

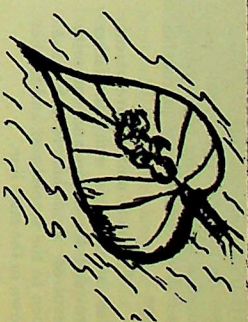
NEW

# BEGINNING

Co-ordinating Council

News Service

5 March 1971



## "Towards 'The Beginning'"

The first mission of a previously colonised society is to destroy the colonial motivations of the older order and bring into being a new beginning from which the society could move forward. We cannot start in the middle.

This task cannot be left to CHANGE or to TIME. Colonialism never ends because a Union Jack is hauled down and the people sing a new anthem... To end colonialism the people must deliberately and consciously destroy its motivations and introduce a new motive, a new philosophy around which to organise their living.

It is this task of destruction and creation which faced the politicians who have occupied the office of government since 1956. It is this same task which faces us today; for the existing political regime, rather than attempt to change the older order, tried, ironically, to improve it. Of course, they failed.

The most impressive characteristics of our society today, as in colonial times, are waste and corruption. Waste not only of material resources, but waste of human resources, human lives, human possibilities. Fashion and marmagism claim the middle class. Marijuana, drugs, bend down our frustrated youth. A society of highly talented people are wasting away because the society offers no meaningful goals, no dignified rewards. Stoooge, contact, raff, scramble: that is the go. Work hard, work medium, don't work at all, it is all the same. Privileges continue to be granted on the basis of skin colour and, more frequently now, the party card. The country is like the intrastit lounge of an airport. People waiting, waiting, waiting for their aircraft - naturally. People are powerless, they are frustrated, they see themselves going to waste.

### Afro-Saxon Zig-Zag

The government talks about the need to solve the unemployment problem, and have failed to see the equally urgent Employment PROBLEM. People fill offices and factories but cannot be persuaded to work, for there is no code of efficiency from the top down. Naturally. There is nothing to be efficient about.

The government talks about the need for involvement as if they are talking to boy scouts. Involvement to be meaningful must be backed up by power to the people so involved, otherwise you are playing dolly house.

The regime has failed. To begin with, their Afro-Saxon education had cut them off from the people at an early age, and make them contemptuous if not totally ignorant of the achievements of the people. More than that their education indoctrinated them into European values, introduced them to European forms, and prepared them to be initiators of Europe.

Unfortunately they viewed their acquisition of political office, as the occasion to move into the shoes of the departing coloniser when their task was not to wear the man's shoes but to destroy the shoes.

We need to sympathise with them. To destroy the colonial motivations of the society of which they find themselves in charge involved the possibility of destroying the base of their own power. This task has proven impossible even for better prepared individuals than our politicians.

Today, we, as a generation, begin knowing from the outset that our task is first to destroy the motivation of the old order and to move to a new beginning.

We begin knowing that we do not have that final solution, that pill that will provide eternal bliss.

We know that the old order must go and that the inspiration for the new beginning can come only from the experiences of our peoples.

This is why we cannot accept constitutional reform as a serious starting point. The constitution has failed us for the very clear reason that it was not meant to serve us. The constitution is a colonialist document in harmony with the motivations of colonial society.

Those who framed it never attempted to relate it to the experiences or aspirations or philosophy of the people of this country.

Perhaps they thought that our peoples have had no worthwhile experiences, no aspirations, no philosophy, and that the best we could do is to imitate Europe.

They are wrong. Africans and Indians, both in their countries of origin and here, have been using political forms to organise themselves all along. It is these forms we must begin with. We do not need to patch up an irrelevant and mystifying document imposed upon us by some Europeans and their Afro-Saxon imitators.

### Useless Party System

The party system is another imposition which we need to look at very closely, particularly in our circumstances. Party politics here is based on race. The PNM is the Negro oriented party and the DLP is the Indian oriented party. This has never changed. This kind of party politics provides a living medium for the perpetuation of racial suspicion and antagonism.

It is impossible to have serious politics when race takes precedence over issues and policy and programme. It is impossible even to have a serious opposition party in such circumstances. And yet an opposition party is fundamental to the proper functioning of the two party system.

It is therefore, necessary to neutralise race or de-emphasise it as a basic political factor. This cannot be done through party politics since party politics is itself part of the problem.

With party politics, also, politicians abandon their constituencies after their victories to go and live in suburban homes.

When they do live in the communities they confine their activities to their political parties, neglecting an over-all community.

More than that, political parties foist candidates upon communities about which they (the candidates) know little and care less. The community is simply a seat to them. They have no intention of becoming part of the community. No wonder the country districts, especially, remain social and economic wastelands subserving on government handouts, unable, because of their underdevelopment and powerlessness, to attract or keep that calibre of citizen who could make a worthwhile contribution to the development of the community.

We must have a new beginning. Political organisation need not begin with political parties. We must begin with people in their communities. We must look at our experiences, look at the institutions that our people have developed. It is here we shall uncover the basis and the inspiration for the new beginning.

Read Inside:  
Statements  
ON a  
NEW  
Revolutionary  
Form of  
Government.  
Coming:  
Statements  
ON  
Oil, Sugar  
domestic  
Agriculture,  
Education,  
On Cedros,  
Rio Claro,  
Tobago.

Say What  
You Want,  
When  
And How  
You Want.  
This is  
Your Natural  
Right.  
Let No  
One Hinder  
You!

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# East Indian Background

THE traditional structure of government in India before the British imposed a Westminster type system, had been basically a patriarchal type.

The basic unit of government was the family, in which the father provided leadership and authority devolved from him to the eldest, then to the second son, and further down in the male line.

The leading heads of households in a village formed the Panchayat whose chairman became the 'father' of the village.

And from the Panchayat, delegates were sent to the provincial council — presided over by the Emperor's, nominee — and this council was generally responsible for the administration of the province and for the collection of revenues.

Part of these revenues was kept for local use, the rest sent to the Emperor for the use of the State.

The Panchayat therefore, was the most basic unit of community life, in the country, and in a country that was as vast as India, it served a most important function.

Indeed, India's late Prime Minister, Nehru, paid these panchayats the highest compliment when he referred to them as India's 'village republics' which vitally assisted the country in its difficult period of adjustment, to a different mode of government.

We may say further that despite the strongest British attempts to impose their system of local government, the village communities of the sub-continent continuously refused to abandon the Panchayat system. Hence it remains even till today.

The Panchayat was made up of those heads of families in the

villages who had distinguished themselves by valour in war, and courage during adverse circumstances, who had shown qualities of leadership or who in the opinion of their peers had conducted themselves, in their lives, in an exemplary manner.

The manner of deliberation of the Panchayat was as follows:

The body would meet in session together with members of the village who wanted to attend, and while most of the talking was done by Panchayat members, the other villagers were also allowed to contribute to the discussion.

The Panchayat heard evidence in disputes among villagers, and it delivered judgment on these disputes; it decided which family was to use which section of the village land; it served as a 'go-between' in marital matters, when its services were required in this connection, and it determined the rate of taxation which the village could afford to pay to the provincial government.

Thus its jurisdiction extended over all aspects of the life of the village, and in this way served as a protective father-figure to all its inhabitants.

A word must also be written about the authority of the Panchayat. As an institution it did not have any legal authority as we understand that term.

Its authority was mainly a moral one, but this was so strong that it was seldom disobeyed. This moral authority was drawn from the important role that it played in the villagers' lives; it was the institution from which they drew their spiritual strength, and to which they related most effectively.

The argument has been often raised that the Panchayat was not a democratic political organ.

It is true that elections to it were not based on the Western concepts of the Universal vote etc.

However, the greatness of the Panchayat, lay in the fact that its members were ordinary people, who lived among the other villagers, and were therefore always aware of the needs of the community, or how it fell towards any issue.

In other words, the village rulers were of the people, and not above or apart from them.

This closeness of Panchayat members, with the rest of the community, prevented dishonesty since the dishonest person could not hide himself in an office or remove himself from those whom he robbed.

He was forced, therefore, to live in the community and face the ostracism which was the penalty for corruption.

When the Indians came to the Caribbean, in the 19th century, they were forced to give up the Panchayat.

And this removal of the Indian from this source of existence affected him quite badly. Thus the Indian reaction to the Westminster pattern, was a negative and confused one.

He either refused to participate in it or when he did, his was a participation based on an incomplete understanding of this foreign model; this has resulted in the politics of intrigue, and of selfishness.

The re-introduction of some ideas from this system into our political set-up, will not only serve to make politics attractive, and meaningful for this section of the community, but would also contribute towards giving the ordinary people a chance of participating in their own government.

embodiment of all their spiritual and material aspirations. As a number of communes made up a nation or country, the overall structure of communal living could be broken down as follows, each individual participated freely within a family unit which in turn was part of a commune, which was an integral autonomous part of a whole nation. There was a central council or assembly (a meeting of members of local governments or local communes) which dealt with the running of the nation or country as a whole. Members of this central assembly were elected by the families of the local communes which were in fact the power bases. Those elected were highly regarded for their moral lives.

The nation or country operated on seven principles upon which their total value system generated:-

- (1) UMOJA (Unity)
- (2) KUUJICHAGUJIA (self-determination)
- (3) UJUMA (Collective work and Community responsibility)
- (4) UJAMA'A (co-operative economics)
- (5) NIA (Purpose)
- (6) KUU MBA (Creativity)
- (7) IMANI (Faith).

Looking at the communal society from the bottom to the top one realises that within it there generates a certain frame of mind or attitude which tended to minimise conflict, corruption, abuse and injustice. For instance the accumulation of wealth was never valued; if there was wealth within this framework it was usually in the form of land, consumption goods or communal services, which had to be distributed between members of the family unit and on occasions to other families within the commune. No privileges were associated with wealth, but only with moral standing, the result being that no economic classes developed.

Wealth, in this light, brought a man closer to his people than further away. The strict balance between rights and responsibilities diminished corruption and abuse tremendously, and if such evils did in fact take place they were short-lived due to the framework of the society. A member of the central assembly, district assembly or head of a family, in other words, a 'leader' was not merely a person that enforced his will, but was the embodiment of all their secular and religious values, the pivot of their political relations and represented, most of all, a symbol of the unity of their society: the unity between religion, politics, economics and social living. He owned or acquired no land outside of that of which his personal family inherited.

From this overall point of view also, it seems that at all times the people in these societies maintained foremost in their minds that there must be harmony between their existence and the surrounding environment — the only time this harmony was allowed to be disrupted was during war when the social organisation basis of the society was shifted to a military basis.

## "Peasant Villages In The Caribbean".

Throughout the history of the Caribbean we notice that different forms keep emerging which could only come out of a similar frame of mind, forms which attempt to bring together all the people politically, socially and economically to make society a sort of family extension, as that which existed in Ancient Africa. As a matter of fact we believe that the Plantation System was a success only because of this very frame of mind of the slaves, and the dichotomy being that it was this very frame of mind which was also the basis of the rebelliousness of our people, in that the clash with Europeans and the invalidity of the European way of life, hardened the African Psyche and his high regard for human life and dignity.

We see the slaves on the plantations viewing themselves as one big unhappy family, regardless of which part of Africa individuals came from. The family structure broke down during slavery, so community responsibility was broadened to take in job of family unit. The old took care of the young, irrespective of blood ties, and even today in the country villages, a modification of this still exists for example, the act of adults scolding or flogging any of the young in the village, for misbehaving.

However, the point in our history which is most pregnant with forms based on the African attitude to life, is that period immediately after Emancipation, when the ex-slaves came off the plantations and organised themselves into free villages — free comparatively from the domination of the white man and his values. Presently to-day everything that is significantly ours came out of this period such as our grassroot institutions like the 'Line', 'son-sou', 'gayayipe', 'ten-han etc.

It is important to note that it was in this period when our people were relatively free that these institutions, all reflecting one or more of the seven principles upon which the African value system generated, evolved naturally. The time reflects unity creativity, self-reliance (a famous principle of Ancient Africa) and so on. Son-sou reflects true co-operative economics. Ten-han and gayayipe, community responsibility, collective work and purpose.

This period of our history needs to be studied in much detail for it will give great insights into the minds of our people, and the type of forms, institutions etc. that suit our very nature. Any new true form of popular government to be implemented must draw heavily on this period of our history, and the life-experiences therein.

# African Background

THE African way of life, especially within the areas of Central and Eastern Africa, was based on the concept which we know to-day as African community-living (Ujamaa). This community-living or communalism, as it is usually called, is a framework which was founded on the existence of communes which refer to the smallest collection of people in a district (a number of family units) living on land which is worked co-operatively for the benefit of all. If a commune consisted of a number of families, working co-operatively then what one immediately realises is that strong bonds, between family and society as a whole must have emerged. As a matter of fact the Communal society was most of all an extension of the family, morose because within this framework there was no centralised government, no distinct political or administrative machinery in other words, no state, but their kinship or family system proved to be adequate in the running of the society. And since the kinship system was more of a social nature, what resulted was that their values, morals and mores provided equilibrium within the society, in the absence of an otherwise essential 'force' machinery, and that these very societal values became inseparable from politics.

Each family unit, which in most cases was a composite body, was autonomous in dealing with the said family affairs. Each member of this body had certain rights and privileges which were balanced off by definite obligations and responsibilities, in this way each man's needs were satisfied.

All members of the family unit owed allegiance to the most senior male member (the father image was important here) but he, the chief, had to consult the whole family on relevant issues. This chief had economic and legal control of all land within a certain given territory, and in return for his privileges he had to see after the welfare of each of his people. He was the 'father' of all... All transactions between the family unit and other units or com-

munities was done by this 'father', however, an elder's council was always an intrinsic part of his leadership; this council was his check for if he abused his privileges or became a tyrant in any way, they were the ones to organise his removal, eventually in most cases, violently. The family itself operated as a whole on three basic principles:

- (1) LOVE — more an understanding among people in close association whereby each one is fully aware of one's rights and responsibilities, there was mutual respect among the family and all participated constantly and openly.
- (2) SHARING — all property was owned communally by the family; pooling of resources for the benefit of all within the immediate family unit.
- (3) WORK — each man worked according to his potential ability, and was repayed by the family according to his needs. Within this framework those who ran away from work were quite easily dealt with.

These three basic principles were also found underlying the educational and other social institutions within the society as a whole, so that there was no break in the stream-lining from family unit to outer society. It was a number of such family units that made up a commune.

The commune provided a system of localised government through which individuals could effectively participate in the governing of their society. Each commune was autonomous and provided whatever was essential for its district. The father image appeared again at this higher level, in that, respect was paid to the most senior male, senior by generation, within the commune. This senior male had authority but he could not operate without the consultation of the council of all the units within the commune. His role was similar to that of the family head but on a much more extended level. All the families within the commune helped to make decisions for the district as a whole, and the most senior male was the

# WEST INDIAN RESISTANCE

BLACK people in the Caribbean, both of African and Indian origin, have never accepted their situation with resignation. Their relationship to the institutions of slavery, indenture, colonialism and now neo-colonialism has been one of persistent opposition. Although their struggles have been conducted at times on a racial basis, at others jointly, sometimes passively, sometimes violently, the objectives have almost always been the same: to break the stranglehold of economic, political, cultural and psychological oppression, replacing it with a new order, native, rather than metropolitan in outlook and, therefore, based on needs, tastes, values and resources indigenous to our situation.

Plantation slavery persisted in the British Caribbean from the 1640s to the 1830s despite the numerous spontaneous and organised attempts by the slave population to liberate themselves. Acts of resistance which began from the moment the slaves were taken in Africa continued during the course of the 600-mile forced march from the interior to the West Coast, and increased in scale on the 'Middle Passage' from the Slave Coast across the Atlantic to the shores of the Caribbean.

On the plantations the white masters set out to extinguish the spirit of resistance of the Africans by a vigorous application of physical violence, both as an end in itself and as a means of striking fear into the minds of the slaves. But the experience that physical violence was a necessary, yet insufficient pre-condition for the taming of the Africans led to the additional practice of mental violence.

African culture was severely devalued in terms of European standards and values, and so the slaves were driven into rejecting traditional for European forms of behaviour. Planters then proceeded to the ridiculous extreme of cultivating the notion of the racial inferiority of the Black Man, in the process teaching slaves to aspire to whiteness. In other words, the psychological experience of the mass of slaves was a constant examination of themselves through the eyes of the White Man, and eventually a gradual rejection of their Black African selves.

Despite physical and mental violence large numbers of slaves, particularly those born in Africa and others brought up in the 'African Camp' in the West Indies, did not easily accept life as slaves. On the plantations, therefore, resistance continued in a variety of forms, the most recurrent of which were refusing to work, performing poorly, faking illness, prolonging genuine sickness, committing suicide, running away, and observing social, political, economic, religious and recreational rituals and ceremonies which related to the slaves rather than to their European masters.

Of course, resistance assumed violent dimensions largely because slaves realized the utter impossibility either of overthrowing the slave system or of re-defining their position advantageously

within that system on the basis only of passive resistance. But the series of revolts, rebellions and revolutions which occurred throughout the length and breadth of the Caribbean failed largely because of four main factors: firstly, lack of solid, concerted action among the slaves; secondly, ineffective organisation in terms of theory and practice; thirdly, solidarity within the ranks of the white community; and fourthly, the military inferiority of the rebels. In Haiti where a bid for freedom by slaves in 1771 climaxed twelve years later in the overthrow of the white establishment, these deficiencies were largely remedied.

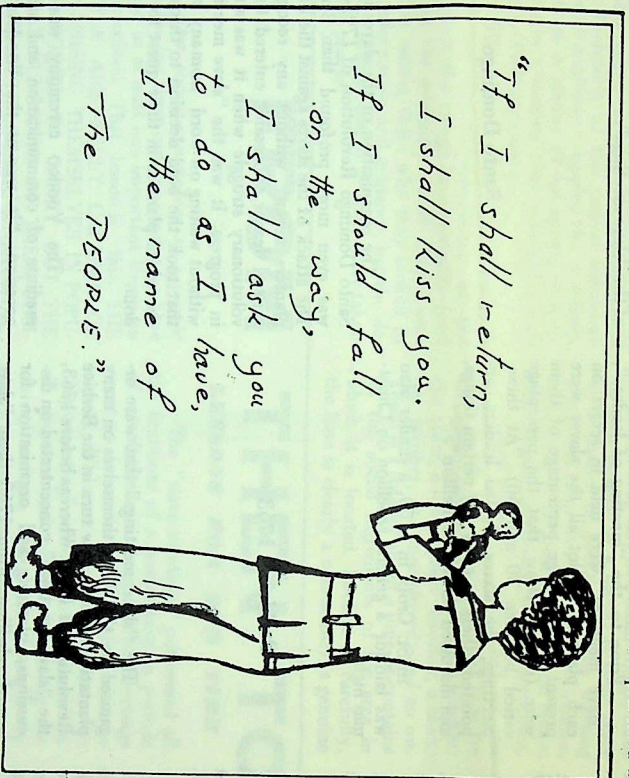
Emancipation in 1838 was meaningless from the point of view of the slaves in the British Caribbean principally because it was legal freedom only. No consideration was given to the well-being of the slave population in economic, political, cultural and psychological terms.

Oppression continued. Insecure tenure, low wages, high rents, exorbitant

lations were thus marked by irregular inadequate performance and successful strikes for higher wages and improvement in working conditions.

Black resistance reached a peak, however, at Morant Bay in Jamaica where in October 1865 six hundred labourers rallied to the call of Paul Bogle, a Baptist preacher, in a bloody attempt to put an end to exploitation by the planter class. But because of a lack of mass support the confrontation, which in death to more than 400 rebels, flogging to 600 black men and women, and destruction to more than 1,000 Negro premises. On the side of the Establishment, 22 only were killed and about 30 wounded.

In the meantime, the Indian who was recruited in an effort to maintain and expand sugar production soon recognised an enemy in the white planter. In theory an indentured labourer, in practice he was little more than a new slave. In addition, then, to those passive forms of resistance earlier practiced by



prices for estate land, burdensome regulations on the scale of Crown lands, heavy taxation on smallholdings, incredibly costly licences for selling sugar and coffee and making charcoal, laws restricting the movement of labourers within territories, laws making difficult, if not impossible, movement of labourers from territory to territory within the Caribbean to take advantage of opportunities as they arose; these were some of the measures adopted by the white plantocracy and subordination that characterised the slave system.

Of course, white oppression was met by black resistance. There was mass exodus from the plantations in the direction of small business such as petty shopkeeping, hawking and peddling, and skilled trades such as carpentry and masonry. Other former-slaves established themselves on land of their own, some occasionally working for wages on the estates, others performing no such service. Although many Negroes had little alternative living on the plantations earning them from resisting the oppressive tactics of their employers. Managerial/labour re-

ment rather than serve alongside Africans and Indians in the British West India regiment. As the war progressed other lessons in race prejudice and discrimination registered indelibly in the minds of Indians and Africans.

This stimulated joint resistance against the forces of oppression in the Caribbean. In Trinidad and Tobago indentation of this were the strikes in oil and sugar in 1919, the formation of the Trinidad Labour Party in 1932, and five years later mass disturbances spearheaded by Butler, an African and Rienza, an Indian. In Guyana there was joint effort in the post-World War I strikes, the 1938 riots, and the formation of the Peoples Progressive Party under the leadership of Jagan, an Indian and Burnham, an African.

In Jamaica where the Indian population never reached sizeable proportions and the white power structure therefore saw no need for an intensified policy of Divide and Rule, an Indian-African cleavage never reached recognisable dimensions. In the sugar belt where the Indians are concentrated, resistance to oppression, except in the early years of adjustment to the system of indenture, has been organised largely on a joint basis.

In Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana, however, Indian-African solidarity succumbed to the tactics of divisiveness launched by the ruling circles at Westminster who have been well aware that white oppression cannot survive African-Indian unity in the Caribbean. In the 1940's when the movement for Universal Adult Suffrage was in progress, African leaders in Trinidad and Tobago were misled by white community into accepting ability to read and write the English language as a qualification for the right to vote. The consequent alienation of the Indians heralded a return to resistance along racial lines.

In 1953 came Guyana's turn when Britain and the United States translated their concern over the possibility of Guyana under Jagan and Burnham going Socialist into a subtle manipulation of Burnham which culminated in his break with Jagan and the regrouping of the Africans into a new party, the People's National Congress. Subsequent Indian-African conflicts found expression in the race riots of the early 1960's.

The lessons are clear. Neither Africans nor Indians — the 'wretched of the Caribbean' — have acquiesced in the oppressive system imposed upon them. They have always resisted, sometimes jointly, sometimes on a racial basis, in an attempt to frame a new order relevant to their situation. Resistance on a joint basis has achieved comparatively greater benefits and has stood an infinitely superior chance of bringing the system to its heels. Therefore, in Guyana and in Trinidad and Tobago maximum immediate effort must be channelled into resuscitating the spark of African-Indian solidarity that lit the inter-war years. In other Caribbean territories the struggle against oppression must continue, now at a more intensified level.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
BLACK POWER TO THE BLACK PEOPLE.

Do you have a news service

through which you can fully

express yourselves ??????????

A NEW popular form of government is what is needed NOW to get us out of the mess we are in. Everywhere the people are asking: WHAT TO DO NOW? Before we can know what to do, we must know what we have done. Why? A new popular form of government is not something that comes out of the brain of a genius, or out of the brilliance of an intellectual. No one can create in their head a new popular form of government that can work in practice. That is impossible. A new popular form of government can only come out of the experiences of the people themselves in their everyday social life. Any form of government that does not come out of the social experiences of the people, that is not based on the experiences of the people, cannot be popular. Instead it will be an imposed form of government. Our parliamentary system with its House of Representatives, Senate, Governor General, and all the other dressings is an imposed form of government. Once a form of government is imposed, severe social conflicts must be the result. Our urgent task is to find a new form of government that is popular.

## Slave Rebellions

The slaves on the West Indian sugar plantations wanted two basic things — to be free and to become masters of the islands. These were the two simple and clear goals in the minds of the slaves.

There is an abundance of evidence to show that. To achieve their goals the slaves learned by their experiences that they had to organise themselves to throw out the planters and take charge of the plantations.

Their experiences taught them that they had to ORGANISE THEMSELVES TO TAKE POWER.

The initiative in all the slave rebellions and revolutions was taken by the plantation field slaves.

They organised themselves on every plantation, and the slaves from all the plantations in the area met at their "secret religious ceremonies" in the bush at night.

When the plantations were not within easy reach of the slaves (like in Jamaica, Guyana and Haiti), the leaders from various plantations would meet at night, make their plans and report back to the rest of slaves.

There were three means or levels of organisation. (i) the slave gang or work group; (ii) the slave barracks (which were relatively isolated from the other houses on the plantation); and (iii) the religious ceremonies and festivals.

These three formed the basis on which the slaves organised themselves for REVOLUTION.

The work gang consisted of between 50 and 100 slaves, sometimes more. The work gang and barrack was the local slave group. These groups from one plantation came together at nights in the bush. And at big religious festivals, groups from various plantations would meet, and the representatives of the groups — the leaders — would finalise plans for rebellion while the festival was going on. After the festival, each leader would pass final plans on to his grouping. This method of organisation was so efficient and effective that when a planned rebellion broke-out, most of the field slaves in the island rose up against their masters.

from at least 19 plantations decided to stage an island-wide rebellion. At a "meeting of leaders" in July, Boxing night was chosen for the start of the rebellion.

On November 21, there was a "Negro play" at Ballard's Valley Plantation, and at this celebration, the Kormantines detached themselves from the rest of the slaves to further plans.

Prior to the "meeting of leaders", "slave meetings" were held in secret on each plantation. Not all the slaves were present, but a large percentage of them were (records show that the percentage varied between 30 and 60). At these meetings, the slaves elected leaders, appointed others to carry out certain things, and discussed plans for rebellion.

In St. Croix in 1759, a similar plan was laid for a general rebellion on Christmas night.

### Berbice — 1763

The "slave meetings" that were organised by the slaves themselves on many plantations took a new turn in the Berbice Revolution of 1763. Whereas before 1763, the "slave meetings" concentrated on discussions, planning and organisation for armed rebellion, from 1763 these "slave meetings" began to carry out the functions of a government, a new type of government completely different to the "planters' legislative", that ruled the islands.

The organisation of the Berbice Revolution followed the same pattern as all the previous rebellions. The record of one Dutch traveller in 1762 states that "secret meetings are being held in the night by the slaves on most of the plantations. At these meetings where they dance and sing songs in their native language, they elect leaders and appoint councils."

During the Berbice Revolution, the slaves captured all but three of the plantations and had to run them for about six months. It was the "slave meetings" that took responsibility for seeing after the sick and the wounded, for cutting the cane, "bailing" the juice, making rum and sugar, planting provisions grounds, making gun powder and ammunition; in short, running the plantations and at the same time fighting the planters' army. The "slave meetings" therefore did all the things

that had to be done in their community — the plantation.

The fact that the Berbice Revolutionary struggle lasted for one year (Feb. 1763 to Feb. 1764) during which the slave army held the offensive for nine months shows the power and popular effectiveness of the "slave meetings".

### Santo Domingo

The organisation of the slaves in the Santo Domingo Revolution of 1791-1804 was even more profound than Berbice. The attack of the slaves against the French planters began without any recognised revolutionary leader. Toussaint entered the revolutionary struggle when it was already in progress. It was the "slave meetings" without waiting on word from any leader, that took the bold decision to throw out the white planters in their quest for freedom.

The Voodoo ceremony was their medium of communication and meeting occasion. "It was at the Voodoo ceremony that they talked, discussed, argued, organised, listened to the latest news from abroad and made their plans."

The "slave meetings" were so powerful that Toussaint had to ride on horse-back from plantation to plantation meeting the slaves and discussing with them. When Toussaint was arrested and taken from the island, LaCroix, a Frenchman who took part in Napoleon's expedition against the slave army, had this to say: "No one observed that in the new insurrection of Santo Domingo, as in all insurrections which attack constituted authority, it was not the avowed chiefs who gave the signal for revolt, but obscure-creatures in and around the plantations."

The 1820s and 30s were marked by a series of slave rebellions throughout the entire Caribbean — Spanish, French, Dutch and English. From 1821 until 1837, an average of two rebellions occurred each year. In Trinidad and Tobago alone, at least five rebellions occurred between 1821 and 1834. And the pattern was similar. "Slave meetings" and "religious festivals" formed the basis of organisation for the slave rebellions.

## NEW SOCIAL FORMS 1840 - 1970

The post-emancipation period brought a new development in the social system. This period was generally a period of adjustment for the "freed" slaves. "Free villages" developed on the outskirts of the plantation, peasant farming flourished and community life in the "free villages" began with a vitality that has not been recaptured since. But very little had changed. The conflicts between wage-workers and planters began anew in the open in the 1860's.

The rebellions, however, were not so much armed rebellions. They now took the form of workers strikes. There were violent rebellions, but the majority were of the form of workers' strikes. Time and again the wage-workers refused to work, put down their tools and marched to the town.

Their complaints varied from that against a "bad manager or foreman or overseer" to high prices, scarcity of food and low wages. This new type of struggle developed a new organisational form in the 20th century.

### Workers' Strikes

Trinidad and Tobago in this century, has been full of experiences of workers strikes. We experienced the Water Riots of 1903, the Dock strike of 1919, a series of strikes in the 1920s and 30s that culminated in the 1937/38 rebellion, and the spate of strikes that has shaken the economic system from 1956 to today. In order to see the organisational form that has been emerging in these workers' strikes, we have to remove the drama and look at what the workers did.

The workers' strikes in the pre-1937 period were not led by "supreme leaders". Though Cipriani was recognised as the leader of the "barefooted man", the strikes were the doings of "those among the working people, who rarely came onto the public stage." Records and labour reports of that period state that "no overall leader could be identified." Who then called the strikes?

Detailed information is difficult to obtain, but bits and pieces of records show that workers in a particular enterprise and on a particular estate "organised themselves in conditions of extreme exploitation, held discussions, and decided to strike. Leaders emerged among them, but these leaders

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Looking into what the people have been pattern of organisation that has been as the predominant social and political It began with the slaves on the plantation

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On both occasions, the leaders of the Guyana Mines Workers Union, knew of the strikes only after the workers had shut down operations. A commission of enquiry which was at Demba during the second strike in order to enquire into the first obtained first-hand information from the workers.

On investigation by the Oxal commission, it was discovered that these "wildcat strikes" were called by "workers' committees", totally unrelated to the union leadership. These committees emerged on the job in an unofficial way and existed in every department.

The general shut-down came as a result of one or two committees moving from department to department, telling the other workers what had happened and calling for a shut-down of the industry. The workers met in a "kind of convention in the departments and decided to walk off the job."

1970

The most recent experience we have had of the people organising themselves in Trinidad and Tobago was the 1970 REBELLION. While the writers and journalists were concentrating on the drama of demonstrations, huge public meetings and fiery oratory, the people were creating new forms of organisation in their own way.

The Peoples' Parliament initiated by NJAC in 1970 was turned upside down by the leadership themselves. While the NJAC leadership was talking for four and five hours in its Peoples Parliament, the people, particularly in the country areas, formed their own Peoples' Parliament where the people, all the people present, talked, discussed and debated the issues of the day. Also, whereas NJAC held huge Peoples' Parliament of four, five and six thousand

We never had a *goyvuppe* yet!

We never had a *panchayat* yet!

Why then don't we try them they bound to work.

Jamaica — 1765

In Jamaica in 1765, Akan slaves

# MAN EXPERIENCE 'PROACH

Today, when we are searching for a new popular form of government, it is necessary for us to look and see what have been our social, our community experiences, what the people as a village community have been doing, and how they organised themselves to do things in their community. Only then will we be able to see what should be the basis of a new popular form of government. Only then can we seriously say: let us try this or that form because we have been, in our own way, practising it and are familiar with it. To put it another way, a new popular form of government must be based on social forms which the people themselves have created and have been operating in the communities.

Looking into what the people have been doing, particularly in periods of crisis and mass activity, we see a certain pattern of organisation that has been trying to emerge. Similar forms of organisations have been trying to emerge as the predominant social and political form in all the West Indian islands and throughout our history up to 1970. It began with the slaves on the plantation and remains with us up to today.

## AL FORMS

### 1970

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people, the people organised themselves in numbers of three, four and five hundred, perhaps much less in their own parliament.

In the country areas it was the "village parliament" with its relatively small numbers that took the initiative. The village demonstrations for better roads, proper drainage, repairs to schools and the like were the direct result of the village parliaments. Perhaps the most effective realisation of the slogan: power to the people in 1970 was demonstrated in an East Indian village where the villagers decided to boycott a grocery store owned by a member of the village. The boycott was 100 percent successful.

Finally, in April 1970, a series of strikes called without the knowledge of the leadership of the various unions almost completely crippled the economy. Workers in almost all enterprises went on strike in a manner that indicated a high degree of self-organisation.

What seems to have been emerging in 1970 was the self-organisation of the people at the village or community level and at the production level. There were leaders among them who they looked to for information and guidance, but the decisions to demoputstrike or strike were taken by the people.

## FROM THEN TO NOW

Our social experiences and today have taught us at least one important lesson on organisations. That lesson is this, **THE PEOPLE ARE FULLY CAPABLE OF ORGANISING THEMSELVES IN POPULAR BODIES TO CARRY OUT THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF THEIR COMMUNITY BOTH LOCAL AND NATIONAL.** That is key to the solution of the problem of government today. If we do not clearly understand that and keep it constantly in the forefront of our minds, we will move from crisis to crisis in a maze of confusion and frustration.

### Slave Meetings

The slave rebellions and revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries created a new type of political organisation — the "slave meetings". These meetings were not a vanguard. They were not elitist organisations, even though they operated under the most oppressive conditions. They were popular bodies in which the slaves were involved and were the initiators. Those slaves that were not involved, like the house slaves, were the ones that sided with the planters. These "slave meetings" did not take place very often, and not all the slaves were present at meetings. That was impossible under the conditions of the time.

But the meetings were not parties, even in the crude sense of the term. If there were parties among the rebellious slaves, all parties took part in the meetings. The meetings were slave community meetings not party meetings.

### The Lime

The Lime is the most profound form of social organisation that has emerged in recent times.

The Lime as we know it in Trinidad and Tobago is a particular product of the climatic environment and social conditions in which we live. Unlike other social institutions which have been imposed on us, the lime is our own. We created it. But to understand it clearly, we have to dissect it.

The lime usually consists of the brothers and sisters from a small intimate area. The area may be a small village, three or four streets, or a block. It takes place at a corner or junction — the meeting place. All subjects are discussed — woman, rum, cricket, calypso, carnival, soul music, politics, unemployment, bobbi, everything.

And everyone takes part in the discussions. The members of the lime are all unique in their own way. One, a teacher; the other, a road-worker; another, a clerk; yet another, an unemployed, and so on. There is a totality about a lime. It contains all the social ingredients of the area in - which it is located. Looked at carefully, the lime is clearly a community, a genuine

### LESSONS FOR OUR TIME

The "slave meetings" performed all the functions of a government in periods of revolutionary struggle. The meetings went so far as to establish themselves as courts. When meeting as a court, the "slave meeting" made pronouncements "on all disputes and complaints among the slaves, and on complaints brought by slaves against planters, overseers and managers. The decisions of the court was final and had to be carried out by those appointed to do so."

The "slave meetings" never had the chance to emerge fully. They were usually crushed by the planters. And even when the slaves were successful, like in Santo Domingo, "slave meetings" were transformed into armed units by the necessities of revolutionary war.

After the war, the leaders that emerged did not recognise in the meetings the basis of a new revolutionary social form.

### The Recent Period

In the recent period we see the same kind of transformation of the "workers' conventions". The workers' meetings having emerged at the point of work were transformed into trade union organisations. Today, however, even with the existence of trade unions having a hierarchy of leaders, the workers' meetings have emerged once more. Similarly, in the villages, the village meeting or - village parliament in its infant modern form is being developed.

*Power to the people: is having a mens service, owning your institutions, like church, school, health service, clinics, industries etc. So why could do your own thing.*

community.

The profound thing about the lime is that everyone is involved. Each member of the lime performs a different function. Although there are no written rules and "lining code". Every member of the lime feels a responsibility to the lime.

If a brother wants to do something, he has to think twice before he does it, less the lime disapproves. On the other hand the whole lime takes care of each individual. If a member is in any trouble, the lime steps in to help or defend him. The lime is responsible for the individual, and the individual is responsible to the lime.

The lime has been changing recently, not in form but in content. Before it was a social lime, today it is a social and political lime. It is a real and effective community.

It has been disguised by official society because they do not and cannot understand its scope and origins, though they realise its power today (the police are trying to smash-up the lime in places like Mt. Lambert, Belmont, etc). The lime today is one of our social forms with the greatest potential for full and creative development.

It is clear that "meetings of the people" is a new social and political form which the people have been practising without recognising its great political potential.

The recent experiences of the people of Anguilla bear proof to that claim. The lime at the corner or junction is the living reality of how deeply rooted in our society is that new form — meetings of the people.

### Lessons for Today

The social experiences of the people, what they did, how they organise themselves and where their organisations were based, teach us many lessons for the task we are about to undertake in constructing a new popular form of government. Some of the important lessons are:

**PEOPLE:** The people who organised themselves in a new revolutionary form were those who wanted to change the whole system, those who wanted **REVOLUTION.** They organised themselves and confronted **ALL** those who were against revolution.

**ORGANISATION:** The revolutionary people organised themselves on three levels. Local Area or Regional Island-wide or national.

(Cont'd on Page 6)

guyanape yet!

anchayet yet!

a they bound to walk.

Why did Spencer run? Why did Johnson abdicate command?

Why did Christopher stay in the guard room, and give no orders?

What did Serrette promise Williams?

What did Serrette promise the soldiers?

Who murdered Bailly?

Did Williams phone the Americans in Puerto Rico?

Was/Is there a right wing plot to seize power?

Did the soldiers harm anyone?

### WHO IS GUILTY?

#### FROM THEN TO NOW

*Cont'd from Pg. 5*  
The latter two were based on the first. The local was the slave gang, barrack house, department of work, or lime. The area was the plantation, industry or whole village. Then the national.

**POWER:** Power at all times rested with the local body. All representatives, leaders, councils etc. were elected by local body. If the area or national body acted against the wishes of the local body, the local bodies would do what they wanted, or a split occurred in the local bodies which weakened the local bodies. Power was at the base, not at the top.

**FUNCTIONS:** The "meetings of the people" carried not all the functions of a government in periods of crisis and struggle. More than that, the "meetings of the people" were political, economic, cultural and religious, all in one.

The local bodies — meetings of the people — were fully integrated communities making no division between politics and economics. Different people might carry out different functions, but they were answerable to the local body.

**STRATEGY:** The strategy of the people when preparing for REVOLUTION was to organise first as a people, a whole people, and then attack the social system by surprise at its weakest point. The strategy did not depend on crowd support, but on an organised people's front. The people organised themselves into popular bodies and then struck.

If at all periods in our history, there was a rallying cry: **POWER TO THE PEOPLE**, then the "meetings of the people" was the concrete practical realisation of that slogan.

# DEATH JAIL FREEDOM THE PEOPLE MUST DECIDE NOW

### WHAT TO EXPECT

What is the Williams regime likely to do when the sentences are handed down.

Williams himself can continue his "nice-man", vote-catching image by reducing the severity of the sentences, or even releasing the soldiers altogether, but discharging them from the army.

Or the regime can accept the Court's ruling with the intention of declaring war on all extra-parliamentary opposition forces by using the police and the NATIONAL YOUTH BRIGADE that is being trained in karate and the use of weapons. Also, it must not be forgotten that the local white population is well-armed.

The first strategy would be adopted if the intention is to whip-up voters for the coming elections. If, however, the intention is to confront all opposition forces at the earliest opportunity in order to eliminate them politically, and physically (many in the PNM will like to do that) then the latter strategy is to be expected.

After the heroic address of Shah and LaSalle, it was clear that the Williams regime could not have these men free in Trinidad and Tobago.

If these two men were free, Williams and Co. would live in constant fear, for the people have recognised in these men the birth of a new breed, a new generation, ready to shoulder the task of building a truly humane society. They represent the new type of leadership that is emerging. Williams has to get them out of the way, if he is to rule as a political god.

In this political masquerading that is going on, the people must be the final judges. Lies, lies, and more lies have passed for truth.

The legal system, prostituted as it has been, is now stripped naked of its clean clothing for all to see the garbage it is.

The people must decide NOW if they are going to accept the ruling of the Court Martial. Will the people allow La Salle, Shah, Bazine and the other soldiers die or go to jail for saving the country from a blood bath.  
**THE PEOPLE MUST DECIDE NOW.**

THE Court Martial has delivered its verdict, Shah, LaSalle, Bazine and six other soldiers guilty of Mutiny. Four privates acquitted, but must stand trial for treason. That verdict is no surprise. A Williams — Hudson-Phillips immoral and illegally appointed Military Court can deliver no other verdict. But the verdict is only the beginning of the final act in the political play — SURVIVAL.

### POLITICAL COURT

The amendment of the 1962 Defense Act was a political decision made by the PNM leadership. Thus the very constitution of the Court is political.

There is nothing loyal about it. The appointment of Danjuma, Odoi and others as members of the Court Martial, all handicapped, was a political appointment. Williams decided: since you all shouting Black Power, here is a black-skinned Court Martial.

Some of the most reactionary governments in Africa — Nigeria, Ghana etc. — were approached to make available to the Williams regime a number of ruthless army officers to sit on the Court Martial.

A book — The Biafran Story — documents very well | Danjuma's love for blood. Such a man is ideal for a Court Martial a la Williams. It is politics down the line. Truth to tell, the entire Court Martial Affair is a political game.

### SENTENCES

The sentences are yet to be handed down. What can the court say?

A. DEATH to the soldiers;

B. LIFE-TIME in jail;

C. JAIL for a number of years — 5, 10, 15, etc.

Which one will it be? We cannot tell. The officers may be given a heavier sentence than the privates. We do not know. Maybe the sentences have been decided ages ago; maybe. One thing is clear. Whatever the sentences given, the Williams regime is preparing to stage a big political carnival.

When without an organised

community

less in a community

# THE NEW LEADERSHIP

## The True Leader:

To understand leadership, one must first see the leader in his true role. A person is not first a leader, but rather he is first many things (guide, adviser, etc.) which place him in a position as leader of people. His role or relationship with individuals leads to his position or status as leader when these individuals are banded together as a group. He is therefore created by the group and maintained by the group. So we see that a leader cannot be divorced from the group, and vice versa.

## The Lime:

The lime, which is very much Trinidadian is perhaps the only area of our national life in which true leadership is exhibited.

Leadership in the lime is of a very informal nature. Everything is more or less centered on this one man, who holds himself neither above nor below any other individual in the lime. He is the peace maker, yet the war-monger (protector of the lime); the spokesman; the one always looked at for a "nod of approval"; the centre of gravity of the lime; and many other things.

In most cases he can neither dance as well as the 'dancer' of the lime nor talk as much 'shit' as the 'shit talker'. Neither can he become as intellectual as the 'book-boy'. But he is the one who has a particular type of involvement as a result of his wide range of activities. He is generally a "jack of all trades".

His wider experience helps him to play the different roles given to him by individuals. He sees himself as his brothers in the lime sees him and his knowledge of self gives him an added strength of character absent from the people around him.

He is a leader created by the people of the lime, acting out roles dictated by the lime. And his LEADERSHIP DEPENDS ON HIS INVOLVEMENT... Not the other way around.

## False Leaders\*:

In some cases, where a lime is grouped around some specific activity, a situation leader might be created. A lime, for instance, that gets together only to fete creates a leader with a one-sided personality. This particular leader would be great in a fete situation, but for little or nothing else. This lime therefore, could be termed a special-interest group and the leader would naturally be the person in whom the ideals of the group are mirrored.

This however, must not be confused with a situation in which a section of a particular group, or lime, is engaged in some special activity like football. In this case the true leader of the lime maintains his position of leadership, but for the football occasion, a FORMAL leadership is invested in a football 'technocrat', who is seen by the footballers as the embodiment of their ideals. This is especially relevant to our politics and leadership, since historically, politics in Trinidad and Tobago has always been seen as a thing apart from the total life of the country. The entire country, at election time, therefore, is transformed into a special-interest group, hunting for its "political technocrats".

## Community Leadership:

When discussing the community, we must first understand that there are no true communities in Trinidad and Tobago. In that the inhabitants of any town or village have no sense of belonging to that village, neither is there a feeling of oneness among them. The community should be a larger more developed lime: the lime magnified. As it is, the lime appears to be the result of a search for that feeling of oneness and belonging absent from the town or village. So that everybody in Trinidad and Tobago limes, regardless of sex, colour, or class, and each lime has become a separate community. In other words, the lime is the true COMMUNITY.

Things, however, were not always this way, for the early post-emancipation villages were in fact "true communities" with true leaders. (Here the Indian and African experiences might, however, differ slightly.)

The African free villages after Emancipation, just as the Indian villages after indenture were "true communities". As in the lime, true leaders were thrown up from the community population, with, in the case of the Indian community, a special emphasis on the religious, because of their leaning in that direction. Religion then being the base of the Indian existence. Departmental technocrats also played their parts in the community special interest groups. The community was truly a magnified version of the lime, evidence of the then existing community feeling and leadership, being the gayatripe, sou-sou, and panchayat.

