

# SOCIALISM!

Theoretical Organ Of The  
Workers Party Of Jamaica

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"WE are assembled here this evening to protest against the methods of the Daily Gleaner in stirring up public sentiment against certain individuals which has led to a thorough misrepresentation of the citizenry.

I want everybody to understand that we are going to have decency in the political life of this country. The Gleaner has had its day. The people are going to have their day ..."

"To Expose the Gleaner",  
Ward Theatre Dec. 13, 1928

MARCUS GARVEY

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EDITORIAL NOTE

This issue opens with a recent speech, slightly abbreviated for SOCIALISM!, given by WPJ General Secretary Trevor Munroe in Hanover to commemorate the 92nd anniversary of the birth of Marcus Garvey and the 50th anniversary of the founding of the first political party in Jamaica, Garvey's Peoples Political Party, and of his newspaper Black Man. In this speech some of the main plans in Garvey's programme are outlined as well as the extent to which since 1972, but not before, they have been realized and then, as a result of the IMF policy, partly withdrawn. In this situation, the General Secretary points out, the Communist WPJ has a definite role to play and he gives a few indications of how the Party's decision to contest the next election would be implemented in practice.

Three of the other articles in this issue deal with international topics of much current interest - the Sixth Summit of the Non-Aligned Nations in Havana, the refugee problem in South-east Asia, and Kampuchea. Horace Levy offers an analysis and assessment of the principal trends in the Non-Aligned Movement as manifested at the Havana Summit and gives a brief first-hand account of the conflict there over Egypt and Kampuchea. "Indo-China Refugees" by Yuri Dimov, a reprint from the Soviet Weekly New Times, gives a resume of the history and real facts of that tragic situation created by imperialism. It is a useful counter to the distortions spread by the Western press. In respect of Kampuchea the scandalous conduct of Yugoslavia is revealed in the interview given during the Summit by noted journalist and South Asian expert Wilfred Burchett.

Finally, Irene DeSouza's "Caribbean Labour Solidarity" is a timely reminder both of the valuable contribution made by the international movement to our struggle here and of the importance for us to "develop solidarity activities" with comrades overseas.

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ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF MARCUS GARVEY

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Speech by WPJ General Secretary  
Trevor Munroe  
in Hanover, August 1979

Brothers and sisters, it is a very great honour and a very great pleasure for me to be here this evening to commemorate with you the 92nd anniversary of the birth of Marcus Mosiah Garvey. As you know today is not only the 92nd anniversary of Garvey's birth, but it is also the 50th anniversary of two of the most important contributions made by Marcus Mosiah Garvey to the struggles of our people. It is the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the first modern, serious political party defending the interest of the masses of our people, the party founded by Marcus Garvey, the Peoples Political Party in 1929. It is also the 50th anniversary of the publication of a newspaper put out by Marcus Garvey which was dedicated to the political education, and the political upliftment of the people of Jamaica; that newspaper was called the Black Man in 1929. The Black Man was put out by Garvey and circulated throughout Jamaica - 12,000 copies, sometimes 15,000 copies of that Newspaper.

Therefore comrades, brothers and sisters, I think that the best way for us to commemorate Garvey's birth and to commemorate Garvey's efforts is for us tonight to politically educate ourselves. To politically educate ourselves about how we in the WPJ, we as communists in the Workers Party, are trying to carry forward the struggle of Marcus Garvey. So political education, comrades, is what we defend tonight. We are not a party with anything to hand out to anybody, we are not a party to give away money or rum and saltfish, we are not dealing in that, we come here tonight to deal with political education for political struggle, so that we can carry forward the work of Marcus Mosiah Garvey.

Comrades, what was Garvey fighting for? Everybody talks about Garvey, but not enough people know some of the things which Garvey was fighting for, and therefore that is where we must start here this evening. In 1929 Garvey put forward a number of points - around which he was organizing the poor people of Jamaica, to fight for their rights and to develop themselves and their country. I want to remind you of some of those points. Those of the sisters and brothers who have pen and paper I would ask you to take out the pen and paper, because when we talk here tonight we are not talking for anybody to clap and jump up; then afterwards you leave and you forget what we say; we want you to remember so that when you leave here and people ask you about Garvey, Garvey means something more than just a man or a name. Garvey means something concrete and practical as to what he was defending.

#### GARVEY'S PROGRAMME

The first thing from Garvey's programme in 1929 that he was fighting for was protection for what he called 'Native Labour', that is, protection for the workers because the workers were unprotected, protection in terms of insurance, accident insurance, that if a man lost an arm on the job or he got damaged there would be some form of compensation. Secondly, Garvey was fighting in 1929, 50 years ago for a minimum wage so that nobody in the island of Jamaica would fall below a certain minimum amount of money, which would allow them to buy food, to buy clothes, to pay rent and to look after themselves and their families. The third point that Garvey was fighting for was the eight hour working day, the large and overwhelming majority, were working 15 and 16, sometimes 17 hours a day and he said that there must be some limit on the amount of time which the worker was working, so that he could be able to rest and to prepare himself to come back to work the next day. Fourthly, Garvey was working for land reform.

he was fighting for those who did not have any land or only had a little piece of land to get more land and for those who had the big properties which were not fully cultivated, which were idle, to give up that land for the benefit of the people. The final point of Garvey's programme that I want to tell you about this evening and to remind you about is very important. That point was that the big foreign companies should be regulated so that there should be compulsory improvement of those town areas - whether Kingston, St. Ann's Bay, or Lucea - from which large profits were being extracted by multinational corporations. Garvey said very strongly on this point that "the big companies were sucking Jamaica dry, the people were not gaining any benefits, and that they should be made to pay so that the poor of the land and the working man could benefit from some of the profit which the big companies were taking away". These are five of the points for which Garvey was fighting for fifty years ago tonight, when we are sitting here and when we are commemorating his 92nd birthday.

In looking at these points comrades, one of the things that I found out and I would like to share with you tonight, is that Garvey was not only looking at what was happening in Kingston, but Garvey was very concerned with the rural areas and with the rural towns. As I came into Lucea today I remembered and thought I would tell you about it. What Garvey had to say concerning Lucea, the capital of Hanover. I would like to read to you Garvey's words concerning the conditions in Lucea. I ask you to follow very carefully, what Garvey had to say. (See many of the older people here can remember Marcus Garvey, the lady looking and understanding what I am saying because she was alive at the time - the gentleman there) - we are young and therefore we have to look and read to understand what Garvey was defending. Garvey said, 50 years ago, "if you go to towns like Sav-la-mar and Lucea, you will find them in a most delapidated condition, while on their steps companies like United Fruit Company

have made millions of dollars from such seaport towns as Annotto Bay, Port Maria, St. Ann's Bay and Lucea. The United Fruit Company from the time of Captain Baker, have made millions and they have not even made a decent dock on the northside. They have not even put up a hospital in return for the kindness they have received in Jamaica". Those are Garvey's words, 50 years ago, 50 years ago he looked at Lucea and he said "it is in a delapidated condition" not because the people can't work, not because the people are not industrious, not because the people don't want to uplift themselves, but 50 years ago Lucea was in a delapidated condition because the big companies like United Fruit Company was sucking Jamaica dry and taking away from the country and the people what should be kept here, to give work to the poor, to build hospitals, and schools.

I ask you comrades, brothers and sisters, 50 years later has that condition changed? (Shouts of No! No!) Look like some of you believe it change. I ask you again. Has that condition changed? (Shouts of No! No!) 50 years later, 50 years later it is the same and not only it is the same but there are some who are saying, there are politicians - the leaders of the JLP - who are saying, that the way to develop Jamaica, the way to uplift the poor and the worker is not to clamp down on those companies, but to bring in more of them, to get in more United Fruit Company, to get in more big American Corporation to suck the country and to suck the people dry, despite what Garvey was saying in 1929 and despite the fact that 50 years later the conditions remain the same. I will tell you this, brothers and sisters the WPJ is dedicated to make certain, to make totally sure - and we ask you for your support - that no way will those reactionary politicians who want more big companies to come back into Jamaica to squeeze the poor people more than they are squeezing them now, our party is dedicated to ensuring that no way those people get back in

power again (Applause).

TEN YEARS AGO

Comrades, it is necessary for us in remembering the five points that Garvey was fighting for he was fighting for many others but I only reminded you of five tonight. It is necessary for us carefully to ask ourselves how has the struggle developed around those things for which Garvey was fighting. In asking this question and in trying to get us to look clearly and with a proper perspective it is useful to look where we were on the 82nd anniversary of the birth of Garvey in 1969, on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PPP in 1969. Ten years ago on the 82nd anniversary of the birth of Garvey if we had had a rally like this we would have to say that no progress at all had been made on any of the main points for which Garvey had fought and died. Let us look at two of these. 10 years ago on the 82nd anniversary of the birth of Garvey there was absolutely no minimum wage, none at all; 10 years ago the facts and figures show that 90%, that is 9 out of every 10 people, who had work were getting less than \$20 per week and 75% of those who had work were getting less than \$10 per week. That is 40 years after Garvey put up the banner to struggle for minimum wage. 10 years ago on the 82nd anniversary of the birth of Garvey and on the 40th anniversary of the launching of the PPP and the founding of Black Man newspaper, what was the position regarding land reform, another of the main points of Garvey's programme? Absolutely no land reform had taken place - the same big properties in every single parish which had come down from slavery days remain untouched, and the same little square of rockstone on which the tens of thousands of the poor majority of the people in the rural areas had to live from slavery days - that also remained untouched. In Hanover parish in which we are, the situation however was particularly bad; In this parish there were over 8000 small farmers on under 5 acres of land, and the total amount of land which had to be divided up among those over 8000 farmers was 9,123 acres. That means the average

amount that the small farmer had to feed himself and family was a little bit over 1 acre each. What about the big man in Hanover? Brothers and sisters, comrades, there were 22 (twenty and two) properties of over 500 acres and you know how much land was on those 22 properties 31,700 acres of land. I just want comrades to look into that very carefully. 8000 men had to 'kotch' on 9000 acres, at little more than 1 acre each, but 22 big men have 31,700 acres for themselves in the very parish of Hanover, in (the capital of which we are tonight). This meant that the average amount of land of the big people was over 1,400 acres - same flesh and blood - but on one side of the fence, 1 acre mainly rock-stone, on the other side of the fence 1,400 acres, 40 years after Garvey said there must be land reform. So if we follow the programme of Garvey right down we would see that there was no progress at all on any of the points. On the question of the big corporation which Garvey said was sucking the country and which he said was drawing down the people of Lucca and the people of Sav-la-mar - no regulation at all; by that time, the bauxite companies had come and pack up the United Fruit Company and 7 bauxite companies at that time controlled over  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the land of Jamaica, so that instead of making regulations, there was more sufferation, more exploitation of the people, 40 years after Garvey put forward his programme. So comrades, between 1929 and 1969 poor people revolted in 1938, but still no minimum wage, no land reform, no control over the big corporations. Poor people vote in Bustamante in 1944, again in 1949, but still no minimum wage; no land reform; no regulation of the companies sucking the people dry; no protection for labour. Poor people vote in Father Manley in 1955 and again in 1959 - no land reform, no minimum wage, no regulation of the big companies. Again in 1962, on independence, poor people put in Bustamante again and

then, following Bustamante, going up to 1969 Shearer, Sangster and Seaga, the both of them and still no progress on the programme which Garvey had put forward 40 years ago in 1929-69.

