also necessary for the subjective conditions to be just right. This meant that some sustained program had to be undertaken for the education and development of the political consciousness of the people. The people had to be inculcated with the will and determination to resist the tyranny with the ultimate objective of overthrowing Gairyism. In addition it was necessary to develop some societal consensus on what the new directions should be. And finally, and of the most critical importance, an organization informed by a coherent philosophy, comprehensible to the people, in which the people had implicit confidence, had to be in existence to plan the strategy and tactics of the revolution.

That role was undertaken by the New Jewel Movement (NJM), which structured a prosocialist program that appealed to and attracted a wide cross section of patriotic elements to its ranks. These elements came from all strata in the society and responded positively to the NJM slogans:

"We shall never give up!"

"Let those who labour hold the reins!"

"Not just another society but a just society!"

When the NJM came onto the scene in 1973 they were faced with the

tyrannical Gairy regime and the lethargic Grenada National Party (GNP) in opposition. Both the existing groups were oligarchically structured along antidemocratic lines.

Presenting a dramatically different alternative, NJM came forward with a democratically structured organization based on firm links with the working class, the unemployed, and the youth.

Through the medium of public meetings, their newspaper the *New Jewel*, and small private meetings, the NJM exposed all the features of Gairyism and developed in the people a determination to resist the violent oppression that went along with this program of exposing and challenging the tyranny. Both the leadership and rank and file were the recipients of the most brutal beatings and torture at the hands of the Mongoose Gang. The NJM adopted the policy of struggling principally along legal lines. Challenges were issued to Gairy in the courts, through the normal bureaucratic channels, and in Parliament. As a demonstration of their commitment to the parliamentary struggle, the NJM participated in the 1976 elections and won four seats despite the rigging of the electoral machinery.

This strategy had the beneficial effect of winning over the middle strata to the objectives of the NJM, which now came to be viewed as the authentic opposition to Gairy, and so by 1976, the NJM had replaced the GNP as the official opposition in Parliament.

While winning over the middle strata by its commitment to parliamentary and legal struggles, the NJM also was able to demonstrate the futility of this method of struggle as a means of achieving the ultimate overthrow of the Gairy tyranny. In the context of the whole parliamentary model, they were able to demonstrate unequivocally how Gairy and his gang systematically abused democratic principles under the guise of constitutionality.

Life for the NJM and its supporters became a constant struggle for survival. Those who were suspected of being sympathetic to the NJM were systematically victimized by the Gairy regime. This further developed the objective level of alienation. But the response of Gairy to the NJM also developed the subjective factor. Persecution forced the development of a more sophisticated organization based on the strictest principles of democratic centralism. It also led to the development of a clandestine wing of the NJM, which was to become the nucleus of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA). Perhaps most important, the Gairy tyranny—and more particularly the Chile connection—contributed to the development of a binding solidarity between the overseas Grenadians, who became a crucial link in the struggle; the international progressive community, who provided essential moral support; and the local multiclass coalition that had been developed under the leadership of the NJM.

Under these circumstances, the NJM became the vanguard of the revolution and it devolved upon that organization to devise the specific strategy and tactics for the liberation of the people. On March 12, Gairy left the island with a number of his ministers and officials, leaving behind

instructions to the police and paramilitary forces that the eight top leaders of the NJM were to be executed. Because of the division within the police, the information was relayed to the NJM. The issue was now posed in the clearest terms possible. Either the Gairy tyranny would be overthrown or the revolutionary leadership would be slaughtered. The moment of ultimate crisis and critical decision-making had arrived. And the concrete realities of Grenadian society determined that the old leadership was unable to rule in the old style. It is precisely for this reason that the police found it appropriate to reveal their instruction to the NJM leadership rather than carry out the brutal plan hatched by Gairy.

The armed uprising ordained by the merging of the objective and subjective factors started at 4:00 a.m. on the morning of March 13, 1979, under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA). Within one hour the army barracks of the Gairy rump army was destroyed and captured with the soldiers scampering onto the plains and completely dispersing and disintegrating. Next the radio station was seized and the news of the revolution broadcast to the nation. Not a man moved to defend the Gairy regime. Gairy's method of operation was so centralized and personalized that even the Mongoose Gang had to await specific instructions from Gairy before they were able to take any action. When the leaders of this criminal element were captured by the PRA at about 7:00 a.m. on the morning of March 13, they were in the midst of a telephone conversation with Gairy. Equally, the cabinet members tamely surrendered and two escaped by boat. By 10:00 a.m. on the morning of March 13, the majority of police stations had indicated their support for the revolution, and by 4:00 p.m., the last police station surrendered. It is a measure of the vast popularity of the revolution that only two people resisted the revolutionary forces and they were shot dead. One other person was accidentally killed. And so within twelve hours, with three people dead, the Grenada revolution had been accomplished.

By the time that seventy-two hours had elapsed, the governor general, the civil service, the Chamber of Commerce, and wide segments of the population at large had pledged firm loyalty to the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) that had been established consequent upon the revolution.