## Education

With the exposure of the Black masses (Indian and African) to education, another type of community-leader came into being. By and large, the Blacks saw education as the only means of lifting themselves out of total oppression. They sought to beat the white-man at his own game. There was as a consequence, a mad rush for education, and the more educated Blacks in any village assumed leadership roles.

The "new" community leader was therefore the most white-washed villager. He knew a great deal more of the white-man's learning and very much resembled the white-man in his habits and attitudes. This leader was a living image of the village ideals. Needless to say, the very act of lapping up a particular type education pushed the so-called leaders further away from the village folk, till they gradually became less and less involved in the life of the community. They therefore functioned as leaders only. INVOLVEMENT DEPENDENT ON LEADERSHIP.

It is perhaps because the community "bad-jobs" (They fought the system with no compromise,) saw through this type of leadership, that they lived in gangs. Their gangs were in fact separate communities within the villages. They had their own true leaders, and a system of values and standards, quite different from that of the larger communities. They were the true rebels.

## From Leader to Messiah:\*

We in Trinidad and Tobago have always been governed from the Metropole, either in this present neo-colonial manner or under direct colonial rule. In the latter case the country was run by foreigners sent out here to act as leaders. Leaders therefore were imposed on the population, and a false leadership image was created. That is, as regards politics. It must be remembered here, that politics was not an aspect of the national life, but that participation was restricted to a limited section of the population, which could be called a special interest group. Their special interest being politics.

## An organised community:

*means full participation by all people every minute of the day in controlling their lives,*

*existence and country, instead of once*

*every 5 years.*

*That is Power!*

*Who yah think bro?*

After 1946, and Adult Franchise, politics, being a separate activity, "political technocrats" instead of "true leaders" were given governmental controls on the basis of the false leadership image already in the minds of the people. The country, at this stage, functioning, in an election season, as a special interest group.

Even in cases where genuine attempts were made to elect community leaders into governmental positions, true leadership did not emerge. Leadership qualities were already equated with educational achievement. Community leaders, therefore, as a result of the educational process, were completely out of touch with the population. They therefore functioned as leaders only, with neither legislation nor a proper political base to prevent them acting in a manner inimical to the society.

The national leader, really a well educated "political technocrat" of national stature, was created a messiah by the masses. This came about chiefly because of his ability to educationally mystify, and as a result of a very deep dependency complex in the Trinidadian, which was brought on by his total political experience from slavery to this day. The messiah was supposed to be capable of solving all problems single-handedly.

## Leadership Now:

The year 1970 saw the N.J.A.C.

attempting to:

- (1) Make politics in Trinidad and Tobago a total thing
- (2) To shatter the false "political leader" image imposed on the population.
- (3) Erase once and for all the dependency complex in our nationals.
- (4) Bring about a national coalesced effort in the revolutionary work already being done, in small areas, independent of national leaders. e.g. The Arouca pavement, and the Monsterrat farmers.

The PEOPLES' PARLIAMENT counter to the P.N.M.s parliament, is a political institution intended to get the masses involved in the running of their country, and in so doing, remove all traces of any dependency complex, and put power into the hands of the people. As a result of the short work-time between February 26th and April 21st, 1970, and the type of work that there was to be done, The People's Parliament, instead produced Granger, National Leader... The embodiment of the people's ideals. He was the Revolution personified. A man capable of identifying and solving the problems. Granger was "THE" messiah, and the N.J.A.C. his messianic group.

Most people still remained complacent, leaving the overthrow of the regime to Granger and the N.J.A.C. - Politics for politicians; Revolutionaries for Revolution.

## The New Leadership:

When we say that we are fed-up with leaders, let us not mean that we have "absolutely no need" for leaders. Let us however, realise, that we do in fact have much need for a particular type of leader. Some attempt must therefore be made to create a pure and true form of leadership.

A system of Local and National Assemblies has been proposed. This is intended to make politics a total thing. True community leaders would emerge as the governmental leaders, and a national leader would emerge only from the National Assembly, which would be made up of Local representatives or true community leaders.

Politics, at the same time, being community as well as national based, and being tied in completely with all aspects of the country's life, with full popular participation, would be a total thing. Any form of leadership MUST come about as a result of a particular type of PERSONAL involvement, and not the other way around. A "Political Technocrat" (Political Leader) would be more or less, an impossibility. Leadership would be created and maintained by the people. A leadership DEPENDENT ON A PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT.

# The Revolutionary Alternative Assemblies of the People

OUR country today is in the grip of a political crisis never before experienced in West Indian history.

Whereas in all previous periods of national crisis, the struggle was between the black masses and the white planter class at one stage, and at another stage, between the black masses and British colonial control; today, the struggle is essentially between the black masses and the black political elite for political power.

In 1971, as in previous periods, the struggle is not only for political power. It is also for economic and cultural power. But the key to the national problem is political power. It is therefore, necessary and urgent to deal first with the governmental system.

## Reform or Revolution

The governmental system in Trinidad and Tobago is said to be based on democratic principles. What democratic principles? Democracy to us means going to the polls once every five years, to press a button and pull a lever.

Between pulling levers we must shut our mouths, listen and obey the political gods. If we don't, we are put in our place — Royal jail or Nelson Island, or shot like Basil Davis.

The governmental system we have been trying to operate was imposed on us by the British in the first instance, and more recently by our own political gods. It is a system taken wholesale from Britain, and dumped on the black masses of this country.

We have seen that it cannot work. Reforming it is no solution. When a system is reformed, it means that the system as a whole can work, but a few things are wrong with it. When the steering of a car is bad, we put a new one on the car; we are reforming the car because the car as a whole can work. But if the car is a wreck, a new car is required.

Our governmental system is a wreck. It is such, not because parliament by itself is a wreck. The whole official organisation of the society — government, trade unions, teachers' associations, sporting bodies, all — is a wreck. The very basis of the social fabric is rotten and can no longer function. To make matters doubly worse, the governmental system is out of tune with our past social experiences. The social institutions created by the people themselves, are in direct conflict with the governmental system. What to do?

Our immediate task as a people must be to build a new form of government that is in harmony with the social forms we have been creating for centuries. Only then can the government be popular and workable; only then can we have a form of government that will be sensitive to the needs of the people.

The present governmental system is neither popular, workable nor sensitive. REFORM WILL

NOT SOLVE THE GOVERNMENTAL PROBLEM. IT WILL ONLY MAKE THE PROBLEM 100 TIMES WORSE. WHAT WE NEED IS A REVOLUTION. THE ENTIRE BASIS OF GOVERNMENT MUST BE CHANGED.

## New Revolutionary Basis

Our social experiences in the past and today have taught us one vital lesson. It is this: We have been creating new forms of social organisation in our villages, in our communities, at our place of work and in our struggle; forms which we use to resist the system and to put some order in our daily lives.

In Africa we had the kinship system, the slaves created 'slave meetings', the East Indians brought the 'Panchayat', at our work we organised "workers conventions or meetings", and today, we have the "line" and the village community. A new revolutionary form of government must draw from these social forms, and be based on them, but it must relate to modern times.

That new revolutionary form of government we call: ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE.

What is the basis of the Assemblies of the people?

1. The Local Assembly.
2. The Regional or Area Assembly.
3. The National Assembly.

This new governmental basis is the only way we can become masters of ourselves, and our country. If the slogan: POWER TO THE PEOPLE must have meaning, the Assemblies of the people is the practical reality of that slogan.

## Local Assembly

The Local Assembly is a small, intimate grouping of people who have similar daily experiences, who have similar social problems in their daily lives, who can get together easily in one place and who, in fact, make-up a community.

The kinds of social organisations we have been creating show this clearly. There are two basic units today that can be used to bring the Local Assembly into being.

The most urgent task of our time is to organise.

Organise in your village and on the block; on the estate and in the factories; in the schools and in the hospitals  
Organise everywhere.

## ORGANISE ASSEMBLIES

## ORGANISE ASSEMBLIES WHERE YOU LIVE AND WHERE YOU WORK

## WE MUST ORGANISE NOW FOR POWER

1. Our place of residents — where we live;
2. Our place of work — where we work;

The new form of government, therefore must be based on the organisation of people at their place of residence, and at their place of work. The people, all the people, in a village, area, city blocks etc. will form the local assembly.

The local assembly will be the local government of the particular area, and will be responsible for determining and carrying-out either independently or jointly with other assemblies all community functions. The power in the community rests with the Local Assembly of all the people.

## Area Assembly

The Area or Regional assembly will consist of a number of Local Assemblies in a particular area. In most instances, a number of Local Assemblies will have to deal with similar problems, though these Local Assemblies may be too far from each other to form one intimate Local Assembly.

Also, the Area Assembly can exploit the larger size of area to plan and implement plans in a more comprehensive and economic sense. For example, the Local Assemblies of Mt. Hope, Mt. Lambert, Champ Fleurs, St. Joseph, could form an Area Assembly. The Area Assembly, as the Local Assembly will be the local government of the whole area. It is in fact, the coming together of a number of Local Assemblies, to form a larger Assembly to govern in a joint manner the whole area.

## Assemblies at Work

Assemblies at work will follow the same general pattern as the assemblies at the place of residence. Take for example, the Transport workers. Bus Drivers at Port-of-Spain Terminal we may form a Local Assembly at work; Conductors, another Local Assembly, mechanics another, and so on.

All the Local Assemblies at the Port-of-Spain Terminal can then form an Area Assembly. A similar pattern can take shape in the case of oil workers, sugar workers, nurses, teachers, estate workers, students, professionals etc.

## The Assembly Council

The Assembly Council is a small body elected by the Local Assembly to carry-on the day-to-day administrative work in the community. The Assembly, not only appoints the council, but can sack any member of the council at any time it so desires.

Similarly, the Area Assembly appoints an Area council and so on. The purpose of the council is to do the day-to-day work of the Assembly. It is a functional body to carry-out the plans and decisions of the Assembly of the people. It is NOT A DECISION — MAKING BODY FOR THE COMMUNITY.

## National Assembly

The National Assembly is the National Government. The members of the National Assembly are elected by the Local Assemblies. In other words, the Local Assemblies send representatives to the National Assembly. There is no Senate, House of Representatives and council of Elders.

There is one National Authority — the National Assembly. This body carries-out all the functions of a National Government. The National Assembly appoints a council — the National Assembly Council — to carry-out the day-to-day functions of the Assembly. In the final analysis, power does not rest with the council, but with the National Assembly.

## Power to the people

That, we propose, as the basis of a new revolutionary form of government. All the social organisational forms that the people have been creating in their own way point in this direction. There are details, no doubt, to be worked-out.

What is contained herein is the basis of a new revolutionary form of government. It seeks to place power in the hands of the people. The Local Assembly is the power base. All power emanates from the Local Assembly — the people.

The Local Assembly can sack its council, the area council and its representatives on the National Assembly. It can do this because it is an organised community body that meets regularly.

The Assembly form of government, therefore, is POWER TO THE PEOPLE realised. To achieve, to build this new government form, we must organise, organise and organise again at the local level, both where we live and where we work.

"INVOLVED"

Let us not get involved

Let us be involved:

For 'getting' reeks of reluctance

And 'being' is so clean and pure.

Let us not be 'complacent'

Let us be 'aware'.

For 'complacency' is the death of progress.

And 'awareness' the origin of its life.

Let us not be 'alone'.

Let us be 'together'.

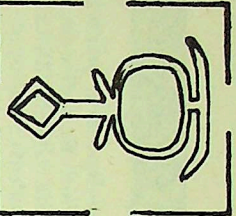
For 'loneliness' breeds contempt.

And 'togetherness' is so ever solid.

Then...

we are INVOLVED!





# BEGINNING

Co-ordinating Council

News Service



## A WARNING TO THE PEOPLE

A crisis is fast approaching. All where we turn we can see it coming. The working class is stirring. There are rumblings once again in the sugar factories and on the sugar estates. The secondary school students are on the march. They have begun to move in the schools and on the streets. Tobago is boiling. The army is beginning to bulge. The police force is cracking. The wind of Revolution is beginning to take-up speed. But we have to be serious about revolution. Revolution is not crowd confrontation. If we do not take stock, we are going to end up worse than 1970.

The political actors on the national stage are shouting: POWER, POWER TO THE PEOPLE'S ARMY! They are trying to create an emotional response among the people. Once again they have begun to lead you in marches up and down the country. They are the actors and you are supposed to be the audience, cheering with your clenched fists and shouting: **POWER! BUT Beware of political office seekers; beware of fast talkers and smartmen. They are going to use Black Power language, revolutionary words and Indian-African unity to fool you. They are telling you to vote for them or to follow them because they have the plan and the solutions. People, beware! Be on your guard. No one can solve your problems but yourselves.**

### WHERE WE ARE HEADING

The fever that is taking hold of the people today is one of confrontation. Everywhere the talk is confrontation, crowd confrontation. We march in Tobago, we march in Fort-of-Spain, we march in the East, we march in the South. Where are we heading?

Marching is not bad in itself. The people can only show their disgust, frustrations and fed-upness by actions. This is true. But we cannot get what we want by marching. Neither can we make a serious people's revolution by holding seminars of leaders.

Leaders will always sell us down the drain. If we continue to be only emotional, we are going to fall into Williams trap. Crowd confrontation will be suicide for all of us. Williams will call out his police with their SIRs and SMGs, and call on the Venezuelans who cannot speak or understand one word of English. This is the direction in which the present power-shouting leaders are taking us. We must say NO.

### WILLIAMS IS PREPARING

The Williams regime is now even more prepared than April, and it is still making more preparations for a confrontation with the people.

Since April, cases and cases of automatic weapons have been coming into the country. An estimate made by New Beginning Research staff shows that over 5,000 automatic weapons have come into the country since August 1970. The police are in constant training, learning how to use their automatic weapons. Recently, Williams has established a body called the National Youth Brigade made-up of youths who are paid handsome salaries. They are being trained by police officers in the use of arms and weapons. The in-thing for these youths in the NYB to say when asked what they are doing is this: "I am in the army. They are taking-in a lot of us now." THAT IS ALLE. They are told to say that because Williams does not want the people to know that he is training young murderers.

More than that, the security are using all kinds of methods these days. They are tapping phones left, right and centre. Anyone who they think is against the regime, they tap his or her phone. Also, plainclothes securitymen are following people everywhere they go. They operate in private cars, hired cars and on foot. In fact, many taximen, youths with Afro-styles, pretensive radicals etc. are being used as spies. It is known that all overseas calls going out or coming into Trinidad are tape recorded. Further, than that, the security is using people who live close to a "suspect" to tell them who come, who go out, what movements are noticed around your house, etc. Most of these house-spies are PNM fanatics who have benefited from the Williams regime.

There is a certain man who borrows a lot from the CIA. He has a whole team of gangsters working for him. They carry information to him on brothers that he is out to get. They collect fat pockets and he swoops down on the brothers. The establishment says he has a keen eye. He has no keen eye. He has a gang eye. This man has gone so far as to set-up a "mod-squad" to spy on brothers on the block. The activities of this man is well known. It will not be surprising if one morning, some explosives, bombs, arms and drugs are planted on New Beginning staff members and people hear on the radio that we are held in jail.

### WHAT TO DO?

Brothers and sisters, The Williams regime is preparing for a confrontation. Do not be mistaken. The Williams regime is not Williams alone. Williams is only the Head of the regime's organisation.

You know well who the others are. We must not become too emotional and rush into confrontation. Our target is not Williams. It is the whole system, moreso the governmental system for when we as the people, the whole people, take power, we can easily deal with the economy. Our task NOW is to organise. The whole people must be organised at the village level, at the block level, at the production level, Indian and African must organise. Only by organising ourselves can we be prepared to throw Williams, his regime and his system on the rubbish heap.

Let us say: "the soldiers must be free because they did what they

Let us say: "the soldiers must be free because they had to do what they did in the face of Military, political, Governmental and administrative corruption, and inefficiency. We will free them by building a new system, a new form of Government, NOW Not tomorrow, not 1980, but NOW."

Organise around national issues, organise around village issues, organise around issues at your work. We must organise NOW at the roots, to gain **POWER TO THE PEOPLE.**

### PEOPLE'S NATIONAL MOVEMENT

## ELECTION MANIFESTO

General Elections -- September 24, 1956

### VOTERS OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO:

You have had six years of

- CORRUPTION
  - MISGOVERNMENT
  - MALADMINISTRATION
  - EXTRAVAGANCE
  - IGNORANCE
  - INEFFICIENCY
  - INDIVIDUALISM
  - PARTY ACROBATICS
- in Public Affairs

If we know you are tired of the mess, therefore you must vote

### Political Education Nationhood Morality in Public Affairs

PNM is THE ONLY PARTY in Trinidad and Tobago which is

- ★ NATIONAL IN SCOPE
- ★ DEMOCRATIC IN STRUCTURE AND PRACTICE
- ★ DISCIPLINED IN METHODS
- ★ DEDICATED TO THE PROMOTION OF THE GENERAL WELFARE
- ★ BASED ON A CLEAR CUT PROGRAMME
- ★ PROUD TO ADMIT ITS INTELLIGENCE AND CAPACITY FOR THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT

### VOTE PNM

On Emancipation Day, September 24, 1956

1956-1971, 15 years of PNM power, things worse now. We had a mess in Gomes days, but now we have stale mess. Everything that was had in 1956, worse now. PNM vowed they would clean-up the mess. Now we have more corruption and No government. All we have is a set of grabbers. They don't care a damn about us. Nationhood, they take for themselves. Morality gone down the latrine hole.

Man we have to kick them and their system out. We don't want no damn papa god. We, all ah we, go take over wessel.

1961 - The Communist bogey, 1966 - The Communist bogey, Yes, 1971, they go try the Communist bogey again.

They start already.

They go call all of us Communist Because they know they are falling. So they have to try a stale ting again.

DO NOT BE FOOLED.

We must all organise on the block, in the village and at our work.

STAFF ORGANISING NOW

Out With  
Party  
and  
Parliament  
We Want  
A  
People's  
Government

# ARUSHA

# DECLARATION

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION was adopted by TANU, the party of which Julius Nyerere is political leader, in February 1967 as the national policy for Tanzania. It outlines the "direction in which the nation must travel to achieve its goals". It defines socialism in the context of Tanzanian society. When THE ARUSHA DECLARATION was adopted by TANU, there were huge demonstrations in Tanzania of workers, students, farmers, etc. in support of the new revolutionary policy and of TANU. The chief author of the new policy was Julius Nyerere.

Nyerere realised that formal independence meant nothing to the population. He realised too that the whole population had to be motivated in a new direction with a new attitude, and to do this would require the mobilization and organisation of the whole people. He understood clearly the necessity of placing full responsibility on the people for taking Tanzania out of the mess it was in. This clear attitude he demonstrated by resigning as Prime Minister one year after independence to go and work among the people. After two years of patient hard

# The Policy of Socialism

## (a) ABSENCE OF EXPLOITATION

A TRULY socialist state is one in which all people are workers and in which neither capitalism nor feudalism exists. It does not have two classes of people, a lower class composed of people who work for their living, and an upper class of people who live on the work of others.

In a really socialist country no person exploits another; everyone who is physically able to work does so; every worker obtains a just return for the labour he performs; and the incomes derived from different types of work are not grossly divergent.

In a socialist country, the only people who live on the work of others, and who have the right to be dependent upon their fellows, are small children, people who are too old to support themselves, the crippled, and those whom the state at any one time cannot provide with an opportunity to work for their living.

Tanzania is a nation of peasants and workers, but it is not yet a socialist society. It still contains elements of feudalism and capitalistic features of our society could spread and entrench themselves.

## (b) THE MAJOR MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE ARE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PEASANTS AND WORKERS

To build and maintain socialism it is essential that all the major means of production and exchange in the nation are controlled and owned by the peasants through the machinery of their Government and their co-operatives. Further, it is essential that the ruling Party should be a Party of peasants and workers.

The major means of production and exchange are such things as: lands; forests; minerals; water; oil and electricity; news media; communications; banks, insurance, import and export trade, wholesale trade; iron and steel, machine-tool, arms, motor-car, cement, fertilizer, and textile industries, and any big factory on which a large section of the people depend for their living, or which provides essential components of other industries; large plantations, and especially those which provide raw materials essential to important industries.

Some of the instruments of production and exchange which have been listed here are already owned or controlled by the people's Government of Tanzania.

## (c) THE EXISTENCE OF DEMOCRACY

A state is not socialist simply because its means of production and exchange are controlled or owned by the government, either wholly or in large part.

For a country to be socialist, it is essential that its government is chosen and led by the peasants and workers themselves. If the minority governments of Rhodesia or South Africa controlled or owned the entire economies of

these respective countries, the result would be a strengthening of oppression, not the building of socialism. True socialism cannot exist without democracy also existing in the society.

## (d) SOCIALISM IS A BELIEF

Socialism is a way of life, and a socialist society cannot simply come into existence. A socialist society can only be built by those who believe in, and who themselves practise, the principles of socialism.

A committed member of TANU will be a socialist, and his fellow socialists — that is, his fellow believers in this political and economic system — are all those in Africa or elsewhere in the world who fight for the rights of peasants and workers.

The first duty of a TANU member, and especially of a TANU leader, is to accept these socialist principles, and to live his own life in accordance with them. In particular, a genuine TANU leader will not live off the sweat of another man, nor commit any feudalistic or capitalistic actions.

The successful implementation of socialist objectives depends very much upon the leaders, because socialism is a belief in a particular system of living, and it is difficult for leaders to promote its growth if they do not themselves accept it.

## WE ARE AT WAR

TANU is involved in a war against poverty and oppression in our country; the struggle is aimed at moving the people of Tanzania (and the people of Africa as a whole) from a state of poverty to a state of prosperity.

We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution — a revolution which brings to an end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed, or humiliated.

## A POOR MAN DOES NOT USE MONEY AS A WEAPON

But it is obvious that in the past we have chosen the wrong weapon for our struggle, because we chose money as our weapon.

We are trying to overcome our economic weakness by using the weapons of the economically strong — weapons which in fact we do not possess. By our thoughts, words and actions it appears as if we have come to the conclusion that without money we cannot bring about the revolution we are aiming at. It is as if we have said, 'Money is the basis of development. Without money there can be no development.'

That is what we believe at present. TANU leaders, and Government leaders and officials, all put great emphasis and dependence on money.

The people's leaders, and the people themselves, in TANU, NUTA, Parliament, UWT, and co-operatives, TAPA, and in other national institutions think, hope and pray for MONEY. It is as if we had all agreed to speak with one voice, saying, 'If we get money we shall develop, without money we cannot develop.'

In brief, our Five-Year Development Plan aims at more food, more education, and better health; but the weapon we have put emphasis upon is money. It is as if we

A Revolution can only be a People's Revolution. The

people must organise themselves to make a Revolution.

ONE, TWO, THREE, can begin in every village.

Young and Old, Farmer and Worker, Student and Teacher.

Indian and African — OIKO NINSI!

Where you live and where you work. Do not wait. Later

will be too late.

NEW BEGINNING is ready to assist you to organise

people of Trinidad and Tobago. begin to organise at once.

A National  
Assembly  
of all

the people  
in

1971

work, his party — TANU — produced THE ARUSHA DECLARATION.

The Declaration was the people's feeling articulated by the party. The popular response that followed the acceptance by the 1967 Party Congress of the Arusha Declaration, and the way the people showed their support to the subsequent outright nationalization of foreign-owned companies, is adequate proof of the popularity of the new policy outlined in the Declaration.

Williams "Perspectives for a New Society" has no resemblance to the Arusha Declaration. For Williams to say that "Perspectives" is similar to Arusha, is political dishonesty taken to its extreme. "NEW BEGINNING" intends to expose the fraudulence of Williams and the PNM.

Below, we begin a serialised publication of the Arusha Declaration in full. The people must read for themselves and be their own judges. Let no one be fooled by the mamagnum of Williams.

# Policy of Self-Reliance

said, 'In the next five years we want to have more food, more education, and better health, and in order to achieve these things we shall spend \$250,000,000'. We think and speak as if the most important thing to depend upon is MONEY and anything else we intend to use in our struggle is of minor importance.

When a Member of Parliament says that there is a shortage of water in his constituency and he asks the Government how it intends to deal with the problem, he expects the Government to reply that it is planning to remove the shortage of water in his constituency — WITH MONEY.

When another Member of Parliament asks what the Government is doing about the shortage of roads, schools or hospitals in his constituency, he also expects the Government to tell him that it has specific plans to build roads, schools and hospitals in his constituency — WITH MONEY.

When a NUTA official asks the Government about its plans to deal with the low wages and poor housing of the workers, he expects the Government to inform him that the minimum wage will be increased and that better houses will be provided for the workers — WITH MONEY.

When a TAPA official asks the Government what plans it has to give assistance to the many TAPA schools which do not get Government aid, he expects the Government to state that it is ready the following morning to give the required assistance — WITH MONEY.

When an official of the cooperative movement mentions any problem facing the farmer, he expects to hear that the Government will solve the farmer's problem — WITH MONEY. In short, for every problem facing our nation, the solution that is in everybody's mind is MONEY.

Each year, each Ministry of Government makes its estimates of expenditure, i.e. the amount of money it will require in the coming year to meet recurrent and development expenses. Only one Minister and his Ministry make

estimates of revenue. This is the Minister for Finance.

Every Ministry puts forward very good development plans. When the Ministry presents its estimates, it believes that the money is there for the asking but that the Minister for Finance and his Ministry are being obstructive. And regularly each year the Minister for Finance has to tell his fellow Ministers that there is no money. And each year the Ministers complain about the Ministry of Finance when it trims down their estimates.

Similarly, when Members of Parliament and other leaders demand that the Government should carry out a certain development, they believe that there is a lot of money to spend on such projects, but that the Government is the stumbling block. Yet such beliefs on the part of Ministers, Members of Parliament and other leaders

does not alter the stark truth, which is that Government has no money.

When it is said that Government has no money, what does this mean? It means that the people of Tanzania have insufficient money. The people pay taxes out of the very little wealth they have; it is from these taxes that the Government meets its recurrent and development expenditure.

When we call on the Government to spend more money on development projects, we are asking the Government to use more money. And if the Government does not do this is to increase its revenue through extra taxation.

If one calls on the Government to spend more, one is in effect calling on the Government to increase taxes. Calling on the Government to spend more without

raising taxes is like demanding that the Government should perform miracles; it is equivalent to asking for more milk from a cow while insisting that the cow should not be milked again.

But our refusal to admit that calling on the Government to spend more is the same as calling on the Government to raise taxes shows that we fully realize the difficulties of increasing taxes.

We realise that the cow has no more milk — that is, that the people find it difficult to pay more taxes. We know that the cow would like to have more milk herself, so that her calves could drink it, or that she would like more milk which could be sold to provide more comfort for herself or her calves. But knowing all the things which could be done with more milk does not alter the fact that the cow has no more milk!

CON'T NEXT WEEK

## Outstanding Points of Arusha Declaration

"A SOCIETY WHICH FAILS TO GIVE ITS INDIVIDUALS THE MEANS TO WORK, OR, HAVING GIVEN THEM THE MEANS TO WORK, PREVENTS THEM FROM GETTING A FAIR SHARE OF THE PRODUCTS OF THEIR OWN SWEAT AND TOIL, NEEDS

PUTTING RIGHT."

JULIUS Nyerere.

WE MUST TAKE CARE OF THE COMMUNITY, AND THE COMMUNITY TAKE CARE OF US.

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION CAME OUT OF A GENUINE DESIRE TO BREAK THE STRANGLEHOLD OF COLONIALISM, TO ERADICATE EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, CULTURAL EXPLOITATION, DISREGARD FOR HUMAN DIGNITY AND RESOURCES, THE UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH, AND TO BUILD IN ITS PLACE A SOCIETY BASED ON HUMAN BROTHERHOOD THEREBY TO GIVE EACH INDIVIDUAL THE SECURITY ONE GETS FROM BELONGING TO AN ORGANISED COMMUNITY WHICH LOOKS AFTER EACH INDIVIDUAL'S WELFARE.

THE PROBLEM WHICH CAUSED THE TANZANIANS TO PRODUCE THE ARUSHA DECLARATION, ARE PROBLEMS WHICH ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE OF THE REST OF THE THIRD WORLD — AFRICA, INDIA, CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA. IF OUR PROBLEMS ARE SIMILAR, OUR SOLUTIONS WILL BE ALSO SIMILAR, AS WELL AS OUR POLITICS. THIS IS THE OTHER REASON FOR PRINTING THE ARUSHA DECLARATION, SO THAT THE PEOPLE OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO CAN SEE HOW SIMILAR PEOPLE IN ANOTHER PART OF THE WORLD, ARE HANDLING THE BUILDING OF A NATION FOR THE BETTERMENT OF ALL.

MT. LAMBERT - MT. HOPE

## Letter from the Block

THE POLICE has been at work recently in the Mt. Lambert-Mount Hope area. The area within the last two months has been heavily patrolled both day and night and the only reason given is that "this area has too many Black Power people". Exactly what this means we are at a loss to know. All we can say is that there is a group in the area called "Freedom Fighters" an affiliated group of NJAC, which has been famous for its "Black Truth" Cultural rallies, and its Sunday market stalls to serve the entire area.

We carried on our programme through the State of Emergency. Is our programme, which is virtually important to the whole community, the reason for police harassment and brutality in the area?

We can only wonder. So far about 10 brothers of the area have been arrested on trumped up charges ranging from obscene language, resisting arrest, to even obstructing traffic and refusing to circulate.

The majority were arrested while walking home wards. The situation got so bad that a "curfew" was placed on the area, unknown to the rest of Trinidad and Tobago. All the brothers were ordered to be inside by 7 p.m. especially those brothers of the Freedom Fighters who are regarded as trouble-makers.

The result is that since then there have been no rallies and the Sunday stall has fallen apart. A service to the community has been disrupted by the police. Must we allow our community organisation to be trampled in the dust by this regime whilst Williams prattles about the need for strong village councils?

Who does Williams think he is fooling with laugh and cry, black-jacket-white-jacket attitudes? Definitely not us for we have seen through his front, despite his "dark glasses".

It is not coincidental that the police brutality in the area began immediately after the "Freedom Fighters" returned money offered by Hindu, the representative of the Doc, for their Sunday market. We refused because we felt that the market must be a community effort, supported by the pennies and cents of the people within the area. It was a true revolutionary stand on their behalf towards our goal of a genuine well-organised community.

Now we are being persecuted for it. No! Williams not your efforts to destroy will only serve to harden the brothers on the block, in their convictions. Yuh dead with we DOC. That's final. You could come with a million projects, and offers of money, yuh dead with we.

In struggle,

The Brothers of Mt-Hope-Mt. Lambert.

TO LAGO

## AN INTERESTING LETTER TO HOCHOY

His Excellency,  
The Governor-General of T'rad and Tobago,  
Sir Solomon Hochoy, K.C.M.G.: O.B.E.,  
Governor-General House,  
ST. ANNS.

Your Excellency Sir,

I, Aldwyn Douglas, Public Relations Officer of the Caribbean Co-operative Organisation based in Tobago, was directed by our members to seek an audience with you within the next fourteen (14) days to reveal to you some vital information of grave consequences to our country and its future.

I was told to convey this message to you as the highest and most important citizen in the State Machinery, and as Commander-in-Chief of Trinidad and Tobago appointed by Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, on the 31st August, 1962 when we attained our Administrative Independence through a new constitution.

The essence of my message your Excellency is about the present state of our country and the Constitutional Crisis we now face after eight years of Independence.

It involves the legal authority of the Prime Minister and his judgment on the general breakdown of the Institutions in our society.

From all indications Sir, it would appear that our Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Dr. Eric Williams P.C., is going to take advantage of his Constitutional Authority plus his majority votes in Parliament, and call a General Election like a thief in the night.

By doing this, the Prime Minister would then be ignoring contemptuously, the request and even the demand; of a large section of our population including members of the Opposition in Parliament for Electoral and Constitutional Reform and even the calling of a national assembly of the leaders in the nation to discuss solutions to our problems before calling a General Election. We must heal the wound of disunity together.

Your Excellency, as Commander-in-Chief of the "Ship of State", we plead with you most humbly to advise the Prime Minister to listen and give attention to the cries of the people in protest to his government's administration.

If he insists on calling a General Election like a thief in the night; on the short term, it might appear to give his Party a great advantage over other political groups; but on the long term, it would invite disaster to our country and a sorrowful experience to him and his supporters.

Your Excellency, there are other secret information which I have, but they must be conveyed to you personally.

Our delegation is to comprise nine (9) persons.

I have confidence Sir, that your humane understanding and wise judgment would guide the nation's destiny to Unity, Love, Truth and Understanding.

Please accept our humble regards to your loving wife Lady Hochoy and your household.

I remain,  
Your Excellency,  
A Dedicated Citizen.

# PEOPLE'S NEWSPAPER

MAKE NEW BEGINNING YOUR COMMUNITY PAPER. WRITE WHAT YOU WANT. PROBLEMS - COMPLAINTS - VICTIMIZATION - PRESSURE - VIEWS - IDEAS. HAVE NO FEAR. TELL IT LIKE IT IS. SELL NEW BEGINNING IN YOUR COMMUNITY.

EVERY WEEK NEW BEGINNING WILL BE IN YOUR COMMUNITY

## Battle of the Bulge

—A SHORT STORY

WE HAVE recently heard a strange little story we think may amuse you.

It seems that a certain little country called Cascadura has an army in which there has been strange goings-on.

This army is located in a cut-off area of the country known as Chagatron and is under the supreme command of a Brigadier Eli Isearot.

Some time ago Brigadier Isearot took his men to see a war film in the interest of their military training. Among these men were a certain Sergeant Bulge. Brigadier Isearot left the cinema early, no doubt considering that his military training needed no improvement and in any case having other plans for the evening. Plans which involved one of the Bulgies.

Sergeant Bulge returned home to find the Brigadier at his home in embarrassing circumstances.

But the Brigadier, who is well known for his skill as a negotiator, soon reached an accord with the Sergeant.

Of course Sergeant Bulge, in return for the privilege which the Brigadier had taken for himself was henceforth in a privileged position. He would do more or less as he liked in the little army. He enjoyed himself with impunity. He drank, got drunk, used obscene language to officers, he gambled, neglected his duties, got into fights and Brigadier Isearot allowed no disciplinary action to be taken against him.

Recently, however, Sgt. Bulge went too far and came into conflict with a certain Capt. Rummie Sponsor who on a Thursday hauled him into his office for taking money from a private and not repaying. The Captain threatened to get the Sergeant demoted.

However, the stone-throwing Sponsor lived in a glass house and the all-knowing Sgt. Bulge let him know this. The Sergeant pointed to a box in Sponsor's office and said that he knew what was in that box and if he was to fall, he would pull every one down with him. He, the Sergeant, then left for the office of the Commander. Col. Christmas, Panic and confusion reigned. Captain Sponsor and his companion, a Lt. Walking, a native of another small country acted quickly. They got two soldiers, countrymen of Walking, to put the box into a jeep and told them to get out of Chagatron fast. Too late. Col Christmas, having heard Sgt. Bulge's story, acted swiftly. What exactly the Col. did is not clearly known. However, the two soldiers left camp in the jeep. Soon afterwards they returned in another jeep with the box. Something had happened.

Walking moved quickly and put back the dangerous box where it ought to have been, having opened the stores with a key he had in his possession. He tried to give it to the storeman. But the storeman was smarter than that. He was not going to get himself into any trouble by accepting this key. And what did Sponsor have to say about all this to Col. Christmas? Sponsor

admitted that he had the box. He said it was because the men were unhappy about events taking place and he did not know what was going to happen. He did not want to be caught off-guard as he had been recently on the occasion which gained him his decorations. Is that the truth? Well. Col. Christmas, being a simple man, seems to have believed Sponsor's explanation since no action has been taken against the captain.

However, Col. Christmas rang boss-man Big Brother Bill Will and told him what had happened. Christmas ordered a general

search of all lockers, rooms etc. There was a thorough shaking-down in camp. And Christmas addressed the men, telling them that from now on he does not trust anyone.

Well, that's the story. You get it. All we can say is that the little army in Cascadura is corrupt right through. From Brigadier down. But the Cascadura natives say they feel that all of them should be in the army.

WHAT YOU THINK OF THE STORY?

Last week NEW BEGINNING published eight pages. This week we have four pages. We are falling already, you say. No, not at all. Our first issue dealt specifically with a new form of government. So we planned eight pages. But our regular issue will be four pages. We want the paper to expand as the people in the community take the responsibility of writing the paper. Yes, the paper must be a community paper, a people's paper. So write about your community in the paper. The more you write, the bigger the paper will be. We are going to all communities to ASSIST the people to organise. We are not only talking Power to the People. We are working in the communities to make sure the people get power by organising themselves.

Write in THE NEW BEGINNING - Sell the paper at home and at work.

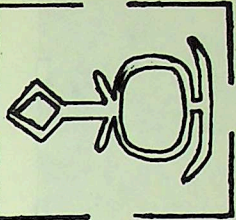
Write to:

NEW BEGINNING  
Upstairs Terry's Snackette,  
St. Vincent St.,  
TUNAPUNA.

NEW

19th March, 1971

# BEGINNING



Co-ordinating Council

News Service



## WE ARE AT WAR

## The People must know

WE MUST know that in common with every generation of black people in the Caribbean, we, today, are oppressed.

We do not want here to draw up the long list of the degradation and abuses to which we are subject; suffice it to say that in the final analysis it is we who every day pay the price for the waste and corruption and inefficiency which rules in this society now threshing about in the agony of its decay.

It is our brothers and sisters who are the pimps and the prostitutes. It is our little brothers and sisters we see with pot bellies hanging and hungry eyes staring from thin faces.

It is our people who are screaming and dying in this directionless waste, this obscene ruff and scramble that is supposed to be human living.

We are oppressed.

When a people are oppressed they have two choices. Either they accept the oppression as their lot, or they resist the oppression as their right. There is no other road.

Whenever a people begin to resist the oppression then they had better understand that they are at war.

In the days of the first slavery it was not necessary to remind people that they were at war. They knew it. The oppression was naked and unmasked. The slaves resisted continuously.

We must understand that the rebellions and revolutions which they staged were the

culmination of a continuous, everyday resistance and not a sudden catching of the power. Not an overnight eruption.

That is why today in the face of the oppression unleashed upon us, it is not enough simply to shout power, to talk about revolution and wait on THE CONFRONTATION.

THE CONFRONTATION IS NOT COMING. THE CONFRONTATION IS HERE. The confrontation is here in our every day lives. The confrontation is in the wasting away of our talents and our lives and our human possibilities.

The confrontation is in the system which says lie or go hungry, ruff, contact or don't get a job. The confrontation is in the emptiness of our lives TODAY and the emptiness of the bellies of our brothers and sisters.

That is why we must understand that we are a generation at war. That is why we must understand that freedom to a people is a total thing. Talking about being half free is like talking about a woman being half pregnant. We are free or we are not free.

That is why we must see our struggle not as an overnight eruption but a continuous every day thing in which we put ourselves and our talents and our resources to work for our freedom.

That is why we must understand that we must make sacrifices. No war is ever fought without people making sacrifices of a highest order. Today we who talk

• Cont'd on Page 4.

## OUR SOLDIERS HAVE ALWAYS REBELLED

The defence of the right of a people to rebellion against an incompetent, immoral and repressive government — the cornerstone of Western political theory — that has wielded power for fifteen (15) long belt-tightening and promise-filled years with nothing profound to show for such tenure but a growing rate of unemployment and philistine and dishonest intellectual posturing, meritoriously earns the officers and men the honour to be designated: The revolutionary soldiery.

And the so-called mutinous action of the revolutionary soldiery is part of the revolutionary tradition of the Caribbean, for in 1629 when the indentured servants who made up the ranks of the St. Kitts militia were called upon to fight and defend the privileged planters of Nevis who were threatened with dispossession and removal by Spanish invaders, they refused to do so and instead, in the words of John Hilton then chief gunner of Nevis "cried out liberty joyful Liberty". Of course, this act was termed "treacherous" by the plantocracy. Then followed the formation of black military units called "Rangers" and "Black Shots" and two Caribbean Regiments in 1795 that increased to twelve in 1799 with recruits from the Free Black and slave population to suppress their own black brothers like the Maroons of Jamaica, the Black Caribs of St. Vincent and fight in imperialist wars, there occurred in 1802 in Dominica the rebellion of the Eighth West India Regiment, "...murdering some of its white officers and non-commissioned officers..."

This rebellion was followed up by ones of "black soldiers and the slaves in Trinidad, Tobago and Surinam in 1805 and 1806..." and 1808 in Jamaica when "...men of the Second West India Regiment mutined...and killed two of their officers..." Trinidad was again in 1837 host to "...a serious mutiny of the First West India Regiment..." and as usual in most of the foregoing there were the loyalist military house-slaves who assisted officialdom as they recently did in Trinidad, to suppress those who placed themselves at the side of the people.

Cont'd on Page 4

WHAT is going on in the army and police force? Why are some of the officers in the army campaigning for PNM?  
WHAT are THE TOP RANKS of the police force telling the policemen? Is there a rumour being spread in the army that if PNM loses the election that the next government will smash-up the army?  
ARE the top men in the police force telling the policemen that any other government but a PNM government will disband the police force?  
WHY are they spreading these rumours and lies?  
ARE they afraid of the people?  
DO they have other motives?

ARE they planning a right-wing coup to seize power with the help of the Venezuelan army and Air Force?  
Soldiers and Policemen do not let them fool you and give you lies to hold.

We, all ah we, all the people, policemen and soldiers too, must ruin our affairs. We must not give up our rights to a few gangsters. Let us organise at our work and where we live. Try and get the people together. FORM Assemblies of the people to run your own community. Organise yourself NOW to send your own representatives to a National Assembly of all the people to form a People's government.  
DON'T BE FOOLED BY LIES.

## THE MESSAGE

"ME BROTHER, is hard to explain these mysteries, but as a Brethren you know the simple truth that man is God. The white man in him trickery create another God. Him say that that God live in the sky and him call up there heaven; then the say that when we dead we will go to heaven if we do good. Of course this is the horrible trick he use to pacify us in this life while he rob us of all that belong to us an' live off the fat of the land himself. He tell us all kind o' nonsense about blessed are the poor for they shall inherit the the kingdom of Heaven. What Kingdom?"

"Yes, me Brother. But there is another thing that they hide from us. The most important of all. And that is that man is God. This, this, Brother, is the wickedest sin that the white man commit on himself and us and that the brown allies now perpetrate. For when they enslave us in this land of Babylon after taking us from the sweet heaven of Africa they not only enslave we body but also we mind. An' even now we still enslaved, but is a different kind of slavery, a more subtle kind..."

"— When I say subtle, me Brother, I mean cunning, crafty. You hear about the serpent in the Bible, well, the serpent is the symbol of the white imperialist, me Brother. An' that is where most of him strength lay; him is a schemer, like Brer Anancy, you remember Brer Anancy, little an' runny an' cry-cry an' smart. Him have all the cunning of Anancy and all the strength of Brer Fox. So, as I was saying, the white man now enslave us not so

much in the crude form him used to do one time but now him use other tactics to keep up with the times.

So now him whip is poverty and his claim to superior culture and the slave driver is the dirty black lackeys who lap up his myths and the slave Master is the filthy white capitalist from abroad.

Development! Economic development, that is the new sermon on the Mount, Brother. Hear it well. It enslave the brown lackeys and the black traitors long time. And it keep us in perpetual damnation, Brother. It's our sweat that made England. It's our poverty it smothering over now. An' what this all mean, Brother? It mean that the God that is within you is locked up in the filthiness of poverty. There is hardly any escape. For you, so anxious to get out of the trap of poverty that you ready to sell you soul to the New Sermon on the Mount. Out of the frying pan of poverty into the fire of white corruption.

"TO FIND YOU SOUL YOU HAVE TO BREAK AWAY ALL THE SINK AND MUCK THAT SURROUND YOU WITHOUT FALLING INTO THE TRAP. AND IT HARD, ME BROTHER, IT HARD"

(From Orlando Patterson's "the Children of Sisyphus").

# ARUSHIA

# DECE

One method we use to try and avoid a recognition of the need to increase taxes if we want to have more money for development, is to think in terms of getting the extra money from outside Tanzania. Such external finance falls into three main categories.

(a) Gifts: This means that another government gives our Government a sum of money as a free gift for a particular development scheme. Sometimes it may be that an institution in another country gives our Government, or an institution in our country, financial help for development programmes.

(b) Loans: The greater portion of financial help we expect to get from outside is not in the form of

loans. A foreign government or a foreign institution, such as a bank, lends our Government money for the purposes of development. Such a loan has repayment conditions attached to it, covering such factors as the time period for which it is available and the rate of interest.

(c) Private Investment: The third category of financial help is also greater than the first. This takes the form of investment in our country by individuals or companies from outside. The important condition which such private investors have in mind is that the enterprise into which they put their money should bring them profit, and that our Government should permit them to repatriate these profits. They also prefer to invest in a country whose policies they agree with and which will safeguard their economic interests.