### GARVEY ATTACKED

Therefore we as serious comrades here tonight must ask ourselves why? What was the reason why there was no progress? If we look at the reasons we will see that there were two reasons why nothing was done at all, both when Garvey was alive and after Garvey had died. 1st reason: the big people did everything in their power, everything that they could manage to do, to try to keep down Garvey and to get rid of Garvey, that was the 1st reason. It is very important for us to understand how hard they tried to get rid of Garvey, because if you don't understand how they tried to get rid of Garvey you will not be prepared for how hard they are going to try to get rid of anybody, any group of comrades or brothers and sisters, who are trying to carry out the work of Garvey to fulfilment. I want you therefore to understand clearly how they try. When we talk of the big people trying to get rid of Marcus Garvey I mean firstly and most of all the American Government. They are people inside here, throughout the whole island of Jamaica say how the American Government nice and how "them can't take it here": "them going to America", how America love us, "America will help us" and if we give America the chance then everything will be alright. On this night when we commemorate the birth of Marcus Mosiah Garvey, let us remember what the American government, (same imperialist system which is there now was there then) what they did to Marcus Mosiah Garvey. The first thing comrades, brothers and sisters, the first thing that they tried to do to Garvey was to kill him. Garvey was in his office doing the work of the people, trying to plan the upliftment of the poor, and the assassin came in on him and let go three shots. Luckily Garvey survived, but that is the first thing that they tried. They tried to kill him and

got rid of him because as early as 1919, that is 1919, ten years before Garvey founded the party in Jamaica and put forward these points, they could see that Garvey was a serious man and the first thing that they tried to do was to kill him, just like they try to kill anybody who decides to take up the cause of the poor people and to struggle. They will kill you and you have to decide your mind; they tried to kill Lenin, the great leader of the workers and farmers and unemployed in Russia, 2 years before they tried to kill Garvey; after that they tried to kill Fidel many times over and over again. So what they tried to do with Marcus Garvey to kill him, is what they will try to do to anyone who decides to take up the cause and struggle for the upliftment of the masses of the people. But it didn't stop there, that didn't work. So the year immediately after, 1920, the American government filed an action against Garvey for criminal libel. They couldn't kill him with shots; so they tried to kill him in the court room; eventually in 1924 again the American government trying to pressure Garvey because of what he was trying to do, to help the black man in America and the poor people around the world, got him on a charge, a trumped up charge, and locked him up for 2 years and hencewards in prison in the United States. So that the first set of big people that tried to get rid of Garvey (by courthouse, by prison and by assassination,) was the American imperialist government, which at that time like now is against the progress of the poor people of the world, but they did not succeed.

Coming down to Jamaica now in 1927 the big people here took up where the American government left off. They too tried to get rid of Garvey. The planters, the merchants and particularly the Daily Gleaner, that newspaper which so many of us here fool that anything written in the Gleaner is fact truth. Whole heap of people here right

now anything you read in the Daily Gleaner you say 'is true'. Well in 1929 the Gleaner attacked Garvey and if you were alive in 1929, maybe you would have believed some of the lies that they were printing about Garvey, just like today some people believe the lies that the Gleaner is printing about communists and about the progressive people in Jamaica and the world over.

They used the court house against Garvey too; in Jamaica they locked him up in 1929, seized the property of the UNIA, the organization that Garvey founded. And you know what the Gleaner said when they locked up Garvey? what the Gleaner wrote when they locked up Garvey? the same Gleaner that so many of you defend. When communists and serious socialists get strong in the government on behalf of the people of Jamaica, the Gleaner have to go, no. 1 the Gleaner. (Applause). Not only because of what they do to us today, because we can take it, but because of what they have been doing from slavery days come right down. When the colonialists imprisoned Garvey, the Gleaner wrote "A great lesson has been taught" - that's what they wrote when they locked up Garvey. Brothers and sisters we are not vengeful people, we don't look to take revenge, but I want the Gleaner to know that we will always remember that when they locked up Garvey they said a great lesson had been taught. Well we shall have to teach the Gleaner a lesson. (Applause). So the first reason why Garvey did not really get far on the road to implementing his programme was the amount of opposition from the American government, from the big property owners, from the Gleaner, which talks for them.

But the second reason comrades, brothers and sisters why Garvey did not reach where he wanted to reach in putting forward his programme at that time was a simple one - the small man did not know himself. A lot of the very same people that Garvey was fighting for, the same flesh and blood, people getting 2 pounds

a week from the colonial government, some of those very same people, poor people, were the ones fighting against Marcus Mosiah Garvey.

For example history records and the history book if it is properly written will tell you that one of the most active fighters against Garvey was the post mistress; for Garvey used to post Black Man newspaper to get to different parts of the island to Lucca, to Morant Bay, to Sav-la-mar. What they used to do with it when they got it? Throw it away, instead of delivering it to the people for whom it was sent. Now just imagine that the Post Mistress, Post Master of the colonial government was getting £2 a week, can't reach nowhere - Garvey fighting for them - but they fighting against Garvey. The police at the time, again low paid, the colonial police kicking them around, treating them worse than dog, but the same flesh and blood police were harassing Garvey. If you were seen on the road selling the paper to the people, the police would attack you and beat you up. So that the second reason why Garvey's struggle was held back, was because the small people did not know themselves enough and at the same time when the big man was strong and fighting down everything that Garvey defended. After Garvey died, comrades, little progress was made up until 1969 for the same reasons.

### PROGRESS

Since that time however we can say if we are honest to ourselves that some little progress, a small step has been made on some of those points for which Garvey fought and Garvey died. If you consider it you will see why I say so. For example, as you know, the minimum wage was declared against the opposition of the reactionaries and with the support of the communists. That was a point for which Garvey was fighting and which was not granted by any of the govern-

ments, PNP or JLP prior to 1972 PNP government. Land reform was a point that Garvey was fighting for. Again we can say that this was a drop in the bucket of land reform - despite the opposition of the reactionary JLP leadership and with the support of the communists. Well the land lease programme gave over 80,000 acres of land to 40,000 farmers and the sugar workers cooperatives gave 50,000 acres of land to over 5,000 cooperatives - a drop in the bucket, just scraping the surface. Because as we have seen one parish alone, Hanover, over 31,000 acres of land belongs to 22 people, so that the land lease and cooperative programme just barely begins to scratch the surface. But it was a beginning that was never made before and therefore we can say that some small step was being made on the programme for which Garvey fought and on the programme for which Garvey struggled.

Finally if you look at the position of the big companies in Jamaica particularly the bauxite companies we can say that there was no progress in 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, under the colonial governor, under Bustamante, under Father Manley, Shoarer, Soaga, Sangster. With the bauxite levy again opposed by the JLP reactionaries but supported by the communists, which was imposed in 1974, for the first time these companies which have left the countryside delapidated were now being required to pay something more to the people of Jamaica. Prior to the bauxite levy the bauxite companies in Jamaica were only paying something like 24-25 million to the people of Jamaica and the government, chicken feed compared to the thousands of millions of dollars based on the work done by Jamaican workers in Jamaica. For the bauxite levy in 1974 that jumped to 178 millions a year and therefore some regulation of the big corporations was taking place as Garvey had fought for and had not succeeded up until that time.

We must ask ourselves why was that possible at this time? Why was there that little step of progress

when before there was none. The first reason was because the small man was now more conscious, more united, more organized, than before. He could not be fooled as easily as before, just like you cannot be fooled as easily as before. Five years ago (I am not going further back than five years) five years ago if a meeting like this had been called in Lucea courthouse, rain fall and the people know out there that is the communist T.M. coming to speak to them, you think the court room would full like this? no way, five years ago (applause). More consciousness. Not so easy to fool poor people again, not so easy like what they do with Garvey; when Garvey ran for election in 1930, United Fruit Company, the biggest company in Jamaica and one of the biggest company in the world, fought the election against Garvey using the Jamaican people themselves to fight Garvey - giving them money, salt-fish and rum; using United Fruit Company trucks to transport voters so that Garvey would lose the election. But now you are leaving the old-time colonial yoke behind - now-a-days the anti-communist in Lucea can bawl against communism, they can talk against me, they can preach lie and propaganda, they can win another court case, they can cause another chopping up, they can fire gun shot, but nothing is going to stop the people coming to hear the communist, (applause) because the people are now more conscious, workers knowing themselves, more united than before, more united and for that reason the 1972 PNP government and the '76 PNP government with the support of the communists and the opposition of the reactionaries took progressive steps which went a little way along the road in bringing about some of the things which Garvey was fighting for.