Predictably, Gairy busied himself recruiting and organizing a mercenary force to regain control of the island. First he approached the United States of America, Britain, and Canada to provide him with arms to crush what he called the communist revolution in Grenada. When those countries declined to assist, Gairy turned to his reliable Mafia, Chilean, and Cuban exile friends for assistance and they proceeded to put together the necessary money and resources to launch the invasion against the revolution. In the circumstances the PRG, led by Maurice Bishop, approached Grenada's traditional allies for military assistance. No positive response was forthcoming from either the United States of America, Canada, or Britain. The matter was of course urgent and in the circumstances the PRG approached Caribbean friends

including Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Cuba, and Guyana. Barbados pledged to give all assistance that would contribute to the return of constitutional rule, while Jamaica, Cuba, and Guyana responded promptly and provided the necessary technical and material assistance that would contribute to the consolidation of the revolution. As a result, six weeks after the revolution, the people's leader Maurice Bishop was able to declare that the revolution was secure; the army, he said, was better trained and equipped than it was in the early stages of the revolution, and as a result, the chances of a counterrevolution were remote. In the aftermath of the overthrow of the Gairy dictatorship, the Grenadian people as a whole have demonstrated and expressed their determination to defend the revolution with their lives. The slogan that vividly reflects this determination is frequently heard and seen in Grenada: "Free at last!"

The Grenadian people have freed themselves, and the generous, disinterested, and fraternal assistance provided by her three Caribbean neighbors—Cuba, Jamaica, and Guyana—at short notice—has contributed fundamentally to the consolidation of the people's revolution in Grenada. It is therefore not at all surprising that all classes of people in Grenada have demonstrated and continued to display a warm appreciation of the concrete expressions of solidarity from these nations.

### The Character of the Revolution

The character of the revolution has been displayed from the earliest stages. Power, as we have seen, was seized with precious little blood spilled. Within the first six weeks of the revolution, 160 of the 210 persons who had been put in protective custody had been released. This was by no means a popular action, but the prime minister has repeatedly cautioned the people not to be revengeful, and has preached to the nation the necessity for national unity particularly during the formative stage of the revolution. All those who have been released, as well as those who remain in protective custody, testify to the humane manner in which they were treated. This is in marked contrast to the gross brutality meted out to political prisoners under the Gairy regime, and international human rights organizations have marveled at the liberal policies pursued by the authorities, including daily visits from relatives, home-cooked food, the wearing of civilian clothes, and the availability of a wide range of reading and writing material upon request.

The concrete character of the revolution must, however, principally be judged by the nature of the policies and programs pursued by the PRG. In examining these policies and programs it will be evident that they are working class in orientation and democratic in structure. The evidence suggests quite clearly that the PRG's policies are consciously designed to introduce and institutionalize root fundamental change which broadens the base of participation in the decision-making process and ensures that the reins of power are firmly in the hands of the majority.



The first major policy in this regard has been the arming of the people. We have first to understand that the class that controls the coercive apparatus of the state controls some of the important essentials of state power.

Under the Gairy regime the most debased hooligan elements, extracts of the lumpen proletariat, were armed. They used their arms to terrorize the working class, its organizations and its leaders, to protect the propertied class—Gairy being one of the main property owners in Grenada.

Under the PRG, the people—working class and its allies—have been armed. This has been done through the creation of the People's Revolutionary Army—the armed detachment of the ruling working class, whose major responsibility is to defend the revolution. The people's militia is in the embryonic stage and they will serve as a supplementary force to permit the broad cross section of the population to actively defend the people's gains. The Committees for the Defence of the Revolution will be an important mass organization designed to defend and advance the interest of the people as immortalized in the revolutionary process. The arming of the people guarantees the democratic nature of the revolution for it ensures the effective end of the cliquism, minoritarianism, and personalism characteristic of the old regime.

The seizure of state power by the Grenadian people has quite naturally put into office a revolutionary government which serves the interests of those who put it into power. All true revolutionaries must grow to appreciate within the shortest possible time the limits of power and the extent of the objective possibilities. To fail to do this is to fall victim to idealism and ultimately undermine the people's victory. All growth takes place in stages and it is irresponsible to believe that everything can be achieved at one stroke.

It is in this context that the PRG has committed itself in the first instance to a mixed economy. The private sector, which is well entrenched, is capable of serving the national interests and it is therefore quite understandable that the PRG has decided to maintain and foster this private sector. At the same time, the government inherited significant property—including 40 percent of the agriculturally usable land and some state enterprises, including some in the hotel industry. It is the objective of the PRG to develop a revenue-earning government sector, which can create a surplus to be used for capital projects designed to improve the quality of life of the Grenadian people. To achieve this goal, the basic commodities that are consumed by the people of Grenada must be under government control, and towards this end a National Import Board has been established, which, at its height, will be responsible for the import and export of all commodities basic to the life of the people of Grenada. Within the first two months of the revolution, the government had taken over responsibility for the importation of sugar and rice. Already the retail price of rice has been reduced by 8 percent and it is expected that sugar will drop by as much as 20 percent in short order. Other reductions will

become possible as the surplus that used to accrue to the minority merchants now becomes the property of the people.