These three are the main categories of external finance. And there is in Tanzania a fantastic amount of talk about getting money from outside. Our Government, and different groups of our leaders, never stop thinking about methods of getting finance from abroad. And if we get some money or even if we just get a promise of it, our newspapers, our radio, and our leaders, all advertise the fact in order that every person shall know that salvation is coming, or is on the way. If we receive a gift we announce it, if we receive a loan we announce it, if we get a new factory we announce it — and all ways loudly.

In the same way, when we get a promise of a gift, a loan, or a new industry, we make an announcement of the promise. Even when we have merely started discussions with a foreign government or institution

for a gift, a loan, or a new industry, we make an announcement — even though we do not know the outcome of the discussions. Why do we do all this? Because we want people to know that we have started discussions which will bring prosperity.

### DO NOT LET US DEPEND UPON MONEY FOR DEVELOPMENT:

It is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid, for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign financial assistance rather than our own financial resources. It is stupid for two reasons.

Firstly, we shall not get the money. It is true that there are countries which can, and which would like to, help us. But there is no country in the world which is prepared to give us gifts or loans, or establish industries, to the extent that we would be able to achieve all our development targets.

There are many needy countries in the world. And even if all the prosperous nations were willing to help the needy countries, the assistance would still not suffice. But in any case the prosperous nations have not accepted a responsibility to fight world poverty. Even within their own borders poverty still exists, and the rich individuals do not willingly give money to the government to help their poor fellow citizens.

It is only through taxation, which people have to pay whether they want to or not, that money can be extracted from the rich in order to help the masses. Even then there would not be enough money.

However heavily we taxed the citizens of Tanzania and the aliens living here, the resulting revenue would not be enough to meet the costs of the development we want.

And there is no World Government which can tax the prosperous nations in order to help the poor nations; nor if one did exist could it raise enough revenue to do all that is needed in the world.

But in fact, such a World Government does not exist. Such money as the rich nations offer to the poor nations is given voluntarily, either through their own goodness, or for their own benefit. All this means that it is impossible for Tanzania to obtain from overseas enough money to develop our economy.

### GIFTS AND LOANS WILL ENDANGER OUR INDEPENDENCE

Secondly, even if it were possible for us to get enough money for our need from external sources, is this what we really want?

Independence means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if a nation depends upon gifts and loans from another for its development. Even if there was a nation, or nations, prepared to give us all the money we need for our development, it would be improper for us to accept such assistance without asking ourselves how this would affect our independence and our very survival as a nation. Gifts which increase, or act as a catalyst, to our own efforts are valuable. But gifts which could have the effect of weakening or distorting our own efforts should not be accepted until we have asked ourselves a number of questions.

The same applies to loans. It is true that loans are better than 'free' gifts. A loan is intended to increase our efforts or make those efforts more fruitful. One condition

of a loan is that you show how you are going to repay it. This means you have to show that you intend to use the loan profitably and will therefore be able to repay it.

But even loans have their limitations. You have to give consideration to the ability to repay. When we borrow money from other countries it is the Tanzanian who pays it back.

And as we have already stated, Tanzanians are poor people. To burden the people with big loans, the repayment of which will be beyond their means, is not to help them but to make them suffer. It is even worse when the loans they are asked to repay have not benefited the majority of the people but have only benefited a small minority.

How about the enterprises of foreign investors? It is true we need these enterprises. We have even passed an Act of Parliament pro-

tecting foreign investments in this country.

Our aim is to make foreign investors feel that Tanzania is a good place in which to invest because investments would be safe and profitable, and the profits can be taken out of the country without difficulty. We expect to get money through this method. But we cannot get enough. And even if we were able to convince foreign investors and foreign firms to undertake all the projects and programmes of economic development that we need, is that what we actually want to happen?

Had we been able to attract investors from America and Europe to come and start all the industries and all the projects of economic development that we need in this country, could we do so without questioning ourselves? Could we agree to leave the

go. They want to act, they want to give their money. Whenever you can, for any purpose get crowds of 20-30,000 people, they are ready for anything.

They have not come there to listen to your arguments and then decide. Masses do not think, they do not act in that way. When they come in such numbers they have already decided. What they want now is to know what you are going to do and what you want them to do and to be armed with information and with reasons.

West Indian society lacks a philosophy of its own. And all classes feel it. They don't exactly know where they are, they

## THE LESSON

Our social experiences as a people over the last three centuries and today have taught us at least one important lesson on organisations. That lesson is this. THE PEOPLE ARE FULLY CAPABLE OF ORGANISING THEMSELVES IN POPULAR BODIES TO CARRY OUT THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF THEIR COMMUNITY BOTH LOCAL AND NATIONAL. That is key to the solution of the problem of government today. If we do not clearly understand that and keep it constantly in the forefront of our minds, we will move from crisis to crisis in a maze of confusion and frustration.

# FROM BEL

don't know where they are going. With us the old regime is gone. The new one is not here. Such history as we have tells us for the most part what was done to us, not what we did. These are some of the ideas behind my insistence on "THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY". It must be national — its basis, its impetus, its driving force MUST BE POPULAR. There is no other social force in these territories able to create it."

Democratic government does not create democracy. Democracy creates democratic government — and my opinion is

# DECLARATION

## PART 2

economy of our country in the hands of foreigners who would take the profits back to their countries? Or supposing they did not insist upon taking their profits away, but decided to reinvest them in Tanzania; could we really accept this situation without asking ourselves what disadvantages our nation would suffer? Would this allow the socialism we have said it is our objective to build?

How can we depend upon gifts, loans, and investments from foreign countries and foreign companies without endangering our independence? The English people have a proverb which says, 'He who pays the piper calls the tune.' How can we depend upon foreign governments and companies for the major part of our development without giving to those governments and countries a great part of our freedom to act as we please? The truth is that we cannot.

# of Self-Reliance

Let us repeat. We made a mistake in choosing money — something, we do not have — to be the big instrument of our development. We are making a mistake to think that we shall get the money from other countries; first, because in fact we shall not be able to get sufficient money for our economic development; and secondly, because even if we could get all that we need, such dependence upon others would endanger our independence and our ability to choose our own political policies.

## WE HAVE PUT TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON INDUSTRIES:

Because of our emphasis on money, we have made another big mistake. We have put too much emphasis on industries. Just as we have said, 'Without money there

can be no development', we also seem to say, 'Industries are the basis of development, without industries there is no development'.

This is true. The day when we have lots of money we shall be able to say we are a developed country. We shall be able to say, 'When we began our development plans we did not have enough money and this situation made it difficult for us to develop as fast as we wanted'.

Today we are developed and we have enough money. That is to say, our money has been brought by development. Similarly, the day we become industrialized, we shall be able to say we are developed.

Development would have enabled us to have industries. The mistake we are making is to think that development begins with industries. It is a mistake because we do not have the means to establish many modern industries in our country.

We do not have either the necessary finances or the technical know-how. It is not enough to say that we shall borrow the finances and the technicians from other countries to come and start the industries. The answer to this is the same one we gave earlier, that we cannot get enough money and borrow enough technicians to start all the industries we need.

And even if we could get the necessary assistance, dependence on it could interfere with our policy on socialism. The policy of inviting a chain of capitalist — to come and establish industries in our country might succeed in giving us all the industries we need, but it would also succeed in preventing the establishment of socialism unless we believe that without first building capitalism, we cannot build socialism.

## UP

which the applause of the audience ensures five years of further employment for the more attractive performers.

Politics is an activity, everybody, government and people. It is not an activity that is shared, divided up, it is a reciprocal activity only in appearance. The more active the people are, the more active the government can be. But you cannot teach the people to govern. But you cannot appoint 'the people' overnight to this committee, or that board. But you encourage them, you insist that they practise self-government, that is to say, to govern themselves, in their own organisations.

## LET US PAY HEED TO THE PEASANT

Our emphasis on money and industries has made us concentrate on urban development. We recognise that we do not have enough money to bring the kind of development to each village which would benefit everybody. We also know that we cannot establish an industry in each village and through this means effect a rise in the real incomes of the people. For these reasons we spend most of our money in the urban areas and our industries are established in the towns.

Yet the greater part of this money that we spend in the towns comes from loans. Whether it is used to build schools, hospitals, houses or factories, etc., it still has to be repaid. But it is obvious that it cannot be repaid just out of money obtained from urban and industrial development.

To repay the loans we have to use foreign currency which is obtained from the sale of our exports. But we do not now sell our industrial products in foreign markets, and indeed it is likely to be a long time before our industries produce for export. The main aim of our new industries is 'import substitution' — that is, to produce things which up to now we have had to import from foreign countries.

It is therefore obvious that the foreign currency we shall use to pay back the loans used in the development of the urban areas will not come from the towns or the industries. Where, then, shall we get it from? We shall get it from the villages and from agriculture. What does the this mean? It means that the people who benefit directly from development which is brought about by borrowed money are not the ones who will repay the loans. The largest proportion of the loans will be spent in, or for, the urban areas, but the

largest proportion of the payment will be made through the efforts of the farmers.

This fact should always be borne in mind, for there are various forms of exploitation. We must not forget that people who live in towns can possibly become the exploiters of those who live in the rural areas. All our big hospitals are in towns and they benefit only a small section of the people of Tanzania.

Yet if we have built them with loans from outside Tanzania, it is the overseas sale of the peasants' produce which provides the foreign exchange for repayment. Those who do not get the benefit of the hospitals thus carry the major responsibility for paying for them.

Farmer roads, too, are mostly found in towns and are of especial value to the motor-car owners. Yet if we have built those roads with loans, it is again the farmer who produces the goods which will pay for them. What is more, the foreign exchange with which the car was bought also came from the sale of the farmers' produce.

Again, electric lights, water pipes, hotels and other aspects of modern development are mostly found in towns. Most of them have been built with loans, and most of them do not benefit the farmer directly, although they will be paid for by the foreign exchange earned by the sale of his produce. We should always bear this in mind.

Although when we talk of exploitation we usually think of capitalists, we should not forget that there are many fish in the sea. They eat each other. The large ones eat the small ones, and small ones eat those who are even smaller.

There are two possible ways of dividing the people in our country. We can put the capitalists and feudalists on one side, and the farmers and workers on the other. But we can also divide the people into urban dwellers on one side and those who live in the rural areas on the other. If we are not careful we might get to the position where the real exploitation in Tanzania is that of the town dwellers exploiting the peasants.

Cont'd Next Week.

## NEW GOVT

The new form of government, therefore must be based on the organisation of people at their place of residence, and at their place of work. The people, all the people, in village, area, city blocks etc. will form the local assembly.

The local assembly will be the local government of the particular area, and will be responsible for determining and carrying-out either independently or jointly with other assemblies all community functions. The power in the community rests with the Local Assembly of all the people.

## LOW

that the mass of the population is ready to go. Where exactly they do not know. But they are ready. It is the educated middle class chiefly the politicians, who have also inherited the disrespect and lack of belief in the West Indian people characteristic of slavery, of colonialism and imperialist education, (that are keeping the people back).

Politics is an activity. It is not a lecture room where the people are supposed to listen to all the Government has done for them. It is not a struggle over function how much the government gets and how much the people get. It is not a play in

Extract taken from "Party Politics"

in the West Indies" 1962

# SOLDIERS' REBELLION

In the 1914-18 imperialist World War black soldiers of the West India Regiment garrisoned in Italy in 1918.

"...violently reacted to the racist letters imposed upon them by the (British) War Office. The revolt started when members of the 9th Battalion attacked their officers and severely assaulted their unit commander... protesting regulations that prevented black West Indians from receiving increased separation allowances like other troops, and from being promoted to any rank in the Army.

"The outbreak continued for several days: men refused to work, a shooting and bombing occurred (and) a "generally insubordinate spirit prevailed..."

"The 9th Battalion was disbanded. All battalions of the Regiment were sent to Toronto "in fighting order with ammunition in their pouches" to keep the Black Regiment in line. W.R. Elkins continued in the Spring, 1970 Science & Society to say that for "many of the black soldiers of the experience at Toronto — and the unequal treatment in general during the war — created a desire for affirmative action in the colonies against class and racial oppressors. Honduras, when demobilized soldiers of the Regiment started an insurrection in which they systematically attacked the business and homes of the dominating class."

This was followed in December, 1919 by the great General Strike in Trinidad to which "ex-soldiers of the Regiment gave their energy".

The April 1970 democratic action of Trinidad's Revolutionary Solidery therefore fits into this glorious tradition, for as Elkins observed: "the soldiers of Regiment began the national liberation struggle that eventually led to the demise of the open colonial rule in most of the British Caribbean".

No doubt, the Caribbean Revolutionary Solidery and police, together with the masses and their most class-conscious leaders, despite all the feverish attempts not being made to oppose them one to another, will yet liberate the Caribbean from colonialism and imperialism and their local puppets.

When we say that we are fed-up with leaders, let us not mean that we have "absolutely no need" for leaders. Let us however, realise, that we do in fact have much need for a particular type of leader. Some attempt must therefore be made to create a pure and true form of leadership.

A system of Local and National Assemblies has been proposed. This is intended to make politics a total thing.

S.C.C. SAYS—

## ORGANISE!

IF THERE is to be a complete change students should take an active part seeing that they have always been forced to endure deplorable conditions in schools. Recently students have made two important observations — that most of the problems they face are direct results of the present colonial society and to overcome these problems the society must change. They saw the need for a strong student organisation and so the Students Co-ordinating Committee originated.

Discrimination is by no means foreign to schools. Racial hatred is forced into these innocent students by their Afro-Saxon and Indo-Saxon masters. Since this racial hatred is presented to them by their masters the two under-privileged races have no alternative but to hate each other, "because if the masters say so is so."

In denominational schools, discrimination based on religion is also quite rampant. For instance Catholics are given first preference when admission is being sought into a Catholic school, although non-Catholics may have attained the necessary qualifications. The few non-catholics who do get in are subjected to the full wrath of catholicism. It goes without saying that the other religions practise the same system. It is quite obvious that these various religions are creating a split in our society and thus the divide and rule policy can be easily implemented.

In addition students face continued harassment by staff members, their rights are being denied or it is even made quite clear that they have no rights. Other than

# THE NEW LEADERSHIP

True community leaders would emerge as the governmental leaders, and a national leader would emerge only from the National Assembly, which would be made up of local representatives or true community leaders.

Politics, at the same time, being community as well as national based, and being tried in completely with all aspects of the country's life, with full popular participation, would

# POLICY PROPOSAL

SUGAR:

The entire sugar industry - production, shipping and marketing - must be brought under national ownership and control.

All lands under sugar-cane production should be owned by the people who work these lands. Method of ownership and division of these lands should be determined by both government, that is, the whole people, and the sugar-cane farmers and workers. The people of Trinidad and Tobago are ready to take this bold step forward.

AGRICULTURE:

All cultivatable lands in all parts of the country must be brought under agricultural production in accordance with a national land-use plan. Ownership and division of all agricultural lands must be determined by the people in agriculture and the government, collectively.

It must be clearly stated that the greatest emphasis should be placed on domestic agriculture; that is, production of food primarily for local consumption but not forgetting regional interchanges and the world markets. In this way, not only will we be able to reduce the vast food-import bill and increase exports, but we will be diversifying and will strengthen immeasurably the economic base.

The marketing and distribution of agricultural products should not be the private affairs of individuals, but should become a collective responsibility of producers, consumers and government, all intimately collaborating.

The rest of the heroic and courageous action of placing themselves on the side of the people and thereby refusing to indulge in reactionary suppression and blood-shedding is that Dictator-in-Chief Eric Williams and his rump Cabinet arrested the revolutionary solidery and charged them with treason. The other arm of state power the police now armed with weapons supplied by the Venezuelan dictatorship and the United States, is reported to be using those very methods which reactionary Williams demagogically and hypocritically questioned and accused Cuba about when he asked: "whether it needed the suppression of all opposition by Castro, the refusal to hold elections, and the establishment of a police state in order to achieve the very development objectives and techniques which the P.N.M. is observing with parliamentary methods and with democratic freedom which have no parallel anywhere else in the world." (The Nation, Nov. 26, 1965, page 10).

We will not ask Williams why he repressed the people and jailed their leaders, break up the militant Union, prohibiting freedom of expression and assembly, banning subversive literature except "Capitalism and Slavery", conspiring with imperialism to keep the Eastern Caribbean enslaved, threatening to suspend elections and establishing a police state, because we now understand that the state is a machine for the suppression of one class by another, and that there is a Dictatorship of a minority over a majority of the downtrodden masses who (the latter) will come to power sooner than many think. From all reports, therefore, Trinidad has been turned into a gigantic prisonhouse and armed camp at the behest of a power-mad political Doctor who apparently is aiming at another fifteen years of absolutist rule, thus hoping to achieve the ambition of emulating Papa Doc Duvalier of Haiti who is President for life, of that terror-stricken country that has now become the Mecca for the Caribbean leaders.

Totalitarianism is with us in the English-speaking Caribbean long before the Trinidad rebellion and we must all salute the democratic responsibility exhibited by Lieutenants Rex LaSalle, Raffique Shah, Mike Bazie, Brizan and all other officers and men, in not abrogating their rights as apart of the people in uniform to engage in military chauvinism and swaggering to repress the people and consolidate the totalitarian trend.

We therefore call for the immediate and unconditional release of the revolutionary solidery the resignation of the Government, and the substitution of a National Assembly of its people.

Glory on high to the Revolutionary Solidery of Trinidad and Tobago whose example in siding with the people may influence the solidery in the rest of the Caribbean.

Caribbean International Service Bureau.

be a total thing. Any form of leadership MUST come about as a result of a particular type of PERSONAL involvement, and not the other way around. A "Political Technocrat" (Political Leader) would be more or less, an impossibility. Leadership would be created and maintained by the people. A leadership DEPENDENT ON A PERSONAL INVOLVE-MENT.

staff harassment, all progressive, black conscious groups are being unmercifully persecuted and students may even be suspended for expressing certain beliefs. They have to put up with inadequate and terrible seating accommodations; lack of sporting facilities (although parents have to make regular contributions towards sports funds) and dehumanising toilet conditions.

The Student Co-ordinating Committee thinks that these deplorable conditions can be rectified by proper organisation. The S.C.C. is in the process of organising groups in the schools. In a short time it is hoped that these schools will be organised and at that time the present S.C.C. will dissolve itself and a new, strong and vibrant S.C.C. will emerge. In this way all the students throughout Trinidad will be working in the same direction and be well on the way to establish the new society.

• From Page 1.

## WE ARE AT WAR

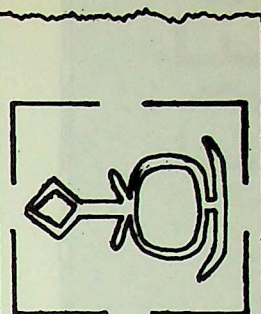
about change, we who want change, we who want to be free, must be prepared to make sacrifices — war is not a picnic.

In the final analysis it is necessary for us to cease to rebel in isolation. We must cease to do each our own individual thing. Let us organize and unite and come together to wage the war today on all fronts Cultural, economic and political.

To be revolutionary today is not only to talk about revolution. To be a revolutionary today one has by personal sacrifice and courage to confront daily and in company and on behalf of our brothers and sisters in their communities the brutal and inhuman system which we as a people have been struggling to overcome ever since the first slave ship landed its cargo of black people on the soil of these islands.

DECEMBER 1970



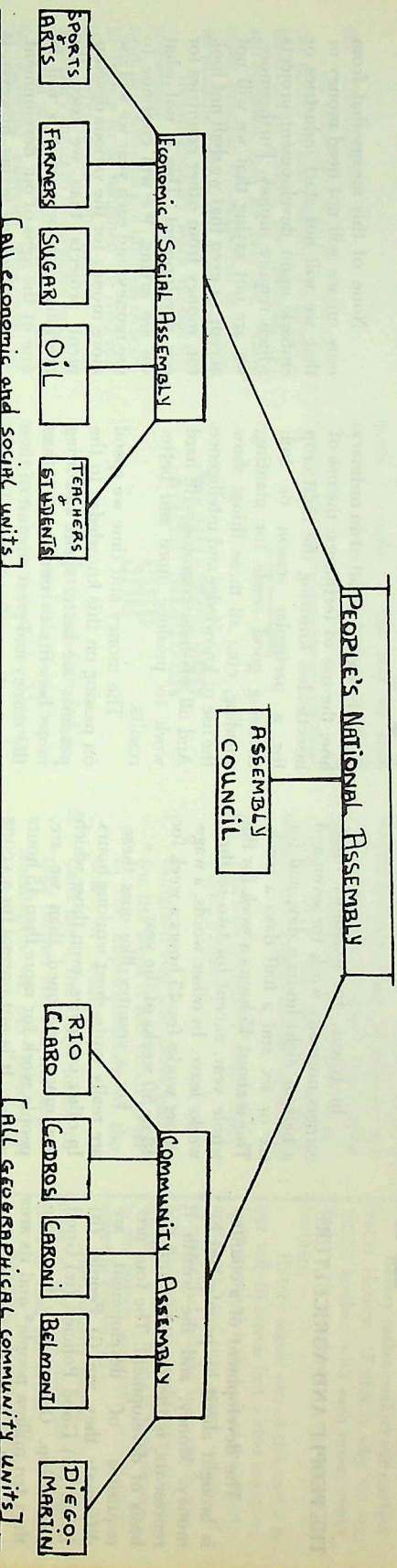


# NEW BEGINNING

Co-ordinating Council  
News Service



**PROPOSED**  
**NEW REVOLUTIONARY FORM OF GOVERNMENT.**



## A Call to the People

A UNITED front of all the people to combat the governmental, economic and cultural system is an absolute necessity. The many problems that plague the various sections of the population are a direct result of the total system of social relationships that has not changed basically for 300 years. If technical solutions will not solve anything. We need a total change to the system.

To bring about this total change we need a United Organised Front of the people, a United Front that knows clearly what it wants and how that want will be achieved. In all parts of the country people are coming together to form small groups, both where they work and where they live. In the country areas, on the block, at the point of work, small groups are emerging. But these people are being confused by the many organisations that are on the dramatic national stage.

Secondly, the small groups do not know of each others existence. The time has come for a co-ordinated effort of all the groups that want fundamental changes in our society; revolutionary

change. There are many who believe that revolutionary change can only come about by means of guns and molotov cocktails. There are others who believe that revolutionary change can be stopped by machine guns, SMGs, SLRs, Youth Brigades and organised armed gangs paid to do their dirty work.

The only instrument of revolutionary change, in our view, is an organised United Front of the people. Once the people are organised nothing can hold them back. But to build a United Front of the people there must be a social basis and a clear, simple objective. New Beginning proposes:

1. That people begin to organise themselves now to bring into being assemblies of the people at a point of residence (the community) and at the point of work. Our objective must be to bring into being a new form of government that will place power in the hands of the people. That must be our major objective.

## 20 ENEMIES

ENEMY forces within a Revolutionary Group that Must be Combated.

1. Lack of practical group work and day-to-day work among the people.
2. Loss of morale
3. Laziness
4. Lack of initiative and imagination
5. Individualism
6. Smartmen tactics
7. Popularity and egotism
8. Impatience
9. Lack of discipline
10. Elitism
11. Jealousy
12. Rumour Mongering
13. Isolation
14. Shouting Revolutionary words without meaning
15. The Messiah figure and authoritarian rule
16. Failure to engage in internal criticism
17. Failure to study the fundamentals of social revolution and the experience of other revolutionary organisations
18. Male domination
19. Blackness without revolutionary politics and backward nationalism
20. Lack of principality and clarity.

These 20 of enemy forces must be combated within every revolutionary group. All efforts must be exerted to

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## LETTER TO "NEW BEGINNING"

THERE should be, in my view:

- (a) A Revolutionary Council elected by the Congress of the people or approved by the Congress.
- (b) A National Congress made-up of two sections: an Economic and Social Assembly, organised on the basis of occupation and social activities, and a National Community Assembly organised on the basis of geographical units. Delegates to be temporary, that is, they can be recalled at any time by their local Assembly. No party loyalties, no 5-year elections. Loyalty must be to the community, whether geographical or occupational.

Legislation and policy-formation are the two key matters. On the first, the revolutionary council proposes, and the matter goes to the Congress for discussion and satisfaction. Each unit on each Assembly will discuss by itself how it wants to vote on the proposal legislation, then elect a delegate after a discussion has been reached to register the units' vote and opinions at the next congress. A majority of both Assemblies of the Congress will carry the legislation. In cases of conflict a referendum can settle the matter. We are so small we can have a referendum every month if necessary.

Also, the main body of the Economic and Social Assembly will be made-up of farmers and working people, so as to entrench the orientation of the whole structure and its democratic base.

On policy-formation, each Minister on a Revolutionary Council will relate to the appropriate unit on the Economic Assembly. For example, Education must refer to teachers and students in the Assembly. Each year, a review of each Ministry's performance by a whole convention of teachers and students should take place. The convention will pass judgment on the past year's performance of the Ministry of Education, and propose new policies.

During the year, they (the teachers and students) will make their collective views known via a publication of their own subsidised by the government, and designed to constantly keep-up communication between Ministry, the particular economic and social unit and the whole people. There are other avenues that should be used like television, radio etc. All economic factors must have a medium of communication. Thus policy will be a combination of Ministry initiative, plus unit views, plus people's views expressed through congress.

The legal system should be re-oriented, with Magistrate's courts and High courts to be replaced by People's tribunals, and the abolition of appeals to Privy Council.

A Revolutionary brother.

A National  
Assembly  
of all  
the people  
in  
1971

ARUSHA

DECL

# The Policy of Self-Reliance

## THE PEOPLE AND AGRICULTURE

The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development. The four prerequisites of development are different; they are (i) People; (ii) Land; (iii) Good Policies; (iv) Good Leadership. Our country has more than ten million people\* and its area is more than 362,000 square miles.

## AGRICULTURE IS THE BASIS OF DEVELOPMENT

A great part of Tanzania's land is fertile and gets sufficient rain. Our country can produce various crops for home consumption and for export.

We can produce food crops (which can be exported if we produce in large quantities) such as maize, rice, wheat, beans, groundnuts, etc. And we can produce such cash crops as sisal, cotton, coffee, tobacco, pyrethrum, tea, etc. Our land is also good for grazing cattle, goats, sheep, and for raising chickens, etc.; we can get plenty of fish from our rivers, lakes, and from the sea. All of our farmers are in areas which can produce two or three or even more of the food and cash crops enumerated above, and each farmer could increase his production so as to get more food or more money. And because the main aim of development is to get more food, and more money for our other needs, our purpose must be to increase production of these agricultural crops. This is in fact the only road through which we can develop our country—in other words, only by increasing our production of these things can we get more food and more money for every Tanzanian.

## THE CONDITIONS

### OF DEVELOPMENT

#### (a) HARD WORK

Everybody wants development; but not everybody understands and accepts the basic requirements for development. The biggest requirement is hard work. Let us go to the villages and talk to our people and see whether or not it is possible for them to work harder.

In towns, for example, wage-earners normally work for seven and a half or eight hours a day, and for six or six and a half days a week. This is about 45 hours a week for the whole year, except for two or three weeks leave. In other words, a wage-earner works for 45 hours a week for 48 or 50 weeks of the year.

For a country like ours these are really quite short working hours. In other countries, even those which are more developed than we are, people work for more than 45 hours a week. It is not normal for a young country to start with such a short working week. The normal thing is to begin with long working hours and decrease them as the country becomes more and more prosperous. By starting with such working hours and asking for even shorter hours, we are in fact imitating the more developed countries. And we shall regret this imitation. Nevertheless, wage-earners do work for 45 hours a week and their annual vacation does not exceed four weeks.

It would be appropriate to ask our farmers, especially the men, how many hours a week and how many weeks a year they work. Many do not even work for half as many hours as the wage-earner does. The truth is that in the villages the women work very hard. At times they work for 12 or 14 hours a day. They even work on Sundays and public holidays. Women who live in the villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania. But the men who live in villages (and some of the women in towns) are on leave for half of their life. The energies of the millions of men in the villages and thousands of women in the towns which are at present wasted in gossip, dancing and drinking, are a great treasure which contribute more towards the development of our country than anything we could get from rich nations.

We would be doing something very beneficial to our country if we went to the villages and told our people that they hold this treasure and that it is up to them to use it for their own benefit and the benefit of our whole nation.

#### (b) INTELLIGENCE

The second condition of development is the use of intelligence. Unintelligent hard work would not bring the same good results as the two combined. Using a big hoe instead of a small one; using a plough

pulled by oxen instead of an ordinary hoe; the use of fertilizers; the use of insecticides; knowing the right crop for a particular season or soil; choosing good seeds for planting; weeding, etc.; all these things show the use of knowledge and intelligence. And all of them combine with hard work to produce more and better results.

The money and time we spend on passing on this knowledge to the peasants are better spent and bring more benefits to our country than the money and great amount of time we spend on other things which we call development.

These facts are well known to all of us. The parts of our Five-Year Development Plan which are on target, or where the target has been exceeded, are those parts which depend solely upon the people's own hard work. The production of cotton, coffee, cashew nuts, tobacco and pyrethrum has increased enormously for the past three years. But these are things which are produced by hard work and the good leadership of the people, not by the use of great amounts of money.

Furthermore the people, through their own hard work and with a little help and leadership, have finished many development projects in the villages. They have built schools, dispensaries, community centres, and roads; they have dug wells, water channels, animal dips, small dams, and completed various other development projects. Had they waited for money, they would not now have the use of these things.

## HARD WORK IS THE ROOT OF DEVELOPMENT.

Some Plan projects which depend on money are going on well, but there are many which have stopped and others which might never be fulfilled because of lack of money. Yet still we talk about money and our search for money increases and takes nearly all our energies. We should not lessen our efforts to get the money we really need, but it would be more appropriate for us to spend time in the villages showing the people how to bring about development through their own efforts rather than going on so many long and expensive journeys abroad in search of development money. This is the real way to bring development to everybody in the country.

None of this means that from now on we will not need money or that we will not start industries or embark upon development projects which require money. Furthermore, we are not saying that we will not accept, or even that we shall not look for, money from other countries for our development. This is not what we are saying. We will continue to use money; and each year we will use more money for the various development projects than we used the previous year because this will be one of the signs of our development.

What we are saying, however, is that from now on we shall know what is the foundation and what is the fruit of development. Between money and people it is obvious that the people and their hard work are the foundation of development, and money is one of the fruits of that hard work.

From now on we shall stand upright and walk forward on our feet rather than look at this problem upside down. Industries will come and money will come but their foundation is the people and their hard work, especially in AGRICULTURE. This is the meaning of self-reliance.

Our emphasis should therefore be on:

- (a) The Land and Agriculture
- (b) The People
- (c) The Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance, and
- (d) Good Leadership.

#### (a) THE LAND

Because the economy of Tanzania depends and will continue to depend on agriculture and animal husbandry, Tanzanians can live well without depending on help from outside if they use their land properly. Land is the basis of human life and all Tanzanians should use it as a valuable investment for future development. Because the land belongs to the nation, the Government has to see to it that it is used for the benefit of the whole nation and not for the benefit of one individual or just a few people.

It is the responsibility of TANU to see that the country produces enough food and enough cash crops for export. It is the responsibility of the Government and the co-operative societies to see to it that our people get the necessary tools, training and leadership in modern methods of agriculture.

## What the Square means to us

HISTORY is a strange process that throws up people, ideas places and events into a melee, that sometimes appears chaotic, but which when delved into reveals a continuity between the four forces — a continuity which points to the fact that there was always perfect order in the apparent superficial disorder.

It is as if History is a great manipulator, which directs men with some kind of strong spiritual force to play different roles at different times in different or similar places, with the sole aim of progress to higher and higher stages of life, through conflict.

History makes conflict and conflict makes History. All this is why we are totally involved with each other, everybody with everybody as enemies or as brothers.

History makes sure of this, and it is our task to search first within ourselves for truth which is the basis of the historic continuity, and then search outside of ourselves for patterns and existing symbols that helps to clearly define the continuity.

Such a symbol, important to our historic continuity, is that public square in Port-of-Spain.

The Square changed names four times so far. Each name has its significance to time and events.

According to the records it was first called Brunswick Square, named after Caroline of Brunswick, the wife of Georg IV, and during the era of this name many notable happenings took place there.

The year 1808 saw the event of a slave revolt, and the hanging of leaders of the rebellion, in the Brunswick Square where to, their heads were publicly displayed to discourage further revolt, and the square became earmarked as the centre or main symbol of our people's revolution.

In 1881-82 the Camboulay (Laines-brules) riots took place but were not particularly centred around Brunswick Square. But these riots took place on Carnival days, when our people could freely move about the streets expressing themselves. Thus there was no special or particular need for the symbolic place of freedom, the square. The point being that if these riots did not take place on Carnival days, they would have been launched from the Square.

It was a different situation in 1903 with the Water Riots. The rich people wasted water, while the poor went without. The government then indiscriminately came up with the Water Ordinance which in fact, cut down the water-luxury of rich, a great deal, but at the same time pressured the poor. The rich campaigned against the government and the poor joined being also against the government.

The Rates Payers Association held a public meeting in the square on the 23rd March, and the meeting culminated in a riot. It is rumoured a school-boy started it. Now when students march people get annoyed.

The Red House was burnt totally, the fire was set when the Governor and council were inside debating. The rich agitate and the poor rioted, and it was the poor ex-slaves that were shot down. (16 dead 42 wounded). The masses had again seen hopes in achieving something but failed, and the square was the launching pad. The pattern continued.

In 1917 "Brunswick" was changed to "Woodford", and the second era of the square's life began. This era moved to a higher stage of conflict than the previous. It also marked a higher step up on the ladder towards our people's aspirations and progress.

On the 3rd December, 1919, the

● From Page 4.

# LARRATION

## PART 3

# liance

### (b) THE PEOPLE

In order properly to implement the policy of self-reliance, the people have to be taught the meaning of self-reliance and its practice. They must become self-sufficient in food, serviceable clothes and good housing.

In our country work should be something to be proud of, and laziness, drunkenness and idleness should be things to be ashamed of. And for the defence of our nation, it is necessary for us to be on guard against internal stooges who could be used by external enemies who aim to destroy us. The people should always be ready to defend their nation when they are called upon to do so.

### (c) GOOD POLICIES

The principles of our policy of self-reliance go hand in hand with our policy on socialism. In order to prevent exploitation it is necessary for everybody to work and to live on his own labour. And in order to distribute the national wealth fairly, it is necessary for everybody to work to the maximum of his ability. Nobody should go and stay for a long time with his relative, doing no work, because in doing so he will be exploiting his relative. Likewise, nobody should be allowed to loiter in towns or villages without doing work which would enable him to be self-reliant without exploiting his relatives.

TANU believes that everybody who loves his nation has a duty to serve it by co-operating with his fellows in building the country for the benefit of all the people of Tanzania. In order to maintain our independence and our people's freedom we ought to be self-reliant in every possible way and avoid depending upon other countries for assistance. If every individual is self-reliant the ten-house cell will be self-reliant; if all the cells are self-reliant the whole ward will be self-reliant; and if the wards are self-reliant the Districts are self-reliant, then the Regions are self-reliant, and if the Regions are self-reliant, then the whole nation is self-reliant and this is our aim.

### (d) GOOD LEADERSHIP

TANU recognizes the urgency and importance of good leadership. But we have not yet produced systematic training for our leaders; it is necessary that TANU Head quarters should now prepare a programme of

training for all leaders—from the national level to the ten-house cell level—so that every one of them understands our political and economic policies. Leaders must set a good example to the rest of the people in their lives and in all their activities.

## TANU MEMBER-SHIP

Since the Party was founded we have put great emphasis on getting as many members as possible. This was the right policy during the independence struggle. But now the National Executive feels that the time has come when we should put more emphasis on the beliefs of our Party and its policies of socialism.

That part of the TANU Constitution which relates to the admission of a member should be adhered to, and if it is discovered that a man does not appear to accept the faith, the objects, and the rules and regulations of the Party, then he should not be accepted as a member. In particular, it should not be forgotten that TANU is a Party of peasants and workers.

## Arusha Resolution

Therefore, the National Executive Committee, meeting in the Community Centre at Arusha from 26.1.67 to 29.1.67 resolves:

### (a) THE LEADERSHIP

1. Every TANU and Government leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism or feudalism.

2. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company.

3. No TANU or Government leader should hold directorships in any privately owned enterprise.

4. No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries.

5. No TANU or Government leader should own houses which he rents to others.

6. For the purposes of this Resolution the term 'leader' should comprise the following:

Members of the TANU National Executive Committee; Ministers;

### (b) THE GOVERNMENT AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

1. Congratulates the Government for the steps it has taken so far in the implementation of the policy of socialism.

2. Calls upon the Government to take further steps in the implementation of our policy of socialism as described in Part Two of this document without waiting for a Presidential Commission on Socialism.

3. Calls upon the Government to put emphasis, when preparing its development plans, on the ability of this country to implement the plans rather than depending on foreign loans and grants as has been done in the current Five-Year Development Plan. The National Executive Committee also resolves that the Plan should be amended so as to make it fit in with the policy of self-reliance.

4. Calls upon the Government to take action designed to ensure that the incomes of workers in the private sector are not very different from the incomes of workers in the public sector.

5. Calls upon the Government to put great emphasis on actions which will raise the standard of living of the peasants, and the rural community.

6. Calls upon NUTA, the co-operatives, TAPA, UWT, TYL, and other Government institutions to take steps to implement the policy of socialism and self-reliance.

### (c) MEMBERSHIP

Members should get thorough teaching on Party ideology so that they may understand it, and they should always be reminded of the importance of living up to its principles.

THE END.

## ASSASSINATION PLOT UNCOVERED

THERE is a plot afoot to assassinate a number of Trade Union leaders. The first three on the list are Joe Young, Beddoe and Clive Nunez. This information was obtained by New Beginning Research staff earlier this week. The plot was put into operation last week and all three Union leaders were supposed to be dead by Monday, March 22, 1971. New Beginning got this information from sources close to the people who decided that Young, Beddoe and Nunez must be murdered. We are going to systematically expose those respectable gangsters to the whole population.

This plot is no joke. Early last week a number of men met and decided that Young, Beddoe and Nunez must be out of the way. The plot is intended to be a total declaration of war on both Young and Beddoe's unions. The stages of the plot are as follows:

1. To infiltrate both unions at the middle leadership level and within the rank-and-file workers. The infiltrators are supposed to whip-up the emotions of the union members against the present union leadership and the militant working-class stand that the leadership is taking. The infiltrators are also supposed to get the workers to join another reactionary union or to call for a new leadership. It is no wonder that Joe Young said that the workers were not in favour of a strike.

2. Young, Beddoe and Nunez were supposed to be murdered before the strike called by Beddoe took place. That is, they were supposed to be murdered by Monday, March 22. An attempt was made

on Beddoe's life last weekend, but he got away by the skin of his teeth.

3. The assassination plot was supposed to look like an accident or to appear to be a plot by a number of workers who were forced to join the unions against their wishes.

4. When the assassination plot was carried out, the infiltrators were supposed to get the workers to move into another union.

5. Thousands of dollars is supposed to be paid to the assassins when the deed is done.

The authors of the plot are men who are thought to be respectable, decent, gentlemanly and kind and who believe in democratic ideals. They are men with money obtained from the toil, sweat and oppression of the black people of this country. Some of them are Trinidadians, even Indians, others became Trinidadians by corrupt deals and bribery, and others are white foreigners.

These are the same men who preach to the people about social harmony, who babble about stability and peace, who say they believe in democratic ideals and practices. Now, they are plotting to murder Black militant union leaders. They are hypocrites, gangsters and murderers. The people know who they are and must be organized to withstand any of their dirty deeds.

New Beginning is not afraid to expose all those of that type. They can burn us down; they can murder us too, they can poison us. They can do what they like. We will continue to expose them. When any thing happens to New Beginning the people

## Call To People

● From Page 1.

2. That groups which want fundamental change in our society form a United Front now to wage a campaign among the people for a new form of government along the lines of the assemblies of the people (see New Beginning No. 1). We must work among the people in all residential communities and at all places of work to assist the people in organising themselves.

3. That groups be organised on a social basis. That is, groups must be based either in a community with people in that community forming the groups, or at a place of work. With that kind of organisation we will be building an organised social movement that no force can destroy save mass murder.

4. That the United Front generate discussion and debate on the kind of economy, cultural attitudes and values, political organisation that we should seek to have in a new society.

The political crisis today poses a revolutionary challenge to the many groups and to the people in general. It is this challenge that will separate the serious revolutionaries from the jokers. Only a United Front with a clear objective and a social base can ever hope to implement revolutionary changes in our society. New Beginning sees this task as the challenge of our time.

WHO WILL ACCEPT THIS CHALLENGE?

## 20 Enemies

● From Page 1.

expose these enemy forces and eliminate them whenever they arise in groups and in individual attitudes and actions. Without the constant struggle to eliminate them other brothers and sisters will be infected with the same deadly poison and we will find ourselves constantly at war with each other rather than building the together ness to fight the enemy. For it is impossible to fight the internal enemy when we are engaged in internal strife. All groups must discuss these enemy forces in order to combat them before they destroy the group.

(Next week we begin detailed discussion of each enemy force with proposals on how to fight it).

## TO BEGIN LOCAL ASSEMBLIES

New Beginning wants to emphasize that the proposals at the Assembly form of government are PROPOSALS. It is up to the groups and the people to discuss the proposals and come-up with what they think best. The co-ordinating Council is the instrument by means of which the various groups can co-ordinate with each other and work together, sharing each other's experiences in bringing into being a new popular form of government.

The immediate question that faces a large number of individuals and groups is, how to begin?

NEW BEGINNING makes the following proposals. They are only proposals. Individuals and groups will decide how best to begin at their work or in their community.

1. A group is made up of individuals. As it develops, a group consciousness emerges. But any group begins with a number of individuals who have been talking about problems, issues, change etc. or lining together. The real group begins when there is a general agreement about what is wrong, what should be done and a start is made to do something. So where there is no group, we begin with a number of individuals who are thinking in a similar direction. By regular groundings with other individuals at work, at times etc more people can be mobilized to form a group. Even when the group is formed, the group should undertake house-to-house, line-to-line groundings.

2. The group must have a general direction. It must be going someplace. It must have a clear objective that it wants to achieve. It is around this objective that all

1956 and the square once more suffered a great setback, and our movement aborted temporarily. The square's name was changed then to the "University of Woodford Square" — a very appropriate name indeed.

And so the Square became a place where people were lectured to, rather than giving vent to their feelings and convictions. The people were no longer important. They were taken for a ride

1970 and the Square was changed again. This time to the People's Parliament — the Square again was symbolic of the higher plane that we were moving into. No more intellectual arrogance, falseness and external-looking tendencies. The time had come to look into ourselves where lies the truth and all the answers needed.

This is what the square said in 1970. A People's Parliament in which the people themselves would discuss and come up with answers based on their own social experiences — this is a far cry from the "University of Woodford Square" — which even facetiously maintained the name "Woodford" — a British colonial Governor's setback. But again the square suffered a setback. The square was even detained completely — looked-up and bolted. The symbol of our aspirations and self-expression was bolted, and Nelson Island once again got visitors, significantly, almost a hundred.

Now its March 1971 — the square is still bolted but this month it is going to be opened temporarily for the appearance again of the man who termed it the "University" — in other words the professor is coming back to lecture us. But History has already taken us from "University of Woodford Square to "People's Parliament" — so are we going to go backwards?

Cipriani was symbolically hung in the Square, but Williams — Cipriani's logical conclusion in historic continuity will also be hung — whether symbolically or physically only — time will tell, as History and the Square moves on undeterred.

the work it does will revolve. Whatever the group does, it does it to further the achievement, of its main objective.

We propose that the main objective of groups that want to work for revolutionary changes in our society should be the building of togetherness in the community by bringing the people in the community together in a local assembly. That is what a local assembly is. The coming together of people in a community to discuss what form of government they want, what they want for their community, what practical work they will do in the community and begin to do that work. That should be our main objective.

3. To achieve that main objective the groups must have a social base. That is, they must be based either in a geographical area (a community) or in an occupation. The only way groups can achieve the main objective suggested above is when its members belong to the community and its work relates to the community.

The group must have its life in the community where it will work. By so doing we will be building a co-ordinated social movement and at the same time building the assemblies of the people. So there are two bases on which revolutionary groups should form, one, on a geographical basis, and two, on an occupational basis.

4. Now, the essential question: What can the groups do? A group cannot live on talk. It is necessary to discuss, debate and so on. This is generally how a group begins. And we must always discuss and debate issues, proposals etc. in groups. But a group cannot live on debating. If that is all it does, for sure it would not last long. Groups must have a concrete life. They must engage in practical day-to-day work.

Only by means of practical work can groups survive and develop. But the practical work must always be towards the achievement of the main objective.

The practical work we do must be twofold. Firstly, to draw the groups closer together. To develop a living togetherness. Secondly, the practical work must attempt to involve the community. The group must try to get the people in the community involved in doing community work. More than that, the group must seek to make the people in the community, a real community with community confidence and initiative and clarity of what they want. In this way we will be getting closer and closer to the local assembly.