The second reason comrades why it was possible to make some progress on Garvey's programme, while before it was not possible was a simple one. The American government during Garvey's time and

even after Garvey died in 1940 was big and bad all powerful. In those days anybody and any poor country that tried to help the poor people in those countries by taxing the American companies or by taking over the property so that the masses could benefit from it, the American government could send ships and war planes, American soldiers and marines to come in there, shoot down the people and lock up their leaders. In Garvey's time, in 1934 the year before Garvey left Jamaica, the American government actually sent soldiers and marines into Haiti for 15 years, 1919-1934, in order to shoot down the nation's people who were trying to make some progress and to lock up those who were defending progress. Nowadays not only are the people more conscious, but the American government can't joke about like that any more, they don't dare because nowadays, it is not just poor little Jamaica with 2 million people or countries like ours that they have to deal with. They not only would have to face the determination and unity of the people, but also they would have to face the power of the working class in those countries where the working class has already taken over the government, in the Socialist countries. Therefore they dare not try to come in and attack our leader like what they tried to do with Garvey in 1919.

#### THE IMF TURNBACK

But they don't give up, the big man never gives up, they find a way to keep up the fight, to hold on to their ill-gotten gains. So said, so done in Jamaica. Because while the American government failed to keep the people permanently backward and ignorant by force and by coming in front, they now have gone around the back. Wolf in sheep's clothing. Smiling up with the government, patting the government on the back, saying how much they want to help us, but nowadays they are using a weapon which is more mighty, we can say, than the weapon that they were using against small poor countries in the days of Marcus Garvey, and that weapon is the IMF. So they fail to turn us back, we made some small progress between 1972 and 1977 but instead of letting go so that we could make more progress, the American government turned on greater pressure. This time using the

economic weapon and not the other one which everybody would see, everybody would unite to fight against. Comrades, we have to see clearly here tonight that the IMF is just another aid for the American government - cause some people try to tell you the IMF is a bank of international prestige and all kinds of foolishness. Well please learn here tonight that the biggest owner of the IMF is the United States government. So anything that the IMF does to Jamaica, understand that is the American government do it. But they can't hide because what they say is that the IMF is something else and they want to help. But we know as conscious people that IMF = American government and the American government equal the IMF. I think, comrades, every one of us here tonight knows and if you don't know will feel what the IMF is doing to Jamaica and therefore what the American government is doing to Jamaica. But we don't talk it that way. I would like for us to recall and to remember that, because 1 year ago, 1 year and 3 months ago when the government was thinking of going to this IMF to get money, remember the Gleaner tell them they must go quick and get it, front page editorial of the Daily Gleaner. "Hurry up and sign the agreement, Manley", quick time sign the agreement, that was what the Gleaner told them. "Come into my parlour said the spider to the fly", hurry up quick, sign it. The leader of the opposition, Edward Seaga, said the same thing that nothing is wrong with the IMF and that the government must hurry up quick time sign the agreement because there is nothing else to do. The main organization in Jamaica which talked out loud and clear that the government should not sign the agreement, because in the long run the American government would use it to sink the very government itself, was the WLL (which is the forerunner of the WPJ) as well as those progressive voices inside the PNP who would not be silenced by the capitalists inside the government.

So we were the ones, comrades, we were the ones brothers and sisters who warned against this thing, the progressive voices inside the PNP warned against it, but the capitalists inside the PNP wanted it.

Eventually the government and the Prime Minister took bad advice and bowed down to the imperialist, to the American government, the capitalists in the PNP and to Seaga and went into the agreement with the IMF. That was done on May 9, 1978. Let us never forget that day, because if it was not for that agreement the little steps which we have been taking from 1972 to fulfill some of the programme of Marcus Garvey, those little steps are now being turned back. We always have to say one step forward, one step backward. So we came down to the same place as we were before. You can feel it, I don't even tell you. The devaluation of the Jamaican dollar was one of the terms of the IMF-American government. So that in 1 year alone 1978 the cost of living rose by 50%, in 1 year. Which means comrades, brothers and sisters that the minimum wage which nothing had been done about up to 1969 and on which some little progress had been made between 1972 and 1977, that minimum wage was now beginning to turn back. Because the minimum wage is almost no wage, if cost of living is gone up and up, where nothing can catch it, gone through the sky and the wage is being restricted by the IMF. So that we can see that the IMF agreement, directly, not indirectly, but directly begins to sabotage the progress which had begun to be made on one of the main points that Marcus Garvey put forward and for which he fought and died. The question of land reform - again some progress has been made, again the IMF agreement, the American government through the IMF sabotage the progress that has been under way, because one of the terms of the IMF agreement was that the government must stop spending money to benefit poor people. How they put that in technical language - to balance the budget, that means spend less and tax more. So that the land reform land lease programme, which had begun now

to put some land in the hands of the small people just as Garvey has been asking - that programme has almost come to an end after the IMF-American government agreement, to which Manley and the PNP government agreed. Again in the area of the bauxite levy, in some way that was a small step forward to put under manners the companies which have been sucking the country dry. But the IMF agreement then required the government to restore confidence among those big MNC's and to restore confidence meant to give them what they want, simple as that. So that at this very moment while we are reasoning here this evening, while we are talking with one another this very moment in Kingston, the bauxite companies are sitting down across the table from those government representatives. They are demanding reduction of the levy.

So comrades, we can see that in all these different ways, the progress made on the road of struggle for Garvey's points, a progress which was made because you and I became more conscious, because you and I became more united, because when we go out there together in 1976 election, I remember that very well, more and more unity, more and more activity and organizing. What progress which we began to make is now being undermined because of the IMF agreement and because too many capitalists are inside the government itself as a fifth columnists working for Seaga and working for the American government against the very Prime Minister himself (applause). Comrades all of this means that more and more working people are breaking down under the pressure. Breaking down under pressure first of all in the pocket; the pocket can't take it. It is like money have no value because when you get the little pittance, it is gone before you get it - workers in industry get some back money, gone before they get it, because tax draw out of it. NHT draw out of it, NIS

draw out of it and what don't draw out of it already they have to pay debts that they owe from long time. But more important than the pocket breaking down comrades is that the consciousness is breaking down too. Some of those who were getting more and more conscious I hear some of them very same men saying that maybe we can't do without the capitalists, that maybe we can't do without the American imperialists, better we keep them, better we have them. Other brothers and sisters say "struggle too heavy", can't bother with this thing, struggle so long and don't see no progress. I hear it in town and you are hearing it here too.

#### THE COMMUNIST ANSWER

Our answer to that, the answer of us communists, is the formation of the WPI because what our party is saying comrades, is that now is the time more than ever before to get more conscious, to get more backbone, more united, now is not the time to break down because that is what the big man want. We have to form our party as our greater contribution to the movement in order to go around the length and breadth of Jamaica to give political education (like what we are giving here tonight) and, moreso, to put backbone in the struggle of the people, since too many are breaking down. Those who are strong and those who are stronger have to band themselves together into a new party in order to pull up the rest and to make them know that they can't break down now, because the work of Marcus Garvey must continue. Things for which Garvey died must be done and therefore comrades, because our party the WPI has a special purpose of preventing the struggle from being held up, of giving the people more backbone, it has to be a special kind of party. It just can't be a next party like any other party because if we were to build up another party like the PNP or JLP then we may as well join the PNP or the JLP. We have to build up something now in order to help the people to get something that can help them to overcome.

I would just like to mention two of the things about our party which is very important for us to have if we are to carry out the work of Marcus Garvey, and not to make it drop back and turn back under the pressure of the American government and the IMF, and the see-saw of the present government, at this moment. First, if you are going to put backbone into and not going to get weak then it means that your party, our party, the WPJ can only have people inside the party who are prepared to stand up. We cannot open the door to any and everybody. If you open the door to any and everyone, you know who is going to come inside? The agents of capitalism going to come inside and next thing want to take over; they took over the Labour Party from Bustamante's days; right now they are still struggling to take over the PNP. Right now it is one capitalist party, Seaga's party; the PNP is half capitalist, half socialist and Manley and DK the leaders of the PNP are also leaders of the socialist half of the PNP (applause). So in other words, comrades our party is to equal it up, one capitalist party the JLP, one half PNP capitalist, one half PNP socialist. Total one and a half for the capitalist, half for the socialist. So we want one full socialist party, so you balance off (applause). So the first thing about our party is that no one defending capitalism can come in there. Labour party say no socialism, can't come in there, in our party no capitalism can't come in there. If the PNP want capitalism and socialism mix up together and pull it two-way, that is their business, but in our party no capitalism can't come in there (applause). We say comrades that in looking to build up the WPJ, we are looking for those brothers and sisters who are showing by their deeds that they are prepared to defend the workers and the poor man against imperialism and capitalism. The people who come into our party wherever they work, those people must show by their deeds, that

they defend their brothers and sisters and not just looking out for themselves. Whenever there is injustice, when management try and victimize the worker, our comrade must be willing to go to his defence no matter that worker is PNP worker, JLP worker, WPJ worker, Rasta worker. So long as he is a worker, the WPJ man must be there to defend, because all workers are brothers and sisters; all workers feeling it the same way, because when him go into the supermarket, they don't ask him whether he is Labour and charge him one price, and charge the PNP another price. All workers have to pay the same thing and no worker can now afford to pay what is being charged under the IMF pressure. So our party and all people that come into our party have to defend the workers and poor people of Jamaica. Believe me comrades that anybody that just looking out for themselves, looking for contract, looking for house, don't check the Workers Party of Jamaica. The Workers Party is a communist party, what we defend is benefits for the poor through struggle. We are not able to give anybody hand-out, because as you know if a man go into a political party to get what he can take, what he can get out of it, that man is not going to be able to struggle for his brother nor be his brother's keeper; he will only look out for himself personally. So comrades the first thing about our party is that we ask those who come into it to be serious, to be willing to put out something to help their brothers and sisters.

The second thing about our party that I want to mention to you tonight is this - the comrades who are in our party must be prepared to work for the people all the time not just at election time. Some of the capitalist politicians, in fact most of them, you see them when election come - they are around, in the kitchen drinking pot water, picking up the baby and hugging up the baby, for the next five years you don't see them again. That is not what our party defends. The problems of the people are everyday

problems and therefore the help our party members give to the people must be everyday help.