As a demonstration of its commitment to the progressive equalization of salaries, the PRG has as one of its first acts cut the salaries and allowances of government ministers by 30 percent. And whereas in the past ministerial salaries were not subject to taxation, the salaries of all persons in the state who earn the basic minimum, including ministers, are now taxable. This highlights the commitment of the new government to equal rights and treatment for all regardless of status in the society. In this regard it is noteworthy that the PRG has also for the first time in the history of Grenada legislated equal pay for equal work so that men and women who do the same work will get the same pay.

In the old regime, it was not only the government ministers who didn't pay taxes, but their friends and cohorts, who were frequently permitted to remove goods from the docks without paying any duty, and whose reported income, though unbelievably low, was never investigated. This inequality of treatment, this favoritism, this corruption, is now a thing of the past.

This elitism of the old order established firmly rooted oligarchical structures not only in the government and ruling party, but also in the trade union organization that Gairy formed and led (i.e., the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers Union). This antidemocratic tendency was reinforced by the legal statutes, which prohibited the use of loudspeakers for the purpose of addressing workers. Later this was even extended to religious gatherings. The law also permitted employers to recognize whatever union they wished irrespective of the desires of the workers. In practice this meant that the employers were forced to recognize Gairy's union, and as the workers were reluctant to pay their dues, all agreements entered into by Gairy required the employers to pay dues on behalf of the workers.

The revolution has brought an end to the GMMWU and the corruption that went along with it. In its stead, the workers have established workers' councils on the estates, which permit participation by the small peasants and agroproletariat in the decisions affecting their daily lives. No doubt in time these workers' councils will develop into full-fledged trade unions, for the PRG has repealed all repressive legislation that hampered the operation of trade unionism.

The right to strike is now firmly respected by the new revolutionary government, and trade unions are free to organize in any and all industries. No longer are workers required to accept representation by a union dictated by the government, but instead workers have the right to choose their own union and, more than that, employers are now required by law to recognize the union chosen by the workers. The revival of democracy in Grenada has whetted the appetites of the workers for participation in the negotiations that affect their daily lives and there is a new and visible vibrancy among the organized working class, which actively seeks the institutionalization of

democratic practices and principles in their organizations. Trade unions can resist this demand to their peril and demise.

This vibrancy is fed by the new literacy drive, designed to make all citizens functionally literate so that they can actively and confidently participate in the business of their government, their army, and their organizations. It is a necessary prerequisite for the development of a conscious population determined to defend their revolution.

There is, in fact, a new pride in being Grenadian. Time and again people say that a great weight has been taken off their backs and, as if to give a literal interpretation to this comment, Grenadians are walking and talking and working with a new sense of purpose. This is particularly evident in the civil service, where the new attitude of dedication is highly visible to the population, which had previously been accustomed to a lethargic work force.

In the hotel industry there is already evident a clear turn towards West Indian cultural expressions, which are being given pride of place over foreign music, art, and dance. There is also, even within this short space of time, a new focus on local foods at the hotels. This thrust is being aided by the announced policy of the PRG to drastically cut the food import bill and extensively develop the agroindustrial sector of the economy. To ensure the success of this project, feeder roads to transport farmers' goods from the point of production to the market are being given top priority. By adhering to a strict financial code and by the eradication of corrupt practices, the Grenada government has been able to save \$1.2 million in the space of the first two months of the revolution alone. Already, too, the people of Carriacou and Petit Martinique—*island wards of Grenada*—have experienced a dramatic improvement in their quality of life with the introduction of vastly improved water, electricity, and medical services. This is as it should be. A people's revolution is for the people. The people want democratic participation and a constantly improving quality of life. They are assured of this under the PRG.

The dynamics of revolution have taken hold in Grenada. The revolution is secure, but it is not yet institutionalized. There is no illusion among the leadership about the distinction between the security and institutionalization of the revolution. The determination to ensure that the revolution takes on a permanent character is reflected in the slogans of the new era:

- You can only get out what you put in.
- To live better we must work harder.
- Support your revolution: educate, organize, unite, build.

These slogans reflect the need to work, organize, and build the party, the army, and the state machinery in order to achieve the objectives of the revolution. All of these institutions are equally important, but in a revolutionary situation there is always the danger that the party will come at the bottom of the pile. But the party, which must provide the philosophical guidance for the army and the state, is of vital importance in ensuring the proper direction of the revolution. It is the party that made the revolution

and it is the party that must guide the revolutionary process. This dictum is well understood in the Grenada situation and in all the circumstances, the future for Grenada is bright under the leadership of the PRG, the defense and protection of the PRA, and the philosophical guidance of the NJM.