5. What kind of practical work can the groups begin?

- (a) the groups can hold discussions on the assembly form of government, on agriculture, on fishing, on the overall economy, on culture, on community problems and so on. Community discussions must be a continuing thing.

- (b) the groups can service the weekly newspaper — New Beginning. They should send reports on their community, articles, results of discussions, views, ideas etc. to the paper on a regular weekly basis. They should take responsibility for selling the paper every week and returning money from sales to the newspaper office. The paper must become a People's paper. In addition groups must establish their own community paper.

- (c) A group in a community should have a central place where it can meet, hold discussions and do other work. Groups should, therefore, begin to find ways and means of building a place or getting one and renovating it.

(d) One of the aspects of community life that is sadly lacking today is cultural activities. In many communities, there is a lot of cultural talent going to waste. Groups can begin cultural sections in drama, dance etc. performances can be organised at which groups from other areas are invited to participate.

- (e) Sports can be organised. In some areas there is no sports ground where games can be played. The whole community can be mobilized to make a sports ground.

## SQUARE

● From Page 3.

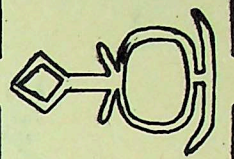
Labour strikes started, and the workers were thrown into a political arena.

Two people were thrown up on the scene — one a reformist, the other a revolutionary, one of the bourgeois middle-class, the other from the working ranks of the masses, Cipriani and Irving Butler.

The Square had seen the great betrayal of the masses in 1903, and history was not prepared to allow such again, the point being that it was due to the failure of Cipriani (who came first) to revolutionise the era, why it was necessary for Butler to appear also.

The conflict between the two is then quite understandable. By 1937 it was Butler all the way, and the people were singing songs to the effect that they would "hang Cipriani on a tree in the Square", and the next two years were the most turbulent Trinidad has ever seen.

In 1947, on the 19th January, Butler and the movement made a last show of force — it was the long march from South Trinidad to Woodford Square, and it all ended in a huge riot, in which tear gas was indiscriminately used, between the police and the masses.

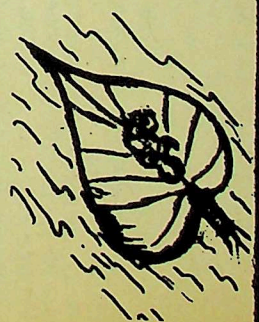


NEW

# BEGINNING

Co-ordinating Council

News Service



April 2nd, 1971.

## THE MOVEMENT DEFENDS!

ANY man who attacks only after having been attacked by external forces, is exercising a basic human right -- the right to self-defense. It is a matter of survival. It is an instinctive right that is outstanding at all levels of life, and most often relates either to an abuse of one's territory, property or abuse of one's person physically or mentally.

A dog, a rat any animal stakes out a piece of territory, attaches itself to that territory and defends it even if it may mean death, because it is out of this territory that the basic needs for living comes. Similarly it seems that man from birth, instinctively was tied, by certain bonds, to particular territory, and many even claim that from the very beginning, man's first purpose was to subdue his environment and so this tight relationship between man and land came to exist. And so far) in the history of the world in keeping with this tradition, man and other animals hold on to territory and control it. All men demand this to-day, it seems, except maybe those who were and are slaves. This instinct, to hold and control land, natural to mankind, was removed from the slave during slavery, in the process of dehumanisation, so as to make the slave less than a man. A man controls his land-- a slave does not have nor belong to any land.

It is in fact the most cruel result of slavery, to produce a man without the instinct that basically makes a man. And so throughout the so-called 'underdeveloped' world where slavery exists where black people live, most men have not yet regained that instinct that is typical of mankind, mainly because our oppressors find it beneficial to them to keep this instinct away from us, and keep us forever as foreigners or strangers in our own land of birth. Today we say NO, and we clamour for this original instinct of mankind. This is what NATIONALISM is all about. This is what 1970 was all about -- it brought the emergence of the TRINIDADIAN

### WILSON HARRIS' MESSAGE TO US

"ALL the restless wayward spirits of all the aeons (who it was thought had been enthralled for good) are returning to roost in our blood. And we have to start all over again where they began to explore.

We've got to pick up the seeds again where they left off. It's no use worshipping the rottenest tacouba and the treetrunk in the historic topsoil. There's a whole lot of branches and sensations we've missed and we've got to start again from the roots up even if they look like nothing.

Blood, sap, flesh, veins, arteries, lungs, heart, and Heart land. We are the first potential parents who can contain the regesimal house. Too young? I don't know. Too much responsibility? Time will tell. We've got to face it. Or else it will be too late to stop everything and everyone from running away and tumbling down.

And then all the Kings horses and all

NATIONALIST. At last we were beginning to grasp hold of ourselves and to look into ourselves for truth, and the instinct was rekindled.

1970 saw an attempt then to control our own land, like real men, to snatch it away from the clutches of Europeans and their stooges. Many disagreed, and it is because they do not understand. They have failed to see that any such attempt is in fact self-defense -- self-defense of territory, a natural birth-right of mankind. If we do not stand up for this right, from which all other rights issue forth, and other rights are based, then history will have it to say that we were not MEN. And rightly so.

The establishment of Trinidad even today persists in abusing our territory, in withholding us by force from controlling our own land, therefore when we attack the establishment, let it be known in its true perspective as an attack in defense of us, the people. So that the victims would not be called criminals and jailed or shot, and the true criminals called victims and be allowed to go free.

Hand in hand with the abuse of territory comes the abuse of us ourselves, our human resources. It is clear again of the role of the establishment as a whole in this aspect. The ISA which pampered foreigners at the expense of nationals, the act of keeping the races apart by means mainly of racial politics, the perpetuation of an irrelevant education system and the resulting frustration of natural creativity, the cruel crime of unemployment and underemployment, the betrayal of the people in the false Independence deal, the existence of places like Country Club, the adject slavery that Tate and Lyle escapes with, and we can go on and on and on -- are all aspects of abuse and vicious attacks by the Establishment on the people of Trinidad.

Some may say that unemployment is not an attack. True, it is not a physical attack, but it is definitely a mental one, which in fact has much worse ill-effects

Merrill, PNM's PRO in the square, on Sunday March 28:

"We have kept quiet for a long time, but today a sleeping giant has awakened. TODAY IT IS WAR. I have a sword in my hand. Are you ready for the fight?"

the king's men won't be able to put us together again. Like all the bananas, and the plantains and the coffee trees near Charly. Not far from here, you know. A small wind comes and everything comes out of the ground.

Because the soil is unstable. Just past Pegasus. Looks rich on top but that's about all. What do you think they say when it happens, when the crops run away? They shrug and say they're expendable crops. They can't begin to see that it's us, our blood running away all the time, in the river and in the sea, everywhere, staining the bush. Now is the time to make a new-born stand you and me; It's up to us, even if we fall on our knees and creep to anchor ourselves before we get up."

than a physical attack. The mental attack goes deeper, it eats the heart away like a cancer, it festers inside and soars, it drives you mad due to its slow and painful killing

there is nothing there but hopelessness, utter despair, waste. And just as bad is the 'project-job' that gives a man about 2 or 3 days work for a fortnight. It is like giving someone a fish a week for meagre sustenance, rather than teaching that someone how to fish for himself. And so, in this way, the someone will be dependant on his benefactor forever. So dependant that the someone lives on, always next to death without being given the chance to bring out his potential as a man. Any society that harbours unemployment and under-employment, is failing to take care of its citizens, and needs putting right immediately.

Recently the establishment has turned to open ways of attacking and abusing the people here. The plot to assassinate Trade Union leaders for their militant stand on workers' issues, the locking-out and firing of workers who go on strike, for better conditions, the re-

fusal even to implement decisions made by the Industrial Court, an institution of the very establishment, the jailing of soldiers for their democratic stand, the irrational detaining of citizens, the bold ignoring of the demands of the people to drop the voting age, and other electoral reforms, and so on and so on ..... are all open and vehement attacks by the establishment on the people.

They also show the total disrespect and contempt which the establishment has for the whole people of this land, and the establishment's denial of a people's self-determination.

You, the establishment, attacked the people first. Your abuse of our land and country, will not be forgiven. Likewise your abuse of our very will and aspirations, and human resources. It is above all our right to ward off the physical and mental torments you have put us through all these years. It is our right as men. Then, .... let it be quite clear... then ... that when the storm breaks and the volcano erupts, it is SELF-DEFENSE, an act of nature.

### P.N.M. OR MASSACRE?

## WHO GO MASSACRE WHO?

1970

- WHO declared a State of Emergency in Trinidad and Tobago in 1970?
- WHO had policemen walking up and down the streets of Port-of-Spain with automatic ra-ta-ta guns?
- WHO killed Basil Davis?
- WHO killed Clive Bailey?
- WHO rang Caracas for the Venezuelans to land troops on the soil of Trinidad and Tobago?
- WHO asked Guyana, Jamaica and Venezuela for arms?
- WHO rang the Americans in Puerto Rico to send 6 American warships including an aircraft carrier to Trinidad?
- WHY did a Venezuelan submarine surface in the waters just off the main gate at Chaguaramas on April 23, 1970? Who called them?
- WHO brought into the country 2,000 automatic weapons and 250,000 rounds of ammunition?
- WHO attempted to impose a Public Order Act on the people of Trinidad and Tobago?

1971

- UNDER whose control are the heavy arms taken from the regiment?
- WHO is building more bigger police stations?
- WHO is recruiting more policemen?
- WHO has formed a National Youth Brigade and training it in the use of automatic weapons?
- WHO is forming vigilante armed groups in the big shot areas?
- WHO has policemen with SLRs and SMGs walking up and down the peaceful streets of Port-of-Spain, and driving in jeeps, today?
- WHO brought into the country in January and February 1971, over 1,500 automatic and heavy-duty weapons under tight security?
- WHO has a private arsenal of weapons and an armed gang of thugs and on whose side is he?
- The people have no arms. Who has all the arms?
- SO WHO GO MASSACRE WHO?

It is essential at the very beginning to make it clear that we are not a political party or are not about to form a political party. A party is not the answer to the problems that weigh upon the shoulders of the people. The basis of a solution to our social problems lies in the **Mobilization and organisation** of the whole people and **the people**, to seek for true liberation, to work out ways and means of achieving true liberation and to begin the implementation of those ways and means. Our task, we see, as assisting the people to achieve that goal. We are not selling a product - an election programme. We are not asking for votes. We are not coming to lead. No. We are attempting to assist the people in their desire to lead themselves.

Government must begin with the people and its end must be the people. A new form of government must seek to bring the whole people into the process of governmental decision-making and administration. Not only in local community affairs, but, more important, national affairs. **The people, the whole people, must be the government, local sectoral and national. Nothing less will do in 1970. To achieve this, new revolutionary types of organisations and processes must be evolved. The new leadership must not desire or attempt to lead the people in the traditional way. Leadership today must mean assisting the people to lead themselves ever more and more in all aspects of life.**

- \* Local assemblies of all the people must be the local government, the local assembly of Erin or Laventille or at Nestle's factory must be the local government there. That assembly should decide on all the local matters.
- \* A national assembly of representatives of all the local assemblies must be the National Government. Representatives should be recalled at any time by the local assemblies.
- \* The national assembly should elect Councils, each council responsible for a particular department - education or labour or industry and so on.

## LAND

Our total land area (including territorial waters) must be owned and controlled by the people of Trinidad and Tobago. The precise method of ownership and control must be determined by the people themselves organised in their local and national bodies.

The use of all lands should be determined on the basis of a nationally co-ordinated plan in harmony with the social objectives of the people.

- \* No foreign person or company should own land in Trinidad and Tobago.
- \* No individual private company should own more than a certain specified area of land.
- \* Any lands, whether Virgin land or land formerly used, not now utilised must be taken over by the people's government and turned into agricultural youth communities run and operated by those who work on the land.

## SUGAR

The entire sugar industry - production, shipping and marketing - must be brought under national ownership and control.

All lands under sugar-cane production should be owned by the people who work these lands. Method of ownership and division of these lands should be determined by both government, that is, **the whole people**, and the sugar-cane farmers and workers. The people of Trinidad and Tobago are ready to take this bold step forward.

\* Sugar workers on estates must now

# EXCERPTS

# FROM

# LIBERA

By

# CO-ORDINATING COUNCIL

IN DECEMBER 1970, the Co-ordinating Council published a pamphlet — policy proposals for Liberation. The policy proposals articulated fundamental thinking on some of the burning issues of our time. The proposals were intended to act as a basis, a starting point for popular discussion and debate. For only through popular organised debate can we as a people, clarify ourselves on what we want and where we intend to go. Our pamphlet, however, did not reach very many people, for we only published a

become owners.

There should be no further expansion of sugar cultivation.

- \* The sugar farmers should be persuaded to gradually replace sugar by other domestic agricultural crops.

### SEE NEXT ISSUE How to Organise a Local Assembly

## AGRICULTURE

All cultivatable lands in all parts of the country must be brought under agricultural production in accordance with a national land-use plan. Ownership and division of all agricultural lands must be determined by the people in agriculture and the government, collectively.

It must be clearly stated that the greatest emphasis should be placed on domestic agriculture; that is, production of food primarily for local consumption but not forgetting regional interchanges and the world markets. In this way, not only will we be able to reduce the vast food-import bill and increase exports, but we will be diversifying and will strengthen immeasurably the economic base.

The marketing and distribution of agricultural products should not be the private affairs of individuals, but should become a collective responsibility of producers, consumers and government, all intimately collaborating.

- \* All people who now work on agricultural estates must become part owners of these estates.
- \* Every agricultural area must have its own technical staff.

\* The people engaged in agricultural production must be persuaded to form agricultural communities on a collective basis.

## Natural Resources

All natural resources within the national area must be owned by the people of Trinidad and Tobago, and should be exploited and processed to the furthest stage possible within the country.

- \* The exploitation of all natural resources should be undertaken by workers and the national government collectively.

## Industrialization

In the past and today, there is a frantic attempt to industrialise at the fastest possible rate. This has resulted in continued, foreign domination of the economy and an "industrialization-by-invitation" policy, which gives the foreign corporations prepared industrial sites with most infra-structural requirements, tax holidays that never seem to end, tax-free imports, monopoly on the local market (thus freedom of price-fixing) and repatriation of large profits. This kind of self-imposed servitude by the ruling regime, the people of Trinidad and Tobago are no longer prepared to tolerate.

The rate of industrialization should in general be based on the rate of expansion of agricultural production, generation of local capital, technological mastery and creation, and availability of foreign capital on terms that are in the interest of the people.

There should be strict control of all important phases of industrial activity in the country. Workers and government, that is, **the whole people**, acting collectively, should bear an ever increasing responsibility for the development of industrial enterprises. The people, collectively, must be assisted in their desire to develop new small-scale enterprises. And only if the people have an ever increasing share of the responsibility for decision-making in large-scale industrial concerns, can those concerns be developed in the interests of the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

New foreign capital should come from as many countries as possible rather than from only a few, and should be accepted on terms that are in harmony with the principle of national control.

The views, experiences and needs of our oil workers with their half century of experience in oil refining must be a primary consideration in discussion of our industrial and financial development. The workers in oil like workers in other economic activities must begin public discussion to decide what they want and present their views to the whole people and to their employers with confidence and boldness. This kind of activity will signal the beginning of true liberation.

- \* All major industrial operations must be run and operated by workers, all working people in the particular industry, and the national government collectively.

\* Workers should form workers assemblies. These workers assemblies should elect representatives to the body that will run the industry.

# POLICY PROPOSALS

## ATTENTION

JANUARY - DEC. 1970

NATIONAL  
ASSEMBLY  
IN  
1971

### The Worker

The monstrous and anti-worker I.S.A. must be immediately abolished.

The worker must be free to join with other workers to form, change or join any workers' organisation of his choice, or any other organisation. In his relation with his employer, the worker through his organisation should be free to bargain and withdraw his labour. All associations of workers must be democratically organised.

There should be a labour code to guide worker-employer relations.

- \* The worker must be educated in all phases of the particular industrial activity in which he is involved.
- \* Worker educational schools should be established where people work.
- \* The worker must be free to strike.
- \* A labour code must be drawn-up by workers' assemblies.

### Culture and Education

Education in Trinidad and Tobago today should give the individual a sense of self-confidence, of responsibility, of initiative, of self-reliance and of community collectivity. New cultural attitudes and values should emerge in the personality of the citizen as a result of the education process. What we have to create is a new man; a man who masters himself and his environment; a man who combines mental and physical labour and a man who is his daily activities can give free expression to his many and varied talents and capacities. Nothing short of a total revolution is needed. The people are fully capable of developing systems and methods of education that would harmonize with the social whole and that would be a beacon light in man's quest for true humanity.

### THE MASS MEDIA

The mass media of communication must be completely locally owned and controlled, and organised so as to give full expression to the people's needs and aspirations.

### Caribbean Unification

We think the people want national unification on a basis acceptable to them and with any Caribbean government that shows it is going to break-up the old colonial economic and political structure and build a new social order in which responsibility will be shifted to the masses of the population.

Caribbean unification is a necessity, but it can only be effective when based on the revolutionising of attitudes and the social structure of the whole Caribbean people.

What the above Proposals for Liberation in fact mean is the total liberation of the people and the total revolutionising of the social structure. The ruling regime cannot lead the people to true liberation. To achieve that, a new form of government and a new government is an essential pre-requisite and an absolute necessity.

limited number of copies. With a serious acute political crisis staring us in the face. **NEW BEGINNING** reprints in part for public debate **POLICY PROPOSALS FOR LIBERATION.**  
We can begin the debate around the policy proposals. What will emerge no one can tell. The people, organised in their communities will determine the final direction for the nation.

There should be a National Congress of workers assemblies to co-ordinate with the national government the whole industrial economy.

### TRADE

There should be an extensification of our trading links. That is, our import and export channels should extend to embrace several countries in various parts of the world. This is necessary so that no one country can hold the people to ransom by cutting our trading channels. National trade should be centrally controlled by the people organised as the national government. Imports must be drastically reduced and exports increased.

- \* Trading links should be developed with the underdeveloped countries.

- \* There should be a regional shipping fleet. Other Caribbean countries should be persuaded to participate in the establishment of such a fleet.

- \* A trading council should be established to take care of all imports and exports. The members of this trading Council should be appointed by the National Government together with the assemblies in productive enterprises.

### Banking and Finance

There must be a strong central bank which must completely control and determine the monetary policy of the country in the interests of the people.

- \* The national government must seek to establish an independent monetary system.
- \* Our emphasis must not be on money, but rather on self. Self reliance must be our emphasis.

### Prices and Incomes

**Spiralling prices, particularly of the necessities of life - butter, milk, flour, meat, cooking-oil vegetables etc. - are the result of a high level of importation, increasing freight rates, increasing import duties, a high level of profit maintained by producers and distributors, low local productivity and the continued domination of foreign cultural tastes and habits. Prices should, therefore, be controlled by drastically decreasing imports and increasing domestic production on an ever widening scale while transferring marketing and distribution from private hands to the**

collective responsibility of producers, consumers and government.

Higher income demands are the result of spiralling prices and the lack of economic responsibility by the people. By attacking these two, social ills at the same time, incomes can be stabilised.

- \* Lower prices by producing more stabilise incomes by lowering prices and placing greater economic responsibility on the people.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

The greatest curse of the old colonial economy we have inherited is unemployment. Even if all the unemployed had technical skills, the economy could not absorb them. The unemployment problem can only be solved by bringing all cultivatable lands under agricultural production, by quickening the rate of growth of the construction industry in a planned and co-ordinated manner and by beginning a cultural re-orientation and transformation. The unemployed cannot wait. Unemployment must be abolished within 5 years.

- \* Build agricultural youth communities
- \* Bring all cultivatable lands under agricultural production.
- \* Establish people's Militia with a high percentage of youth, and use it as a training centre for youths in military science and social skills, to carry out public works, to work certain lands etc.
- The Militia should be a National Service Brigade.

### Community Services

All the people in the country should have adequate community services of a high standard in order to lead a decent, healthy and modern way of life. Adequate housing, a well nationally distributed health service of a high standard, proper drainage, electricity and telephone services, and a nationally co-ordinated and efficient system of transport, the running of which must involve the transport workers and taxi drivers, must meet the needs of the people.

The problem of providing adequate and efficient community services for the people results from the backwardness and foreign domination of the social system, particularly the economy.

- \* Local assemblies must be responsible for planning and providing community services together with other national service commissions like T&TEC.

# THE INDIVIDUAL REBORN

We, as a people, have gone through a number of experiences that, to a large extent, have determined what we are. Both as a people and as individuals. The horrors of slavery and indenture, the brain-washing of colonialism, and the evils of capitalism produced the Trinidadian: lazy, irresponsible, selfish, anti-agriculture, completely white-washed, a real "smart-man, and many other things, including, a good "liver".

**SLAVERY:** We, the Africans, as slaves on the plantation had two choices (1) Accept our position as slaves; (2) Wage total war against slavery.

We always chose the latter .... we always resisted slavery. To do this we had

## STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

REVOLUTION is a cycle and each man and woman must pull his or her own weight. The time has definitely arrived when we students must free ourselves of this stereotyped straight-jacket, that was defined for us by a system which was designed to destroy us.

We must begin by throwing the idea that students have no rights to the trash cans. Most teachers seem to think that the rights of a student is to go to school, get five subjects and get a job. This is hogwash. It is not even conducive with the definition of education. Too long have students accepted wholesale what the staff has dished out for them.

Students must be made to realise that the school is more their own than it is that of the establishment. There is an urgent need, therefore, for greater student participation on so-called staff affairs which really and truly determine the destiny of the students. The authority of teachers must be limited to avoid victimisation of students. If this is not done students would be next in facing charges of high treason.

Next on the list of white elephants is the educational system. (Notice the term white elephant). Students are not being educated according to their employment.

The type of education we are given (I find it necessary to become personal) tends to send us abroad after the initial stages of our education have been completed. We are being taught to live when we don't even know how to survive which is the more urgent requirement. Locals are constantly being dubbed, "transients", but nobody seeks to find the root of the problem; the education we receive.

Another fact which the system seems to overlook is that the bulk of students are black and the education which we receive is white. The result is a black student with a white mind. With his white mind the black student completely forgets his colour and enters white society.

He is sadly disillusioned, his colour proves to be a very real barrier. The poor fellow is confused — he is too white to live with his white people and yet his black skin brings too much for white society. This is why we find so many of our apparently brilliant scholars, "dropping out" or returning home. Mr. Minister take heed.

Take heed also of the need for political education in our schools. There is a lot of talk these days of lowering the voting age. This should be accompanied by a thorough understanding of political science. In this way nobody would be able to fool the entire populace for any length of time, at least the youths will be aware.

This proposal is bound to meet with mass disapproval — they leave politics to politicians bit. This is ridiculous. All over the world there are efforts being made to keep the black man away from the Social Science. This is because these are very liberating subjects and tend to make the student revolutionary. Hence the reason for us being kept away from such subjects is to ensure the white man's unquestioned domination. Are you going to fall for such an

to out-think and out-fox massa at every turn; We had to be "nice" to massa: A big smile, plenty white teeth, while we attack massa and his economy on all sides; and at all times.

Resistance on the plantation took a number of forms, the most common of which were: refusing to work; Doing very poor work; faking illness; committing suicide; and wasting massa's capital by throwing away his tools. Our survival therefore, as men, dictated that we become, not only "smart-men" with a flare for mamagnum, but also that we be lazy, irresponsible individuals.

This type of behaviour, however, was

old trick? Isn't politics an integral part of every day life?

The whole cause for the shortcomings in our educational system is the G.C.E. We allow those "beloved" Englishmen to set our standard of education for us. We allow them to dictate what we must and must not learn. When it would be in their interest to keep us ignorant.

This bullshit must be put to an end. It is quite clear that Mr. Cambridge cannot begin to know a thing about our society. To him we are just a bunch of "natives" running the forest with leaves on our backsides. Hence the type of curriculum he gets for our alert, intelligent minds. This is a slap in our faces.

Why should we study Shakespeare when our own Deryck Walcott is regarded as one of the great poets of our time. But what's expected when we ignore our talent for the irrelevant hogwash that the Englishman has to offer. This is why we find Tombs like Lord Constantine "proudly" describing us black Englishmen. Should the students cry for change go unheeded, we will have to take drastic steps.

They are few students who appreciate the urgent need for participation in the struggle. The bulk of the student body are complacent. Didn't you hear the man — complacency kills all progress. If you refuse to participate now your children are going to be ashamed of you and brand you as cowards for accepting something which you know is not right.

I'm sure you don't want that. If you choose to participate, as I'm sure you will, there are groups formed specifically to assist you in fighting this wicked system. Groups such as the Students Co-ordinating Committee in the East (S.C.C.), Revolutionary Action for Black Students (R.A.B.S.) in the North and two or three others in the South.

You have but to call and we'll be willing and able to help you in the struggle for liberation. Have no fear of joining such groups; the entire student body cannot be expelled. For those students who are active workers in such groups and are finding progress slow, take consolation from the fact that a revolution is no one day affair, it takes years. So be patient brothers and sisters in trying to go too fast you are being more reactionary than revolutionary.

Yours in the Struggle,  
Black Student.

P.S: S.C.C. meets every Monday upstairs Terry's, St. Vincent Street, Tunapuna.

confined to massa and his plantation. Among our own kind, in our barrack communities we were more honest, very responsible, and showed a great willingness to work for the common good.

After 1838, and the "granting" of legal freedom, we walked off the land. Not simply because the land was associated with the horrors of slavery, but also in defiance of massa and the whole of Europe.

Emancipation was meaningless; Slavery still existed; Oppression continued; Resistance, violent and passive was maintained. We, the so-called freed-slaves, still kept two patterns of behaviour. One for massa, one for our own people. Some of us

## CALL FOR WORKERS IN THE COMMUNITIES

A POLITICAL crisis, the like of which we have not experienced before is fast approaching. The governmental system as a democratic institution has collapsed beyond repair. The economic system is falling apart. The creole culture can no longer be propped. An entire generation, young, energetic and creative is going to waste. If a gigantic effort is not made now to channel the creativity and imagination of the youth, we will be producing within the next two years a physically weak and mentally retarded drugged generation completely lost.

The complete responsibility for that kind of degeneration in social life must be squarely placed on the ruling elite in this country and on the system they have entrenched and perpetuated. If we do not act now, the ruling elite will create a river of blood on the streets and soil of Trinidad and Tobago.

The only way we can deal with the approaching crisis is to mobilize and organize people in their communities to change this governmental system. But to do that we have to go among the people. Ground with them. Listen to them, talk to them, discuss with them, assist them in the task of organization. Not later, not next month, but NOW.

People must be mobilised, people must come forward to do this kind of work. Only by having political workers in all communities and on the job can we assist the people to mobilize and organize themselves. We have to work among the people.

We have to get off our armchairs, get out of our offices, move out of our homes, remove ourselves from consultations and meetings at our homes and offices. We have to go among the people and work to assist the people in the gigantic task of community organisation. The political situation today demands mass organisation at the roots. That is the great challenge of our time.

Every one must now come forward to organise in their communities and at their work. We have been talking too much talk, and no positive action is as bad as all action and no talk.

OFF THE ARMCHAIRS;  
OFF THE PLATFORM OF ORATORY;  
OUT OF THE OFFICES AND HOMES;  
GO AMONG THE PEOPLE  
WORK AMONG THE PEOPLE.

THE TIME IS NOW  
ORGANISE LOCAL ASSEMBLIES  
NOW;  
POSITIVE ACTION NOW!

## THEY ARE COMING!

A delegation from England is coming to explain the racist immigration Bill and the position of black people in England. Our Trinidadians and Tobagonians are suffering in England. Come to hear what they have to say.

Come to discuss with them.

Prepare in your communities, the delegation is coming to discuss with you.

however, attempted to beat the system from inside.

The brain-washing continued: foreign values, foreign customs, foreign standards, education, the whole works. The Colonial was born: a caricature of massa, greedy, living in selfish individualism, struggling to maintain the status quo, glorying in his whiteness .... negating his blackness. Free villages became villages only, no longer communities. With no African community, in the absence of any community spirit among the Africans, and with the chains of slavery still ever-present, only one form of conduct could be exhibited by the oppressed African. His general behaviour, his whole way of life became one of passive resistance, even as he began to subscribe to the rotten values that must be a part of Capitalism.

**INDENTURE:** The East Indian slave, under indenture suffered almost the same fate as the African, and resisted his form of slavery in the same way that his African brothers did before him. In addition, he openly violated the laws, preferring jail and brutality to brutality on the estates. He too had two codes of conduct: one type for the enemy, massa, and another for his own people.

The East Indian though, found great strength in his culture and his institutions, which, unlike the African, he was allowed to keep. And so we see the break up of the Indian communities coming at a much later date.

**WE TODAY:** The revolution gathers momentum. We have faced the violence of the system for centuries. Let us show resistance to massa, but let us discover that ability to work, that honesty, that truth, that selflessness, that dedication necessary for building our kind .... for building our people; For creating new social, political and economic relationships.

A system of Local and National Assemblies has been proposed. Even that would be useless without there first being a rebirth of the individual. Only the new man can make the new relationships. Only the individual on the road to this NEW BEGINNING can show the dedication and sacrifice necessary for the removal of this oppressive system and all that it stands for.

**TOWARDS REBIRTH:** So we have recognized our shortcomings; But do we face up to them? Do we place the blame on slavery or the white-man, and leave it at that? Or do we strive to rediscover ourselves? We must draw heavily on our history and native institutions in our search for new positive individual attitudes. We must look at the slave in his barracks; at the African Free Villages; at the East Indian communities; at the Wake, Sou-Sou, Gayanipe, Panchayat, badjohn gangs of the rope days, and the Lame.

The NEW INDIVIDUAL is emerging in the seventies. The N.J.A.C. demonstrations last year brought out the Black Power community made up of new individuals .... individuals reborn. The weed smoking youth of today is a community of individuals struggling, without any true direction, for a rebirth. They therefore remain stunted, premature. The secondary school students have also declared their intentions. The time is now. Let awareness of our imperfection lead us on to search for perfection. The NEW BEGINNING MUST BEGIN at the individual level. Let honesty, truth, hard work, dedication, and selflessness prevail.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE.



*Special on Situation of Blacks in Britain*

# HANDS OFF OUR KITH AND KIN!

**BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE CARIBBEAN, NORTH AMERICA, AFRICA.....HELP  
BLACK PEOPLE IN BRITAIN ARE UNDER FIRE**

**OVER** THE last twenty-five years since our brothers and sisters went to Britain we have been the victim of racism and exploitation in housing, education and employment and experience brutality from white fascists with the active support of the police and courts.

Because of the picture of Britain with which all of us in the colonies have been brainwashed, most brothers and sisters have been too ashamed to write home and expose the degrading conditions in which Black people are forced to live.

**IN EDUCATION:** Black children are regarded as educationally *subnormal* and so placed in the school system. In the borough of Haringey in North London this concept of Black children has been made Law and our children are transported miles away from their homes everyday into the schools where only mentally retarded white children go.

(A government report — inner London Education Authority admits that 75% West Indians are wrongly placed in LSN schools. The mass media Press, radio and television keep up a constant stream of abuse, some subtle and some not so subtle (e.g. the advertisement on tv for the Birds Eye Fish Fingers showing a Black man as a cannibal eating his brother in Africa till a white man introduces him to Birds Eye) designed to persuade us to the view that we are not intelligent.

**HOUSING:** Around 1959 the British establishment were forced to expose the dehumanising conditions in which Black people were forced to live by one landlord Rächman who used to use strong arm men with dogs to terrorise Black people into high rents for slum houses (over eight people to a room). Forceable eviction being the result of any protest to his exploitation. In fact, Rächman is only one landlord in a system which organised to keep Black people in the slums.

The local councils whose responsibility it is to provide council housing for working families keep Black people on a separate list and therefore forever in "the promised land".

**EMPLOYMENT:** Racism and discrimination in the employment

of Black people are widespread, known, accepted and institutionalised. The Race Relations Board which is supposed to "deal with" racism against Black people in employment states that the Law does not allow it to investigate discrimination in factories employing 25 people or less.

Since large numbers of Black people work in such factories the race relations board gives employers the "go ahead" to do as they please with "the wogs".

**IMMIGRATION POLICY:** Over the last three years in Britain three racist immigration bills have been passed to cut down Black immigration into Britain.

The last one in 1968 passed by a Labour government in the record time of three days stopped Asians from East Africa with U.K. passports from entering Britain.

Today in 1971 a new racist piece of legislation is being debated in Parliament which launches an attack on the right of Black people to walk the streets of England. The law brings in police control of Black people similar to that existing in South Africa.

Immigrants coming to Britain are divided into two classes: Patrial — WHITE: those having a grandparent in Britain.

Non-patrial — BLACK: Those not having a grandparent born in Britain. Non-patrials will have to get a work voucher for a year only which will be renewed only after recommendations of good behaviour have been made by the police and the employer.

To ensure that the Black resident population be stamped out the police will have the right to ask any non-patrial (who must register and report regularly to the police anyway) for identity. From our experience of the police (not only in Britain) this gives them all power — a power which only the people should have.

The bill also gives Babylon the right to enter any BLACK persons place without a warrant (to search for illegal immigrants).

For those Black people who have resided in Britain over the last five years the bill also has a place for us — we can be de-

ported by the Home Secretary any time he sees fit. In fact the bill makes provisions for repatriation of Black people without grants.

**BRUTALITY:** The publication of this immigration bill has brought a new wave of physical violence against Black people. Shortly after its announcement for petrolbombs were thrown into a part of Black people in Sumerland Road.

Forest Hill area (South East London) and twenty Black people were seriously burned perhaps some of these brothers and sisters have relatives in the Caribbean. Some of the names are Cherry Jackson and her husband Leroy Jackson, Renford Carty, James Fuller, there are sixteen others.

The police have stepped up their brutal attacks on Black people and the forms of torture include flushing Black peoples heads in the toilets.

**AUGUST 31st, 1970:** Black Panther Movement fund raising dance in House South London. Police invade with dogs looking for a stolen watch in a band of about 600 Self Defense — police flee — one brother arrested in hall way, one arrested on the pavement.

**SEPTEMBER 1st IN COURT:** Edmund Lecomte — known Panther picked up on suspicion later charged with doing grievous bodily harm to two police officers.

One week later Keith Spencer — known Panther — warrant for arrest picked up at home 1200 midnight. Charge — grievous bodily harm to two police officers.

Two weeks later in court all four charged (Len Anderson, Rupert Francis, Keith Spencer, Edmund Lecomte) with riotous assembly. Passports taken away from the unmarried brothers.

At the high court proceedings the charges of grievous bodily harm were dropped, riotous assembly remains.

After publication of Bill, Fifteen police cars out on

Panthers going door to door inform Black people about the bill. Two weeks later a similar posse jumps on two Panthers going door to door. Brother severely mutilated and sister insulted and kicked. Conditions of bail — report daily to police station.

First day of reporting brother Joel Emerole takes a friend along, Reginald Beckles.

**POLICE STATE ATTACKS ON ACTIVISTS:** The state has launched a particular offensive against all Black people who raise their voice in protest against the brutality that Black people experience in the last year charges of riot have been put on all brothers and sisters who actively organise against racism and exploitation.

## WITNESS

August 9th — demonstration against police harassment Black people homes and the places that Black people frequent, one of which was the Mangrove Restaurant owned by Frank Enchin. All Saints Road Notting Hill. Police attack demonstration Black people defend themselves — 25 people arrested, eight singled out and charged with incitement to riot incitement to assault the people, assault, etc.

At committed proceedings, Magistrate thrown out all incitement to riot and states that there is no evidence of a riot. The Director of Prosecutions has now decided to charge these people with having a riotous assembly. The people are Darkus Owusu, Roddy Kenish, Althea Jones, Rupert Boyce, Rhoden Gordon, Barbara Besse, Frank Crichton.

Leaving the station the two brothers were pounced upon by twenty fascists and taken back inside for a workover. Charged with violent behaviour in a police station. One week later twelve Panthers picked up for questioning — no charges.

Same day Keith Spencer — known Panther — known to be making trips to the Caribbean, arrested at his home charged with indecent exposure with intent to assault a white woman at his workplace — in the presence of his boss and four other women.

THE HEAT IS ON AT HOME AND ABROAD BLACK PEOPLE IN BRITAIN NEED YOUR SUPPORT.

# THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE TO MAN!

## COURT-REPORT

SOON after the bomb attack on 100 Black peoples' lives, on information received from a certain man, a white youth was arrested. Some days later another white youth was also arrested. They were brought to court a few days later and charged with Arson and maliciously setting fire to a dwelling house. Black observers from the community and representatives of B.U.F.P. were racially insulted and forcefully prevented from entering the public gallery by a mob of pig-police.

On the application for bail by the defence, it was alleged by the police that bail is being opposed, because the families of the accused were threatened. We know that such an allegation is a lie. This lie is being used to incite other misguided white youths to commit other fascist acts against Black People in this country.

The number of defendants have now grown to four. The pig-police were roused into action after B.U.F.P. suggested that they were doing nothing to arrest the other attackers of the Black people.

The case was called and postponed several times. At one of the hearings the public gallery was bare of Black people. This was a plot carried out by the police who presented themselves in wasteful numbers — for no other reason, than to deny the observers from the Black community entrance to the gallery.

When the hearing was over, the father of one of the accused came out shouting — "We're Anglo-Saxon — white people, my son should get a very light sentence or nothing at all, we're not like them (meaning black people)."

There were police present; they just turned their backs, went dumb and did nothing. Members of B.U.F.P. went to the jailer's office to find out when the formal hearing would take place:

But the pretty-racist jailer refused to tell them, and threatened to assault them. They then went to the court's office to find out, and again they were refused this information, saying, that they did not know. Certainly they knew when — but being fascist and racist they didn't tell.



## JOSHUA FRANCIS — Police Brutality GENOCIDE!

On 9th December, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. The convention came into force on January 12th, 1951. Up to the 31st December, 1965, the convention had been ratified by sixty-eight States.

The purpose of the convention is to prevent and punish genocide. The convention defines genocide as follows: "...certain acts with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious groups as such.

The acts constituting genocide are killing, causing serious bodily or mental harm, deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction in whole or in part, imposing measures intended to prevent birth, and the forcible transfer of children.

Not only genocide itself but also conspiracy or incitement to commit it, as well as attempts to commit genocide and complicity in the crime, are punishable under the convention.

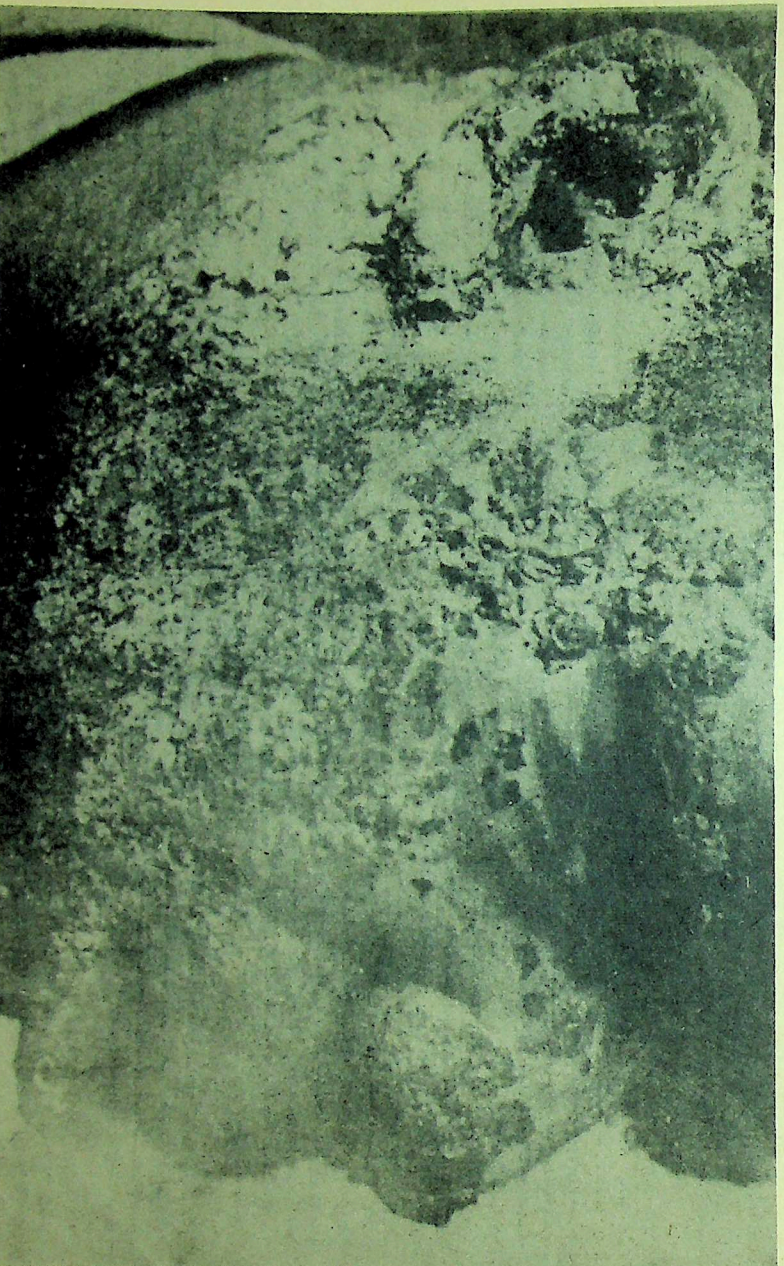
Persons committing genocide must be punished whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officers or private individuals".

During the history of capitalism in America and Australia, the capitalists have murdered off whole societies, seized their lands and built up their rotten system.

Again in the 1930's, when capitalism was heading for collapse in Germany, the Nazis, having blamed the Jews and communists for the problems, they went ahead and slaughtered millions.

The Nazis, under Hitler invented the story that the Jews and communists were stabbing Germany in the back.

In Britain today, Powell and his supporters blame the black people and the unions for the crisis facing British capitalism, and he too also talks of the "enemy from within".



CARTY RENFORD — Bomb Attack

# DE-MAN'S INHUMANITY IN BRITAIN

## CRIMES

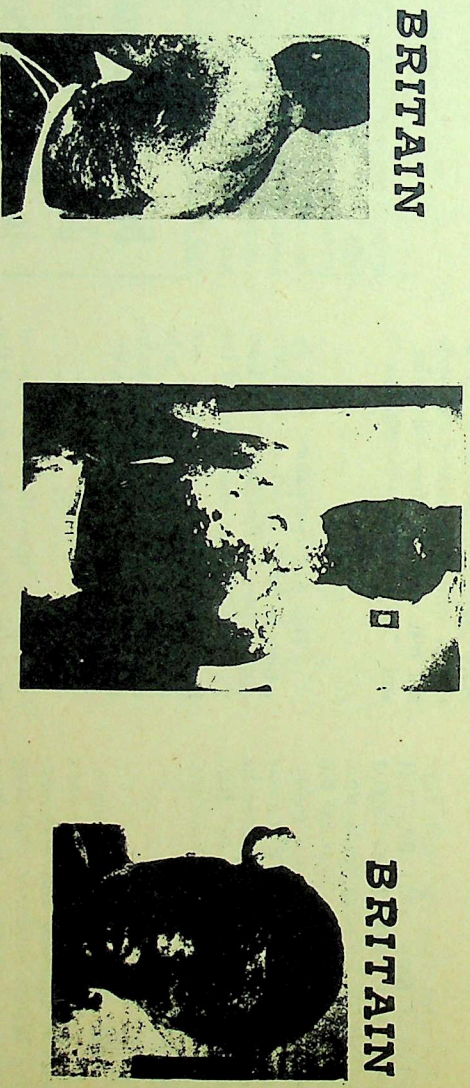
- 1958 murder — Kelso Cochrane stabbed to death.
- 1969 Murder — Pakistani beheaded in Valance Road, Aldgate, London, E.1. in May.
- 1969 Summer — Petrol bombing of Pakistanis in Gower Street North, London N.W.
- 1969 Five years of racist violence in the Euston King Cross area — shifted to the East End of London and culminated with a spate of "Pakbashing" by racist skinheads.
- 1969 Race riot in Leeds. Black people beaten up and terrorised. Property burnt.
- 1970 April, murder of Tauchir Ali. Stabbed by racist skinheads.
- 1970 May, murder by pigs of David Oluwale, Nigerian in Leeds.
- 1970 December, bomb posted to Pakistani family in Seven Oaks, Kent.
- 1971 January, petrol bombing of black people at Sunderland Road, London, S.E.23. Over 30 people were injured.



James Fuller — Bomb Attack

## IS BRITAIN ANOTHER VIETNAM?

Viet Nam



BRITAIN

BRITAIN

Roderick Chambers victim of second degree burns from boiling water at Pentonville jail, London. As a result, he has lost the use of his left arm and walks with great difficulty.