We can say that since the founding of our party in December last year, and the WLL four years before that, we have been practising what we preach, because there is nobody in the WPJ who defends capitalism nor anyone who is prepared to put up with imperialism oppressing the people. There is nobody in our party like that. You can find those people, most of them, pack up inside the JLP and some of them in the PNP; you can't find none of them in the Workers Party. That is our principle - the workers must have their own party like the capitalist have their own party. We have also been practising what we preach comrades in that the everyday problems of the people are our own everyday problems. Whenever something happen or even before it happen, the comrades in our party are gearing the people to struggle, to get better. You just had the experience down here with comrade MK and other comrades in the WPJ who try and are still trying to help the workers at West Indies Ball Company. I ask you if you hear Seaga even put out a statement about those workers, much less try and help them. Not interested. The PNP is interested but their interest comes and goes depending on which half is on top and whether the workers or the capitalists are pressuring them harder. In our party it is the duty of comrade MK and it is the duty of other comrades, whenever workers are in trouble and whenever they have problems to go to them, try to organize them, to help them help them struggle to get better. The case of the flood victims is another example. Our Party comrades down here in the Hanover Progressive Movement organized a dance and I would really like to congratulate them and to express appreciation of the whole movement, that they were able to have the dance and to get over \$700 to contribute to the flood victims. (Applause.) Thirdly, com-

rados, anywhere in the island where we have party members, party members must defend the workers regardless if they are Labour, PNP, WPJ, no 'P' at all, all the time not just when election come around. So you will find that in Clarendon the comrades from the Workers Party are trying at this moment to help the cooperative farmers and I am going there next week to help. The comrades in St. Elizabeth in the Workers Party have been successfully struggling over the Holland Mtn. issue where the farmers were being brutalized by the Reynolds Bauxite Company. The comrades fulfilled their duties as communists to organize and to help the workers and farmers to get that land in their hands. Similarly in St. Catherine comrades from the Workers Party are fighting in the communities there for school, roads, water, and so on. Same way in the communities in Kingston and St. Andrew. So all over even though we are very young and we are very small, wherever we are, we practise what we preach. We are committed to helping the people's struggles. That is our principle and that is our practice.

### ELECTIONS

There is just one other thing I would like to say, comrades, as to one of our experiences, so that you will understand some of what we are trying to do. Our experience is that the PNP government and the PNP leaders are too soft, they are too soft on the corruption and the corrupt officials from the top right down to the bottom. Too soft on them making them get away, (applause) - too soft on the big companies like West Indies Ball Company - they should never have been allowed to leave Jamaica without paying the Jamaican government (applause). They are too soft comrades, and they need something hard in order to make them harder and that something hard is the WPJ. Because what we have noticed is that where our party is strong, and where our party is able to organize the people to stand up, that is where the government moves to help the people like in Holland Mountain.

If our party comrades were not there (and some of them are in this meeting here tonight) to organize those farmers to pressure the government, the government would have been soft on Reynolds and Reynolds would never give up the land. But the comrades were there to organize the people to make them demonstrate, petition, write letters, do all sorts of things until the government lived up to its promises. In the case of Casa Monte Hotel 40 workers were being thrown out of jobs. If our party was not there to organize them, to make them conscious, no way could the workers at Casa Monte today have won, no way. The government would not have given the hotel to the workers. So that our experience is showing us that where we are strong we have a better chance of making the government fulfill its promises to the people. Where we are weak the government is soft on capitalism, and soft on imperialism. Therefore our job and your job in the interest of progress for the working people is to make our party stronger. If we make it stronger not only can we get the government to stand firm, but also we will never ever have again a government like what Seaga wants to bring in, a government to carry us back, back, back, beyond the days of Marcus Garvey back into another slavery, when big companies, big investors come in and take over Jamaica and suck the blood of the people even more than now. We will never have another government like that if you remain united and if our Party acts stronger (applause).

For that reason, comrades, the WPJ has decided that we will be contesting the next election (applause). We have decided this because we feel that if we contest the next elections, then the progressive movement will have a better chance of defeating Seaga and preventing the Labour party from coming in. I want to spend a little time explaining this to you, because all the

comrades don't really understand what it means. At this time there are many, many different constituencies in Jamaica where a lot of people are saying that if it is only PNP or JLP they not voting - they are not voting because they can never give their vote to Seaga, since Seaga is a man that defend fascism, and the American government. So they will never vote for Seaga. But at the same time, they are a lot of progressive people who prefer to stay at their yard rather than come out and vote for the PNP. I tell you why, because they feel that the PNP let them down, that after the good start, with land lease, minimum wage, bauxite levy, a lot of progress but instead of carrying forward, too much slowing down. Gone to the IMF instead of the people. Is not the IMF put Manley in power you know, so he must not satisfy the IMF. It is the people that put him in power and it is the people he must satisfy, not the IMF. (Applause.) So comrades we have to tell the people that they must vote for the PNP because of Seaga's fascism and because the PNP has brought progress. But when the people say to us, but brother Trevor, if we vote for PNP again and the same thing is going to happen like what happen after in 1976, "we can't vote for the PNP again". The people say we can't vote for the PNP, can't vote for candidates that are not really socialist, that are capitalists in disguise, because after they win they sabotage progress. In 1976 we played a key role in bringing out the youth to vote for the PNP (applause) and in 1981, the only way that we are going to be able to bring out the youths again to vote for the PNP is if at the same time we can show them that in some areas they will also be voting for the WPJ to put more backbone in the struggle for better after the elections finish (applause). In other words we can't tell them vote for PNP and it is going to get better after 1981. We have to show that if if they vote for PNP and if the PNP got back in power, we will also have WPJ man in the house to put fire under them tail, so that they can't let go the corruption and what is going on now (applause). That is how we see it. They have Seaga watching on behalf

of imperialism, WPJ watching on behalf of the people, so that the moment they slip we going to lick them and make them know they must stand up and defend poor people because is poor people put them in power (applause).

So comrades in those parts of the island of Jamaica, in those parts where the WPJ candidate, where our man the communist man, have a better chance of beating the Seaga man those places we are going to run candidates. Wherever our man has the better chance of beating Seaga's man, we have to run our man because the progressive movement must put its best foot forward in the interest of every poor man in Jamaica to make sure Seaga don't got in as P.M. (applause). So that if in a division or constituency in Clarendon, St. Elizabeth or wherever because the PNP MP or caretaker is careless, he does not stay with the people, the people don't see him, he don't help the people, instead he gone to look about his own business, he does not even live in the constituency; in that case the WPJ man who live with the people, who work with the people, who help the people, if that WPJ man have the better chance, then that WPJ man must run and the PNP people who want to kick out Seaga's man have a duty to support the WPJ man because that is the man who will have the better chance to keep out Seaga (applause). Comrades for the same reasons in those other constituencies the overwhelming majority where the PNP have the better chance to beat Seaga, then the PNP must run in those constituencies and it is the duty of the WPJ to support the PNP in those constituencies (applause). In other words comrades we are going to sandwich Seaga (applause). In one place they have to face the PNP man where the PNP man have roots and doing the work among the people. In another place where the PNP man weak and the WPJ man strong they will have to

face the WPJ man whether him like it or not. (Applause.) So comrades it is left up to the working people in the various constituencies to decide who have the better chance to beat Seaga. It is up to the people I can't tell you. You have to tell me, and I want to make it clear here tonight that if in Lucea or in Western Hanover there is a WPJ man who have a better chance to defeat Seaga's man and if you tell our party leadership that, then Western Hanover will be one of the places where Seaga will have to face the WPJ man, and PNP people will have to support the WPJ man (applause).

Comrades, that decision is not being taken tonight, you have to look around; you have to talk to people, you have to hear what they are saying, you have to let our party comrades know. If it is your feeling that our comrade is the better man, then you must tell him and he will tell us, because if that is so then it is the duty of all the grassroots - PNP, WPJ - even JLP, who want to see Seaga remain in opposition until he leaves the island. It is the duty of us to support the comrade who has the better chance of beating Seaga's man in this constituency. So when we say we are going to fight election comrades we are not going to split any votes, because we are not going to run in any area where the PNP is the stronger to beat Seaga. In those areas we will be supporting the PNP, will be trying to make them get progressive candidates, and not just put up the same old time colonialists or capitalist candidates. We want them to put up progressive people. That is why I tell you here tonight on behalf of our party that we are 100% behind the re-election of comrade D.K. Duncan as General Secretary of the PNP, (applause). We see DK as a genuine socialist and one who will help to strengthen the socialists inside the PNP and one who therefore will have our support. So we not going to split any vote, but in the same way we are not going to split any vote, we call on the PNP not to split the vote in those areas where they don't have a man who can defeat Seaga's man.

If the party leadership don't want to listen to our call, then it is up to the party rank and file to make them listen. It is up to the party rank and file, party grassroots to tell the leaders "look Mr. Manley, look Mr. PJ we don't have nobody in this division or constituency that can beat Seaga but we have a next man here who is progressive and who is WPJ that have a good chance. Let us support him. So comrades, tonight as we commemorate the 92nd anniversary of the birthday and the 50th anniversary of Garvey's political education and of Garvey's political party we see that there has been some progress after years of no progress - in putting Garvey's points and carrying them forward. But now the IMF has come in to pressurize the government and the progress is being sabotaged. Our duty in our party is to help build up the strength of the workers, build back the unity of the progressive movement so that imperialism and the IMF can be defeated and our country go forward to socialism (Prolonged applause).

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MODERN NON-ALIGNMENT

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by Horace Levy

The non-alignment of the Non-Aligned Movement of today grew directly out of the struggle of the Asian and African peoples for national independence and world peace. The birth of the Movement is usually traced back to the conference held at Bandung in Indonesia in 1955. However this conference was itself the culmination of a long series of Asian international meetings and contacts between Asian and African leaders going back to the 1920's. (See G. Bondarevsky and V. Sofinsky, Non-Alignment: Its Friends and Adversaries in World Politics, Moscow 1978.

One of the first such meetings was the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels in 1927 attended by Jawaharlal Nehru, Ho Chi Minh and other leading personalities which called for support for the anti-imperialist struggle of the Chinese people and the independence struggle of India and Syria. Another meeting was the Asian Relations Conference held in Delhi in March 1947, the very year India won its long-fought-for independence from Britain. Another conference of 15 countries in Delhi in January 1949 demanded the withdrawal of the Dutch occupying Indonesia - who were indeed forced out by the end of the year.

For much of the rest of Asia - Burma, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Laos - the story was very similar in that period: the fight for liberation from the western colonial powers through mutual support and solidarity. In Africa the struggle and the achievement of self-determination were to carry well into the decade of the sixties, with the ouster of the Portuguese coming still more recently.