A Vietnamese patriot victim of U.S. napalm bomb: "A yellow liquid still oozes from my body."

Mrs. Cherry Jackson victim of second and third degree burns at a party in South London. Loss of hair, face badly burnt and right arm infected.

SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH  
BLACKS IN BRITAIN 22.23  
MAY — DO WHATEVER IS  
POSSIBLE IN YOUR OWN  
COMMUNITY.

# British Government responsible for enslavement and murder of Black People in South Africa and throughout the world: This says what is in store for Blacks in Britain

WHITE liberals in Britain are always shouting their heads off about whether or not white racist South African sports men should come to Britain.

For us as black people the central issue is not whether the racist sportsmen from South Africa should play white racist teams in Britain, our concern is the naked poverty, enslavement and murder of our black brothers and sisters in Southern Africa by white racist capitalist exploiters in Britain.

## Labour's Hypocrisy in Opposition

Before the Labour Party came to power in 1964 under Harold Wilson, they had always been condemning the exploitation, mass imprisonment and murder of black people in South Africa, and proposed that when they came to power they would impose sanctions on their white racist English businessmen who have economic interests which are keeping the black population of over 16 million people in slavery.

In 1963 Barbara Castle, a leading member of the Labour Party in Opposition to the Conservative Government, said in the House of Commons:

"In the economic field there can be no such thing as a non-intervention policy toward South Africa. Not only is British investment steadily increasing, it is playing an integral part in underwriting the apartheid policy. British firms are increasingly collaborating with the South African government.

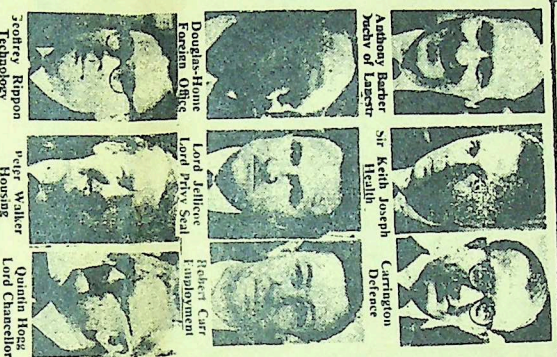
We must face the truth that BRITISH FIRMS AND BRITISH PEOPLE ARE PROFITING FROM APARTHEID. We must realise that we do when we fail to examine the issue of economic sanctions seriously and urgently as the United Nations General Assembly has requested us to do. This is our next task." Barbara Castle, House of Commons, November 1960.

After all the condemnation of the Conservative government's policies in supplying arms and maintaining British economic exploiting interests in South Africa, the Labour Government in their six years in power continued the policies of the Conservative government.

The following report from the Labour Research Department and the African National Congress of

South Africa (price 1/6, 1/10 by post from the Labour Research Dept., 78 Blackfriars Road, London S.E.1) shows the extend of British investment in the enslavement and mass murder of black people in South Africa and, the involvement of the WHOLE CABINET of the present government in apartheid.

## South Africa's Top Businessmen are in Cabinet Ministers in Britain



Carrington  
Defence

Sir Keith Joseph  
Health

Anthony Barber  
Secretary of Labour

Douglas Home  
Foreign Office

Lord F. A. Heath  
Lord Privy Seal

Robert Carr  
Employment

Peter Walker  
Housing

Quintin Hogg  
Lord Chancellor

John Gorton  
Foreign Secretary

John Gorton  
Foreign Secretary

John Gorton  
Foreign Secretary

John Gorton  
Foreign Secretary

John Gorton  
Foreign Secretary

British firms with South African business connections made donations totalling £615,727 to the British Conservative Party and its political allies. South Africa's political lobby is now inside the British government.

The pamphlet showed that £358,790 was paid to the Tory Party and a further £178,725 to British United Industrialists, while the rest went to "free enterprise" and "anti-subversive" organisations.

The big companies with interests in South Africa are not without a voice in Parliament. At least 32 Tory MPs or one in ten of the Parliamentary Tory Party, are directors of companies with subsidiaries in South Africa, and between them these 32 have 48 directorships.

"Once again the concentration is at the top; no less than 8 of the Cabinet are directors of companies with South African subsidiaries: Quintin Hogg, director of Wellman Engineering Corporation Robert Carr, Metal Closures Group, and Norwich Union Insurance; Anthony Barber of British Ropes; Lord Carrington, Barclays, Schwepes

and Amalgamated Metal Corporation; Earl Jellicoe of James Templeton and Smiths Industries; Reginald Maulding of Dunlop; Peter Walker of Adwest Group, Slater Walker Securities; Geoffrey Rippon of Drake and Gorham, Scull.

"Apart from those MP's who are directors of companies with South African subsidiaries, there are, of course, many other MP's who are directors of companies trading with South Africa. Then, too, of course,



PRIME MINISTER HEATH

there are Tory MP's with close past links with South Africa, for example Captain H. Kerby is a former PRO for African Explosives and Chemical Industries. Ian Lloyd was from 1952 to '55 a member of the South African Board of Trade. And of course, there those Tory MP's who are — at least privately — attracted by the race supremacy policies of white South Africa.

"Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the Foreign Secretary, has called the arms embargo on South Africa 'crass folly', and believes that it must be lifted in order to 'deter militant Communism from taking over the assets of the free world'. Sir Alec is fearful of the loss of the Simonstown base which, he says, is 'an essential extension of the NATO alliance'."

## British Economy depends on slavery in South Africa

The Pamphlet shows that British companies are increasing their investments in South Africa. During 1968 they invested a further £43 million; in the five years since 1964 over £200 million has been invested.

An official South African estimate puts the total of all forms of British investment in South Africa at £1300 million at the end of 1966. This is 58% of the total foreign investment in the country.

The figure has grown since and a South African Government advertisement in the "Investors" Chronicle of 12th December 1969 stated that "British investment in South Africa represents nearly two-thirds of the total foreign investment in the country."

The exploitation of South African resources and cheap black labour under apartheid is a profitable business. Net profits made by British companies operating in South Africa rose from £28.5 million in 1961 to £76 million in 1968. South Africa is also a powerful trading partner with Britain.

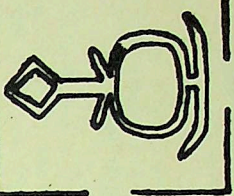
In 1969 Britain exported to South Africa goods worth £93 million, one quarter of South Africa's total imports. One third of the traffic at Southampton docks is between Britain and South Africa. High-powered trade missions (some with government financial backing) continue to try to boost British sales in South Africa. Since 1966, however, British exports to South Africa have increased by only 20% from £247 million to £293 million while those to all countries have increased by 40%.

British imports from South Africa however, exceeded exports to that country in 1969 for the first time for many years, increasing since 1966 by more than 50% from £192 million to £302 million.

Brothers and Sisters, these facts and figures show us clearly that black people in Britain and the world over must fight against this racist capitalist system, which is responsible not only for the enslavement and murder of black people in South Africa, but also for racism and exploitation of black people right here in Britain.

KEEP READING "NEW BEGINNING" FOR FURTHER

DEVELOPMENTS IN BRITAIN.



# BEGINNING

Co-ordinating Council  
News Service



## IN THIS ISSUE

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DIAGRAM OF NEW GOVERNMENT PAGE 6  
LETTER OF PROPOSALS TO "NEW BEGINNING"  
PAGE 6

# EXPOSURE!

## A PLOT TO SEIZE POWER BY A COUP

2,000,000 dollars was raised in March 1970 to finance the seizure of governmental power in Trinidad and Tobago by an armed coup. WE want to know more about that.

Who are the people that raised the 2,000,000 dollars?

Are those people afraid of revolutionary change that would place power in the hands of the organised people?

How many meetings were held in March and April 1970, between ST. JOSEPH and TETERON BAY?

Why was JOE YOUNG, WEEKES, LA SALLE, SHAH, GRANGER and NUNEZ listed to be murdered?

How much money was given to ordinary people to attack the Black Power demonstrations, burn buildings, throw bombs and to do other things?

Was the ARMY, the COAST GUARD and the POLICE to be used in seizing power and under whose command?

Was the CIA and M15 involved? Was the Venezuelan submarine that surfaced outside Teteron gate on April 23, to be used in the coup?

WHO are the people that were to take over the government? WAS another attempt made in March 1971 to try and seize power?

ARE guns still being brought into the country under the disguise of car parts, toy guns, new machinery and so on?

The people of Trinidad and Tobago are lucky that the plot to establish a right-wing dictatorship did not succeed. But they have not given up. Only two weeks ago, someone frankly suggested in a weekly

newspaper that a dictatorship is the only solution.

"NEW BEGINNING" IS TOTALLY OPPOSED TO THE SEIZURE OF POWER BY A COUP. THAT CAN ONLY GIVE US A DICTATORSHIP SERIOUS REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE CAN ONLY COME WHEN THE PEOPLE ARE ORGANISED AND CONFRONT THE PRESENT GOVERNMENTAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

People be on your guard against ELITE POLITICS.

# TRUTH

OH, the vast majority of intellectuals were serving them as they are serving now, as Civil servants, in government appointments, in railways or in banks, or earning money in whatever way, or engaged in the sciences, delivering lectures - all this in a regular, leisurely, peaceful manner, receiving salaries, playing whist or bridge, without any longing to escape. They go only so far as to play the liberal - but it is only a matter of time:

by a Novelist

What if one has not yet begun to be disturbed, while another has already come up against a bolted door and violently beaten his head against it? The same fate awaits all men in their turn unless they walk in the saving road of humble communion with the people.

In the meantime a fantastic and impatient person seeks for salvation above all in external phenomena; and so it should be. Truth is as it were somewhere outside European himself, perhaps in some land, with their firm and historical political organisations and their established social and civil life. And he will never understand that the truth is first of all within himself.

How could he understand this? For a whole century he has not been himself in his own land. He has forgotten how to

work, he has no culture, he has grown up like a convent schoolgirl within closed walls, he has fulfilled strange and unaccountable duties according as he belonged to one or another of the fourteen classes into which educated society is divided.

For the time being he is only a blade of grass torn from the roots and blown through the air.

Humble yourself, proud men, and first of all break down your pride. Humble yourself, idle man, and first of all labour on your native land - that is the solution according to the wisdom and justice of the people.

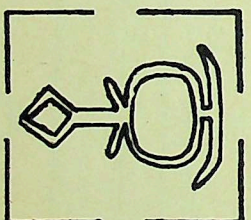
Truth is not outside thee, but in thyself. Find thyself in thyself, subdue thyself to thyself, be master of thyself and thou wilt see the truth. Not in things in this truth, not outside thee or abroad, but first of all in thine own labour upon thyself. If thou conquer and subdue thyself, then

thou wilt be freer than thou has ever dreamed, and thou wilt begin a great work and make others free, and thou wilt see happiness, for thy life will be fulfilled and thou wilt at last understand thy people and its sacred truth.

In a remote place, in the heart of his mother country, he is of course an exile in a foreign land. He does not know what to do and is somehow conscious of his own quest.

Afterwards, wandering over his native country and over foreign lands, he, beyond doubt clever and sincere, feels himself among strangers, still more a stranger to himself. True, he loves his native land, but he does not trust in it.

Of course he has heard of national ideals, but he does not believe in them. He only believes in the utter impossibility of any work whatever in his native land, and upon those who believe in this possibility - he looks with sorrowful derision.



# SYMBOL

the sun was the giver of a life force, greater than life itself, because it produced life.

This life force they believed came to man on earth through the sun rays, and gave man the abstract energy to forever keep creating new things.

THIS sign is the "African Fertility" sign, sometimes referred to as the Fertility doll.  
It was originated first by black people of Egypt who believed that

# OUT WITH PARTY and PARLIAMENT WE WANT A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

## BE INVOLVED

THE CO-ORDINATING Council has began practical work in communities and villages in various parts of the country. Every week we are getting more and more requests from groups and individuals. Our weekly newspaper — "NEW BEGINNING" is gradually reaching the nooks and corners of the country.

We are seeking to build community consciousness, community confidence, community self-reliance, community responsibility, community Government, community economy and community togetherness.

We are helping people to READ and WRITE.

We are helping people to learn mathematics, history, health science, simple economics, book-keeping and so on.

We are helping people to organise community farms, community marketing, community stores and shops.

We are helping people to build community dance, drama and singing groups.

We are helping people to build their own community.

We are helping people to organise community discussions on burning social issues.

We are helping people to clarify and organise themselves in their own community.

Come and be involved. Help the people to help themselves and to organise themselves. We need workers to work among the people. Teachers, students, nurses, agriculturists, architects, builders, masons, craftsmen, organisers, everybody, contribute to community building. BEGIN NOW.

Write to: The Co-ordinating Council

Upstairs Terry's Snack Bar,

St. Vincent Street, Tunapuna.

PHONE: 62.

CUT OUT THIS FORM AND SEND IT TO OUR OFFICE

### THE CO-ORDINATING COUNCIL

#### COMMUNITY BUILDING WORK

Upstairs Terry's Snack-Bar, St. Vincent Street, Tunapuna.

PHONE: 62.

I will like to help in building community togetherness and community self-reliance.

I am \_\_\_\_\_  
(e.g. a mason, teacher etc.)

What will you like to do? \_\_\_\_\_

What village or area you can do community work in? \_\_\_\_\_

What days in the week can you work? \_\_\_\_\_

What time of the day? \_\_\_\_\_

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

TEL: \_\_\_\_\_

## SYMBOL

from page 1

Any man who did not constantly create, was divorced from the abstract energy, and was regarded as virtually dead.

The basic framework of the sign first called an ANKH, was as follows:

The round section represents the sun, and the projections from this section, represent the sun rays,

Later the sign appeared throughout Africa, especially West Africa, as a basic part of religion and everyday life, and apparently the wood sculptors added to the basic framework of the ANKH, and the "Fertility doll" was born.

In the grave situation, we find ourselves today in the Caribbean, wriggling in the stink of waste, immorality, corruption and inhumanity, the "NEW BEGINNING" sees the necessity for constant new creations based on our social and cultural experience — for change is reality, and stagnancy spells death.

We call for the abstract energy, the spirit of life force without which creation is impossible: even the physical strength necessary to do, to make or to create comes as a result of this spirit.

Therefore "NEW BEGINNING" sees the "Fertility Doll" as one of its guiding symbols.

Next Week — The Meaning Of The East Indian Sign.

# POEM

Black Power say dey start dey struggle,  
an' dat "Power to the people"  
mean dat dey eh stopping till  
de public order Bill.

The Deafy is a real dictator.  
Iuh dey boun' to cut he power.  
Dey go fight and fight until  
de public order Bill.

Yuh talk 'bout people march to Convent  
If yuh hear dem shouting "POWER"  
African an' Indian bredda,  
no more "coolie", no more "nigger",  
all dem people come togeda  
jus' to order Bill

to do what dem want he to do:  
Gh dem h'l job, an' status too,  
an' food, so dey could have dey fill  
Dey want de public order Bill.

All dis time see Deafy waiting,  
Like he dumb too... he eh talking?  
Everybody asking: "Will  
de public order Bill?"

When de pressure start den Deafy  
call a State of Emergency,  
set he police on de people,  
an' is dat self start de trouble.

Leaders lock-up; People heat-up;  
Army riot; Building bun-up;  
Deafy nearly wreck de country  
wid he stupid Emergency.

Den he talk 'bout demonstration  
on radio an' television  
ask he people if dey still  
want de public order Bill.

Den he take de constitution,  
put in bogus legislation,  
turn an' tell de population  
is de bes' ting for de nation:

"Doh mind if man geh plenty jail;  
Doh mind if people cyah geh bail;  
Doh mind yuh cyah geh privacy;  
Doh mind one man own de army;"

"Doh mind de police cyah do wrong;  
Doh mind ah gh dem plenty gun;  
Doh care ho' much people geh kill;  
Dis is: "THE PUBLIC ORDER  
BILL!"

# WANTED

Newspaper sellers on the streets.  
Teams of pushers on the block.  
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# REPORT ON NARIVA/MAYARO

THIS REPORT IS PART OF THE WORK DONE BY THE "COMMUNITY ENTERPRISES" GROUP OF RIO CLARO. A GROUP WHICH IS DEDICATED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR AREA, AND TO THE BUILDING OF A NATION FOR OUR PEOPLE. THIS GROUP

HAS PROPOSED TO BE THE INITIAL BODY OR CATALYST FOR THE EVENTUAL BIRTH OF THE LOCAL ASSEMBLY TO RUN THE ENTIRE AREA. THEY HAVE BEGUN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS.

THE RESOURCES OF NARIVA/MAYARO  
POPULATION: 3000  
LAND:

- (1) FORESTS
- (2) SWAMP
- (3) AGRICULTURAL

SEA RAINFALL  
CLAY  
LOW MAN/LAND RATIO

RIVERS  
BEACHES  
MINERALS  
QUARRIES  
ROADS

## RESOURCES

These resources are at present under exploitation by Farmers who know how responsive the land is to cultivation if a wide variety of crops, varying from coconuts in the east to cane in the west, is used.

In spite of its relative remoteness the beaches are the most popular in Trinidad.

Sawmillers extract the most timber from the forests of Nariva/Mayaro.

The rivers Poole, Ortoire and Navef form one of the larger natural drainage systems in the Country.

The Guayaguayare and East Coast Oilfields have the largest oil reserves in Trinidad.

The Quarries at Biche are quite productive. Only the swamp dwellers and large land owners on the periphery of the Nariva Swamp know how to exploit this vast resource, but hunters know of the wild cattle herds around the swamp. Tropical fish export from here are not yet tapped.

As a region the man/land ratio is phenomenal when compared with the rest of the country.

The rainfall and water resources are over abundant.

Primary and secondary roads crisscross the area and get to the heart of these resources. There are four major road links with the rest of the country.

How shall we bring these resources to land-hungry western Trinidad? How shall we attract the population of the south east to remain here and encourage a population drift to the south-eastern region.

## Vegetable Agriculture

We assume a demand in the rest of the country for the goods produced in this area and we know of the regional demand for these goods as evidenced by the high prices which they fetch in the Mayaro markets.

In fact consumers of agricultural products in the district, often pay double the price paid by consumers in Tunapuna, San Juan and Port-of-Spain, where vendors from this area market most of their products.

The vegetable farmer in the area is faced with three main problems: transport, land tenure, and most important of all, unsuitable marketing arrangements.

A significant quantity of the vegetables produced in this area come from swamp gardens of people who inhabit the Nariva swamp, many of them on a seasonal basis.

They have mastered conditions and are able to make a living out of the higher areas in crops such as ochroses, corn, tomatoes and in the lower areas, rice, melons and dasheens.

They do so with a minimum of capital and family labour, and surprisingly with foottracks for getting in and out with produce; often crossing knee — deep water logged areas to get to their gardens.

## TRANSPORT

So we propose a network of roads which would at first link the higher mound areas in the swamp.

At present cascadura-fishermen, cucumber planters and marjiriana farmers use single log bridges to span streams. Bridges build by users of the swamp with assistance from government could do a much better job.

For the broader flooded areas a type of floating bridge construction, using water-resistant timber is proposed.

These floating platforms could be anchored in the higher areas. They would rise with the water level and could be tended by the swamp dwellers themselves if they need attention.

The foundation material for the roads would be got from the swamp itself by the people who know it best: the swamp users and dwellers. These operations would be planned at meetings of these people, who are in the best position to advise the technical people who would assist in carrying out the programme. So that access roads would now be provided to the plots, some of which are several acres in size.

From this stage the next step would be reclamation of the lower areas around the land above water level.

At present this is done by the deposition of garden waste at the edges of the plots. This could now be rationalised and the possibility of adding binders of some sort could be explored.

Of course this programme must consider the overall effects of flooding which could be offset by a programme of channel-deepening and river dredging on a gradual basis to prevent a recurrence of the drying out effect as occurred in the Oro-pouche swamp project.

But the topography of the Nariva Swamp is much unlike that of La Retraite, Los Blanquiales and Oropouche in the south west and, Caroni and Lawentille in the North, these are all flat while Nariva has the advantage of considerable areas above water-level.

To guard against drying out and at the same time, to safeguard water resources for possible irrigation we prepare the establishment of a catchment dam to be built in an area where it would not interfere with the present flow of water, via the Navef river to the dam of Navef.

This new dam would be fed by the heavy rains in the district and water from it would be adequate to supply areas such as Union Village, Navef, Cushe and other parts of the area which are without a pipe-born supply.

So that in making maximum use of large land areas, which are now being tamed by pioneer vegetable farmers the whole area would benefit tremendously.

Transport of produce from the swamp could then be organised on the basis of refrigerated cargo lorries purchasing goods for cash at buying stations, overnighting if necessary to ensure maximum use of cargo space.

This plan must fit into an overall scheme of vegetable transport in the entire region. Farmers at present lose two days of each week in order to sell their products at the markets in the north.

A refrigerated cargo lorry service will solve the transport problem. At present they spend two nights away from home in some instances, but if their goods are taken at its source at guaranteed prices, they would at once save time and have a steady income.

There would be no need for them to accompany their goods to market, and spend time which could be used to increase the productivity of their plots.

## LAND-TENURE

While it is true that many squatters deforest the official reserves, quite a large number produce vegetable from unused crown land areas, which were previously covered by non-economic bush.

But both these groups have no title to the land which they have been using for several years.

In fact the shifting cultivation system is doing more harm to the reserves. This problem is of course, rooted in the irresponsibility of landlessness which is brought about by the uncertainty of land tenure.

A peasant would farm a ten-acre block with a long term crop-programme if he were certain of his tenure, but he would destroy about thirty acres in six years by moving deeper into the forest reserve each year, leaving the previously worked area bare, open to erosion or growing up in non-economic bush with the consequent loss of natural resources.

The squatter of crown lands is a pioneer who must be assisted by

being given tenure to at least ten acres of the land that he has opened up.

His responsibility for preservation of the natural resources would at once increase. He could then rationalise his cropping programme and would then be called upon with his colleagues in the area to protest the forest reserves, which on present performance the forestry department is very inadequate to achieve.

For several years these squatters have been earning incomes without any significant help from any government agencies. We propose that they be assisted with a developed system of vegetable transport, across road, which they would themselves build in the slow season and permission to utilise a quota of logs from the forests for erection of their farmer buildings and homes.

They have been doing this, of course, without permission, much to the detriment of the resources. The working out of such a programme should not be left to the technical officers alone.

In fact this is precisely why so many of them fail "Who go take dem land?" farmers ask when the P.H. cars which ply the district pass near to bull dosed areas. "You eh see dey scrape off all the top soil," and as the driver makes a query they reply "I woulda cut dong de tree dem meself, and plant a crop a dashween jest so."

## MARKETING

A squatter does not need 25,000 dollars to start a farm. One tenth of that in weedicide, pesticides, fertilizer, and tractor facilities spread over a period of five years, would enable him to maintain a family of eight, which he at present supports by his labour and wits alone.

Every head of lettuce, every onion and every pound of yam produced, must reach the table even via the animal feed industry. Any scheme of agricultural development must eventually fail or succeed in the market place.

We hardly need to survey the rubbish heaps in the backyards of the district to recognise the quantity of goods produced which do not reach the market. Cassava remains in some fields until they return to bush for lack of a stable purchasing system.

Banana — growers fare better. The Banana buyers in the Biche-Rio Claro district are pioneers in the science of marketing, they could teach the central marketing agency, The Productivity Centre, and the entire nation a comprehensive ten minute course in the art of purchasing.

"Go where the goods are." They do it on Saturdays, and Sundays. They have no registry of suppliers. They are their own managing directors, market researchers, tally clerks, chauffeurs and accountants. No files. No advertising budget. Any marketing agency will have to stoop to allow the farmers to conquer.

## Report ON Nariva/Mayaro

On the other hand a better approach may be attempted. The farmers themselves could be consulted at an assembly of farmers which would meet regularly to make decisions affecting the marketing process, set dates for delivery, prices possible quantities they can supply, packaging, storage and associated problems. When producers get together to decide production targets with correct market information, which middlemen are always willing to supply the commodity problem is easily solved, but when farmer A is doing his thing without reference to farmer B and C, gluts could result with consequent price and quantity fluctuations; this has been the chief bugbear of successful vegetable marketing.

Other problems associated with chemicals for agriculture, machinery, planting material etc. must be solved by the farmers involving themselves in decision making.

In the 1950's the price of a 240 pound bag of sulphate of ammonia, delivered by the various sugar manufacturers, rose from about ten dollars (\$10.00) to somewhere in the region of twenty-two dollars (\$22.00).

(Any old cane farmer in the Cedar Hill, Lothians district, could give the exact figures; these chaps of course, multiply by 88 and 160 without even having been to school, and without recourse to pen and paper, while more learned and distinguished people fumble with multiplier and multiplicand with little success.) The Cane farmers Association was organised, with the help or hindrance, as usual of certain "statesmen".

The Association proceeded to supply the same bag of fertiliser, first at sixteen dollars (\$16.00) per bag and then at eleven dollars (\$11.00), without subsidy from anybody. Presto! the manufacturers of sugar suddenly found it profitable to sell at the same rate as the Association.

That was a revolution, not a shot fired, nobody dead, no big thing. Never before! never since!

## Other Problems

The farmer need an all-embracing organisation to look after most of his production needs, not an agency run by people who do not till the soil, and according to a University of the West Indies graduate who once ran the demonstration station at Rio Claro, does not know the agony of a crop failure or cannot understand the joy of a successful water-melon season.

The present low productivity in agriculture in the region is a psychological and social problem which gives birth to the economic problem of low income which is the only one being tackled. The large mass of the iceberg is below the surface, only a small portion is visible. No amount of blasting at the top thirty percent of the problem will solve it.

Attacking the problem of the fronts of marketing, swamp utilisation, transport and land tenure would reap benefits for the people at present engaged in this important sector of the economy and encourage others to expand production and to enter the field in a meaningful movement back to the land.

I know that we have incorporated answers to some criticisms of the plan as it evolved, but to save time I would not attempt to consider some which might have been left out.

Wages to be paid to workers on the access roads both in and out of the swamp. The solution here is to pay squatters and swamp dwellers in land. They will take more care of it than if it were simply given to them.

In any event these roads will be built in their off season when their labour would be of no value. Besides which they might be paid a subsistence wage, the deficit going into instalments on the plot, which they would acquire at the end of the road building programme.

Page 4  
The land in any event was of no value and brought no return to the government, at least rent will be collected when the farmers come into full ownership.

Another possible source of funds for wages could well be found by diverting funds from non-productive pavement building projects to this scheme for increasing vital agricultural output.

Capital would be at a minimum, tractors used in road-making projects could be assigned for continuing work on a farmer's plots. The cargo trucks would realise a profit over a short period.

The farmers organisation would be financed by an assessment of the units of goods which are produced and would therefore be solvent in a short period and therefore be able to undertake economic projects such as bulk purchasing of a variety of supplies, and even moving eventually to processing food and animal feeds.

Farmers and buyers have rationalised the marketing of bananas. It is true that the Central Marketing Agency has helped with this crop and others, this is a good thing, but they should expand this kind of activity whenever necessary and should take lessons from private buyers.

The size of the market is limited only by the extent of processing and packaging techniques which are as yet underexploited.

"A  
National  
Assembly  
of the  
Whole  
People  
in 1971"



# LETTERS

To: The Right Hon. Eric Williams,  
Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago,  
40 The Trinidad and Tobago High Commission,  
London.

We, United Kingdom citizens, have always taken an active interest in the problems which face West Indian people, not only in the Caribbean, but also in Britain, where they daily experience the oppression of successive Labour and Conservative governments which have fostered and exploited racism at every level of our society.

We have learnt of the heavy prison sentences for Lieutenant Shah and Lieutenant Lasalle and the seven soldiers also accused of mutiny, and we wish to make public our great admiration and respect for these men.

The State of Emergency declared by your government in April 1970, and the court martial which have recently taken place, mark a year during which your government has given clear proof that it no longer acts in the interest of the people of Trinidad and Tobago, and furthermore, is prepared to defy the wishes of the people, who are fighting to abolish the colonialism you once attacked so vigorously in your writings.

The years in which you have governed your country have shown that you, despite everything you have ever written, have finally gone the same way as all the other reactionary governments in the West Indies.

You have not abolished British and American economic theft and domination, nor have you liberated your people. No, indeed, you have helped the British and Americans to settle even deeper roots; you have even further enslaved your people within the system you once vowed to destroy.

Nothing better illustrates your complete capitulation than the events in April last year when you sent for Venezuelan, British and American military assistance to enable you to put down the popular rebellion of your people, a rebellion that even included your own army.

Your resolute decision to defy the wishes of the people of Trinidad and Tobago, confirmed by your imprisonment of those soldiers who refused to decimate and kill their own families and friends, impels us to come out in total and open condemnation of your government, and to promise our total support for the people of Trinidad in their struggle to remove your

government and replace it with a government capable of removing British colonialism and all the class and racial privileges which its social and economic structure has entrenched over the centuries.

This surrender on your part to the power of organised colonialism and imperialism has had its repercussions not only in your own country, but also on the fate of the two million black people now living and working in British society itself.

Instead of identifying yourself with the problems which your own people suffer daily in this country, hounded as they are by the racism of British society (against which you once wrote so passionately) your government has actively co-operated, and is still colluding with the present British government to keep black people in this country in a state of complete subjection to the indignities which British society places them in daily.

Police-harassment and brutality, slum housing conditions, vast employment problems, degrading jobs at meagre wages which a white worker would refuse, an educational system which reinforces the myth of black inferiority in the minds of whites and blacks alike, and finally, an impending Immigration Bill which will in fact give the police full powers to control and brutalise the black community by means of South African type, Pass Laws (all blacks will have to carry identification cards with them and be stopped by any policeman on mere suspicion), as well as compelling them to register with police all their movements, thus putting them at the mercy of the police and their employers.

As you have abandoned your fight to abolish colonialism in your country, as you have decided as a consequence to abandon your people to the mercies of a racist society as Britain is today, we say we are in complete sympathy with those of your people who are prepared to defy your government.

It is our duty to let them know that there are many people in British society who are prepared to identify with them in their just struggle to complete what you began but never dared to finish.

We demand the resignation of your government, the immediate release of the soldiers, the lifting of all political charges, and the placing of government in the hands of the people of Trinidad and the West Indies where all government rightfully belong.

*Handwritten signatures:*  
Eric Williams  
10 St. Peter's  
Pass  
Rashed Kempson  
Ken Dewhurst  
Kenneth Tyrnor  
10 St. Peter's  
Pass  
10 St. Peter's  
Pass  
10 St. Peter's  
Pass

*Handwritten signatures:*  
Rashed Kempson  
Ken Dewhurst  
Kenneth Tyrnor  
10 St. Peter's  
Pass

Dear Brothers,  
I am enclosing a copy of an open letter to Williams, of which you all are aware by now since I understand comments were made on it in the local daily papers.

I have gone through "NEW BEGINNING" thoroughly, and I am convinced that the first issue is a tremendous historical document. I believe though that you need photographs to raise the artistic (visual) standard.

Your analysis of the Lime was first class though it lacked concrete examples of its relationship to earlier political struggles in Trinidad and Tobago. I will be writing to "NEW BEGINNING" shortly.

One Love,  
BROTHER DARCUS,  
From Black Panther Movement on behalf of black people in Britain.

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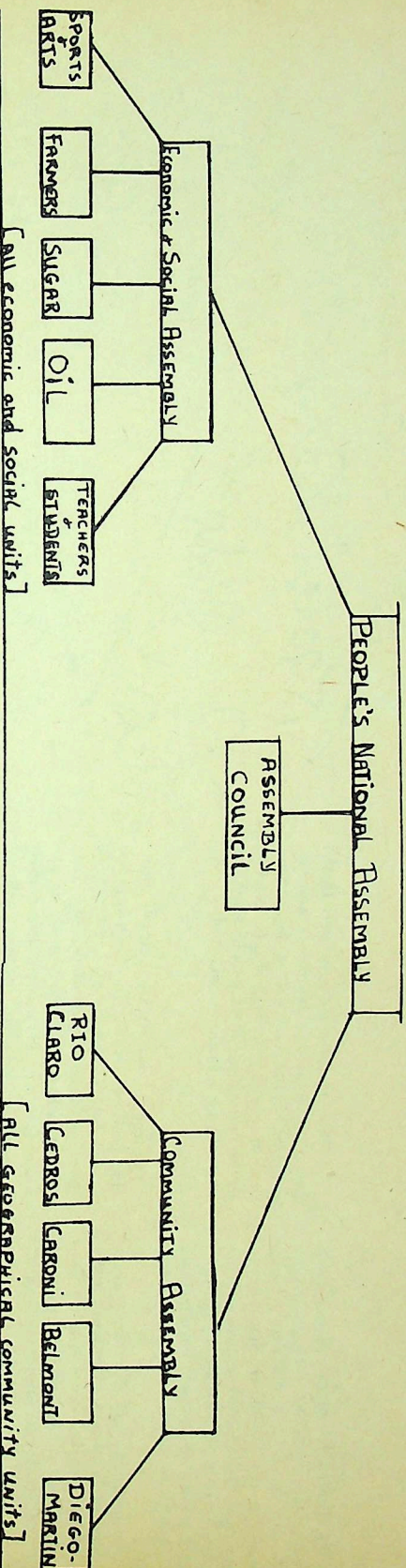
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COPIES OF BACK ISSUES OF "NEW BEGINNING" AVAILABLE ON REQUEST.

*Handwritten notes:*  
Nicholas Turner  
Passes  
Approved copy  
11/1/70

# Proposed

# New Form of Government



THE Newspaper is brilliant, especially the first issue. I don't think any newspaper in the Caribbean has ever produced as solid and ideologically sound a document as this one.

It is the ideal theoretical base from which to begin. The rest is the concrete discovery of what we set out to look for, and that can only be discovered in the lives and preoccupations of people.

This means a certain approach to organisation, and a specific kind of guidance to the community which will help to bring out all the possibilities that are there.

I will venture to make some suggestions on organisation and mode of operation for we here have been doing similar work in the villages.

I think the organisation must make itself more identifiable in the public mind. At present I see only Co-ordinating Council on the newspaper. That is not sufficient. Our experience here has taught us that West Indian peoples respond to an identifiable and catchy name.

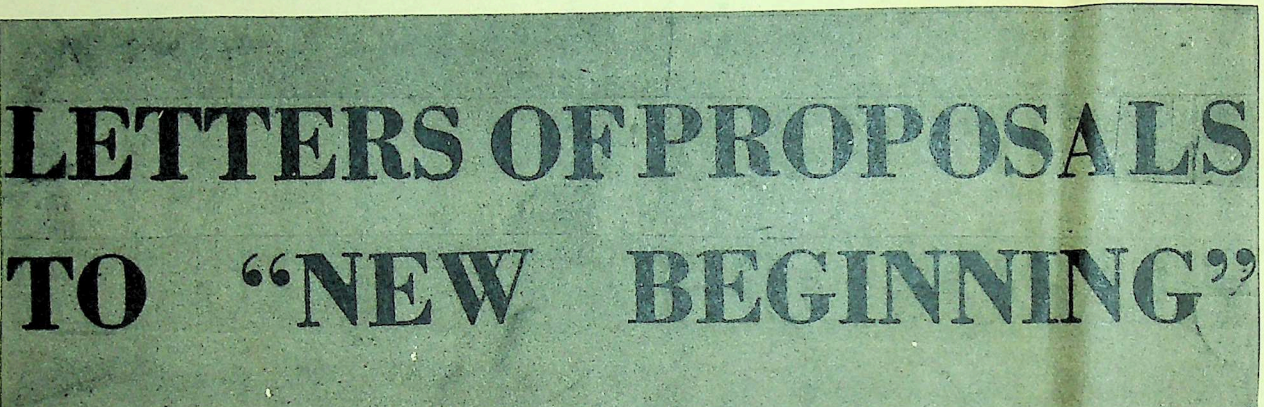
At the moment I do not think that the organisation has a name which would lead the mass of people to see it as an identifiable entity apart from what is already there, with a specific and different approach to politics.

The idea of the popular Assemblies which has taken root in the public mind must be known to have a central organising base to which the public can come.

So far I have seen only the first two issues, which as I said, are brilliant. But there is a certain vagueness about the question of strategy, which I feel might confuse people. What I mean is, people see in the paper that the alternative to party and parliament is the assembly, and they respond to the suggestion, but what should they do next and what should they see as the end purpose of such action?

Form Assemblies — Fine. But around what? How should the Assemblies occupy their time? Around what group should they revolve, and to whom can they come for advice.

And what is the end purpose of the whole operation? (I am merely trying to



guess what might be in the minds of people reading and responding to the idea of the Assemblies).

What I feel the paper can explain is something along the following lines.

We have to find an alternative to party and Parliament. It is no use running around either saying this, and not working towards finding such an alternative. This

alternative is what has to be discovered among the people in their communities.

The alternative to Parliament is the People's Assembly, rooted within the lives of the people. It is necessary to set out to create one, to show the power structure what the people can create for themselves.

The strategy is to create in practice this new concept of government. Let us begin to work on building our own form of government, where genuine participation and control by people in their communities will be the result.

We will organise ourselves, at work and at home, into groups. These groups will state for themselves **WHAT THEY WANT FOR THEIR COMMUNITIES**, that is, they will form their own policies for their own groups, rather than have some Minister upstairs formulating policies for them without consulting them. When all of us have got ourselves together, and stated clearly what we want, we will convene a National Assembly of the People, where all the community assemblies will meet and thrash out a common policy for the nation.

We will set up our own Assembly Council. We will pass our own resolutions on policy, which will be binding on the Executive. We will then proceed to administer government for ourselves, because we will be the true representatives of the people's voice.

The government we will ignore, the elections we will ignore. Let them do their own thing, we will do ours. There will be, when we are finished, two governments in the country — the government of the old order, and our government, with the Assemblies of the people as its base.

By operating our own system, we will make theirs ineffective. They cannot govern if there is no co-operation from the people. But we can govern ourselves, and pass our own laws.

Of course, they might try to stop us: break us up, arrest us, even kill some of us. The answer to that is that we should begin to prepare for such oppression as well. Let us not panic. Let us begin to form our area and work groups; let us work towards convening an Assembly; let

us voice our opinions in our paper. But at the same time, let us prepare ourselves for an attack by the power structure.

Our task today, therefore, is to begin to organise our own assemblies, at home and at work. In these assemblies, we will discuss for ourselves what we want for our own localities, and our own place of work. We will state our views in the paper, we will also prepare ourselves for the People's National Assembly.

We do not want violence. If they leave us along to practice our democratic rights, then we will proceed to set up our own popular form of government, and ignore what they are doing. But if they begin to molest us, beating-up people, breaking up meetings, terrorising people, arresting people, shooting and murdering us, we must be prepared as a whole people to defend ourselves against their attack.

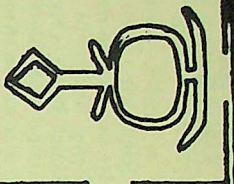
Fishermen must get together and thrash out a policy for fisheries. Civil Servants can get together and work out a policy for the civil service. Teachers, oil-workers, sugar workers, students etc. all must get together, form their assemblies and work out their policies for themselves.

Even the soldiers and the police can form assemblies among themselves to work out their own ideas and policies on what they want for the army, what they want for the police force.

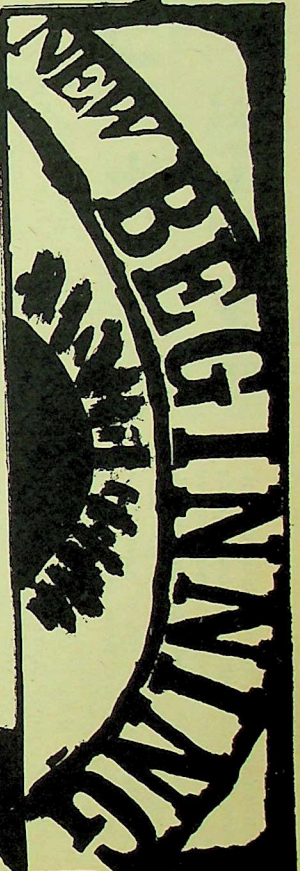
Then when we have all organised ourselves, we will all meet together in a grand National Assembly, and that assembly will not only lay down a policy for the nation, it will elect its own Assembly Council to carry out that policy, and it will **FORM THE BASIS FOR THE NEW PARLIAMENT**. The alternative to the present system is the **NATIONAL ASSEMBLY** which will not merely meet and then disappear, **BUT WILL BECOME THE PERMANENT VOICE AND LEGISLATIVE ORGAN OF THE PEOPLE**.

These are the suggestions I want to make. Pardon me if I speak in the first person, but when ideas are flowing fast I tend to say "we", "our" etc. Since our experience in the Caribbean are similar, the lessons we have learnt here may help you in lovely Trinidad a United Caribbean one history, one experience, one people, **BROTHER!**

SOBB 242350



Co-ordinating Council  
News Service  
Trinidad and Tobago



People Are Beginning To Organise

Their Own Assemblies Without

Drama And Fanfare. Sober

Organisation Of The People Is In

Progress. Join The Assembly  
Movement

# POWER to THE PEOPLE!

AND as Best said, not to long ago, "De mark really bus". The campaign is over: Elections run-off: Victory already claimed on all sides: But we know what we know. Let some boast of their 36 out of 36; Let others take all the pips for the boycott of the polls; Let both sides pat themselves on the back. Let them use statistics to further their own ends. Let them twist and turn figures as they like. Let them claim all the victory they want. Again, we know what we know.

## LONG LIVE P.N.M. ?

There's really no point in discussing the P.N.M.'s election campaign. Everyone, you and I, the people saw it for what it was, and

28% that voted for your party, the 32.9% that voted period. Still when you say go we goeth. You still have the power. So twist and turn the figures; appoint ministers; appoint senators, convene Parliament on June 18th; P.N.M. is great, but we know what we know: Yes, an apparent victory, but a DEFINITE defeat.

## NO VOTE

The other side was only slightly different. Plenty "doctors" on many public platforms; Plenty backroom politics; Plenty public meetings; Plenty empty promises; Plenty election gimmicks; Plenty quick mergers, plenty splits.

Not that there was anything wrong with the NO-VOTE campaign

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none was surprised by it. The rum, the fete, the 'ole talk', the gimmicks, all had to be there, the whole works. Typical P.N.M. politics; Typical Old Order politics: "Feed the hungry niggers and coolies; Fill them with rum; Show them a good time and fool them with empty promises.

Take them to the beach; Give plenty free concert; And show them you have the power, "Go right ahead, forget about 1970; Forget about the New Trinidadian; Forget the new wave of consciousness; Forget the new wave of consciousness and demands, get the demonstrations and demands, the new awareness of self, the search for a New Beginning. "Go right ahead man, when you say come, we still cometh.

And then 'de mark bus'. Thirty-six out of thirty-six. Victory for the P.N.M., or so the man says. Still, go right ahead man. Forget the low poll; Forget the measly 14% that voted in Naparima South. The

yes; Victory for the leaders, victory for their parties...an apparent victory, a possible defeat.

## THE PEOPLE

And, we the people, look on, we neither go about shouting "Constitutional Crisis", nor call on the P.N.M. to resign, for we know the man. We know he would still try to govern this country. His manoeuvres no longer surprise us. We neither call for new elections, nor rush into foolish debate about figures, for we do not have to prove anything. We do not have to prove a victory. We know that we, as a people, have triumphed.

So we watch the puppets dancing on the political stage, and we smile at every new trick. We put on the plantation "negro" face, and we "yes massa" and "no massa" as we watch the regime crumble, for we know what we know: No leaders told us not to vote, and we obeyed. No one dictated our fight for us. We individually, decided what we had to do. And we did it. Not just against a Party, or for a few reforms, but against an oppressive, harsh, and unjust system.

## TOTAL FED-UPNESS

The road from 1946 to today was a long road built on hope. Adult franchise allowed us participation in our affairs. Full participation as they call it, "one day", participation as we know it. Then Williams came bringing new hope, to the African section of the population. Hope for progress; Hope for meaningful participation in politics; hope for equal opportunity; Hope for dignity; Hope for freedom from oppression, exploitation; Hope for the ending of corruption; Hope for everything.

And these hopes gradually died, as the Party's Card came into being; The Shanty Towns remained unattended; The unemployment figure rose and kept on rising. As big business came and went, bleeding the country; As the oppression continued.

The East Indian community, on the other hand, had built no hopes on Williams. In those days of "Race Politics", their hopes were pinned on the other major Party: the P.D.P. in 1956, and the D.L.P. in 1961. Neither Party was tested in governmental role...Neither was tried as the ruling Party. But both proved so ineffective as an opposition... Both proved so inefficient and incompetent, that the East Indians lived, or rather existed, on diminishing hopes.

We the whole people, Africans and Indians, still remained silent. Participation still meant casting a vote, and dissenters were swiftly dealt with.

## CONSCIOUS REJECTION

So we both rejected the P.N.M., although for different reasons. Still, voting race, the Africans continued

to vote P.N.M. since a vote for P.N.M was a vote against D.L.P., and the Indians continued to vote D.L.P since a vote for D.L.P. was a vote against P.N.M. The boycotting of the polls had already begun, as is indicated by the 65.8% that went to the polls in 1966, compared with the 88.11% that voted in 1961. That additional 22% who refused to vote in 1966 had become so frustrated by promises that never came; So fed-up with both politics and politicians, that casting a vote was of no importance to them. As one woman put it somewhere around 1967: 'ah know ah bound' to live".

## NEW POLITICS...

Then came 1970 and the N.J.A.C. The people took over. We had a real taste of meaningful participation in our own affairs: Street Politics, People's Parliament Politics, the public forum on the Public Order Bill. Serious politics began: Serious attempts to come to terms with our socio-economic problems; serious attempts to bring Africans and Indians together. We, in search of a New Beginning, had totally rejected the Old Order, and its colonial institutions.

We kept looking for the New alternative, but in terms of the Old. We kept asking, "who", and not "what". Like a man who goes to the bush for mangoes with a paper-bag: The bush is wet, so the bag gets wet and torn. He comes back looking for an alternative, but thinking in terms of the old, looking for another bag, he simply cannot see the greater usefulness of a basket or bucket offered by a brother. In the same way we look for a man, a messiah, of the New Order. Our habits of the Old leave us blind to the new ideas, new concepts, and philosophies as the revolutionary alternative. We move about in a state of concerned confusion: looking, but seeing nothing.

This is where the so-called leaders took over. They exploited the mood of the people, articulating the feeling of the masses, but giving their own reasons for the dissatisfaction. So they shout "no vote", they call for a boycott of the polls, but they stifle our cause. They say our Cont'd on Pg. 2

# TRUST IN LORD WILLIAMS!

National Task Forces, National Culture Council, and a National Sports Council, and here, certain executive members are appointed well in advance of the setting up of these bodies. So now they have gone further, and are even electing our group officers for us.

And they tell us "National dialogue" and "maximum participation", while the Lord Williams decides what WE can do, and what WE cannot do; he must decide, and we must abide by his decisions, for he alone knows what is good for us. The Governor General's invocation was truly appropriate. What else could be say at the end of such a speech?

"Trust in the Lord (Williams?) with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths," but NO THANKS Sir Solomon.

## From Page 1 "POWER TO THE PEOPLE"

reform the old; we say bring in the new. They say patch-up when we say scrap. They say we'll vote after certain reforms; we say we would not vote in any rotten system, in any corrupt system, in any imposed system. We want no part of Old Order politics period.

And we did not vote. Not in support of a Party; not in support of a leader; not in support of a handful of individuals; not in support of electoral reform, but rather, our no vote was an act of defiance, an act of aggression against a system that constantly militates against us. WE THE PEOPLE, have won this round. It is we who have won a victory. Only we can claim the laurels. Still, let us not sit back and glory in this triumph, we must be prepared to see things through to the final conclusion.

How we take power, and how we use this power is entirely up to us. Only we can decide what we want, and how we get it. But we must begin with self. Let the new man create the new relationships. Then out of the OLD would spring the NEW. The NEW must be born of the OLD. So let us push on. Let us not be held back by the screaming of the agony of its "labour". The pain is always hottest at the time of birth. Black Power To Black People.

### THRONE SPEECH.

WHOSE THRONE???

YESTERDAY: Her Majesty's

TODAY: His [Williams] Majesty's

TOMORROW: We [The Peoples] Majesty's

LET US HAVE

1 MILLION THRONES

OR NONE AT ALL!

# IN THE INTEREST OF JUSTICE

ON Wednesday June 30th, three brothers are to face the Sangre Grande courts on charges ranging from obscene language, to resisting arrest. These three remain from an original five, two of which have been ordered to pay fines after pleading guilty to their obscene language charges. The five are: Elton Benjamin, Aldwyn Flanders, Dennis Lee, Anthony Clarke, and Anthony Greenidge, all of Sangre Grande.

They were all arrested at a public meeting of the PNM on Sunday 23rd. May, the day before the thief in the night elections. According to the police, these brothers were disturbing a public meeting (of the PNM) during the election period, three of them used obscene language, and one resisted arrest.

About fifteen minutes after the start of the meeting, around 8.45 p.m. the police had cause to intervene in a scuffle between a man and a group of people. This man was using obscene language, and threatening the members of the group. He held an empty beer bottle in his hand. However, he was only cautioned by the police, not arrested. It is perhaps only pure coincidence that this man, who was given a chance, was at the time wearing a P.N.M. jersey.

Then too there were more policemen at the meeting in civilian, than there were policemen in uniform. One brother was arrested by five policemen: two in uniform, and three who were standing close to him, in plain clothes.

One of the brothers, it is alleged, resisted arrest. The facts are not yet clear on this, what is clear though is that he, on reaching the station was slapped, at least twice, by a police officer. Perhaps in the best

interest of justice. Justice, perhaps also demanded that Anthony Greenidge be roughed-up and cuffed while being taken to the police jeep. Though he, it is reported, went very quietly with his five captors.

He was at the meeting, booing and shouting, "don't vote" while the rest of the crowd cheered. Asp. George approached him, telling him, in a typical old-police manner, about heckling, warning him that if he did not stop he would be arrested. Greenidge stepped down from the pavement, onto the road to speak to George, telling him that he had a guaranteed right to agree or disagree with what the speaker (L.M. Robinson) was saying. Asp. George held him, and tugged him off the road, back to the pavement, telling him to stay there. Greenidge stepped down again to talk to George, who promptly called on his officers to make the arrest.

Brother Greenidge was charged with disorderly behaviour at a political meeting. Only on the following morning was he officially informed of his charge, after spending one night in the cell. But perhaps that too was also in the interest of justice.

And again, perhaps Asp. George was only administering justice, when, in the charge room he told Greenidge that he was out for him a long time, and made reference to his leading a stupid bunch of students through the streets of Sangre Grande. (a student demonstration in March of this year.) Or when in the cell he warned that next time he, George, would hit Bro. Greenidge six bull pistol. Or when he saw to it that nobody got bail that night.

So right on Asp. George, perhaps its all in the interest of justice.

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NING" think not of buying, but think rather of contributing.

### NEW BEGINNING

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So we are expected to have faith in the government's pledge to "ensure equality of opportunity for all on the basis of merit, and without religious or racial discrimination," and forget that political and class discrimination have been left out of the pledge. And we must not (in fact we cannot) think for one minute that "equal opportunity" is nearly always dependent on a 'God-father'. Not to mention the amount of talk surrounding the Party Ticket.

When they pledge to ensure "respect for the constitutional rights of all", we are supposed to forget the State of Emergency last year, and the price paid for Freedom of Assembly. Then too, it takes only a glance at a few copies of the Express to remind us of the cost of Freedom of Speech. But again idiots are not expected to do that.

And then they talk of a year of "national dialogue" in which the government "will concentrate on encouraging and promoting the maximum participation of the people in the political process", yet everything else that was said told us what the government plans to do for us:

THEY have decided to appoint a constitution commission, about which lots could be said: THEY have decided to convene a Secondary Schools Conference, and a Garment Industry Conference. Both to be planned, and stage-managed by THEM. THEY will "organise a comprehensive exhibition" of local garments (as if this great organising task were too much for the people involved in the garment industry.) THEY have decided to appoint two

# SITUATION IN BRITAIN WORSENS

On Sunday March 21st, 10,000 Asians, African and West Indians demonstrated throughout the streets of London against the Immigration Bill, and the oppression of Black people in Britain and all over the world. Information received about the Bill from a pamphlet of the Black Panther Movement states:

"The new ALIENS ACT launches a new attack on black people by giving the government a framework in which strict control over all black people will be kept.

The draft of the bill is in two parts—for those of us black people who are already here the Home Secretary (that fascist Maundling, director of Dunlop, South Africa), has the power to deport any person without any right of appeal. (If a man is recommended for deportation then the whole family will be deported.)

The bill also provides for large scale forcible repatriation of black people, a cry first raised by Enoch Powell and the fascists in the Monday Club of the Conservative Party. On taking office the foreign secretary Alec Douglas-Home gave instructions to all British embassies that the issuing of work vouchers to black people should be cut down.

Therefore for the very few (if any) black people who will still come to Britain the Bill takes away the fundamental rights that workers have fought to establish, even the right to vote. Black working people coming to Britain will be admitted to a job which the government determines, and will immediately be required to register himself and his family with the police.

Black working people will be required to produce the work vouchers to the police on demand and will be unable to change jobs or move from one area to another without permission. Work vouchers issued for one year only will not be automatically renewed but depend on good reports from the racist police, and employers

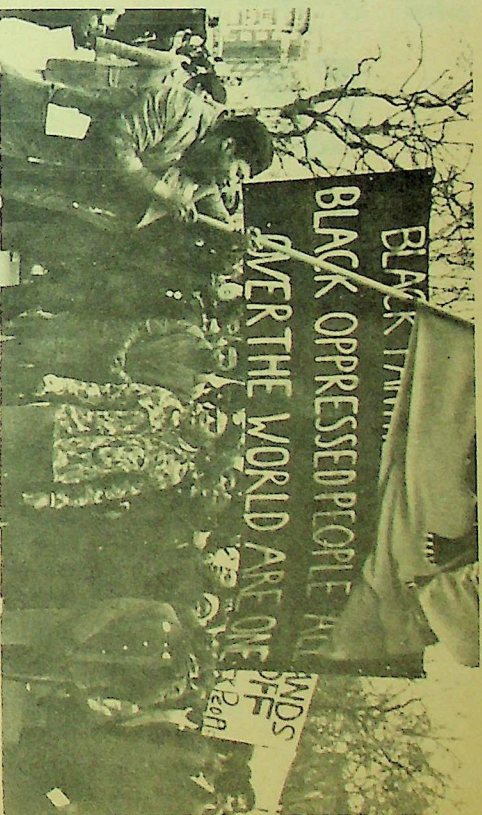
who will welcome the opportunity to stop black people from organising against exploitation."

But the Immigration Bill is not all—there is much more involved here in the traumatic situation of Blacks in Britain. The Black People's News Service, of London, states firmly that Black people did not only demonstrate on Sunday March 21st, against the racist Bill, but did in fact sound the arrival of Black People as a confident social and political force on the British scene. And that this force got its life blood from, and developed out of race riots starting since 1958 when Black People were attacked openly by white racists including police, and out of the everyday general struggles of black people to survive in a hostile climate, for

"The sense of unity forged out of the struggle broke barriers between nationals of one country and nationals of another. We ceased from then to see ourselves as Jamaicans, or Trinidadians, or Barbadians, etc. Where West Indian politicians with all their university degrees failed to create a harmonious West Indian unit, black people in Britain showed them the way."

Since this political force of black people emerged all the black groups have been working steadily organising the black communities to confront the racist and their policies, and at the same time to bring "new conceptions of self" and society to the frustrated suffering black people in Britain. But as organisational activity steps up, so does police brutality, and harassment against black organisers:

Feb. 5th — DANNY MURRELL, Black Unity and Freedom Party, (BUFP), arrested and charged with insulting behaviour and obscene language.  
Feb. 6th — KEITH SPENCER, ABDUL MCINTOSH and DAVID WHITE, members of Black



Panther Movement (BPM), arrested and charged with assault and threatening behaviour.  
Feb. 23 — BALDY GORDON (BPM), arrested, and charged with using insulting words.

March 23rd — ELIZABETH KAOUDI and JOEL EMEROLE (BPM), arrested and charged with using violent behaviour.  
March 26th — REGINALD BECKLES and JOE LEMEROLE (BPM), arrested and charged with using violent behaviour.

March 30th — Fourteen members of Black Panther Movement stopped by the police who attempted to intimidate them.  
This new wave of police terror

**S.C.C. says:**

## STUDENT CONFERENCE IS A FARCE

AFTER being in power for fourteen years, the P.M. decides now to call a National Conference to discuss Students' Problems. After so many years of mal-administration, and irrelevant education, immoral behaviour by members of staff, and brutalization of students and any member of staff who assists the students in their fight, is it only now the Government realises that the students are faced with problems: or did they know, but simply ignored it as they always do with everything.

The big question now is, is it because of the stand the Woodbrook students took for what is right, and the student demonstration calling for the Freedom of the Soldiers and Power to the People. One thing that I cannot understand here is the people who are calling the conference, are the ones who criticised the students for the past two weeks.

They were referred to as Vagabonds and irresponsible children, but these very same Vagabonds and irresponsible children made a stand that few men in this society, if there are any, would make. The most stupid comment that was made about this student activity, was "there is a breakdown of discipline..." which was said by a certain, stupid T.V. announcer.

Now what breakdown of discipline is he speaking about? Is it not known to him that this discipline broke down fourteen years ago, in the Ministry of Education, administration and staff of the schools. Students must realise that the same people who are calling the Conference to discuss their problems are the ones who referred to them as Vagabonds, undisciplined and irresponsible children, and who arrested them. Do you students, think they will solve your problems after all this? No. They will not. YOU MUST.

against black people has also been directed against the black workers, who are already under steady pressures being the first to be fired, and the last to be hired.

But the black people are fighting back daily. A conference was held on Saturday 22, and Sunday 23 May, titled the National Conference on the Rights of Black People in Britain" in order to provide collective direction and purpose for the struggle, and lay the basis for the required united action to back the collective consciousness of the black people in Britain.

In consequence issues of this paper the outcome of this Conference will be reported.

By this I mean you must organise yourself in student bodies. In each school the students must organise themselves in a sort of student body. This group should be a cross section of the entire school. This could be done by a smaller student group in each form, meeting regularly to discuss their problems and planning strategy to overcome them. Then they should send representatives to the student body.

If this is done in all schools, then each school should send representatives to a Student National Co-ordinating Committee.

From the name proposed one will realise immediately that the function of this committee will be to bring the schools together, to closer ties and co-ordinate their activities ensuring that all student activity will be going in the same direction.

When this is done, then the students themselves could call a Student Conference and invite the public to listen to the problems and proposals for a new education system.

It will not be 36 men calling a conference to discuss students problems and inviting only one student from each school, as an observer. Who are they fooling? What student problems could they discuss, and what solutions would they make? The only ones who could analyse students problems, and come up with any solutions ARE THE STUDENTS THEMSELVES.

The government cannot change the educational system without changing the government system first, and we as students must organise ourselves to do our part together with the Masses of Trinidad and Tobago to change this cruel system.

**CUT OUT THIS FORM AND SEND IT TO OUR OFFICE**

### THE CO-ORDINATING COUNCIL

#### COMMUNITY BUILDING WORK

Upstairs Terry's Snack-Bar, St. Vincent Street, Tunapuna.

PHONE: 62.

I will like to help in building community togetherness and community self-reliance.

I am \_\_\_\_\_

(e.g. a mason, teacher etc.)

What will you like to do? \_\_\_\_\_

What village or area you can do community work in? \_\_\_\_\_

What days in the week can you work? \_\_\_\_\_

What time of the day? \_\_\_\_\_

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

TEL: \_\_\_\_\_

# BEGINNINGS OF TRU ASSSEMBLIES

## CHIN-CHIN

THE Chin-Chin Village Assembly was the first local assembly of the people to which members of the Co-ordinating Council were invited. The first session of the Assembly was held on Tuesday, April 6 in the evening. The evening was the best time for most people in the village.

### FIRST SESSION

The assembly was supposed to begin at 7.00 p.m., but did not get underway until about 7.45 p.m. The villagers assembled at 7.00 p.m. and were awaiting the arrival of the person who had consented to lead the discussion. After waiting for about 45 minutes and not seeing the discussion leader, the first session of the Chin-Chin People's Assembly began with a member of the Co-ordinating Council being asked to explain what is a Local Assembly.

The original topic for discussion was entitled "The People and the Law". This topic was chosen by the organising group in the village, because the people have been and continue to be exploited by the law and those who are supposed to uphold the law in the village. The people of Chin-Chin wanted to know what they could do to bring an end to this exploitation. But since the discussion leader did not come, the members of the Co-ordinating Council present were asked to lead a discussion on the assembly. About 45-50 people were present at the Assembly session, which was held below a house in the village.

The two members of the Co-ordinating Council present explained the present system of government in Trinidad and Tobago, its irrelevance to our way of life, the inefficiency, waste and corruption that result from the present governmental system. It was explained how the people are completely left out of any participation and involvement in governmental decision-making, and in the determination of their own village and national life.

The origin, roots, philosophy and structure of the assembly idea was explained. It was stressed that the assembly of the people was essentially the coming together of the people in the village to discuss their problems, their needs and national issues, and to decide for themselves what they want. Therefore, the assembly is first a local collective body of the people in the village to seek their own well-being, and secondly, it is the power base, the roots of a new system of government to run the affairs of all the people in the country in the interest of all the people, as a nation.

Discussion was then thrown open to the whole assembly. The villagers spent for the most five minutes on the illis and irrelevances of the present governmental system and said that the system must go. The Assembly then discussed the assembly idea. The consensus of opinion was that the idea was good and that such a government would be controlled by the people. The Assembly agreed, however, that it would not be easy to get all the people to come together, and a lot of hard work would be required. The members of the Co-ordinating Council said that the villagers will have to work very hard to build the assembly, harder than they have ever worked before, and the only way the assembly will develop is by continuous collective activity.

The Assembly then discussed the problems of Cunupia, and decided to end the first session of the Assembly and to meet again the following Tuesday.

### SECOND SESSION

On Tuesday, April 13, the second session of the Chin-Chin Assembly was held with three lawyers present to lead off the discussion on "The people and the Law". About 40 villagers were present. The session began by the villagers themselves discussing some of the problems they face with the Law.

One woman with six children was put out of her new house, and the house broken down because of some dispute over the tenancy of the house spot. It was learnt that the woman's husband was at St. Ann's Hospital.

No notice was served on the lady. Many cases of police exploitation and brutality were aired. In one instance police went to the old broken-down community centre in the village, ran the youths out of the centre and began to mash-up benches, tables and all furnishings in the centre. When the keeper of the centre tried to stop them, the police party used four-letter words and cursed the whole village. The assembly session lasted four about two hours. A popular debate took place on the question of tackling the problems of the village.

It was decided to acquire a piece of land in the village to build a house for the woman and her six children. The house will be built by the villagers giving of their labour collectively. It was also decided to obtain a 5-acre piece of land in the village to begin a community farm.

The third session of the Chin-Chin Assembly of the people will be held soon to discuss "Agriculture and the people".

The Chin-Chin Assembly of the people was called by the Chin-Chin Assembly group. The group went around the village house-to-house telling the people of the assembly meeting. A place was obtained and the Co-ordinating Council was invited. During both sessions of the Chin-Chin Assembly, the Cunupia police made frequent visits to the place where the sessions were being held and said to one of the villagers: "We hear Black Power holding meetings here. Come and tell us what they said, what went on and who came."

From the very beginning the Chin-Chin assembly was up against the police. If ordinary people cannot meet in their village to discuss their problems without police harassment and spying, it means that the police force is at war with people. Either we are free people or we are in chains. If the latter, then we got to break the chains. The people of Chin-Chin have begun.

## CO-ORDINATING COUNCIL

SOME people have seen and read this newspaper, NEW BEGINNING, under the mash-head on the front page can be seen the name, CO-ORDINATING COUNCIL NEWS SERVICE.

It is being said that there is a group called the CO-ORDINATING COUNCIL that for some time now has been proposing as a new form of government, ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE, in the villages, on the block and at the point of work.

Rumours have been flying left, right and centre on the Co-ordinating Council and its paper, NEW BEGINNING.

In the face of such secret underground rumours and the confusion among the people, the time has come for a clear and precise statement on the Co-ordinating Council and NEW BEGINNING.

### TOWARDS WHAT GOAL

The massive demonstrations and meetings initiated and carried by NJAC between February and April 1970, was a People's Rebellion against the existing social order. The people had experienced the waste, both human and material, the corruption, the tomfoolery, the manipulation, the human degradation, the

lost of manhood, the fight for survival that characterised our society.

The 1970 Rebellion was action by the people to eradicate these social cancers from the society, and to usher in a new era of MANHOOD in which MAN will become the beginning and end of all social, economic, educational and cultural activities.

The Rebellion was a stage in the revolutionary process, but it was not in itself a revolution or the beginning of a revolution.

Revolution is essentially a change in human relationships and attitudes, a cleansing of the soul of man, an attempt to create a NEW MAN, A NEW WOMAN, A NEW HUMAN PERSONALITY. Everything else comes as a result of that. A group or an organisation cannot make a revolution.

Only a people can do that. In an underdeveloped society where people have been accustomed to old dependent attitudes and habits, and feeling that the established order is too much for them to confront, the people desire to know where they are going, what is to be achieved and how, before they decide to struggle to the end.

It is the view of the Co-ordinating Council that the most urgent tasks of our time are CLARITY OF

# THE COMMUNITIES:

# 'S OF PEOPLE!

## TABAQUITE

ON Sunday, May 9, 1971, the Tabaque Progressive Movement called on the people of Tabaque to come together at the recreation ground in Tabaque to discuss the problems of the Tabaque people, and how to solve them, and also to voice their views and opinions on the crisis in the country.

It was hoped that out of this would come a general agreement among the people present on what were their problems and how these problems should be tackled. In reality, the Tabaque Progressive Movement called on the people of Tabaque to begin a 'PEOPLES' ASSEMBLY.

Many groups, organisations and parties were invited. The Liberal Party, Tapia, UNIP, Young Power, Co-ordinating Council, Rio Claro Enterprises, UMRROBI, WEA, groups from other areas; all were there. The holding of the Assembly was announced on radio and in the daily Press.

Many of the groups, present brought flags, the TPM created a shed from materials found in Tabaque

and banners fluttered in the breeze. The Assembly was scheduled to begin at 9.30 p.m.

But what was hoped for did not take place. The Tabaque People's Assembly did not get off the ground.

Whereas the assembly was supposed to begin at 9.30 p.m., it did not begin until about 1.00 p.m. Most of the people present were from outside Tabaque. At the beginning about seven out of every ten people were from outside the area. Later on, some more people from the area came, and some from outside the area left. So that at the end about half the people were from Tabaque.

The Assembly began as a usual public meeting. Addresses were delivered by leaders for almost two hours. Then, an attempt was made to begin a true 'Peoples' Assembly', at which the people would discuss their problems, debate among themselves and arrive at a consensus of popular opinion.

The Assembly dragged on to an uncertain end. While the Assembly was in progress a cricket match started which confused the situation. A further attempt was made to break up into small discussion groups,

To achieve that goal, we are convinced that people have to organise themselves. It has become an absolute necessity for people to organise themselves in their villages, in the blocks, in their occupations, in the point of production etc. **PEOPLE HAVE TO ORGANISE.**

Many villages have formed for certain specific purposes, Assemblies of the People without realizing its power and significance. The people of Tabaque organised themselves to demand water for the area. The people of Kelly Village organised themselves to demand the opening of the school for their children.

The workers at the St. George Country Council have organised themselves to confront their own union. **THESE ARE INFANT ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE.** The people instinctively organise assemblies, but not realizing how significant and powerful these assemblies are, the people do not keep them going as a permanent popular body.

We say that these assemblies must be kept and developed to take care of the business of the Village, block or department of work. Water problems, garbage problems, education, drainage, domestic agriculture in the area, health, consumer enterprises, sports, etc. should be the business of the village or block assemblies.

Also, problems at work, overtime, classification of workers, pro-

but this did not meet with much success. So that by the end of the day, the Tabaque People's Assembly was yet to get off the ground.

A few lessons could be learnt from the Tabaque experience. Firstly, many people from Tabaque did not come out, perhaps that was because of lack of organisation or because people only come out to events they are familiar with. We can't tell. But, it does not seem to be as a result of lack of organisation.

For the TPM showed a great capacity for organisation in things they did before (demonstration for water etc.) and in the way they organised flags, shed, food, drinks, loud-speaker etc. For their display of that kind of organisation. They must be congratulated. There seemed to be two basic reasons for what happened at Tabaque.

Most of the groups present had different ideas on what the Tabaque Assembly was supposed to be. Some were looking forward to the normal public meeting, others expected a true 'Peoples' Assembly, and others, well... Also, the Tabaque Progressive Movement was shaky about how to begin, and this shakiness continued throughout. Finally, the assembly was held in a wide open area where people could scatter about the place, and yet hear and see what's going on.

When anything new is attempted, people never know exactly what to do. They usually fall back into old ways while attempting to begin the new. It is only by determination, patience and with new attitudes to people as men and women, that the new can gradually come into being. People feel it, they understand it, they tell you that it is just like what they had before, they see that it is good and necessary, but they find it difficult to begin, particularly when they are accustomed to an old way. But once they begin, well, all's over. We have to press on patiently, clearly, with determination and with TRUTH always. If the forms are laid, the people will give birth to the new.

## RIO-CLARO

The first Rio Claro Assembly was held on Sunday, May 16. Unlike Tabaque, the Rio Claro Assembly was held indoors and the Rio Claro enterprises, having had the experience of Tabaque knew how they should begin — by letting the people, themselves, begin the discussion.

From the very start the people dismissed the present system. They were not even interested in discussing the present system. The reasons for this are quite obvious, so there is no need to go into the reasons in detail. The reasons can all be summed up in two statements made by the people:

(1) Williams came to Rio Claro once in the past, and said that if Trinidad were a donkey, Rio Claro will be under the tail, and that

(2) "The political personalities of both the PNM and the DLP, in the past were seen in Rio Claro only before elections after which they disappeared. And the victorious ones did not even come back to thank the people.

The Rio Claro people, both the very young and very old, at the Assembly were interested most of all in finding out more about the idea of Assemblies of the People, and the actual workings of these Assemblies as the new form of government.

One brother of the Co-ordinating Council demonstrated, by use of chalk and blackboard, the actual structure of the Assemblies of the People, leading up to the National Assembly. Then it was concluded by all that being a completely new form of government, the actual workings will evolve when the people engage themselves in the said activity.

A statement made by one of the Rio Claro people, also summed up the mood and spirit felt after the Assembly meeting was concluded:

"Before I was in support of individuals, but now I am in support of that... (meaning the Assembly form of government). This statement is a Revolution in itself.

The Rio Claro Assembly met many times after May 16, and a Rio Claro Assembly Council was formed as the initial organisation to build local assemblies in each of the small units that make up Rio Claro — which units will eventually lead to an Area Assembly, for the whole of Rio Claro.

**LA ROMAIN!**  
You have met,  
You discussed,  
You planned,  
You had an  
'ASSEMBLY.'  
MAKE  
IT  
PERMANENT.

READ "NEW BEGINNING"

For More Reports On The Beginning

Of People's Assemblies.

## L SPEAKS:

**DIRECTION and ORGANISATION.** The masses of the people, unlike intellectuals, are very practical. They know what their inner feelings are, but they cannot at the beginning give practical form to their inner feelings.

We propose Assemblies of the People as a new form of government to make power to the people a reality. In our view, Assemblies of the people is the only way to achieve **MANHOOD** in governing our own selves at the village level, at the national level, at the point of work.

The days of parties, groups and committees that want to take over the government and run the country are over. We, as a people, have got to create new organisational forms (and we are creating them now) by means of which we can gain our **MANHOOD** and bring into being a form of government that will be **POWER TO THE PEOPLE.**

This is the direction of the Co-ordinating Council — **MANHOOD and Government** by the people through **ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE.** Soon we will be making proposals on the reorganisation of the economic structure to give power to the working people; not a few, but all working people.

HOW?

Cont'd on Page 7.

THE working population in Trinidad and Tobago in 1971 is making a new beginning. A new organisational form is emerging at the point of work in many industries and institutions throughout the country.

For the first time in Trinidad and Tobago since 1938, working people are consciously organising themselves at the point of work, independent of the trade unions which are supposed to represent them. Truth to tell, the working people have accepted the challenge of self-organisation. The new organisational form that is emerging at the point of work is the WORKERS' COUNCIL.

The working people have begun their own organisational movement. Workers' Councils are spreading to all major and minor industries, to all public corporations and to all departments of the state machinery. The police and bureaucratic officials are trying to stifle the Workers' movement, before it gets on its feet.

They are trying to destroy the Workers' Councils before they are born. The Movement for Workers' Councils is young and as such it must gain experience and strength before it can become a major social force in the society. But Workers' Councils are not unique to Trinidad and Tobago.

Workers in many countries have been forming Workers' Councils to fight the brutal, degrading and oppressive system under which they are forced to live. For us in Trinidad and Tobago one of the first tasks is to know what have been the experiences of Workers' Councils in other parts of the world.

Not to imitate their approach and methods, but to learn from them what we can. It is in this way that we can avoid their failures, mistakes and pitfalls. We will then be in a better position to move forward in our own environment shaping our ideals, and our forms to suit ourselves.

## THE ROOTS

Workers' Councils are a specific product of the capitalist system of relationships that exist within economic, commercial and administrative institutions that have arisen in our epoch of history. Exploitation of man by man has been the essential character of all previous societies since the destruction of ancient gentile, tribal society based on blood relationships.

But never has this exploitation been carried to such extremes as under modern capitalism. Whereas capitalism has made possible for the first time in human history, the liquidation of all basic wants and poverty, the development of a technology that has opened human horizons as to what man can achieve, the full material and human development of man so that he can explore the fields of endeavour to which his creative faculties are so inclined; at the same, the capitalist system of human relationships has thrown mankind into greater poverty, has made him into a means of gaining profit and power, has stripped from him any semblance of manhood and has degraded him back into the stage of an instinctive animal. The Black man and the masses of the underdeveloped world in general being at the very bottom of the social scale suffer the most from this system of relationships.

Capitalism has made the working people not the subject and end of all economics and government, but the means of achieving material wealth for a privileged minority. And even that minority are no longer men with Manhood, but agents. The capitalist method impels those who live by it to build a gigantic overpowering bureaucracy — a redtape machinery — to manage and control other men.

The managers, officials and spies in the capitalist institutions are not supposed to see the efficient production, administration and distribution of useful things for the benefit of all. Their first responsibility is to manage and control the working people under them. Each layer of officials manages those in lower layers. And so it goes on until the end of the line

The working person, on the other hand, seeks to obtain the material basis and Manhood for living a "good life" in keeping with the living standards of the times and the particular society. Try how he wants, he cannot achieve his basic living aim. The capitalist philosophy has no room for the achievement of that aim.

# CAPITALISM AND WORKERS' COUNCILS

(PART 1) WORKERS'

COUNCILS

For if that is allowed, there will be no massive accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of a small minority, and capitalism as a philosophy and method of approach will be D-E-A-D. For capitalism to survive and grow ever stronger, the working people must live in misery and degradation, there must be a large force of unemployed, hustlers, prostitutes, pimps, swindlers, grabbers, huffers, corrupt gangsters must walk the streets every day and they must become grooved into their trade.

## CONFLICT

In such a situation, social conflicts arises and are expressed in physical forms. The fundamental conflict is not that Texaco owns Texaco Trinidad Ltd., and the government does not own it, it is not because prices are rising and the working people are demanding higher wages, it is not because there is a scarcity of pork, beef or milk.

If government takes over all industrial enterprises tomorrow morning, nothing would change. We might only have more chaos and crisis. Some are saying the conflict is because of scarcity of goods. If tomorrow morning Trinidad and Tobago is flooded with double the quantity of things the people need, nothing would have changed. We might only see more corruption, more graft, more hoarding and more crisis.

The fundamental conflict is a conflict in social relationship at the

point of work. It is a conflict of relationship between people, between worker and manager, between nurse and matron, between junior doctor and Medical Director and Minister, between teacher and Education Minister, between teacher and student overseer, between agricultural worker and Manager, between government and people, and so on.

The groups of people in conflict have different interests. Either they have the same interest or the relationship explodes in a physical form at some stage.

The interests of the groups that constitute the social fabric, are either in harmony or in conflict. If they are in conflict, the conflict heightens. If they are in harmony, the harmonious relationship develops until some other force creates an imbalance. The questions which determine whether a system of social relationship is in harmony or conflict are:

who does what for whom?  
who tells whom to do what  
How is this or that done by whom and for whom?

That is what economic and social relationships are about. If a few directs the majority, then there is conflict and the system hardens into a dictatorship. If people collectively

decide what is to be done, how to do it, and does it collectively, then there is harmony and a true democracy develops.

It is out of this conflict of interests and crisis in social relationships that Workers' Councils come into being. It did not come in previous epochs of history, because it had to take long experience by working people, clarity of their conditions of life and relations with others in their society, and because it required the stripping of the system of all its garbs, and covers for all to see it in its nakedness.

Long experience of living within the system, seeing how it operates, and becoming curious of what it truly is, have made the working people realise that the only way out is self-organisation. The Workers' Councils is the modern form created by working people to organise themselves collectively.

## TRADE UNION BEGINNINGS.

Working people in the era of modern capitalism, first organised themselves into trade union organisations to fight against the oppressive system of capitalist exploitation.

In fact, they did not organise themselves, they were organised. For though they first got together at meetings, discussed their immediate problems, and decided to strike, they lacked, then, the experience and conscious clarity to organise themselves on the basis of collective responsibility.

After taking the initiative, they could not sustain a collective organisation. It took one or two leaders who had the confidence of the rank-and-file to organise a structure by means of which the workers rights and interests could be continuously defended and fought. But these leaders could not have created an organisational form out of their heads.

Whatever form they adopted had to be relevant and practical. The working people had to be acquainted with it in their immediate environment for it to work in practice. The only form they knew was the capitalist organisational form.

The trade union, therefore, began in the image and likeness of the capitalist organisation. From its infant beginnings, it has grown into a huge bureaucratic organisation with a hierarchy of leaders and officials who live by being professional trade unionists. From the president general, through the image of posts and offices down to the shop steward, the trade union organisation is no different to the industrial capitalist organisation.

The bureaucratic grievance-procedure of the modern union is akin to any industrial organisation. The union leaders instead of educating and assisting the workers to take effective control of their organisation, is weighed down by administrative bureaucracy and daily conflicts in worker-manager relations. The leaders have no time to spend with the rank-and-file. They no longer work shoulder-to-shoulder with the rank-and-file.

They have no time to do so. As a consequence, they loose touch, and themselves become alienated bureaucrats supposedly fighting industrial bureaucrats. If this is not the case with all trade unions today, it is the tendency. Trade unions of necessity are bound to become bureaucratic. Beginning with a capitalist organisational method, they can do nothing else but themselves become capitalised. The capitalists realising early in the game that recognition of the trade union was a necessity for their survival, not only recognised, but incorporated the trade unions with the capitalist-system.

The trade union laws and acts, the rules governing registration, procedures for labour disputes; all have acted on the trade union to make it a capitalist-directed organisation. The absurd result is a capitalist industrial organisation bargaining with a Capitalist Workers' Organisation.

In such a union leaders courier themselves become capitalist bureaucrats or are strangled. The few union leaders who attempt to maintain the capitalist union structure and yet fight for the working people, find themselves entangled in a net in which they are getting more tied up. Faced with this heavy and complex union bureaucracy that has lost touch with the rank-and-file needs, and daily suffering, the working people have been forced to rebel against their own union.

This they have to do, because the union no longer relates to them. They are no longer the union. They are viewed by the union bureaucracy as by the capitalist, not as men and women, but as things, individual elements in a total system. Having to fight against capitalist organisation, and now having rebelled against their own union by the sheer dynamics of the social situation, the working people are forced to fall back on themselves, their own initiative and creativity. It is in this fight for survival that they seek self-organisation.



# SWAN HUNTER CRISIS:

WEDNESDAY April 14th, 1971 is and will continue to remain a red letter day in the lives of the working force at Furness Smith's Dock. It was on this day that we were in open confrontation with a yawning gulf too wide to bridge by ordinary means of communication, having regard to the injustices of the expatriates who own and control the massive ship repairing Dock at Chaguaramas.

The expediency of the appearance of this article at this time, when so many schemes are in action against our people, encourage us to come boldly before an enlightened public with the real facts.

It all started when Mr. V.L. Kilgour succeeded Mr. — as managing Director of Swan Hunter, formerly Furness Smith's Docks. His first set of 'back-door' tactics included (1) Massretrenchment of skilled workers and the hiring of semi-and

unskilled labour (consequently at a cheaper rate) to do the same job. Whenever required, skilled workers were re-hired and fired at the termination of the contract.

(2) The hiring of technically educated graduates who, armed with their National Certificates and a wealth of experience are paid apprentice rates for 'A' class work.

(3) The mobilization of managerial forces to pressurize workers and

(4) The total dispensation of certain Industrial agreements and clauses which favour the workers, if only financially.

It was therefore a matter of urgency to arrest the progress of anyone who sticks out his neck for the rights of workers, and so the necks of the entire working force at F.S.D. were cut off in support of a fellow-worker, after all, a stand had to be taken where the hypocrisy of

## CAPITALISM & WORKERS' COUNCIL

From Page 6

### WILDCAT STRIKES

The first signs of rebellion of working people against both capitalist and union is the wildcat strike. In every major industry and institution in every part of the world today, there are wildcat strikes. The "wildcat" is a strike called by workers in a particular "local" or "locals" of a union. The workers in a department, say, meet with shop steward of that department and decide to strike.

*The union only knows of the strike after it is in progress.* The wildcat strike, therefore, is action taken by workers in a "local" over "local grievances". In the view of the workers, "the union will take too long to settle this grievance, and they might sell us out, so we take our own action". Most of the strikes in Trinidad and Tobago so far in 1971, have been wildcat strikes. Strike action by working people independent of their union leaders. That is the "wildcat rebellion".

In some cases working people on one union decides to join another union. Today, however, working people are becoming aware of the futility of trade unions period. When they reach that stage, the choice has been and continues to be WORKERS' COUNCILS.

Trade union leaders, today, "militant", or "reactionary" are on the way out. They have developed an organisational structure that mirrors the image of capitalist bureaucratic organisation. The trade union is only capable of fighting economic struggles — getting higher wages, more fringe benefits, more vacation leave and the like. The working people are gradually moving beyond that. Union leaders either move with the working people to transform the unions into workers' councils, if not in name, in content and form, or decline into relics of the past. It may not happen today, but the stage is rapidly approaching.

### WORKERS' COUNCILS

Workers' Councils as they have emerged are not ends in themselves. They did not begin as Workers' Councils. They came from the subsoil wither they are nourished.

Workers' Councils are the direct result of wildcat strikes. The meetings of the workers in a particular department (what "NEW" BEGIN-

NING" calls WORKERS' ASSEMBLIES gave rise to Workers' Councils.

That was the beginning. With that experience, working people in many countries have grouped themselves together as Workers' Councils. But that is only a beginning. Workers' Councils can only become a social force when the rank-and-file workers are united and organised behind their councils.

Whether the council is formed before or after, the Workers Assemblies are an absolute necessity. Workers' Councils, therefore, came out of workers' assemblies in the beginning, and though the councils can be formed before, they must be based on Workers' Assemblies.

With the formation or emergence of Workers' Councils, not only capitalist and trade unionism are in danger, but all established institutions are plunged into crisis. For the Workers' Councils, though an organisational form, created at the point of work, challenges all institutions that are rooted in capitalist philosophy and method.

By the social necessity of the situation in which they emerge, they immediately come into conflict with the whole official society. Consequently, their responsibility widens and their role becomes the creation of a new social order to, a new economic and governmental order.

It is this character of the Workers' Councils that make them a profound and revolutionary social force — the midwife of the new humanity.

### NEXT WEEK

#### Part II

Workers' Councils in the Hungarian

Revolution of 1956.

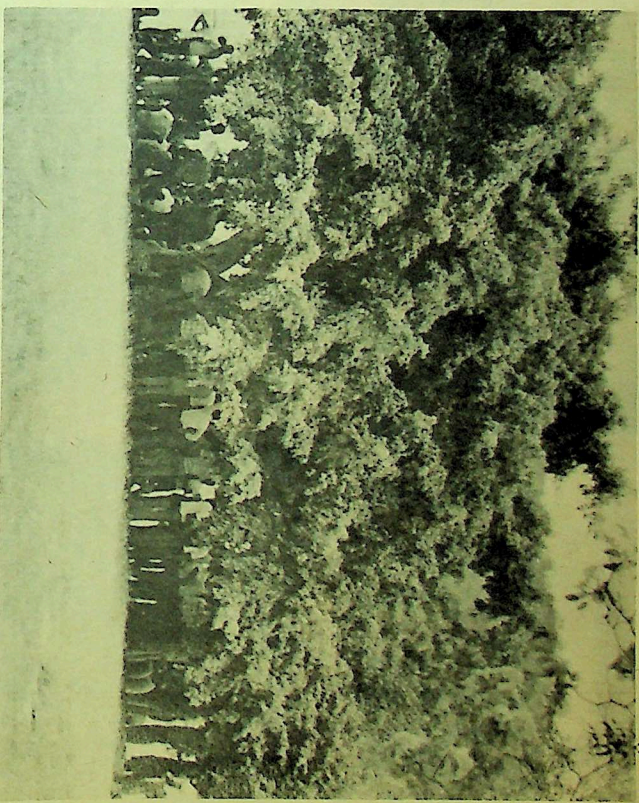
COMING SOON

\* Action Committees = Workers'

Councils — The French Revolution of 1968.

\* Black Workers in the U.S.

\* Trinidad Creole Capitalism and Workers' Councils.



"Workers of Swan Hunter gather to discuss and decide."

the F.S.D. personnel could have been justly exposed, come hell or high water.

Prior to April 14th we were suffering. And after, with some 500 workers sadly out of jobs we were hopeful for a better deal. Yet we are still suffering today. Strange as it may sound, we have grown accustomed to such pressures — from the top of the administration table we have suffered much by being incorrectly represented by men who have not become personally acquainted with the true state of things.

With a five-year pioneer status backing them and twenty-six million dollars worth of Government's assets to their credit, these English men have found themselves a heaven of wealth built on corruption and mismanagement at the Trinidad Government's expense. What's worse, Sir H.O.B. Wooding, a director of the company, only makes his appearance on typing-paper and our Prime Minister has never seen it fit to make a tour of such a 'mas-camp'.

Moreover, graduates from Technical schools are an object of great importance. Since they usually possess the real workmanship principles and an up-to-date store of technical know-how backed up by a National Certificate in the relevant trade, they are an instrument of

first-class work, apprentice pay. In other words... dog-cheap labour.

Technical Education being an object of the highest importance to the welfare of a country fast becoming industrialized by foreign investors, is sadly neglected. These skilled workers are given third-rate jobs of trivial importance, never given an opportunity to expound what technical knowledge they have acquired and are reduced to nothing but 'work-boys', who are good on paper but lack E-X-P-E-R-I-E-N-C-E.

We think that it is high-time that the Government step in and make a concentrated effort to assist the technically educated youths, thus forming them for becoming useful members for the good and welfare of the country, instead of allowing them to be manipulated by a bunch of Englishmen who themselves learn the hard way (in the eyes of the technical graduate) of trial and error.

And so, the courage of 500 workers have taken a new high, spurred on by the desire for equal opportunity to earn a day's pay for a day's work. We have one comfort though, that by simple representation of facts, we have at least laid out case before the public with a view to arrest the progress of injustice and to shield ourselves against the consequent evils of the white back lash.

Guild of Apprentices.

## CO-ORDINATING COUNCIL SPEAKS

From Page 5

making at work should be the business of the WORKERS' ASSEMBLIES. That is how we should begin — ORGANISATION OF ASSEMBLIES ON A PERMANENT BASIS.

### WHAT WE DO?

The Co-ordinating Council sees itself as assisting people to organise themselves and clarify themselves. A national newspaper is essential to the achievement of that objective. Thus NEW BEGINNING.

We are not an organisation that seeks to get people to join as members. No brothers, the Co-ordinating Council is a body consisting of a number of groups. These groups come together to co-ordinate their activities and their direction, and to assist other groups to organise and to help those who want to organise in the direction of ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE.

It is, therefore, a Co-ordinated approach to organisation. Groups do not take directives or direction from the Co-ordinating Council. The Co-ordinating Council is directed by the groups themselves. Power is at the base — the groups. Work in the local areas is done by the base — the groups themselves. Decision-making both at the local level and in the Co-ordinating Council is by the groups.

Once the brothers on the blocks are clear and are organised around activity, around practical work, once villagers do the same, once workers do the same, a Mass Movement will arise in Trinidad and Tobago from the bottom. The task now is to Clarify of Direction, organisation, gaining confidence, and gradual establishment of closer ties among groups at the bottom. THEN TRUTH WILL WIN.

# WHICH WAY OWTU?

## STATE CAPITALISM OR WORKERS' CONTROL?

THE Express of Sunday June 13 carried on its back page a headline: "OWTU want government take-over of Fed-Chem." The article went on to

"The take-over by government of Federation Chemicals and Dunlop (Trinidad) Ltd., and the placing of their operation "in the hands of the people" were two of several pleas made by the membership of the Oilfield Workers Trade Union yesterday".

Assuming this to be a true report of the call made by the OWTU during their demonstration on Saturday in the South, the call is not surprising.

The OWTU and its leader, have been consistently calling for the nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy. It was they who called for the take over of BP in 1967 when BP declared it was selling out its holdings in Trinidad and Tobago. But the OWTU considered a militant and revolutionary union in the Caribbean has been treating on very dangerous ground.