Springing out of such soil, modern non-alignment

stands worlds apart from the west-leaning "neutrality" of Switzerland. It has never said a word about the behaviour of belligerents and neutrals. From the very beginning it was actively hostile to the colonial, imperialist, racist and militarist policies practised by Britain, France, Holland, Portugal, and the United States of America. Born in the midst of the Cold War, the Non-Aligned Movement sought to stay out of it and to bring it to an end. But this did not mean equi-distance or impartiality towards some of the underlying causes. In particular, Western Colonialism was condemned as a major cause of the Cold War.

This is a matter of history, however much the biased accounts of the western press, Jamaica's Daily Gleaner included, attempt to disguise and distort it. "From West Africa to East Asia", wrote the Western authority, Cecil Crabb, "non-alignment is viewed as springing from, and being an integral part of, the ongoing struggle against colonialism and the non-aligned countries do not put western colonialism on the same footing as Soviet influence in East Europe" (The Elephant and the Grass, 1965, p. 42).

Against this briefly sketched background the full significance of the Sixth Summit of the non-Aligned Countries emerges more clearly. A movement with origins in Asia and Africa is now solidly established in Latin America, with twelve members to the original one, (which was Cuba). And it is Havana which of all the capitals of this hemisphere is chosen for the Sixth Summit. These simple facts signal the world-wide expansion and relevance of the Movement, representing as it now does one and a half billion people in the three continents of Asia, Africa and South/Central America (Yugoslavia is the only mainland European member). They signal more however.

They point firstly, to the increasing importance of neo-colonialist and economic issues and, secondly, to the special role of the socialist countries within the Movement.

### NEO-COLONIALIST ENEMY

Over the past 35 years, one by one the colonial empires have crumbled - the British, Dutch, French, Portuguese. Now it is the North American empire which is suffering defeat after defeat - in South-east Asia, in Iran, in Grenada, in Nicaragua - with the threat of still further blows in Guatemala, San Salvador and Bolivia. It is United States and European neo-colonialism, operating through the multi-national companies and colluding with Israelis, Afrikaners and Chinese, which is under attack. Within the Non-Aligned Movement the growing presence of Latin America, most of which wrested its independence from Spain in the nineteenth century, symbolizes and coincides with the increasing attention of the Movement to economic problems, to the new kind of colonialism which has to be dealt with. Latin America has had the longest experience of Yankee imperialism, as well as the worst in terms of profits extracted.

The struggle to change the ruling economic equations was initiated by the Non-Aligned nations from the early sixties. These nations grasped from early that without profound changes in this area, political independence would be only a word. First attempts, however, brought no results. The rich countries only agreed to negotiate at all after they were forced to by the oil crisis of 1973. Even then they resisted every attempt by the developing nations to broaden the dialogue from oil to other commodities, to trade, debt and monetary problems. (See Third World Dilemma, by a Group of Concerned Sri Lankan Scholars, Colombo 1979).

A Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations was adopted in the United Nations in 1974. But it has remained a dead letter. In economic matters U.N. General Assembly proved futile. The North-South

dialogue of Paris '75 and '76 came to nought. And the UNCTAD Conference of 1976 and in Manila earlier this year, where the same Non-Aligned countries devoted themselves exclusively to economic issues, proved equally fruitless. All of which must be set within contexts of the Third World's decreasing share of world trade, massive debt of over \$300 billion, and tottering national economies.

This was the background of the Havana Summit, a background of negotiations and dialogue with the rich nations which had achieved nothing. The rich nations dodged and procrastinated. They called for further studies. Earlier this year, they tried to turn Third World anger in the Soviet direction. Or threatened to get nasty if there was no let-up in the criticism. The lesson for the Non-Aligned nations was the inadequacy, indeed the futility, of attempting to obtain real change in present economic structures by the route of talk and of negotiation.

Dr. Gamani Corea, Secretary-General of UNCTAD said in his keynote address at Manila that "a significant change had occurred in the negotiations between the developed and developing countries over the past few years. There had been a shift in emphasis from debates on general questions of development and underdevelopment to negotiations on concrete issues like commodity agreements and the transfer of technology. Today UNCTAD tried not merely to produce resolutions, but also to negotiate concrete, legally binding instruments. The Third World countries could not rely on moral persuasion alone to get their demands. Moral persuasion would not bring about a new international economic order. The developing countries must mobilize their political power and apply leverage to get their demands". The Havana Summit seemed to show that the Non-Aligned nations were learning this lesson.

Speaker after speaker at the plenary sessions called and called again for action, action to translate Non-Aligned unity and self-reliance into uncompromising reality. In his historic opening speech and influenced quite likely in this respect by pre-conference discussions with Jamaica's Michael Manley, Fidel Castro turned the spotlight on energy. He appealed to "the large oil-exporting countries to strike out courageously ... in implementing a wise and far-sighted policy of economic cooperation, supplies and investments in our under-developed world".

Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda and other speakers did not hesitate to point out the horrific consequences of investing oil money in London and New York: it finds its way into the guns and bombs turned against freedom fighters, women and children in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Lebanon.

Prime Minister Manley, in his important contribution, spoke of the need to "create the institutions through which economic or other action can be planned, coordinated, mobilized and effected". He spoke both generally and in relation specifically to oil and to alternative sources of energy.

The Havana Summit was not however just mere talk. Against Egypt's advice it took the critical step of granting executive powers to the movement's Coordinating Bureau. It moved, in other words, to establish the first of the "institutions", the organisational instruments, by which the hopes and plans for the millions of the world's poor can be acted upon. This is, of course, only a beginning. Other more specialised bodies will be required. It is not even clear where these institutions should be located, whether within the Non-Aligned movement as such, or within the United Nations. As Manley also suggested, bi-lateral and regional arrangements among non-aligned countries are other possibilities. And these will take planning, persistence and time.

Nonetheless, with the situation for most non-aligned nations as desperate as it is, a variety of efforts are already being made. Manley himself, through the post-Summit visit to Jamaica of Guinean President Sekou Toure, the consequent calling of a special meeting of the International Bauxite Association, and his own end-of-October visit to Iraq, is taking the kind of initiative needed to make non-aligned solidarity an economic force against imperialism.

### SOCIALIST FRIENDS

There is another powerful factor, the most powerful indeed, already in operation and helping the Non-Aligned Movement forward which must not be overlooked and which Cuba's role of Chairman for the next three years symbolizes and will promote. It is the mutual assistance spearheaded by the Socialist countries among themselves and carrying over now into trade and assistance to the Non-Aligned World. It is the special role of the Socialist countries within the Non-Aligned Movement.

There is an overlap between the world Socialist and the Non-Aligned Movements. The Non-Aligned goals of national independence, freedom, equality, the peaceful settlement of disputes, a new international economic order, as well as its struggles against poverty, exploitation, apartheid, Zionism, offensive military alliances - these are all shared by the Socialist movement. The direction is the same, but with the Socialists showing the greater determination, clarity of vision and cohesion among themselves. Hence it is they who make up the vanguard of the Non-Aligned Movement.

As Manley agreed in a crowded press conference in Havana, there is a growing convergence of aims and actions between the Non-Aligned and Socialist countries. They are joined in the battle for national liberation and for an

equitable economic system. In the still stronger and more correct phrase of Castro and Samora Machol, they are "natural allies".

While few were bold enough to adopt these words, many have already adopted the alliance in their PRACTICE. From Socialist Cuba alone some 28 countries presently receive substantial assistance in medicine, schools, agriculture, and fishing. "Calculated at UN rates, on the basis of 10,000 Cubans working in African and Arab countries (in fact there are more), Cuba would be spending some \$600,000,000 a year, the equivalent of all financial aid sent to the Third World through the UN." (Third World I, May '79, p.8). Apart from the front-line states, it is the Socialist countries which are helping the Patriotic Front, just as it gave arms to Mozambique, arms and soldiers to Angola, in their struggle.

Given less publicity perhaps, but no less important, is the growth in trade between the countries of Socialist Europe and the "peripheral capitalist countries", the non-aligned nations: from 3 percent of the trade of CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) in 1953 to 11 percent in 1978 ("A New International Division of Labour and Economic Relations among Countries having Different Social Systems", paper presented by C.Y. Thomas at a Seminar on UNCTAD held at UWI in March 1979). While much of this expansion is accounted for by prices inflation and while structural imbalances persist in the trading relations, there are a number of circumstances, Thomas points out, impelling the two groups of countries toward increased trade: "the reduction of cold-war hysteria as well as pressure from the masses in the periphery for non-capitalist solutions to their problems", "the attraction which the stable and rapid growth of the socialist countries holds for the peripheral countries"; and "the increasing role of the state in the economic development of the periphery" which "supports tendencies for trading with countries where trade is planned and state-regulated".

In addition Thomas cites UNCTAD documents which state: "More than 3,000 industrial and other projects were,

or are being built in the developing countries with the assistance of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. It is estimated that by 1976 about 2,300 such projects had already been put into operation. About 180 factories were established in machine building and metal processing..., 150 in the chemical and petro-chemical industries, more than 650 in power engineering and electric power stations, 50 in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy,... 625 in agriculture, food and light industries and about 140 for the production of building materials". "CMEA member countries are carrying out geological prospecting work in 34 developing countries."

This brief catalogue is far from complete. But when on top of the quantities enumerated, which are substantial, one takes into account such factors as the emphasis on industrialization and technological development, the product pay back schemes, the enhancing of export capability, and so on, one begins to appreciate the tremendous advantages of these relations to the non-aligned countries in their present state of industrial underdevelopment, low trade, massive debt and crisis of foreign exchange. To the CMEA countries also the advantages, in spite of drawbacks (e.g. the absence of planning in the developing nations), are considerable. Clearly the basis is there for deepening the relationship. Fidel is right in speaking of a "natural alliance".

This new reality and way of talking represents, it must be noted, a significant though gradually developed and true-to-origins shift in the meaning of "non-alignment". Although non-alignment, as pointed out earlier, never stood for equidistance between two opposing blocs, the tensions and paranoia of the Cold War did accentuate the Movement's distance from the Socialist grouping, as it sought, from the position of concerned third-party citizens of a threatened planet, to urge detente and the peaceful settlement of disputes. The freshness of the Yugoslav exper-

ience, or view of its experience, and the influence of President Josip Broz Tito had their influence.

With the easing now of Cold War hostility, the growth of Non-Aligned/Socialist economic relations, and the heightened and better understood imperialist exploitation in South Africa and the Middle East and through trans-national companies, it is the nearness of the Non-Aligned and Socialist movements which is coming into focus. Talk of power "blocks" will continue. The distinctness and independence of every nation is a cherished ideal of the Non-Aligned Movement. But it is impossible within the Movement to talk now in such a way as even to suggest equating the Socialist with imperialist grouping.

In addition, there is going to be, there has already been, the impact of the leadership of Cuba and of Fidel Castro in the direction of the Movement. Contrary to Western propaganda, Cuba has made and will continue to make every effort to maintain the unity of the Movement. At the same time the unity sought by Cuba, as Castro stressed in his powerful inaugural address, is a unity based on principle, a unity grounded in political logic, and the principle is anti-imperialism, with no mistake as to who the imperialists are. Castro makes no secret of his country's friendship with the Soviet Union. United States imperialism, which sought to isolate Cuba, was defeated by the holding of the Sixth Summit in Havana. Its machinations in various parts of the globe were condemned at every turn. On the other hand, Cuba's thorough and generous preparations for the Summit, its socialist dedication to the Movement, received warm praise from speaker after speaker in the plenary sessions. There can be little doubt of the direction Cuba will be moving, in exercising its role of Chairman of the co-ordinating Bureau, little doubt of the extensive support it will be receiving.

#### POLITICAL ISSUES

To speak of the increasing attention to economic problems in the Non-Aligned Movement is not by any means to overlook the previous and continuing necessity of deal-

ing with the political issues, or to concur with Western snobs at these pre-occupations. As long as Asia, Africa and the Caribbean were just a string of colonies, the question of a just economic order could not even arise, was not even on the agenda. The political goal of national liberation had to be the primary task of the Non-Aligned Movement, imperialism has had to be defeated in country after country around the globe before the issue of a New International Economic Order could be tabled.

Even now, or rather all the more now - with Western Imperialism hanging on desperately to its outposts because of stunning defeats recently experienced, it was crucial for the Havana Summit to deal extensively with the South African and especially the Kampuchean and Palestinian problems. In respect of the Middle East, with the Iranian revolution and the oil crisis driving the Americans into seeking new agents in that zone, the Summit not only gave solid endorsement to the Arab condemnation of the Camp David Agreement, it also took tentative steps towards the expulsion of Egypt from the Movement.

The Arab nations were intent on bringing about this expulsion. Such an act would further and thoroughly isolate Egypt. But Egypt is a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement. Expulsion is a penalty never yet exercised by the Movement against a member. Yugoslavia, another founding member, was firmly opposed. Above all, consensus on this issue would have required a solidarity which, between oil-exporters and oil-importers, is at present totally lacking. Up to the end the Arab nations kept on pressing, but more, it seems, for the publicity than in real hope of gaining anything further at the Havana Summit. Fidel's uncompromising castigation of Egypt in his opening address had given them an opening they intended using to the full, with the solution however to the crucial underlying problem of oil a thing still of the future.

The issue that was fought out even longer, though again without fully satisfactory resolution, was that of Kampuchea and of which of the rival delegations to seat. Grasping from very early, when first attempts failed, that it would be impossible to get the Heng Samrin delegation seated, the progressive forces at the Summit settled for the next best - having the Kampuchean seat remain vacant. This was the position adopted first by Cuba as host, responsible for seating, in the week before the Summit; then by the political commission, meeting concurrently with the plenary sessions, in its recommendation to the heads of delegations; and finally by the heads themselves, on the grounds that consensus had been reached.

Consensus had indeed been reached, as it is understood and practised in the Non-Aligned Movement, namely sixty percent of those present and voting. Only sixteen of the ninety-four members at the Summit led by Yugoslavia, Singapore, North Korea, and Burma, supported the seating of the Pol Pot delegation, and even those, for the most part, dissociated themselves from the crimes of the Pol Pot regime and argued the case on procedural grounds. What they really claimed to be objecting to was the presence of Vietnamese soldiers in Kampuchea and Vietnamese assistance to the Heng Samrin government.

Yugoslavia's argument that the border problem between Kampuchea and Vietnam should have been settled by arbitration and negotiation could carry little weight against the background of Yugoslavia's own conduct in that regard. As was shown in an interview given by veteran journalist and Asian expert Wilfred Burchett and widely circulated at the Summit, it was Yugoslavia who last year blocked Vietnamese and Sri Lankan efforts to deal peacefully with Kampuchea's provocative border incursions. In any case, there were spokesmen, and especially the thoughtful and powerful Samora Machel, who did not hesitate to give vigorous defense to Vietnam's actions. Many hailed the heroism of the Vietnamese people in resisting the colonialising attacks of the Japanese, French, Americans and now

Chinese. And on the other hand the world's horror at the genocidal and terrible crimes of the Pol Pot and Yeng Sary regime was also given expression. By Thursday of the Summit week the Pol Pot delegation had left Havana.

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THE INDO-CHINA REFUGEES:  
WHO IS REALLY TO BLAME?

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by Yuri Dimov

Haggard, emaciated people clinging to the deck of a foundering craft stare tensely at the camera... A long string of half-naked men, women and children queuing up for a bowl of watery soup.... Hands stretched through a barbed wire fence hold out scraps of paper with pleas for help or the addresses of acquaintances....

Photos of this order and accounts of the plight of Indo-China refugees have become a standard feature in the press. The problem is not a new one; now coming to the fore, now receding into the shade, it has existed for more than thirty years. It is a human tragedy for which imperialism is to blame. As far back as 1954, when the Vietnamese people triumphed over the French colonial armies, more than a million people were induced to move from the North of Vietnam to the South by the scare stories about "communist atrocities" circulated by the reactionaries to frighten practising Catholics. During the years of the U.S. aggression hundreds of thousands in the South were driven at gunpoint to the so-called "strategic villages" or fled from villages destroyed by napalm and farm fields turned into wastelands by defoliants.

In the spring of 1975, just before the victorious final offensive of the liberation forces, the Americans and their South Vietnamese accomplices

drew up a plan for the evacuation of more than a million people. Inside a few days some 160,000 were shipped out of South Vietnam on board U.S. ships and aircraft. Of these the majority were people who feared that they would be tried for collaborating with the enemy, but there regrettably were also many who had nothing to fear but who succumbed to the rumours about an "inevitable bloodbath" concocted by the Saigon and U.S. special services.

### ORCHESTRATION

Those who did not have time to flee with the Americans decided to lay low. These included elements that had been accustomed during the years of American overlordship to a parasitic life, primarily members of the Chinese bourgeoisie who had amassed enormous fortunes by serving the U.S. invasion force and the Saigon puppet army. Much of this wealth was invested in immovable property which there was no time to sell in the brief period it took the Thieu regime to collapse. To leave behind factories, plantations, shops, and banks was of course not easy. But as like as not this was not the only reason why Chinese businessmen in Saigon, Da Nang and other major cities remained behind. Among the 1,500,000-strong Chinese minority, and primarily among the bourgeoisie, there operated secret organizations headed by Peking placemen, and without their permission it was practically impossible to leave the country.

A new outflow of refugees from Vietnam began in late 1977. This coincided in time with the convocation in Peking of a preparatory meeting for the All-China Conference on the Affairs of Overseas Chinese. The coincidence was hardly accidental. For the meeting called for "effective work among the overseas Chinese.... to expand the international united front of struggle against hegemonism," in other words, the utilization of the ethnic Chinese against the socialist countries. Some 200,000 ethnic Chinese crossed over from Northern Vietnam to China in 1978. The organizers of this mass exodus raised a clamour about the

"persecution of the ethnic Chinese" and used it as a pretext for cutting off economic aid to Vietnam and as a smokescreen to cover up Peking's preparations to invade that country.

At the end of 1978 the Conference on Overseas Chinese was held in Peking. Soon after, the trickle of illegal emigration from Southern Vietnam that had been going on for several months became a flood. The smuggling of ethnic Chinese (who constitute some 80-90 per cent of the total number of refugees from Vietnam) assumed particularly wide scale after the invasion of Vietnam by China. As if responding to secret orders, they began to stream to the seaports and fishing villages on the coast and put to sea at night.

The most active part in this traffic has been played by Chinese gangster syndicates operating from Hongkong and Singapore. Using unseaworthy boats picked up for a song, including fishing craft and sampans, they sail them up to the Vietnamese coast. No wonder that some of those who have ventured to set out in such craft have drowned at sea. But for all that the population of the refugee camps is continuing steadily to grow. According to France-Press, by mid-June the number of these "boat people" reached 175,000 in Asian countries - 75,000 in Malaysia, 53,000 in Hongkong, 30,000 in Indonesia, 8,000 in Thailand, some 4,000 in the Philippines, and 3,000 in Macao.

#### EXODUS FROM KAMPUCHEA

For several years Kampuchea was a major supplier of inmates of refugee camps. The first caravans set out from there for Thailand in the early seventies, when Kampuchea was bombed by the U.S. Air Force and invaded by U.S. and Saigon troops.

The flow of refugees notably swelled in the spring of 1975 after the fall of the Lon Nol regime. At first it was mostly administration officials and army officers and their families that left.

But as Pol Pot and Ieng Sary intensified their policy of genocide, more and more people began to cross the frontier to Thailand and Vietnam to escape the hangmen or death by starvation. Despite the economic difficulties it had to contend with, the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam provided the needy with food, clothing and medicaments. It might be mentioned that among the several hundred thousand who took advantage of Vietnam's hospitality there were some 20,000 Chinese. Peking did not lift a finger to alleviate their plight.

After the victory of the Kampuchean patriots in January this year, the emigration did not cease, though the composition of the refugees notably changed. Now they are mostly the remnants of the Pol Pot army. As a rule, they herd along with them civilians whom they seized for use as a labour force to build fortifications and haul guns, ammunition and looted stocks of food. It is noteworthy that the overwhelming majority of these people are ethnic Chinese. There are a great many of them also among the 120,000 refugees from Laos who have gone to Thailand.