The call by the OWTU in 1967 for the take over of BP by government did not fall on deaf ears. The government responded and bought over BP in partnership with Tesoro. The working people in oil were left out and they remained as before workers without participation or control in the development of the oil industry in Trinidad and Tobago. The union leaders and membership do not seem to have learned a lesson from that experience.

The fundamental lesson to be learnt from all the transactions in which government has bought shares in private companies is: this government, as the state institution, controlled by a single political party, is rapidly moving towards the establishment of a state-capitalist economy similar to that of Eastern Europe and it has shown by such a move that it has no confidence in the initiative, discipline, organisation and creative abilities of the working people of this country.

The national economy is gradually being dominated by governmental appointees and functionaries. The government, more so cabinet, and more so the Prime Minister, appoints all the local directors in the state industries and institutions. Witness WASA, T&TEC, Telephones, BP, Orange Grove, Caroni National Commercial Bank and others. All local directors appointed by Government. Gradually, Government is replacing private companies in the economy. The Government itself is becoming an industrial capitalist. The party in power being a private organisation and having taken over the state machinery is now gradually taking over the economy. The logical conclusion of this tendency is that the party will become the largest capitalist bureaucracy in the country controlling the economy and the state. The result will be a national PNM dictatorship, People's sector or no People's sector.



This poses a challenge to the people of Trinidad and Tobago and such organisations as the OWTU.

It is a challenge because state control of the economy will not solve the problems in the economy and in the country, but will further compound them. For the crisis in the economy is not simply an ownership crisis, it is a crisis in social relationships — who decides what is to be done? Who tells whom what to do when, where and how? Who all participate in decision — making?

The only lasting solution is the creation of harmony within industry. This means the effective control of industrial production by ALL the people who work in the particular industry — workers, technicians, engineers, accountants, secretaries etc. ALL.

But it will be abstract idealism to expect this to take place overnight. IT CANNOT. If it does it will be a miracle. To effectively control and manage all phases of industrial activity, the working people have to learn and gain experience in management and control. And they have to be organised in such a way that they can gradually achieve that. The conclusion that follows is that the basis for effective, efficient and humane management and control must be laid now. We have to begin now if we are to lessen the pains, suffering and degradation of the working people. Consequently, the following proposals are posed as a challenge to the powerful OWTU to take the lead and set the example for the nation.

The leadership of OWTU should appoint a research team consisting of economists, lawyers, accountants, conscientious workers from various departments of the particular industry, and others to collect all relevant data and information nationally, regionally, internationally and to investigate the feasibility of nationali-

zation on the basis of workers participation or control.

Since working people in Trinidad and Tobago have not yet reached the stage where they can effectively and independently manage and control industrial enterprises, industrial production should be a collective responsibility of workers (all working people), union, nationals in general who want to participate and government. That is, these enterprises should be owned and controlled by workers organised outside the union structure (Workers Assemblies and Workers Councils), the union as an institution, individual nationals organised in separate bodies and government. Workers and union should own at least 50% of the company.

The particular industry should become a school of learning for working people so that they can gain experience in the management and control of ALL phases of industrial activity. Learning should be on the job and through formal classroom training organised by the industry.

This is the direction in which OWTU should be heading. The dependency complex which pervades our society has been mainly responsible for the social cancers that eat away at our heart. We have got to take the initiative and not be dependent on government. The OWTU should seize the time and take the initiative, and by so doing will demonstrate how ordinary people can page a new beginning.

The government is heading straight towards state capitalist — "Communist" way. If any organisation in Trinidad and Tobago today is "Communist" it is the PNM, for it is following exactly the pattern prevailing in Eastern Europe and

Russia — state capitalism. Our direction must not be towards state capitalism, but towards POWER TO THE ORGANISED PEOPLE.

The leadership of OWTU should prepare themselves and mobilize their sympathizers to wage a great campaign, first among the workers, and then throughout the nation for collective control of the commanding heights of the economy. The research team should supply them with facts, data and information to wage such a campaign. If OWTU did this, and this alone, it would have made a great and lasting contribution to the REVOLUTION FOR MANHOOD.

### WORKERS' COUNCILS HARASSED

WORKERS in various enterprises have begun to form Workers' Assemblies and Workers' Councils of their own. Over the last two months workers in the Port-of-Spain area have been meeting to discuss their problems, and to plan a course of action. They are rebelling against their employers and are fed-up with their unions.

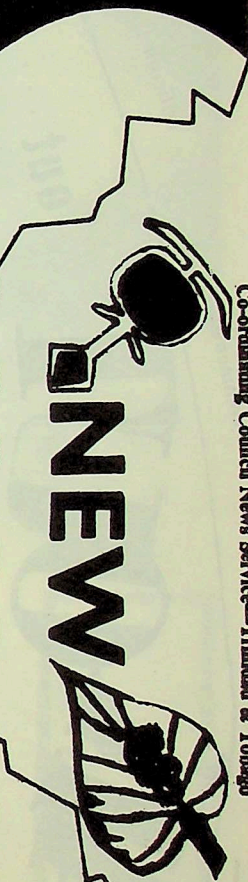
Consequently, they have decided to organise themselves independently. At two of their meetings, they were harassed and thrown out of their meeting place by the police, the security and their employers.

The head of security personally went to the scene to execute operations against the Workers.

The police are harassing and intimidating the people at the people's meetings. While the government says 1971 is the year of National Dialogue, the police and security are instructed by the same government to break up meetings of the people.

If this state of affairs continue, where the people are prevented from exercising their democratic rights, the police and government will face for the first time since 1937 the collective wrath of the people. Take heed.

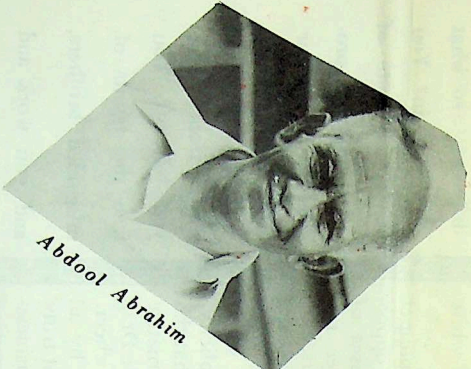
# BEGINNING



Sirs, We of the Abdool family have been experiencing the greatest hardship and brutality brought upon us for the longest while by certain police officers. Below we list some of these injustices.

On Saturday 2nd August 1969, a member of our family, Alim Abdool was beaten by Rammahne Rampasad, alias "Punish" and his father on the end of St. Croix Road junction, and then arrested by Sergeant Peter Richards and P.C. Frederick Singh, and was taken to the Police Station, where he was brutally beaten.

He appeared in court on Tuesday 5th and was charged for being in possession of bush rum. The case was postponed, we took him to Dr. Dube of Princes Town, who immediately ordered



Abdool Abraham

him to the San Fernando General Hospital. He was found to have two leg fractures and other body injuries. He was detained at hospital for several days. He was discharged on crutches and his leg was in a cast. Early in September 1969, he was again arrested at the Princes Town court while attending to the first charge brought against him.

His leg was still in cast. He was then charged together with someone called Sharnid Mohamed, for beating and robbing Rammahne Rampasad of the sum of \$38.00.

Another member of our family by the name of Khadim Abdool who was an S.R.P. at the time, was forced to receive the summons on Sharnid Mohamed's name.

The cases were tried separately and Alim Abdool was charged \$130.00 or five months in prison. He was 16 years at the time. On the first case he was bonded for 2 years and ordered to leave our home and go to live at

## letter from a Family Cedros

Alim again fell ill and was admitted to hospital where he underwent surgery. Rammahne could not pay the fine and time given (three weeks).

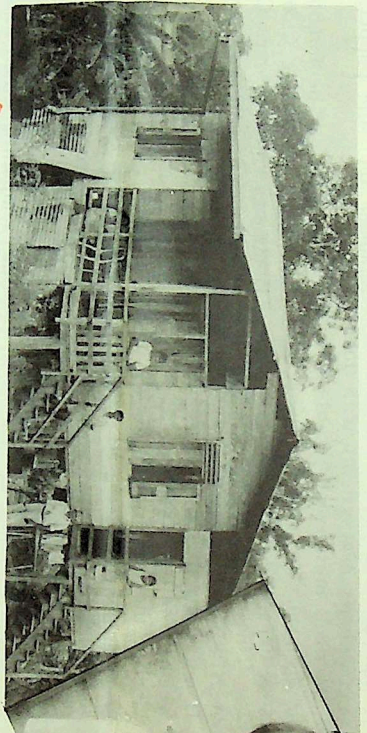
On the 26th December 1969, Alim and another member of our family, Azim Abdool was arrested. Azim Abdool was charged for obstructing the police while in the company of his duty.

Alim was refused bail by Gaol. He was released on bail. The charge against Azim was dismissed. He celebrated his 16th birthday in prison. Being under-aged, he could not find

was eventually granted bail to the sum of \$300.00. The case is still pending.

On 17th June 1971 Rammahne Rampasad alias "Punish" was not a police officer, thought Summons for Alim Abdool were issued under the house sweeping. She refused to accept the Summons. She was then indecently assaulted and dragged

to beat Abdool Abraham (who is over 60 years), with a bull-



The Abdool's house isolated from other houses in the village



Shahadan Abdool

employment any where.

He was again arrested in November 1970. Since his arrest by the Police on the 24th November 1970. We have not seen or heard from him. The official statement by the Police is that he escaped from the cell at the Princes Town Police Station.

The police came on three occasions to our home within a period of 24 hours. In the process they terrorised us and secured five barrels of rice. At this time we are deeply concerned about his disappearance. We do not know where he is and his life.

On Saturday 5th December 1970 around 10 p.m. Khadim Abdool was beaten and arrested by CPL Gloodon, CPL Rankinson, P.C. Haringsingh at Blue Dahlia club. He was brutally beaten along the way to the station also. He was kept handcuffed in the cell for 24 hours.

He appeared on Monday 5th December 1970 at the Princes Town court where he was charged for the following offences:

- (1) assault
- (2) obscene language
- (3) assaulting the Police to prevent lawful apprehension.
- (4) escaping legal custody.

His bail was objected, and he was sent to Remand Yard. He

The letter on this page was sent to the Governor General, the Chief Justice and the Police Commissioner. The letter speaks for itself. We publish it in full for all to know the cruelty that is meted out to the poor people. This is not an isolated case. In the next issue we will publish other letters from Lengua.

Shahadan Abdool, who is a cripple was kicked several times. Pinky Abdool was again indecently assaulted. All three of us were thrown into the van and arrived to the Princes Town Police Station. Abdool Abraham was beaten to unconsciousness.

The police proceeded to lay charges upon us. Abdool Abraham: armed with a cutlass and obscene language. Shahadan Abdool: obscene language. Pinky Abdool: armed with a knife and obscene language.

That we have explained the great plight and the injustice that we can bear no longer, we beg of you to see into the matter for us, we would like it very much if you can use your office to investigate the situation as soon as possible. We want you to save us from the brutality of the police

PLIGHT OF THE CALTPOO FARMERS Pgs. 6-7

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SQUATTERS of NEW CITY page 5

BRUTALITY AT COALMINE page 8

Caribbean Region Pg. 4

The Insider Pg. 10

Novels on Fire Pg. 3

INSIDER Page 10

- (4) for Shahadan Abdool
- (5) Abdool Abraham
- (6) Ligamool Abdool

See Pg. 8 for letters to Civil Rights Committee, and replies from Governor General and Chief Justice

and preserve the justice in the cases brought against us.

We remain, Respectfully Yours

0 Khadim Abdool

(2) Pinky Abdool

(3) Navraj Abdool

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5066 24 356

# SPRINK OUT

letters!

comments!

criticisms!

out . . . out . . . out . . .

suggestions!

proposals!

declarations!

## poem

### MESSAGE TO THE BROTHER OF MT. HOPE—MT. LAMBERT

In your area brothers, a group exists. You were all members of this group; attending meetings and functioning as a group. Suddenly you believe attending meetings, to discuss problems to overcome them is not your scene.

What is your scene? You say the lime is just as good as the meeting. What decision could you truly come to in the lime; how responsible are you in a lime.

The Message I have for you brothers is this. Liberation is not a gift, but is gained by an ORGANISED people. No one could wrap liberation in a box and present it to you. You must organise yourselves and take it. How can you truly organise in a lime when there is no decision taking, and no responsibility.

Your group — Black Freedom Fighters — is at this moment struggling to build a true organisation. Your behaviour on the block is very discouraging and disappointing to the brothers who are trying.

The lime you are speaking about could be used as a basis of true organisation. It is where you begin, it is not a true organisation.

True organisation can only come from Hard work, discipline, responsibility and initiative. You must feel yourself responsible to the Revolution and the Freedom Fighters. This is a necessity.

**BEGIN NOW!**

From a Brother on the Block.

### FIX THE ROAD

**THE PLACE:** Back St, Tunapuna. The condition of the street is deplorable, and to add insult to injury, motorists use it as a highway. Now, I am quite aware that ours is not considered a residential area as are St. James, Valsayn Park or Ellerslie

OUR sister island of Tobago is the only place in Trinidad and Tobago, that I have observed is practising the Assembly type self-reliant system, whether this is being done consciously or not I do not know.

However this neighbourly way of life is apparently historic there. As far as can be remembered, Tobagonians live 'Assemblies' however unconscious they might be of what they are doing in political terms. They live and work together, because that is how they understand life, and how they overcome their

Park, or anyone of those areas where the black bourgeoisie live, backside to backside with the white bourgeoisie, but at least we are human beings also. More than that we are citizens and we are entitled to the same treatment as anybody else.

This use of Back Street, as a freeway has been on ever since. One is often awakened by the sound of a car crashing against a wall or a house. The small pieces of road that remain between the potholes do not help to prevent accidents either.

The latest development is the fixing of the drains at the side of the road and the filling up of the potholes. What usually happens is that as soon as these potholes are filled, a shower of rain falls and the road returns to its old condition.

The truth is, the road like the system, cannot be rectified by patching it up. There needs to be a completely new road (and likewise, a completely new system). With this new roads must come those humps in the road, like in those 'residential' areas to prevent reckless driving.

This is what we are asking for: A NEW ROAD. Nothing else...yet. If our demand is not satisfied, we will have to take our own action — block off the road, or throw big-stones at passing cars — but we will do something.

### DRAG BROTHERS

THE action by the police on Friday, September 4th, when the vendors and sidewalk manufacturers were removed from the Drag, brings to light some important facts about the power of the local white businessmen.

The explanations given for the forced removal of the brothers were; (1) that they were obstructing the free movement of people along the sidewalk and, (2) that they were blocking the show windows.

The charge of obstruction against the brothers is absurd, for

everyone knows the Frederick Street is blocked for almost half the year by construction works being carried out by the various firms, whose structures are becoming more elaborate each year.

The second charge is even more absurd, for it will require more than just a handful of people to completely obscure their large show-windows. That is why it is easier to accept the word of the brothers on the Drag when they claim that there was a plot among the Frederick Street businessmen to put pressure on them.

The trade of these brothers is growing daily, and so it presents a threat to the white businessmen interests on Frederick Street.

Prompt action was necessary to unsettle these brothers before they become more firmly entrenched in their lucrative trade, and so these businessmen exerted their political influence on the puppet government.

It must not be forgotten that institutions like the Chamber of Commerce and Employers Consultative Association are organised directly around business interests, and are the driving force behind all white establishments' interests.

As is so often seen, the puppet government never misses an opportunity to convince the masses of their sincerity. So that after the demonstration by these brothers, and other sympathisers, there was a general flurry of movement by the government (meetings, discussions, statements etc.), and a lot of publicity.

Finally, it was reported that the government was seeking an alternative location for the brothers on the Drag and they expected everyone to cheer. But nobody was fooled by all that old talk. If the government truly intended to help these small businessmen wouldn't a place be arranged in the first instance, instead of putting them through such an ordeal. It's about time the government realise that these "sympathy seeking" actions will get them nowhere.

Tobago. Here we are so corrupted by capitalism that we are way behind our brothers and sisters of the sister island.

I am not saying that capitalism and imperialism have not spread its nasty wings to Tobago, what I should stress is that these oppressive forces are more amplified here and yet we do nothing about it.

The love, peace, togetherness, and you name it can never be as pronounced in Trinidad as it is in Tobago. As far as these qualities are concerned, we must take pattern from our Tobagonian brothers and sisters.

This, I know is a bit difficult for some Trin-

### REVOLUTION EASY

A long hard road brother you better realise. You thought that it would be easy. March fooled you, it fooled me April sobered us all. You thought it would be suck-eye eh?

Now you know different, so what do you do? You say is a waste of time, and you proceed to blow your mind?

No brother, you start from where you left off. You face the taunts of misguided brothers, and you work and work and you work.

From  
Kraal News  
19/7/71

observed that a great deal of the larger estates in Tobago are being bought over by Trinidad capitalists, and foreign exploiters.

This must be stopped at all cost, or we all would find ourselves as oppressed people being further suppressed. Something must be done now.

Tobago has the world of resources and potential for Peoples' Assemblies, and I strongly urge all Trinidadians, particularly those in the apparently developed areas, to take example from our Tobagonian brothers and sisters, because there is a lot to be learnt, and the world of good to gain.

part 2

Wally Look - Loi  
Speaks  
"1970" at National Conference on the Rights of Black People  
in London, Britain, May 22.

## the GATHERING FORCES

soldiers in traditional armies do, separate from the masses of the people. Every night they return home after duty to the same ghettos which are the centre of political discontent and revolutionary ideas in the society today. It is inevitable in this kind of situation that the mass of the soldiers would be affected by this new political consciousness. By 1969 the government had realised that it had lost control over the Army rank and file, but it was a problem which it kept carefully hidden from the rest of the society. Only the urban youth knew all along what the state of affairs in the Army was.

### DRESS REHEARSALS

We cannot understand the events of 1970 unless we know what happened in 1969. 1969 was crisis year in Trinidad. With the general mood of the country, a hostile one, all kinds of localised eruptions kept taking place which always appeared at any point capable of spreading to other areas of the society. First there were some early unemployment demonstration in late 1968; then came the Rodney affair, followed in close succession by a series of other West Indian crises: the Sir George Williams University scandal, the invasion of Anguilla, the banning of Clive Thomas from Jamaica, and the refusal of the University authorities in Trinidad to allow him to teach in Trinidad; the sacking by the University of Andrew Camacho, a radical lecturer. In all these crisis the University students played a crucial role.

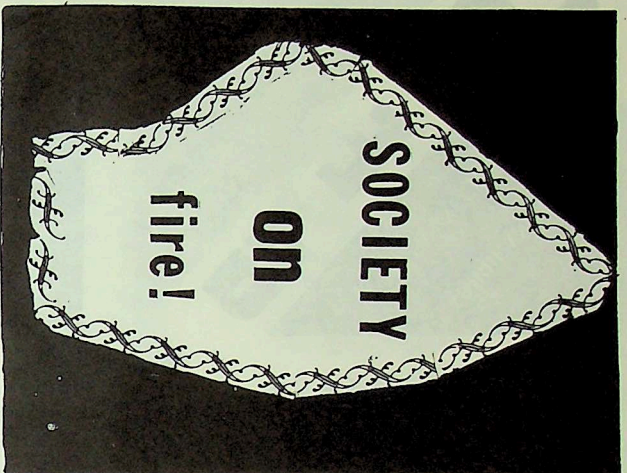
Then in April came the great Bus strike, organised by one of the great trade union leaders of the Caribbean, Joe Young, against the state-owned Transport Corporation. For several weeks the crisis seemed almost on the verge of spilling over into other sections of the Labour Movement. University students and unemployed youths were involved, but the government finally succeeded in breaking the strike and forcing the workers back to work before the cancer had spread to other sections of the working class.

If the Labour movement suffered one defeat in 1969, it gained a major victory a few months later in the same year, when the workers in another state-owned company — the electricity company — voted almost to a man to oust their leadership and to join the militant Oilfield Workers Trade Union, which is led by a man who is perhaps the most outstanding labour leader the Caribbean has ever produced, George Weekes.

The repercussions of this merger of the two unions were felt right through the labour movement, and all kinds of workers began to make overtures towards the OWTU in an attempt to shed their own brand of corrupt union leadership in favour of the leadership of the OWTU. The main body of workers in this situation was the sugar workers.

So promising had been the labour scene from a revolutionary point of view, that in February 1970 most people had been expecting the first sign of trouble to come from the labour movement.

As it turned out, it came from the unemployed urban youth. The actual events were as follows: in February 1970, West Indian students were on trial in Montreal Canada in connection with charges arising out of the Sir George Williams University affair. A solidarity demonstration was organised by the National Joint Action Committee, which commanded at that time a substantial following among the unemployed youths.



ANOTHER important fact is that we are living today in one of the most revolutionary periods of history, and it is inevitable that we would be affected by the ideas and ideals of the political currents emanating from other areas of the world. The current which has had the most tremendous impact on the thinking of the society has been undoubtedly the Black American Revolution.

If one were to single out any one area of influence on the political consciousness of the youth in Trinidad today, one could say with a fair degree of certainty that it was the Black Revolution in America which gave to the youth the moral courage and the confidence to assert themselves and take positions on the society's racial problems which no one else had dared to take before.

They gravitated naturally to the language and analyses put out by the Black American Revolution, not because they wanted to imitate, as some superficial commentators are fond of saying, but because it was only in that kind of rhetoric and analysis they could hear the kind of feelings and questions which have been locked within their own hearts for years.

### INTELLECTUAL BANKRUPTCY

The fact that they had to find in America the language which accurately expressed their own dilemma is not a testimony to their imitative nature, it is rather a testimony to the complete and total bankruptcy of the West Indian intellectual, his utter failure to understand and articulate the inner strivings of the developing mass movement. Indeed, we can say again with a fair degree of accuracy that with perhaps the single exception of Walter Rodney, and of course the old veteran C.L.R. James, the West Indian intellectual, has contributed absolutely nothing to the growth and development of revolutionary political consciousness in the West Indies: in most cases, he has been nothing but a treacherous obstacle.

Allied with this growth in Black consciousness among the youth has also been the growth of a sense of national responsibility and concern of a kind which had not existed in the pre-Independence era. Genuine Nationalism really came to life in this generation; what was in the last generation a pre-occupation of a small section of society has become in this generation a vital and living force among the people.

The mixture which set the whole society on fire last year therefore, was a combination of economic unrest and stagnation; and emergence of a new generation; the growth of Black consciousness stimulated by the events in America; and the emergence of a profound new sense of national responsibility.

Let us look now a little more closely into the actual events which led up to the 1970 Revolution, and try to understand what actually happened.

### SPONTANEITY

The first and most important thing which we have to establish about the 1970 Rebellion is that it was not consciously organised or led by any single individual,

group or political organisation. It was a completely spontaneous uprising of the mass of the people which was so sudden, and so immense in its scope, that virtually every single political organisation in the country — including the most radical — was taken completely by surprise.

It is important for us to remember this fact. The mass demonstrations were largely called by the National Joint Action Committee, a protest organisation led by a group of young University students; but the mass violence and the mutiny in the army were spontaneous responses by the large masses of the people to the political climate. No one can claim the credit for these heroic acts of the people other than the people themselves.

Indeed, the 1970 Rebellion was a classic example of the kind of historical event which most radicals talk about, but which few of them really believe in; a completely spontaneous and independent uprising of the people free from the directives of an organised political leadership.

### TOTAL DISSENT

Another important point which we have to understand is that while the explosion originated with the unemployed, it could have come from any section of the society really. Virtually every section of the society had been on the verge of a similar explosion by 1970. Dissatisfaction with the Williams government was a constant feature with almost every layer of the society.

The labour movement was dissatisfied because the Industrial Stabilisation Act prevented it from exercising its rights to strike; because of political interference in the trade unions; because of the brutal exploitation of workers by imperialist employers backed by government support. The unemployed were angry because of police brutality, legal and social discrimination at the hands of official society, and because the society had reduced them to a state of total irrelevance in the prime of their lives.

The educated middle class was concerned about political interference in the civil service; about the lack of opportunity to break into the economic life of the nation, which is still caught up in the hands of the imperialists and the local white commercial bourgeoisie; about the general lack of intellectual freedom in the country, and about the total waste of human resources and creative talent within a system which has no use for these things.

Even the businessmen had their complaints about the government's preference for foreign investors before local business interests. The Indian community moreover had their own special grievance against the government, for having systematically shut them out from all the fruits of Independence and self-government, especially as far as employment within the public sector was concerned.

### THE ARMY

The most crucial area of action in the society, however, was one which did not reveal itself until the crisis broke in April 1970: the dissatisfaction within the Army. The soldiers had always had their own internal grievances; class and racial discrimination in Army life; corruption, military incompetence and colonial attitudes among the senior officers. But this discontent went way beyond their internal grouses. Over the past 4 years, the growth of Black consciousness in the society, and especially among the urban ghetto youth, from whom the mass of the soldiers were recruited, had begun to make its influence felt upon the soldiers themselves. The soldiers do not live, as most

to be cont'd

FOR THE ASSOCIATE STATES NOW,  
**CARIBBEAN**  
INDEPENDENCE  
CARIBBEAN UNITY AFTER.

**PUERTO - RICO**

APPARENTLY Operation Bootstrap is not working as it was designed to work by the Imperialist. It has been reported recently that thousands of demonstrators marched on a meeting of U.S. Imperialist Governors in San Juan, demanding independence and self-determination for Puerto-Rico. Police had to guard the hotels in which Vice-President Spiro Agnew and fourteen U.S. state governors were staying, as the demonstrators moved through the streets shouting the slogan that has become a household praise throughout Latin-America: "Yankees Go Home".

Operation Bootstrap signifies the status of Puerto Rico as part of a Commonwealth closely tied to the United States...it means simply that Puerto Rico is a colony of the USA. It is a source for US "investments", "aid".

It is in fact a source for US exploitation. And in exchange Puerto Rico has the "honour" of being regarded as part of the USA. Puerto Rico has sold its SOUL to the US, and it is now sweltering under the miseries of colonisation despite the seemingly apparent development.

Through experience, Puerto Rico has learnt that true development can never come from the act of foreigners swamping a country with money, and moreover money that quickly leaves after entering.

Development can only come from a nationalist spirit, from a philosophy of self-determination and self-reliance and from people working together side by side for the benefit of all. Operation Bootstrap means the extreme opposite of this, and is therefore geared to prevent true development.

The recent protest was against the present status of Puerto Rico, against Operation Bootstrap, and it drew the largest political demonstration seen in Puerto Rico within the last decade. The Puerto-Ricans have seen the light.

The rest of the Caribbean must take heed since there are a lot of people in the other islands that still believe that Operation Bootstrap is the answer for the entire Caribbean. Puerto Rico has just proven such beliefs to be absolutely untrue.

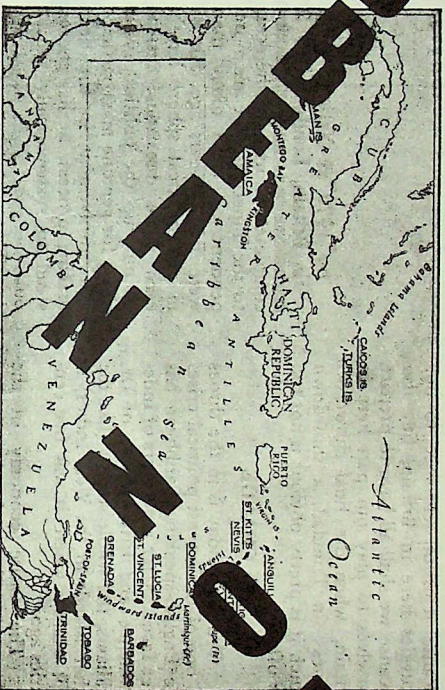
**ST VINCENT**

THE Vincentian government has passed a Bill which lays the basis for a code of behaviour for all civil servants. According to this conduct code no civil servant can participate in policies or any political activity, such as demonstrations, picketing and even expressing opinions.

In actual fact, what this government is doing is attempt-

ing to perpetuate the colonial concept of civil servant, in this day and age when throughout the world people are struggling to decolonise themselves.

A few civil servants here have already broken the code of conduct and as a result some have lost their jobs. In the meantime, the struggle continues against this undemocratic regime.



**ANTIGUA**

**WORKERS MOVE**

WHEN it was reported that the sugar industry, a mainstay of the economy of Antigua, was bought over by Americans, the workers immediately went on strike.

They took over the sugar factory, and locked the administration executive inside. Our workers are coming of age. It was anger over the fact that the change in ownership meant no change in their position, no change in the relationships existing within the industry, no change in their financial status, that caused them to take such action.

Moreover, if it meant any change at all, it would be change for the worst. The action taken signifies that the workers are beginning to realise their power, as a political and economic force.

This is the beginning of a new stage in our history. When it was stated publicly that the report of the selling over was false, the workers returned to work. Can they ever be sure as to whom the industry belongs?

**ST KITTS**

A bill was passed recently by the Government here muzzle-ing all newspapers that are calling for change. The Government claims that such newspapers may have an adverse effect on tourism.

So the education of the Kittian people, and their consciousness of life in relation to their own environment and the rest of the world, is being forestalled for the comfort and well-being of holiday-seekers whose visits are purely for selfish reasons.

We are underprivileged, not because we are small in size and lack money, but because our people have not developed in the direction of self-determination and self-reliance.

**JAMAICA**

CARIBBEAN UNITY IS A NECESSITY.  
**CFFB**  
BUT UNITY AT THE ROOTS  
THROUGH STRUGGLE FOR  
LIBERATION.

**JAMAICA**

IT has been publicised throughout the Caribbean that there is to be a Conference, here, titled "Early childhood education in the Caribbean: Its present and future dimensions. It is to be held from October 4 to October 10.

The conference is sponsored by the Bernard Van Leer Foundation? The topic of one conference is one that gets to the very psychological make-up of the Caribbean man and woman life styles, attitudes and behavioural patterns.

What the Caribbean person does and will possibly do, can also be deducted from such a topic. What is the interest of this Bernard Van Leer Foundation in such highly specialised information? Is the interest due to love for us, or a great desire to help us?

**GRENNADA**

GRENNADA'S Opposition Leader, Herbert Blaize said openly that the country's economic candle was being burned from both ends and only time would tell whether the spice island sinks or floats.

He talked about the serious economic plight of the country, the government's neglect of economic matters and the Premier's impatience with such things "because they stand in his way".

Blaize commented that the burning question was what would the Grenada Government do about the economic mess which they had created? He made two suggestions as means towards bettering the situation:

- (1) approach developed nations for 'soft' loans to plough into the agricultural industry.
- (2) to get hard international loans which he stated are always more beneficial to the lenders than the borrowers.

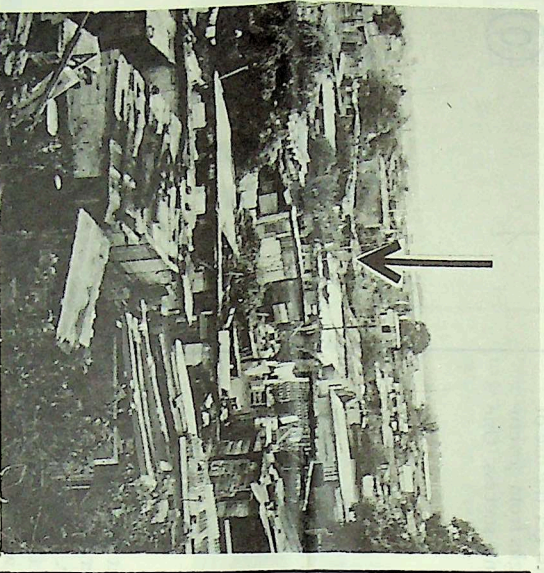
In fact, the proposals made by Mr. Blaize to better the situation would only aggravate the economic mess, make Grenada more dependent on, and subservient to the Metropolitan countries. The solution to the problems lies with the masses of people here. They, the people must be taken into full confidence, and allowed to openly discuss and decide what must be done, then work collectively to implement their decisions.

Special on the Sufferings of the People

# GOV'T NEGLECT Displaced People of New City

THE ASSEMBLY idea that this News Service has been advocating, is a National Phenomenon of the Masses. Whenever there is a crisis anywhere, people come together to protect themselves from the common enemy. Here, in this crisis assembly, it is the people who run their own community. It is they who have to make decisions, and stand by them — this is power to the people realised.

This is exactly the case with the people of New City, Laventille. Their village lies between the Man-



Shanty Town - arrow points to New City behind Angostura

grove trees of the Laventille Swamp, and the elaborate concrete structures of the run-makers, Fernandes and Co. Ltd. One can well see the possibility of these people living here for a number of years, without the knowledge of the public.

Then, about a month ago, our "capable" government decided that they would like to bring in more exploiters to drain our country dry. So they decided that they would use this site for their New Industry. The Mangrove trees were cut down, and New City was exposed to the public.

The brainwashed people of this country objected — "them Grenadian invading we country again." You decided that these people were invaders without even investigating. But you went out with open arms — the white foreigners who come here to drain your sweat and blood and repay you with insults, discrimination and apartheid.

Our government decided to use the misplaced rejection of the people for their own purposes. Immediately, they started sticking notices on the houses of New City, telling them to evacuate the "Crown Land" and giving strict orders for all construction to be ceased — "don't pound another nail."

This was the beginning of the Crisis Assembly. The people of New City who had worked so hard in

cleaning swamp land and erecting houses, were accused of following the La Basse.

Officials went about propagandising that these were the people from the old La Basse, who rejected the concrete slums and followed the dump to its new site. What bullshit! One could tell from the material which hold up these houses that they have been existing for at least two years, in some cases fifteen years.

So the people of New City feeling the impact of these insults,

got together and decided to send a delegate to Whitehall. Their fatal mistake was in sending one person — a woman. This woman was told to collect the birth certificates and identification cards of the citizens of New City, who did not object to this, because they did not know what the people in the Ministry had up their sleeves.

It was said that identification was needed to ascertain whether the people were Shanty Town dwellers who had followed the La Basse. But, in fact, what was really going on behind the scene was a splitting up of the population of New City. The people from the Ministry said that the Trinidadians could stay until August 4th, but the outsiders (meaning Grenadians, Vincentians etc. had to leave immediately.

This brought chaos to New City. Alienation and Mistrust had begun, and the "Crisis Assembly" had already begun to split up, making things easier for the governmental forces.

A surprising thing happened here, a number of groups and bodies of people began to rally behind the people of New City. One could not have seen this happening ten years ago. The people of Gonzales, who suffered a similar fate quite recently, were there; NJAC was there, and the Co-ordinating Council was also present. It is evident from this fact, that not everybody in this country is asleep.

With the assistance of these groups and people, the alienation and mistrust among the citizens of New City, was tempered down. It has now become quite clear to them that if they had to make any stand in defence of their homes, it had to be a united one. They knew that their strength depended on their

uniting.

So they re-united and decided that every man and woman would stay home on August 4th — the day of reckoning — and rally in front of the bulldozers in defence of their homes. There was conviction in all hearts, there was this tangible do or die feeling that one simply cannot ignore — not even the government. They knew fully well the strength of unity and decided on a New Strategy.

The delegate for New City was an easy prey. Her trips to the Ministry were too frequent. Apparently, she was confused or bribed (more so the latter) at the Ministry and whenever she returned to the controversial New City she had less and less to say.

She never attended the Community meetings, and was constantly pulling herself away from her community. She then began to have dialogue with a selected few, who later became her followers. What in fact was happening was the development of a little black petty bourgeoisie within the hearts of a grassroot people — all due to the divide and rule policy on the part of the government.

Then came the day of reckoning, August 4th, 1971. Most of the people stayed home as promised and the Co-ordinating Council was there, also as promised, to rally behind the people of New City.

Then came the anti-climax. The government appreciating the force of people's power, suddenly decided to give the "squatters" more time.

So they sent down their destructive forces, however, to mash-up the old tram halt, which was used, most as a convenience by the people of New City. This act did not scare anybody, though, the people held firm to their decision — to defend their homes at all cost. August 4th passed quietly, but tensely.

After the day of reckoning, the Crisis Assembly died. The people forgot about everything else, and went about their own selfish lives, despite the fact that their homes are still in grave danger. Everybody is saying that the other person is unco-operative, and nobody is making any conscious effort to regain the togetherness of the people.

People of New City, you must realise that any day now your City could be broken into and your homes destroyed — several lives may be lost.

Understand too, that if you are moved, it will be as a community, and not as individuals.

You must recognise yourself. You must come together and make your own decisions on the running of your community.

Organise now, the life of your newly built city, depends on it.

IN an under-developed country, experience proves that the important thing is not that three hundred people form a plan and decide upon carrying it out, but that the whole people plan and decide even if it takes them twice or three times as long.

Quotation

The fact is that the time taken up by explaining, the time "lost" in treating the worker as a human being, will be caught up in the execution of the plan. People must know where they are going, and why.

Fanon

STATEMENT

The poor people of Trinidad and Tobago have been suffering for decades and centuries at the hands of those in government who the people have allowed to grab more and more power.

Those proletonials who have been put in their own interests and in the interests of their class.

Power falls in fewer and fewer hands and the mass of the people suffers.

The sufferings of the people of New City, Lengua, Caltoo Trace, and Coahine are just samples of what is taking place in the whole country.

The only way out is community organisation of the people into People's Assemblies. The People's Assemblies must be the power in the community.

"BEFORE 1956, during the time of Gomes this place was doing good business. There were more than 6,000 farmers growing all kinds of crops here. We suffered from no floods and spoiled crops and thousands of people used to come up every weekend to buy our produce.

We used to supply all parts of the island with food crops. Since this government came into power, the place only going down. Now, only about 300 farmers left, all the rest leave. Because everytime rain falls, the whole place floods out, and we lose all the crops.



River breaks bank

The rivers and drains are not maintained. All of them clogged up. The marketing is another problem. After planting and labouing on the land for five months, when we come from the market, only \$6.00 left in our pockets. Man, the farmer is the real dog in this country."

Those are the words of one of the farmers in the Plumitan Scheme at Caltoo Trace, Nariva. The plight of the farmers there is much worse than how he puts it. The hell and suffering the Caltoo Trace farmers go through year after year, is nothing less than slavery.

Even slavery was perhaps better because the slave master had to supply the slaves with



Rice field flooded

food, clothes and shelter. At Caltoo Trace, the farmers have to supply these things for themselves.

### THE PEOPLE

The farmers are almost all East Indians; perhaps 99%. But not all the farmers live on the land. There are three kinds of farmers:

1. Those who live on the land
  2. Those who live nearby
  3. Those who are temporary melon growers.
- The melon-growers number about 300. And they farm their plots only during the melon

season. The permanent farmers grow food-crops. In all, there are about 40-50 permanent farmers.

Only 18 permanent farmers now live on the land with their families. Before, many more farmers lived in the area, but due to the problems and suffering they experienced, most of them most of them have left. Farmers as far away as Penal, used to farm in the Plumitan scheme. Now, even those in the area want to get out.

### LAND

All the land in the area is crown land. In fact almost the whole of the Nariva Swamp land is controlled by government. From the experiences of the farmers, the soil is excellent for food agriculture.

The Agricultural scheme at Plumitan was started by Government. Many farmers were encouraged to farm plots of land in the area. The average size of a farmers plot is 3 acres. Before 1956, the farmers used to pay a rent of one shilling per acre, to the Government.

Then the rent was gradually raised, until it reached \$6.00 per acre. About two years ago, the

And, many other crops can be grown in the area. Before Plumitan was the agricultural heartland of the country. Now, it is a river of suffering and woe.

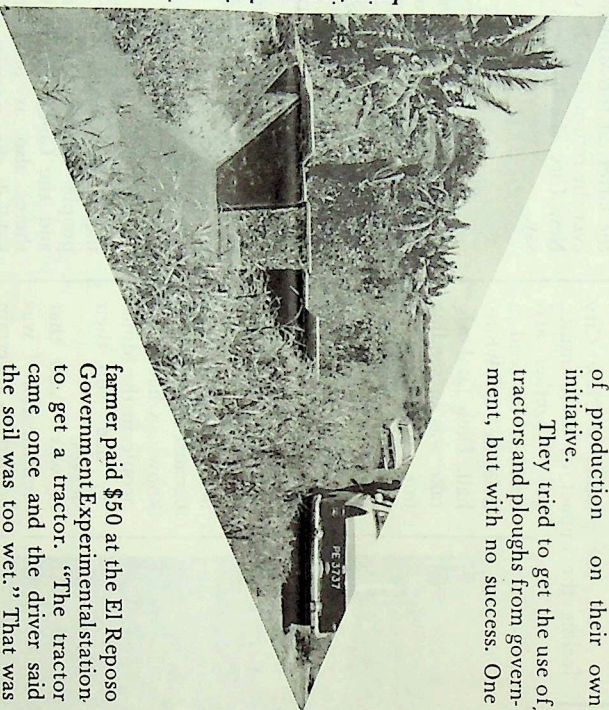
### PRODUCTION

The production of food crops from preparation of the land to marketing, takes about five months on an average. But the farmer and his family cannot farm the land by themselves. In preparing a 3-acre plot the farmer has to hire about 6-8 workers to help him. And to maintain the land and crops he needs about 3-4 workers.

Each worker cost the farmer \$4 per day; a day being 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. if that long. The farmer, on the other hand, works on the land from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. This he has to do if at all he cares about his crops for the food crops need constant care and maintenance.

The farmer has to use the least productive and most difficult means of production. The cutlass the hoe and the fork are the farmers' means of production. It is not that the farmers are backward and afraid of change. In fact, they want change and have attempted to change their means of production on their own initiative.

They tried to get the use of tractors and ploughs from government, but with no success. One



Irrigation canal clogged

Present government stopped taking rent. The farmers to this day do not know why the rent was stopped. Up to last year, some farmers went to pay their annual rent, but they were told that they did not have to pay rent.

Now, the farmers are insecure. They have no agreement with the government on the question of ownership or lease. They believe that the government's plan was to turn them into squatters by stopping the rent without any alternative agreement. As one of the farmers said: "They might come and throw us out anytime now. They make us squatters after putting us here." They want to put up some foreign tourist thing."

### CROPS

Due to the excellent quality of the soil, the farmers grow a wide variety of food crops. Lettuce, sweet peppers, hot pepper, cabbage, pak choy, cucumber, pumpkin, cauliflower, melon, water melon, celery, okra, dashen boddie, corn, pigeon peas, carrots rice and other food crops are at present grown by the farmers.

farmer paid \$50 at the El Reposo Government Experimental station to get a tractor. "The tractor came once and the driver said the soil was too wet." That was the last the farmer heard of his \$50 and the tractor.

Fertilizer is another problem. "The government is supposed to subsidise farmers with salt (fertilizer). We made applications year after year. No salt. They get so much salt that they are selling salt to us; salt they got free. Only the big pappies get salt and free. We have to buy from them."

### FLOODS AND CROP LOSES

If production ran that smoothly, the problem would not be so great. But farmers suffer from another menacing problem - FLOODS.

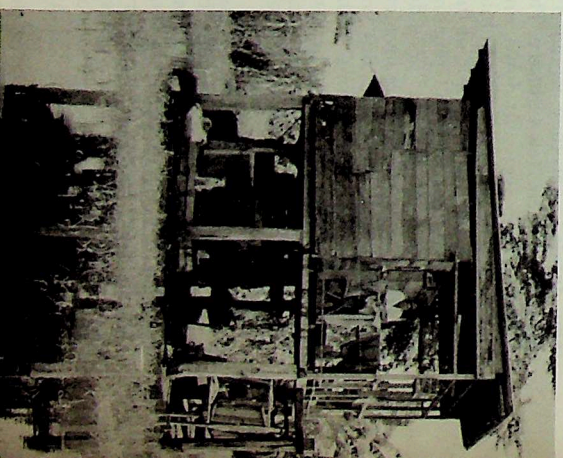
Everytime rain falls, all the land, crops and houses are flooded. This never happened before 1956." The floods mean all the farmers' crops gone. Usually, the water takes about 3-5 days to go down. By that time the lettuce, cabbage, sweet pepper, carrots and even rice are all lost.

Too much water spoil the crops. After expending months of labour, hiring workers and investing money in growing those crops, when the flood comes the farmer loses EVERYTHING.



Cabbage crop low

# PLI OF GAL FARM



Farmers houses



And, many other crops can be grown in the area. Before Plumbian was the agricultural heartland of the country. Now, it is a river of suffering and woe.

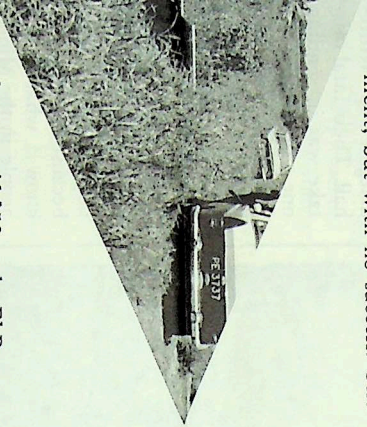
### PRODUCTION

The production of food crops from preparation of the land to marketing, takes about five months on an average. But the farmer and his family cannot farm the land by themselves. In preparing a 3-acre plot the farmer has to hire about 6-8 workers to help him. About to maintain the land and crops he needs about 3-4 workers.