Seeking to capitalize on the refugee problem, the Western and Chinese propaganda agencies pass by in silence such an important aspect of the question as the flight from China to Hongkong. Yet the fact is that the number of people who have left China in the past 2-3 years is not much smaller than the total number of refugees from the three Indo-China countries. Especially great has the exodus from China been since the beginning of this year, following the Conference on Overseas Chinese. The Chinese frontier guards have loosened controls on the land and sea frontier adjoining Hongkong, with the result that there was an immediate influx of thousands of people to that British colony from the adjacent Guangdong province through the thinned-out "bamboo curtain." The refugees recently devised a new way of getting into Hongkong - through otherwise impassable marshlands on crude skis. Since the beginning of the year the frontier here has been illegally crossed by nearly 150,000 people. Besides, more and more P.R.C.

citizens are arriving in Hongkong with the permission of the Chinese authorities, the monthly "quota" of legal refugees now running to 16,000. In an effort to reduce the influx into Hongkong, the colony's governor, Murray MacLehose, made a trip to Peking. Soon after his return from there, the British garrison was reinforced. Although this and a certain tightening of frontier controls by the Chinese authorities of late have retarded the growth of illegal emigration from China, the problem is not likely to be resolved.

#### WHO GAINS BY IT

Who is it that has a stake in the aggravation of the refugee problem? The Chinese press and Western propaganda agencies maintain that the main responsibility for the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people rests with Vietnam, which allegedly "exports refugees" to rid itself of "unreliable citizens."

Actually Vietnam is least of all interested in the mass exodus of the ethnic Chinese. "We need workers to rehabilitate the country," the Hanoi Nhan Dan wrote. "Our state wants all the citizens of the country to join in the building of a new, prosperous and happy life. We welcome it when people of Chinese nationality remain to live peacefully in Vietnam." And, indeed, many ethnic Chinese, despite the indoctrination and intimidation they are subjected to by provocateurs, continue calmly to work at their jobs.

The refugee problem does not accord with either the economic or the political interests of multinational Vietnam. The Vietnamese Communists have always worked to build harmonious relations between the country's various peoples and nationalities. Fanning of conflicts between national groups is to the advantage of only the enemies of Socialist Vietnam who are doing their

utmost to undermine its internal political stability.

The tragedy of the refugees is grist to the mill of Peking, whose prime object is to take advantage of the problem to erode Vietnam's international prestige, which is now greater than ever as a result of the successful completion of the long struggle for the unification of North and South as well as of the re-buff given to Chinese aggression.

By accusing Hanoi of "forcibly deporting ethnic Chinese to South-east Asian countries," Peking is also out to worsen Vietnam's relations with the ASEAN countries, which were beginning to improve. For in order to carry out Mao's injunction and pocket Southeast Asia it is essential to drive a wedge between the socialist and the developing countries of this part of Asia and to prevent them from rendering support to one another.

Not the least role in this is played by mercantile considerations. Remittances from well-to-do overseas Chinese in the Southeast Asian countries alone to relatives in the P.R.C. amount to some \$350 million annually and are continuing to grow. And if the overseas Chinese communities are expanded through the addition of "compatriots" from Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, and if the sluice gates are opened for emigration from China proper, Peking's foreign exchange reserves will undoubtedly grow.

But above all Peking is counting on making use of the well organized Chinese overseas communities for the propagation of its political postulates and the activation of armed anti-government groups controlled from China. The danger with which this is fraught is beginning to be realized in the Southeast Asian countries where there already are more than 21 million ethnic Chinese.

#### CHINA "TOO COLD"

The Singapore Sunday Nation has criticized Peking for aggravating the refugee problem by encouraging the mass exodus of its citizens to Hongkong. The Thai

government has officially asked China to accept 9,000 Kampuchean of Chinese origin. And according to the New York Times, the U.S. Administration has appealed to Peking to play "a larger role for providing a haven for the new wave of ethnic Chinese," to which, the paper reports, Ambassador Chai Zemin replied that the climate in China was "too cold" for the refugees.

Peking's unwillingness to join in international efforts to deal with the problem is particularly unseemly against the background of the energetic action taken by Hanoi and the good will it displays. On January 12 this year the government of Vietnam announced that all who wished to join their families or to take up residence in another country would be given permission to leave Vietnam. Vietnamese diplomats are conducting consultations in the capitals of Southeast Asian countries. A programme ensuring the orderly and safe departure of those who wish to leave Vietnam and settle elsewhere has been drawn up together with representatives of the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

The policy of the Vietnamese government is perfectly clear. Hanoi has no interest in encouraging its citizens to leave the country. But neither does it propose to prohibit emigration, provided the legal formalities are complied with. This policy is meeting with growing understanding in other countries. But the psychological war loosed against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, far from abating, is being intensified. The reactionary Western press eagerly seizes upon the anti-Vietnam contentions of Peking propaganda and supplements them with disquisitions about the "inevitability of violations of human rights under socialism" and other anti-socialist fabrications.

The tone for this provocative campaign is set by the ruling quarters of the leading capitalist countries. Instead of extending effective aid to refugees and the countries of transit, and helping Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to heal the wounds inflicted by the war, they shed crocodile tears. At the recent Tokyo meeting of the leaders of the Seven the blame for the tragedy of the refugees was unjustly laid at the door of Vietnam.

Pressure exerted by the Western powers and Peking explains also the sharp reversal by the ASEAN countries of the stand they took on this question only a short time ago. In a television appearance in January, Malaysia's Interior Minister Ghazali bin Shafie said: "The problem of the refugees from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was engendered by the times of the American presence in South Vietnam, and hence the U.S. cannot simply disclaim all responsibility for it." He also pointed out that a "certain responsibility must be borne by China which considers the overseas Chinese its citizens." But at the Bali conference of ASEAN foreign ministers in late June resolutions unjustly criticizing socialist Vietnam were adopted.

The anti-Vietnam, anti-socialist campaign being whipped up is preventing the adoption of concrete measures to alleviate the plight of hundreds of thousands of people. It is obvious that only vigorous efforts on the part of the countries concerned in the spirit of impartiality and co-operation can make for the early solution of the refugee problem - a problem caused by imperialist interference in the affairs of the countries of Indo-China and by the subversive actions of the Peking authorities.

(Reprinted from New Times, July 1979)

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YUGOSLAVIA AND KAMPUCHEA:  
AN INTERVIEW WITH WILFRED BURCHETT

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This interview with Wilfred Burchett was conducted by S.P. Amarsingham of the Sri Lanka Tribune at the recently concluded 6th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Havana.

Question: What are your first impressions of what has happened so far up to the end of the Foreign Ministers' meetings and on the eve of the start of the Summit on September third?

BURCHETT: Proceedings have been dominated unfortunately by the insistence of a number of countries in seating the representative of the ousted Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. Many delegates have pointed out that the regime ceases to exist and under normal international criteria - as to who controls the capital and the overwhelming territory of a country - the only legitimate occupier of Kampuchea's seat is the government of Hong Samrin. Others have also pointed out that it would be a blot on the image of the Non-Aligned Movement to seat such a bloodthirsty and tyrannical regime as that of Pol Pot which has exterminated at least forty percent of the population of Kampuchea, at least ninety percent of its intellectuals and almost one hundred percent of its ethnic minorities. In any case the debates which took up most of the time of the meetings of the Coordinating Bureau and Foreign ministers, should never have taken place. There was a clear decision at the meetings of the Coordinating Bureau at Colombo in June and at New York that as there was no consensus as to who should have the seat, the question should be left for the Havana Summit to decide. But many important questions

were held up here because of a handful of countries who insisted on fighting for the Pol Pot regime.

Question: How was the question of Kampuchea dealt with at the Belgrade Foreign Ministers meeting in July 1978 and at the Maputo meeting of the Coordinating Bureau in January 1979?

BURCHETT: At Belgrade Pol Pot held the capital, Phnom Penh and the overwhelming majority of the countryside, so the question of representation was not posed. But a key question was an attempt by the Pol Pot delegation to have Vietnam expelled from the Non-Aligned Movement. Not a single one of 87 participants supported - openly at least - such an absurdity. Another straw in the wind as to the future conduct of Yugoslavia however emerged at the Belgrade Conference. It took place at a time of heightened tension along the Vietnam-Kampuchea frontier. There had been repeated and murderous attacks by Pol Pot forces deep into Vietnamese territory - amply confirmed by western correspondents including TV teams. For the previous three years, Vietnam had vainly tried to negotiate and settle whatever differences Kampuchea claimed existed between the two countries. The reply was a continuous stepping-up of the attacks.

Two months before the Belgrade Conference, Vietnam proposed that each side withdraw its troops five kilometres behind the agreed frontier. The demilitarised zone thus formed could be supervised by joint forces or by an international force. In the meantime top-level talks could go on in Hanoi, Phnom Penh or any other mutually acceptable place. Pol Pot flatly refused the offer. Vietnam asked for UN mediation. Also rejected. At Belgrade, Vietnam proposed mediation by countries nominated by the Non-Aligned Movement. Under pressure from Yugoslavia as the host country chairing the Conference, also by Sri Lanka as president of the Non-Aligned Movement, Vietnam was requested to withdraw the proposal and did so in the high interests of Non-Aligned unity. The vague pretext was that mediation "could be interpreted as

interference in other countries' internal affairs." The result was to encourage Pol Pot to pursue the cross-border attacks on an ever-larger scale. If Yugoslavia can take any pride in having directly contributed to Pol Pot aggression on such a scale that Vietnam had to evacuate over one million people from its border areas, abandoning two hundred thousand hectares of valuable rice lands, then she is welcome to it.

The second of the seven fundamental principles of Non-Alignment, adopted at the Movement's inaugural meeting in Belgrade, September 1961, is the promotion of "international detente". Yugoslavia has pursued a totally contrary policy in every stage of the Kampuchea-Vietnam dispute. It never condemned the attacks by Pol Pot forces; its voice was notably lacking when China committed large-scale aggression against Vietnam in February, 1979.

Question: Do you believe that Yugoslavia was aware of the situation in Kampuchea under the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime?

BURCHETT: During the Belgrade Conference of Foreign Ministers, I was informed by a Yugoslav diplomat whom I had known when we were both stationed in Phnom Penh, that Yugoslavia, of all western countries "was by far the best informed as to what was going on in Pol Pot's Kampuchea. We have had an embassy there all the time," he said, and went on to enumerate mutual friends who had been executed. Heading the list was Huot Sambath, Sihanouk's ambassador to the UN and later Pol Pot's ambassador to Belgrade. "He left for Phnom Penh full of enthusiasm, thinking he was to attend a conference of Kampuchea's ambassadors. He and all the others were arrested shortly after arrival and then executed." Among other mutual friends in the diplomatic service, named by the diplomat

were Chau Song, ambassador-at-large for Sihanouk's resistance government (GRUNK), Choa Sann, GRUNK's ambassador to Moscow and numerous others, including some leading intellectuals known to both of us.

Also at Belgrade, I met the Yugoslav TV film producer Vittorovitch, the only westerner permitted to travel in Kampuchea with a film team. As his film had been widely shown abroad, he asked if his message had been clear enough. I assured him that for anyone who knew Kampuchea, the horrors were evident enough. "It is a hundred times worse than anything I could show on film or express in my commentary", he said.

Thus, in answer to your question, there is no doubt that the Yugoslav government was well-informed, as to the unprecedented ferocity and barbarity of the Pol Pot-Iong Sary regime. Because of this I was astonished at the fervour with which Yugoslavia took the lead in demanding the seating of the Pol Pot delegation. Because between Belgrade and Maputo the Pol Pot regime had been overthrown. Kampuchea had been liberated in the truest sense of the term from a primitive fascist and racist regime. Yugoslavia knew but preferred to keep silent.

Incidentally among the high-level victims was Norodom Sihanouk, founder member, together with the Heads of State of Yugoslavia, Egypt, India, Cuba and twenty others, of the Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade, 1961. Did Yugoslavia lift a finger to rescue Sihanouk during his three years in prison? Perhaps something was done behind the scenes of which fellow-members of the Non-Aligned Movement were not aware. But Sihanouk remained in prison until the eve of the collapse of the Pol Pot regime.

Question: Why do you think that Yugoslavia has adopted its present position as a main champion of the Pol Pot regime?

BURCHETT: I do not know. What I do know is that -

having visited Kampuchea twice during the past four months - the truth will soon be out in all its irrefutably, atrocious detail. The truth that Yugoslavia helped to cover up. Other countries who have been voting with Yugoslavia can be excused for lack of ignorance. Yugoslavia, and a few other countries who knew but did not speak out, will be seriously compromised for supporting a regime that was at least as bad as that of Hitler. History will certainly confirm this.

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CARIBBEAN LABOUR SOLIDARITY IN ACTION  
IN THE BEST TRADITION OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

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by Irone DeSouza

The Jamaican working people are not alone in their struggle against Imperialism. We have seen for ourselves and felt for ourselves how the Socialist Community has assisted us; the Cuban doctors, the José Martí school and the Bauxite Agreement with the USSR, to name just a few examples. Also many of us are beginning to understand how a United Third World Movement is a strong force better able to oppose Imperialism. The final declaration of the recently concluded Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Havana shows this as does Imperialism's frantic efforts to unsuccessfully split the Movement. Two points in the Declaration were: Condemnation of the Camp David Agreement between Egypt and Israel; and urging that great powers should not use Human Rights to interfere in the internal affairs of other states. But many of us are still unaware of the role being played daily by the International Working Class Movement on our behalf. One contingent is Caribbean Labour Solidarity (CLS).

Caribbean Labour Solidarity is a relatively small group of Caribbean and British activists organized to give solidarity to all anti-imperialist movements in the Caribbean as its priority.

CLS was formed originally in 1974 as the Jamaica Trade Union Solidarity Campaign (JTUSC) in response to an appeal for support from the independent trade union movement in Jamaica, notably the UAWU, which as we know was campaigning against the Labour Relations and Industrial Disputes Bill. The JTUSC organized support in Britain through pickets, leaf-

leting, deputations and other activities.

When the Bill became law in 1974, the members of JTUSC, notable amongst them being one of the founders of our communist movement in Jamaica, Richard Hart, decided that there was a need for a permanent anti-imperialist organization. The organization would promote understanding and activities in support of what by then had become a mounting democratic national movement sweeping the Caribbean.

Political developments in the Caribbean since 1974 and in particular over the past 6 months have confirmed the timeliness and correctness of their decision. Caribbean Labour Solidarity has played a vital role in support of the Grenadian Revolution, in reactions to the volcano disaster in St. Vincent and in support of the struggle of the Jamaican people, through its agitational and fundraising activities on behalf of the Trevor Munroe/UAWU appeal.

The CLS recognised that the damages, in particular the size of the damages, were an attack on the UAWU, our newly launched party and, since it came to court at a time when the right wing was very much on the offensive, upon the whole national movement in Jamaica. As a result the executive of CLS decided to treat this issue as a priority and set up a special fund-raising committee.

A varied approach was taken towards fund-raising. Approaches were made to the trade unions, to sympathetic academics, the Jamaican population resident in Britain, fraternal organizations and through the holding of two social events.

Hundreds of appeal letters were mailed out to national trade union headquarters. A major

success was in getting Region #1 of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), one of the largest and oldest trade unions in Britain, to circulate to its branches; which meant that over  $\frac{1}{2}$  million British workers were made aware of the facts surrounding the case as well as the struggles of the Jamaican workers.

As Comrade Trevor is a senior lecturer, sympathetic academics in Britain were an obvious target for funds. For this a special sponsored appeal was launched. Twenty academics agreed to sponsor, including Christopher Hill, Bernard Crick, Eric Hobsbawn, Ralph Miliband, Huart Hall and our own Richard Hart. Again hundreds of letters were sent.

The CLS put out a lot of energy to mobilize and hold two public meetings. One was held in Brixton, which is an urban area heavily settled by Jamaican workers. The second was held in the centre of London attracting a broader left grouping. The CLS recognized that although large numbers of people did not attend the meetings the heavy leafleting made a contribution to the understanding of the Jamaican residents about the political situation at home.

Other fraternal organizations carried out fund-raising on our behalf - Liberation, an old third world solidarity organization, the committee for Puerto Rican Independence and branches of the Communist Party of Great Britain raised money and spread the word further. Money was also collected at two events organized by the British-Soweto Friendship Society.

CLS held two social fund-raising events. A small group gathered to hear the tape of the Public Session of the launching of our Party at an informal event. On June 9th a large dance was held in a West Indian populated area of London called Paddington. Extensive publicity was done, a live band played for free and the returns were impressive.

Through these many varied activities a significant sum of money was collected. But more than that comrades, as we well know it meant months of organizing, nights of meetings, days of following up little details of personal sacrifice for workers in Jamaica these comrades have never met. Comrades, this shows us in practice in terms of work and effort that we can understand what the solidarity of the international working class is.

But comrades, we sometimes forget that this solidarity needs to be two way in order to be strong and healthy. Sometimes we forget that our struggle in Jamaica can and has helped the struggle of the British working class. For example sections of the British working class allied with the Black Community movement are locked in a long hard struggle with the racist Conservative Government of Margaret Thatcher and the British Monopolists who benefit from the exploitation of black labour in Britain as well as abroad. CLS is also engaged in this struggle and would be able to contribute even more if strengthened by solidarity activities

by parties like our own in the Caribbean. For example a new racist Immigration Bill is being pushed by the British Government which will severely restrict the rights of black residents in Britain to one of second class status as well as making it even more difficult for their dependents in the Caribbean to join them. We need to develop solidarity activities in Jamaica to aid the comrades fighting in Britain.

Another role we need to play is in keeping CLS informed and up to date on political development in Jamaica. How many comrades take months to answer letters to CLS comrades requesting information?

Comrades, let us not be one-sided in our understanding of the alliance between the National Liberation Movement and the International Working Class. At the same time that we applaud the vigour of the contribution played by CLS, let us use their example to spur us on to better perform our internationalist role.

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DRAFT COMMUNIQUE OF CONSULTATIVE MEETING  
OF CARIBBEAN COMMUNIST WORKERS REVOLUTION-  
ARY DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND GROUPS

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The Communist, Workers', Revolutionary Democratic Parties and Groups of the Caribbean attending the 20th Congress of the Peoples' Progressive Party of Guyana held a Consultative Meeting between August 4-6, 1979.

In their consultation, the Caribbean Parties and Groups reviewed the general situation in the region and heard reports on the most recent developments in each territory.

There was unanimity that imperialism continued to be the root cause of persistent poverty in the Caribbean and for this reason more and more of the Caribbean masses, in particular the working class, were joining in the struggle against Imperialism and their local agents. Testimony to this new upsurge were recent victories against imperialism and reaction registered by the peoples of Grenada, Dominica, St. Lucia and Nicaragua. It was noted with satisfaction that in most of the territories, Communist, Workers', Revolutionary-Democratic Parties and Groups were either being formed or gaining in strength as vital elements in the struggle against imperialism.

It was also noted that there is a growing number of broad alliances of Marxist-Leninist, Revolutionary-democratic and Progressive Parties and Groups and Trade Unions and other organisations joining in the struggle against imperialism. In that context the Marxist-Leninist Parties and organisations seek as a principled position the unity of the progressive forces

while continuing their consistent struggles for the interests of the working people and to provide the best conditions for achieving national liberation and social progress.

The Parties and Groups assessed that since 1976, imperialist activity has intensified considerably, relying increasingly on the extensive use of funding through the I.M.F. and the consortium of imperialist states and their controlled financial institutions.

This tactic of imperialism necessitates increased emphasis by the progressive movement on deepening the foundation of anti-imperialism among the masses, and, most of all, on seeking an independent path of development oriented toward socialism, in close relationship with the socialist community.

Anti-communism is also a main weapon of reaction. But the parties and groups assessed that this weapon was increasingly blunt by the growing consciousness of the masses of achievements of socialist countries and by the working peoples' own practical experience of the struggles of communists in defence of their vital interests.

The Parties and Groups were unanimous on the need for their closer cooperation in the interest of advancing the regional struggle against imperialism. They resolved to hold bi-lateral and multi-lateral consultations more frequently.

The Parties and Groups acclaimed the success of the 20th Congress of the P.P.P. and expressed appreciation for the hospitality extended towards them by the P.P.P. and its members.

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