Each worker cost the farmer \$4 per day; a day being 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. if that long. The farmer, on the other hand, works on the land from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. This he has to do if at all he cares about his crops for the food crops need constant care and maintenance.

The farmer has to use the least productive and most difficult means of production. The cutlase, the hoe and the fork are the farmers' means of production. It is not that the farmers are backward and afraid of change. In fact, they want change and have attempted to change their means of production on their own initiative.

They tried to get the use of, tractors and ploughs from government, but with no success. One



farmer paid \$50 at the El Reposo Government Experimental station to get a tractor. "The tractor came once and the driver said the soil was too wet." That was the last the farmer heard of his \$50 and the tractor.

Fertilizer is another problem. "The government is supposed to subsidise farmers with salt (fertilizer). We made applications year after year. No salt. They get so much salt that they are selling salt to us; salt they got free. Only the big pappies get salt and free. We have to buy from them."

### FLOODS AND CROP LOSSES

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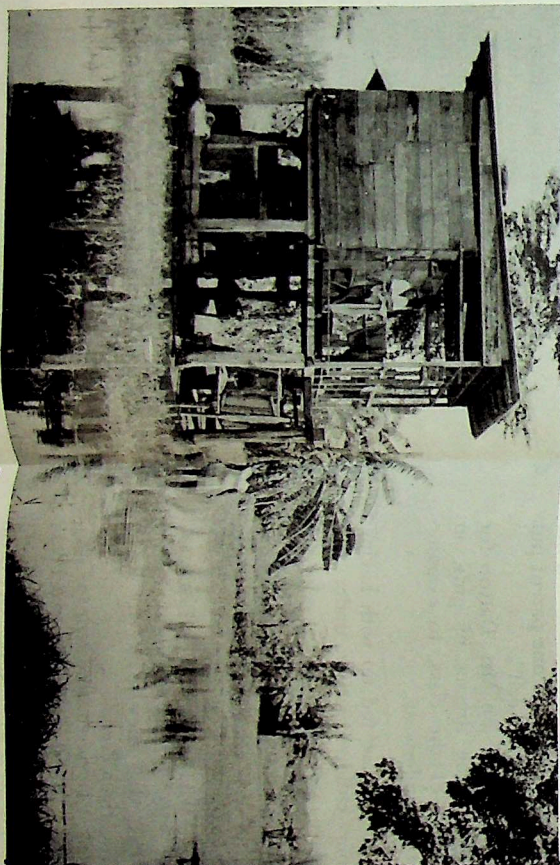
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Cabbage crop loss due to floods

# PLIGHT OF THE GALTOO FARMERS



Farmers house flooded

He gets no compensation, no relief. One farmer described how he invested a loan of \$1500 on his plot and within two months lost everything because of the flooding.

The main cause of the flooding is poor maintenance of rivers, drains and irrigation canals by the government. For years no maintenance work has been done in Galtoo Trace. "About six workers come now and then and cut the grass on the side of the drains."

The rivers have never been maintained. Grass grows high, high in the rivers and canals. When rain falls the mud, branches, come down and the drains and rivers are clogged up. The water instead of flowing to the sea, flows in the opposite direction, to the drains and canals and then overflows on to the land destroying the crops.

This happens every time rain falls. In the canal and rivers you can walk on the river bed downstream of the clogging without getting your foot wet. So that everytime the farmers plant a crop the floods come and destroy it and they begin again.

### MARKETING

Marketing is yet another major problem. The farmers have to get their produce to the central market in Port-of-Spain, some

40 miles away, by the hook or crook. Transportation to the market cost the farmer \$20. When he gets to the market (about 10 p.m. or thereabouts), he has to wait until 4 a.m. before he is allowed to enter the market and sell his produce to the vendors. Most times he spends from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. trying to get his produce sold. Some of it he is able to sell outside the market to vendors who come from other parts of the country to buy. Before the farmers used to sell some of their produce to the Central Marketing Agency (CMA), but the CMA only buys what they want.

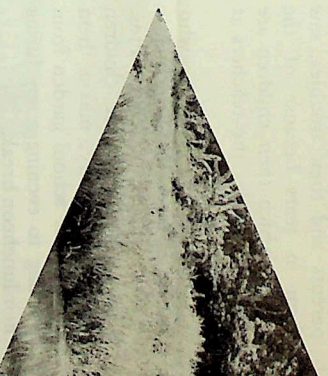
"Sometimes we go down to sell to the CMA and our produce get rotten before the CMA is ready to buy. Other times they tell us they don't want any of our produce."

That is not all. The price the farmers are able to get for their produce is shocking.

- Sweet Pepper — 6¢ to 8¢ per lb.
- Cabbage — 16¢ per lb
- Melongen — 3¢ " "
- Tomatoes — 8¢ " "

At these prices the farmers are losing money. Many times "when we are able to sell our produce we come back with \$6 in our pockets after 5 months work, and investment."

The consequence of all this is that the farmers cannot save. Instead they end up owing money.





due to floods

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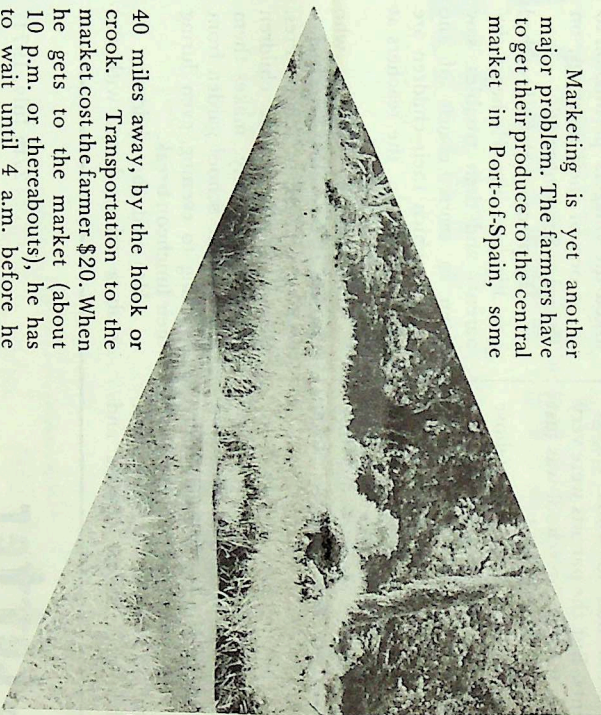
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**MARKETING**

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# RIGHT THE TOO FARMERS



River clogged by overgrown grass

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**FINANCIAL SITUATION**

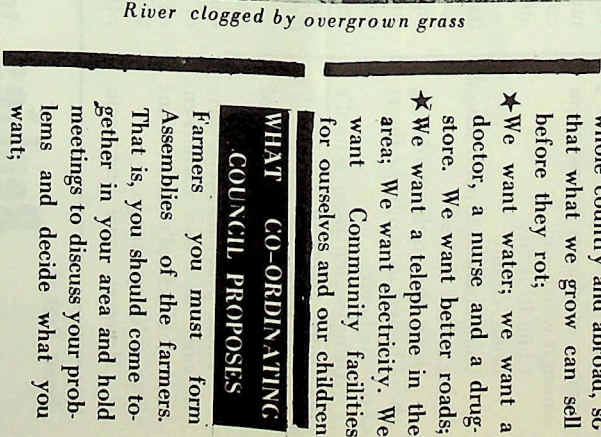
To get a loan from the credit bank they must have security. What security do the poor farmers have? Some of them borrow up to \$3,000 from the agricultural society, and at the end of the year, they can't even pay the interest much more the loan.

The Society's interest on loan is 7%. The longer the farmer takes to pay the loan, the higher the interests become. Some farmers can't even buy shoes and clothes for themselves and their children.

**COMMUNITY NECESSITIES**

It is not only the Agricultural role of the farmers, lives that are degrading. Basic Community necessities are not provided. The nearest doctor and drug store is in Sangre Grande, 17 miles away.

There is no electricity. The farmers use petrol. There are no telephones in case of illness. The roads are among the worst in the country, and the roads to get to the land are no longer roads, but jungles of grass and bush.



A farmer stands in the road

Worst of all is water. There are no pipes in Calcoo Trace. During the dry season WASA trucks go there about once every two weeks. During the rainy season, the trucks don't go.

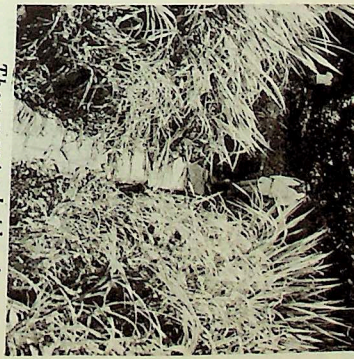
Farmers reported seeing drivers pull into a side road empty the water in a drain and leave.

The farmers' regular supply of water is the river, canals and rain. Most times they collect buckets of water from the river, leave the water to settle and then boil it.

The farmers of Calcoo Trace, Plunthian are fed-up. Delegation after delegation went to Government departments and Ministers with no success. These farmers are the slaves of slaves. They can take no more. For fifteen years they have taken the sufferings, degradation and inhumanity of the farming class. The Government could not care less. The vendors exploit them and the supermarkets exploit them more. They have become the wretched of the wretched.

**WHAT THEY WANT**

- ★ To be secure. We want our plots of land;
- ★ The Rivers, Canals and roads must be cleaned and maintained to stop the flooding;
- ★ We want easy credit to invest in food crop development. Poor farmers have no security;
- ★ Marketing arrangements must be drastically changed. We need much better prices. The Distribution of our produce must be organised over the



They want a bridge here

whole country and abroad, so that what we grow can sell before they rot;

- ★ We want water; we want a doctor, a nurse and a drug-store. We want better roads;
- ★ We want a telephone in the area; We want electricity. We want Community facilities for ourselves and our children

**WHAT GO-ORDINATING COUNCIL PROPOSES**

Farmers you must form Assemblies of the farmers. That is, you should come together in your area and hold meetings to discuss your problems and decide what you want;

Take positive collective action in your assemblies to carry out your programme and to do what you have decided;

You must draft a programme of development of your farms and your community. You may need assistance. If you do, call on university people, other technically trained persons and others who can assist you to organise.

To have power to decide your own fate, you must organise in collective bodies in your area, and around your problems. LAND TO THE FARMERS.

flooded



# BRUTALITY

UNTIL today Coal Mine, a small agricultural village on the Southern outskirts of Sangre Grande was never part of this world.

They have had their problems but none was so great as that of the present one at the Gros. Pres. School.

In all the fifteen years of the existence of the new building no parent was forced to do things as a total boycott of the school.

The boycott was put into effect since the beginning of the September term, but was called off after a delegation from the vibrant, Lower Coal Mine Village Caroni had talks with the Senior School Inspector of the area.

The parents complained that due to the existence of two teachers at the Gros. Pres. School namely Mrs. Rupatee Dattoo and Mr. Lloyd Dattoo things will never be the same.

They have laid down a number of charges against them amongst which are:

- Child Brutality
- Child Assault
- Using children to paint school during school hours

Using the students (during school hours) to scrub the floors of private homes.

Using water from school's tank (only source of a supply), for private uses.

Constant humiliation of students.

These problems were there ever since those two teachers entered the school's door, some three or four years ago.

However, time and again,

the parents complained, but with no satisfaction and things were forced to lie still.

No one had strength to continue or to do anything because of the fear of their children being victimized.

Some of the youths of the area decided to stage a placard demonstration at the function held in honour of a retiring Principal Mr. George Nechal.

This pumped "new blood" into the veins of the parents and they decided on a public meeting on Monday 5th July, 1971.

Letters of the proceedings of the meeting together with the questions on the placards as submitted by S. Gopechan — were submitted to the Ministry of Education, Teaching Service Commission, Education Office, Sangre Grande and to the Pres. Board of Management.

Again the matter was forced to stand due to other engagements. But the parents were very concerned as the school was just about to be re-opened.

The village council in whose hands the matter is at present, summoned an emergency meeting. About 75 parents turned out, and they decided on a total boycott of the school, until such time that the Ministry and Pres. Board remove the Dattoo's from Gros. Pres. School.

The parents co-operated and the boycott was in operation. During that session a delegation of the Coalmine Village Council had an emergency meeting with officials at the Education office at Sangre Grande and

at

## COALMINE SCHOOL

they promised that 'in two weeks time we'll give you satisfaction'.

The following night the delegation called upon W.I. De Lochan, secretary of the Pres. Board who promised that in two weeks time his board will settle the matter and that the parents should call off the boycott as advised by the Mr. Brooks, Senior Inspector of Schools N/Eastern districts.

He said too that during that period he will contact Mr. Brooks and the Ministry of Education.

Nothing, absolutely nothing was done. However, Mr. Brooks asked the villagers' permission to sit at one of their meetings, on Thursday September 16.

His presence there breathed new life into him. He heard the parents and their troubles, saw them in tears because of the way in which their children are being treated by the teachers at Gros. Pres. School.

Mr. Lloyd Dattoo, who claimed to be Acting Principal, is reviving slavery at Gros. Pres. School. He beats the children without sympathy, makes them work in the school garden from morning to evening, even during their luncheon break.

He used the children to scrub a private home with the

27th July, 1971.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 12th July, 1971, on the above subject, I have to inform you that the matter is receiving attention.

Yours faithfully,  
COMMISSIONER OF POLICE.

## to Civil Rights Committee

Sirs,  
We the people of the district of St. Croix Road (five miles post), Reece Trace Junction, Lengua, wish to bring to your attention the grievous and terrible situation involving the people and the police. The police are waging a war against us. Already individuals have written the Governor General and the Chief Justice.

We would wish the help of your Organisation in protecting not only our Civil Rights, but also our Human Rights. Seeing that you express your concern for the welfare of other people, we would like you to come to our assistance as soon as possible. On behalf of the People of our area: (See signature on pg. 4)

Next Issue  
PEOPLE OF  
COALMINE  
ORGANISE  
FOR COMMUNITY ACTION

school's water, depriving the school of a regular source.

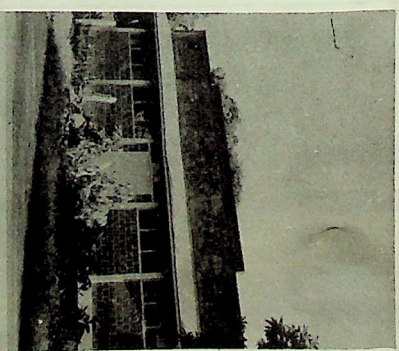
Mrs. Dattoo is more brutal. Twice parents took police action against her for child brutality.

Mr. B. Khadin's daughter received cuts over her back from the "slave driver". The parent went to the doctor and then to the police station.

Mr. Reff Mahadeo's daughter was another victim of the "slave driver".

He did the same as the first parent, but withdrew his charges because the then Principal — George Nechal actually went down on his knees.

Lawrence Dattoo, a teacher who violated the teacher's law by charging \$8.50 an hour for lessons at the school, told a parent that he "doesn't care what the ass happen so long as he gets his cheque when the time reaches".



School at Coalmine

Imagine teachers beating children when they complain of milk infested with roaches, which they are forced to drink.

Get mad at the teacher, Mrs. Dattoo who imprisoned a child at the school's staff room and the child fainted. As one parent put it "in the dark cell".

Shame on Mrs. Dattoo for lifting the dresses of girls, in front of the class, to examine their underwear.

We are fed up with having our children suffer under the slave masters".

Their cry is "Get Mr. & Mrs. Lloyd Dattoo out of Grosvenor. Why were they sent out of Plum Road Pres.?"

What caused their dismissal at the Sangre Chiquito Pres.? Why did they have to leave Tacarigua Pres.?

Why were they sent to Gros. Pres.? Did the Ministry and Pres. Board believe that Coalmine people were soft? Never! Get them out or they teach empty desks!"

From Page 1

## Replies to Letter

1st September, 1971.

Dear Sir,

I wish to refer to your letter dated 4th August, 1971, addressed to the Governor-General and transmitted to this office for attention.

The Commissioner of Police has been requested to investigate and report on the matter, and you will be kept informed of developments.

Yours faithfully,  
Permanent Secretary,  
Ministry of National Security,

16th August, 1971.

Dear petitioners,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your registered letter of the 4th August, 1971, addressed to His Excellency the Governor-General, and to inform you that it has been forwarded to the Prime Minister's Office for attention of the appropriate Ministry.

I have the honour to be,  
Your obedient servant,  
M. Cumberbatch,

Ag. Secretary to the Governor-General.

Dear Sir,  
Re: Khadin Abdool and others — Complaint of harassment and police brutality.

Your letter dated 4th August 1972, on the subject noted above addressed to The Honourable the Chief Justice refers.

The nature of your complaint precludes The Hon. the Chief Justice from investigating your matter. However, your letter has been forwarded to the Minister of National Security, Knox Street, Port-of-Span, for his attention.

I have no doubt that a further communication would be sent to you from the Ministry concerned.

Yours faithfully,  
Errol Mathews  
Administrative Secretary,  
to the Chief Justice.

# Womanhood Man and Woman

THE man-woman relationship existing presently in our society must change, before we talk about creating a new society. The present relationship is just as corrupt as the rest of the society. For this relationship to change, men must change. The point here is, until men look at a woman as an equal, the relationship will remain the same. Women have always struggled in their own way for this equality.

Each woman in her home is carrying out this struggle daily, and independently. Some use a very silent strategy, which could be at some times very damaging to the husband's mind, and just go ahead and do what they think is right. Others argue. This means something more than just an argument to her.

By arguing she is showing her husband, and most importantly herself, she has ideas and desires of her own. For this she is respected by both her husband and other women. Respected because

of her spirit of independence, and self-respect.

More and more women are refusing to be just sex machines, and kitchen mechanics. What they want is their womanhood; as man, his manhood. This womanhood has been taken away from them.

It must be returned.

This sort of change will not take place overnight, so let us begin now. Begin, to look at a woman as a woman and not a thing. Let us stop saying "that thing good, boy." This is very dehumanising.

Because of these dehumanising remarks, women have made certain decisions.

1. They would rather be free, single and disengaged. This way of life, they say, will remain so until they come in contact with a "new man", but unfortunately these types of men are very few and far apart.
2. If they are already married they will break up the marriage

are familiar with throughout the Caribbean: the black-skin/white mask syndrome or psychological complication.

But nevertheless, the large majority of writers were concerned primarily with glorifying the African past and a vestiges of African culture still to be found in Haiti.

With the coming of the 20th Century, there came an upsurge in national spirit or nationalism. This came about due to the coming 100 years anniversary of

## ART and the ARTIST

Haitian independence, the friction with German imperialism, and the threat of American intervention into any country whose politics is displeasing to the U.S.

The novels that appeared in this era are linked to this awakening of national consciousness, and in social range they cover almost all life around Port-au-Prince. These novels are most concerned with the masses of displaced people around the city, and the fact that they are exploited not by outsiders, but by their own so-called well-educated brothers. The writers of this era most concerned with this were Frederick Marcelin, Fernand Hibbert, Justin Lhérisson, and Jules Dominique. And constantly they transposed their social consciences to the characters of their novels.

It is therefore, in this era of Haitian literature that we begin to see clearly a birth of the break-away from the preoccupation with the African past, and greater concern for the present ill-treatment, suffering and oppression of the peasants, yet this break did not really flourish until the

rather than go on living with a "stranger". She does this not only because she wants to hurt one man, but because it is an act opposing man's whole way of life.

3. They will always take an active part to assure any revolutionary change in a society. In the process of the change, men should change their attitude towards them.

The struggle has nothing to do with how helpful a man is in the house, or how good he is to his children. No matter how well they get along, she will fight, because of the way she is forced to live. What she wants is her equality. Let her have a say, she has ideas, give her room to express herself — to be creative. No longer should she be a sex-machine and a kitchen mechanic.

In the Ancient African society, a woman was a woman. Immediately, as a white man appeared in Africa, she became a thing. What we are fighting is this same slavery system that did this to women. If the struggle is to be successful, we must clear this man-woman hurdle.

late 30s and the 1940s.

Marcelin at the end of "The Revenge of Mama" makes a plea for the peasants'

"But the peasant whom you take away from his field and drag from soldiers' barracks to soldiers' barracks, whom you contaminate with life in the town, whom you transform from the hard-working man that he was when he left the village, into a drunkard and gambler, we must show some concern for his fate."

"There is no better than him in our House of Representatives nor in the presidential Palace. He is the incarnation of social usefulness in its simplest and most acceptable form."

But the 1940s were yet to come, and all before and after 1915 and the start of the American Occupation, most Haitian artists held on to the world of the past...the world that re-namated Africa and which helped the Haitian to reject the White World as represented by the Americans.

The writer Jacques Roumain stands out in this field of "re-namating" the African past and its glories. Today, this form of protest is outmoded because it looks back and inward and remains there, it is essentially defensive, and is essentially a sterile gesture, whereas the trend today is for a more aggressive stance.

But as the American occupation continued the writers became more and more political. And whereas before they spent their energies on proving the African civilisations to be greater

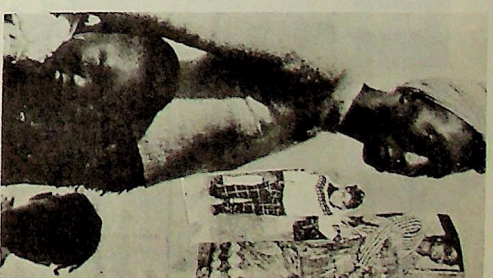
# Social Conscience in Haitian Literature

THE Haitian artists historically have been provoked into coming to the defence of their country which as the only independent black country in the hemisphere was put under severe pressure by France, her former colonizer and the U.S.A. And especially after the American occupation which lasted from 1915 to 1934, the Haitian literature became more interesting because it took on new vigour, a new purpose and direction, so much so that one Haitian critic, Dr. Dantes Bellegarde said:

"Haitian Literature has been first and foremost a literature of action. Most of our authors have written more out of a desire to act than to create a work of art. They have taken their inspiration from the heroic struggle for liberty and independence or have devoted their energies to discovering our historical origins and to discussing plans for organizing the society of our country. Almost all of them have played an active part in politics." What has been the result is that Haitian literature has moved constantly in close collaboration with the internal dynamics of the Haitian political movement.

Haiti's first novel appeared in 1859. It was a symbolic work by Emerie Bergaud, proposing a solution to the internal struggle that was tearing the country apart: the mulattoes and the blacks were fighting for political supremacy of the island. There were other novels written around this time by Haitians, but they might very well have been written by Europeans since the stories are set in Europe and Asia and in no way draw upon Haiti as a source.

The reason for this, we all



QUOTATION

"There are two things I've got a right to, and these are death or liberty. One or the other I mean to have. No one will take me back alive. I shall fight for my liberty and when the time has come for me to go, the Lord will let them kill me."

Harriet Tulman

The article below is based on an address given by Dr. Vere Knight of U.W.I, St. Augustine.

than European ones, thereby projecting the sole purpose of black dignity, they now turned to a greater and more concrete and constructive political involvement and commitment. And this obviously reflected in their work.

For instance the very Jacques Roumain, in 1934, the final year of the American occupation, founded the Haitian Communist Party, and became its secretary. Of his later novels "Les Gouverneurs de la Rosee", the "Masters of the Dew" brings out the change that came into the writers and their work. It is a novel that preaches symbolically, the message of unity of the Haitian people, and unity for the sake of positive action towards the building of a new life. It is here he rejects the main basis of previous Haitian literature and Haitian life, especially the life of the peasantry:

"Resignation is treacherous; it is not very different from discouragement. It breaks your back; you wait for miracles and Providence holding your rosary and doing nothing. You pray for rain, and pray for the harvest, you sing the praises of the saints and the loa. But Providence let me tell you, is nothing more than the black man's refusal to accept misfortune, to conquer the stubbornness of the earth each day, and submit the whims of water to his needs."

Jacques-Stephane Alexis was a nationalist and a socialist. In his novel "Compre General Soleil", we see again the main character, Hilarion, in the role of social conscience to the highest for as the novel develops, he becomes the symbol of the rising revolutionary class. And the trend was set by writers like Roumain and Alexis for the 1940s to come. The historic development of writers and Haitian literature, tells us exactly what the role of an artist is in a changing society.

# ON REVOLUTION

## DIRECTION

Revolutionary consciousness by the very fact that it means the capacity of the revolutionary classes to take and maintain power and to effectively change the existing social relationships, involves another vital element — Revolutionary Direction. That is, the revolutionary classes must know what they want, both philosophically and practically, and how they are going to achieve that want. To the extent that they are clear on that, to that same extent do they have a revolutionary direction.

## SOCIAL RELATIONS

Revolutionary change if it must mean anything at all, it must mean the total overthrow of the old system of the three power bases stated above.

The common denomination of the Governmental, Economic and Cultural order is the system of social relationships predominant in the society. In any established social order, the social relationships prevailing in the economy are the same kind of social relationships prevailing in the Governmental and

## IDEOLOGY and ORGANISATION for REVOLUTION

cultural system.

It is the system of social relationships that characterises the order of the whole society. The basis of Feudalism was the system of social relationships existing in the feudal era between lord and serf, master and journeyman, man and woman etc.

For capitalism to flourish, the capitalist class had to overthrow the feudal social relationships by violent revolutions and to establish capitalist social relations.

The basis of slavery was the slave's social relations between masters (white) and slave (black), overseer and slave, house slave and field slave etc. All revolutions that have taken place in history, had to overthrow the previous social relationships.

Today, the overthrow of the capitalist system (more so our creole capitalist system) necessitates the overthrow of capitalist social relations and all that create them.

Capitalist economic relations are not relations between incomes and prices, investments and profits, production costs and markets etc.

These are not the cause, but the result of capitalist economic relations. Capitalist economic relations are relations between people; between owner and manager, managers and

workers, superintendants and works etc.

Governmental relations are relations between ruler and ruled, government and people, party and people, leaders and people. The fundamental character of capitalist social relations is that a clique, a small elite, decides what is to be done where, when, how and by whom, and it hires agents to make the mass of the people do what it wants done.

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY TASK

The revolution of our time has to be essentially concerned not with the increase of numbers of representatives in parliament, not with the replacement of new managers and workers for old ones, not with increasing the number of organisations represented in the Senate. NO!

The revolution of our time must destroy, eliminate the system of social relationships between people as they operate within the existing social order.

Only when we begin that process of destroying the capitalist system of social relationships in politics, government, economics and culture, and we begin to replace them with new social relationships, will we be effectively making revolutionary changes.

Next issue:  
**Objective of Revolution**

## WHO and WHAT are THEY:

# THE

## CONTROL

FOREIGN-OWNED and controlled banks particularly those with head offices in Canada, CONTROL our banking system.

The countries in which the head offices of these foreign banks are located viz: Canada, U.S.A., Britain, recognizing that the banking system is the base of all major financial operations, make no bones about maintaining effective CONTROL of their banking systems.

In Canada for example, no non-Canadian individual can own more than 10%, and no non-Canadian institution can own more than 25% of any Canadian bank.

The law is as simple as that, and any foreigner wanting to participate in the Canadian banking system must observe and respect these laws.

## ATTEMPTS TO FOOL PEOPLE

The local authorities governmental and business, working with their foreign counterparts have been attempting to reform our banking system. They established a Central Bank with all types of 'up-to-date' banking and financial legislation; they give

local people jobs in the banks: they might incorporate locally a foreign bank and sell shares to those local people who could afford to buy them.

Despite these measures which are intended to make the people believe that they have some kind of say in what's happening in banking, CONTROL still remains in Canada, New York and London.

The fact is that although

# BANKS

the local branches of these foreign banks could sponsor a steelband here and there, they are the subsidiaries of giant multinational corporations whose prime purpose is profit for their shareholders in the countries in which their head offices are located.

## WHAT WE SHOULD KNOW

Firstly, although our Central Bank can act as the banker and financial adviser to the government and be a place where the commercial banks can get their notes and coins, it has no control over the foreign banks.

Secondly, despite the Central Bank's statements about their being concerned with respect to the current world monetary crisis, they should have absolutely nothing to say, because our interest rate and

control of our economy, while giving the impression that they are encouraging locals to participate in all aspects of their operations.

As long as these people work within the existing structures which have been established in the foreign head offices to extract maximum profits from their overseas operations, these people can only be local agents serving to perpetuate the exploitative nature of these foreign banks.

Finally, although the setting-up of local banks such as the National Commercial Bank of Trinidad and Tobago Ltd., and the Workers Bank are attempts to break the stranglehold of these foreign banks, one must ensure that their activities and methods of operation are directed towards the serving of local needs and that they not simply be carbon-copies of the existing foreign branches.

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# The International Scene: NEWS and VIEWS

## tanzania

THE United States Government has admitted that the 357th Unit of the Army Reserve had spent three years in training for the purpose of governing the socialist state of TANZANIA.

The information was leaked by the soldiers who were protesting against the objectives of their training. The Tanzanian project was organised by Professor Robert M. Mates of the MIT, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who happened to be an Officer in the 357th at the time.

A specialised library on Tanzania has been developed, which include detailed MAPS of roads, railways, dams, electrical and water supplies, as well as literature and copies of the Tanzanian daily papers.

Officers of the 357th unit attended a special two week conference on East Africa conducted for the army by Yale University in the summer of 1967. This conference disseminated general background information on East Africa with a focus on Kenya and Tanzania.

A similar Conference was held at Yale again in 1969. The underlying questions of the conference was how to use sociological information in the case of military intervention.

Col. Govhien of the U.S. Army stated that "this is not purely hypothetical exercise, it was done to avoid mistakes we've made in Vietnam. We want to know a country if we are thrown in".

The Col. went on to say that "we foretell a native uprising in Mozambique and spreading into Tanzania. We then planned what we would do if we were called in to help".

Within the past weeks, the illegal Government of Uganda under the leadership of General Amin has provoked border incidents with Tanzania, no doubt with the help of Britain and America.

control of the industry, elected a Workers Management and are running the shipyard. The Labour Party and the Scottish Trades Union council are trying to use the issue to gain support and to bring workers control under capital domination.

That is impossible. There is either Workers' control or no workers' control. British Capitalism is on its death bed. How long the Clyde workers can hold out depends on the British Working class as a whole. If the British working-class does not take control of British production, then the Clyde workers would be forced to give in. But the bugle would have sounded.

**TAKE HEED OWTU, TIWU AND WORKERS OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO. YOUR TIME IS COMING. ORGANISE NOW.**



Prisoners take over prison

## attica

THE prisoners of the Attica prison, seized control of the prison and held several of the guards as hostages in an attempt to obtain certain reforms in the prison administration, and at the same time to ensure that no retaliatory measure would be taken against them for their action of protest.

Nevertheless they and the hostages they held were brutally massacred by National Guards in the attempt to put down the protest.

The massacre was justified by Nixon fascist administration who claimed that the prisoners had cut the throats of the hostages, and the protest was all part of a nation-wide black revolutionary attempt to seek the release of Sister Angela Davis.

However, the hostages were found to have died from bullet wounds, not knife wounds, and it is known that the prisoners were all unarmed. Neither was Angela Davis mentioned in the demands of the prisoners.

It was a cold, brutal, unprovoked, cowardly, bloody mas-

## russia

NIKITA Krushchev died at age 77. He joined the Bolshevik Party at age 24, and became one of those most instrumental in driving Russia off the course visualised by Lenin and the early leaders of the Party. Today Russia is as evil as the United States of America, and mankind here is not the purpose and the end of politics as it was predicted to be.

Krushchev is one of the people to blame. And the cruelty of the Russian system is obvious when it allows a man to be buried like a dog...a man who dedicated his life to building it. The top leaders did not attend his funeral, and no one was allowed to mourn him.

## ethiopia

THE people of Eritrea are at present fighting the christian oriented Imperial Government. This battle has been going on for the last ten years. The Imperial government has named its operations against an organised people's army, "BANDIT SUPPRESSION". Twenty thousand government troops are engaged in fighting against the Eritrean Liberation Front, and these government repressive forces are backed by Imperialist American troops stationed at Kagnew.

The numbers of Ethiopian students, writers, and other

sacre of both the prisoners and their hostages. The death toll stands at 40.9 of which were the hostages. 100 prisoners were critically wounded, and the death toll is expected to rise.

Now that the concentration camps in the United States have been re-opened, the Nixon administration has begun the genocide of Black Americans. The Blacks that are not slaughtered, will be sent to the terrifying camps. Also the law which states that an entire minority race in America could be regarded as subversive and sent to mass concentration camps has been re-instituted.

What the Attica prison protest and the Soledad Brothers issue show clearly, is that the consciousness of the Black American people towards social justice and change, has risen considerably within the past two years that the struggle has been taken up by black prisoners who now understand that their fate has been designed by the evils of the immoral system.

individuals that are exiled abroad are too numerous to count.

The time has come for all to recognise such oppressed people, suffering at the hands of Imperialist puppets who have sold out their people's interests for accounts in the Swiss Bank, and personal aggrandisement.

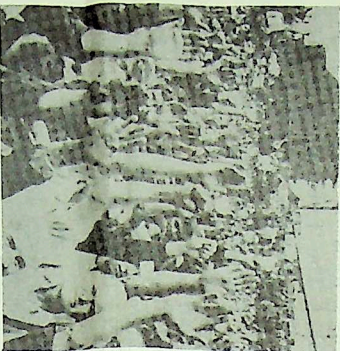
The time has come to denounce every single oppressor, even if he prides himself in being called "The Lion of Judea"

## zimbabwe

THE racist regime of Ian Smith operating in Rhodesia has brought mass suffering on our Africans here. And the actions of the Smith Regime are justified by the American government for there is at present large American companies operating in the Zimbabwe by the virtual enslavement of the African population.

The English government has not changed its policies regarding the Ian Smith issue, and this is so because the majority of the English Government are also leading businessmen in Zimbabwe. To support Smith means more profits for the American and English capitalists.

Recently the Smith Regime withdrew government grants from students who took part in anti-government demonstrations last year, and it has increased the health service charges for the black population that exist under sub-human conditions.



Clyde workers take control

appointed a liquidator to take control of the Shipyards.

The Government's plan is to close down two (John Brown and Connell) of the four Clyde shipyards and to retrench about 6,000 of the 8,300 workers. The liquidator announced that he intended to retrench 400 workers immediately, and a further 1,000 by the end of September.

The Clyde workers replied to the Government's decision by seizing control of the John Brown Shipyard and electing a Workers' Management Committee consisting of shop stewards, and workers from all major departments of the industry including engineers, and middle management personnel. The Management Committee was elected by meetings of workers in the various sections of the industry and approved by a mass meeting of the 2,500 workers at the John Brown shipyard.

One of the shop stewards' leaders, addressing the mass meeting said: "There will be no hoodliganism. There will be no vandalism. It is our job to conduct ourselves with responsibility, dignity and maturity as we have done. Nothing and nobody will come in or go out without our permission."

The workers at Clyde have established workers power and workers control of industry. They have moved one step further than the usual workers occupation and "sit-in strike. They have seized

# Our Revolutionary view

OF RECENT NATIONAL NEWS AND EVENTS

## Social Problems

### WHO SUFFERS

ON Saturday, September 18, a "crime" squad under "crime" Commissioner Dennis Ramdwar raided three night clubs in Port-of-Spain and arrested 18 young girls for aiding and abetting in the keeping of a brothel. The night clubs raided were Moon River, Blue Haven and Night Pearl.

The first question we have to ask is: who suffers — the brothel owners, the customers, or the young girls?

The oppressive social system under which we live today allows the big pappies, those respectable middle-class gangsters, to exploit young unemployed city girls and young girls from the country areas.

These social exploiters of the worse order, open brothels, hiremanagers and "girls catchers" to operate their brothels, while they stay away and draw big fat profits from the rental of women bodies.

That is capitalist exploitation at its worse. "Girls catchers" go into the country districts and promise young girls all kinds of "good decent jobs".

When the girls leave their homes and come to the city, they eventually end up in brothels. AND THE GIRLS WHO ARE EXPLOITED MOST ARE YOUNG EAST INDIAN GIRLS.

It is the social system and those inhuman profit-mongering creole capitalists that are responsible. They are the criminals. The young girls are only victims of the system. As long as the creole capitalist system remains, so long too will this kind of exploitation continue.

Why Ramdwar did not raid House of Aquarius?

Who owns that place?

Who owns the clubs at Carenage?

Who owns golden Key Hole?

Is it because these club owners are well secured by their political and governmental connections? TO STOP THIS CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION OF WOMEN BODIES, THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND THOSE WHO BENEFIT BY IT MUST GO. THE WOMEN VICTIMS AND OTHER WOMEN MUST ORGANISE, STAND UP AND SAY: ENOUGH!

## Politics

### BAN ON MARCHES IN P.O.S. EXTENDED

The Government has once again extended for a further month its ban on marches in downtown Port-of-Spain.

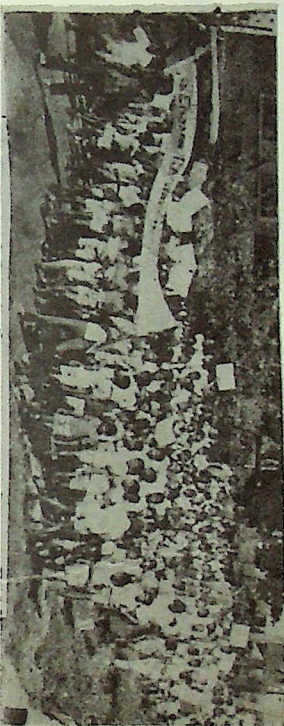
The extension of the ban has become a routine procedure of the government. People do not seem to realise that without a declaration of a state of Emergency. ☹

The ban does not affect the economic exploiters, the big pappies and the middle class

## Education

### things get worse

Things getting worse every day. Instead of change for the better, government only trying to fool the people more and more. First it was a big school building programme. Then it was Conference on Education.



Students and Pupils demonstrate at Orange Field

Then a task force on school buildings to report on the state of these buildings. What next?

While all this mamaguisism is going on, parents, children and teachers are getting more pressure. Gaura Government school has 9 pupils and one teacher, the principal.

The parents have taken the children out of the school, because of animal conditions. Grass and bush cover the toilet and the road.

Even the principal is fed up. At Coal Mine, the principal using child labour to scrub

professionals one bit. Because they have no reason whatsoever to demonstrate or march for their rights and humanity.

It is the unemployed, students and rank-and-file workers who are being enslaved by the ban.

### SO ON WHOSE SIDE IS THE GOVERNMENT? THE BAN MUST GO!

### MAMAGUISM AGAIN

So Hudson-Phillips came back from his European and North American safari and sported a lot of bull.

"We must take a position on China." What hogwash! After Nixon says he is going to China, "we must take a position on China". Who Hudson giving that to hold? Nixon calls the tone and the puppets play like crazy.

"We must control banking in Trinidad and Tobago." How? By expanding the definition of a bank and by getting SWISS banking experts to come and tell us what to do.

Hudson seems very friendly with the SWISS bankers. Why? Everybody knows that he is trying to mamaguy us. Giving locals shares in foreign banks will change nothing.

WE WILL NEVER CONTROL BANKING AND MONETARY FINANCE UNTIL WE TAKE OVER ALL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS COMPLETELY AND ORGANISE OUR OWN MONETARY SYSTEM WITHIN A REVOLUTIONISED ECONOMY.

the private floors.

At Orange Field, the 700 pupils have been without a school for 2½ years.

They have been made to go to school below houses in the village. Conditions got so bad that both parents and pupils held a big demonstration to protest against government and Bhadase Maraj's Maha Sabha.

In another school, 600 pupils turned up for the new school year, only 100 accepted.

What the hell is going on? The students and pupils must organise themselves, discuss their problems, decide what they want and TAKE POSITIVE ACTION. Not only are conditions bad. But the whole organisation of education is rotten. The content of our education is education for slavery.

### STUDENTS AND PUPILS ORGANISE YOURSELVES AND HOLD YOUR OWN CONGRESS ON EDUCATION.

### Workers and Unions

#### Violence in Sugar

About two weeks ago, Nazir Allarakoo, general secretary, and Trevor Sudama, economic adviser of the newly formed, Sugar Plantation and Industrial Workers Trade Union, were severely beaten and shot by armed political gangsters, members of a private army. Sudama was beaten and Allarakoo was shot.

The police are not in anyway unduly bothered. When Bloom and Guerra were shot, the police made a big noise. Police dragnet was set up and Serrette and Bernard declared war.

One person was arrested and refused bail by both magistrates and judge. Now, in the case of Sudama and Allarakoo, the police held two persons and on their first appearance before a magistrate, they got bail amounting to \$7,000, all told.

It is clear that the political, economic and religious bosses of

this country have all agreed that violence is the only way to bulldoze the people, particularly the East Indian people, into silence and slavery.

The political pundits have therefore declared war on the people. If a trade union cannot be democratically formed in this country without armed political gangsterism by other political forces, then a state of war is on. As we said in the last issue, VIOLENCE BREEDS VIOLENCE

### EXPLOITATION AT COELHO'S

The recent strike by workers at Coelho's bakery in Port-of-Spain is the result not only of a trade dispute but of exploitation, oppression and inhumane conditions at work.

The fact is that the so-called "attractive salaries" are next to nothing compared to the high cost of living that the creole capitalist system demands. The company's attitude towards the workers is divide and rule. The foremen are paid from fifty to ninety dollars per week, and they are given loans and special privileges.

These foremen are the company's tools of worker oppression. The foremen force the workers to work under inhuman conditions.

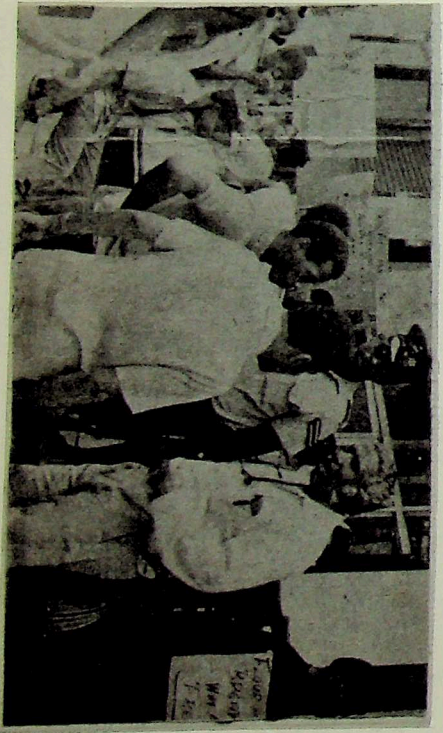
The salaries of the workers range from fifteen to thirty five dollars for a six day work week, and to obtain more money to support their families, they are forced to work overtime for the same hourly rate. If a worker refuses to work overtime twice or three times he is victimised.

The government instead of supporting the exploited workers and taking action on the bosses, sent its violent arm, with police, to protect the bosses property.

The police force is a tool in the hands of the political and economic bosses to gain their own material class interests. Most of the unions are in co with the bosses so they will not fight for the workers. They will only bamboozle the workers.

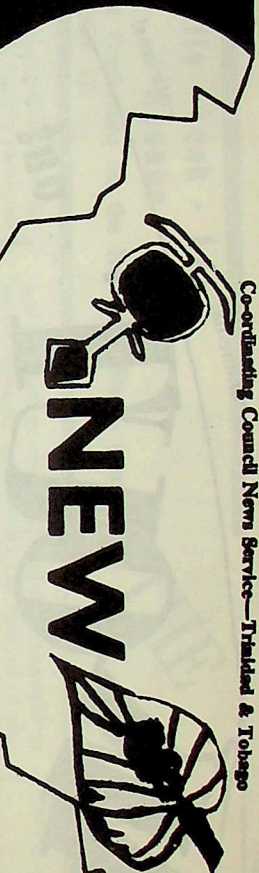
The workers must organise and take positive action against the brutal, oppressive and inhumane conditions imposed on them by the economic elite.

Workers must stand up now for their humanity and say: ENOUGH. WE WILL TAKE NO MORE. WE WANT THE FACTORY AND WE WILL RUN IT WITH A WORKERS ASSEMBLY. WORKERS CONTROL IS THE ONLY SOLUTION.



Strike outside Coelho's

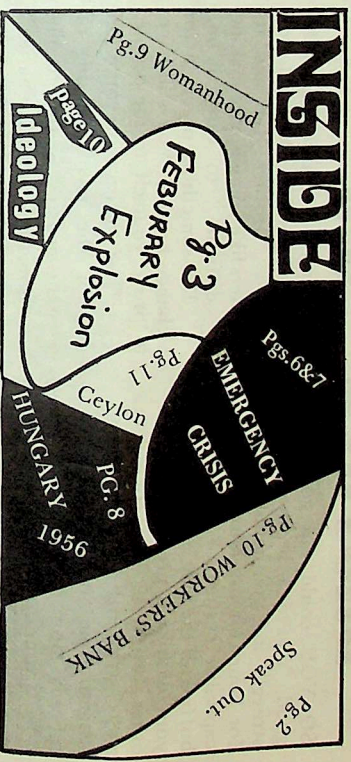
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# BEGINNING

# WHERE ARE THE

# PEOPLES?



WHEN King Creole came to power in 1956, riding the waves of the people's movement which was given birth to by the dedicated work of revolutionaries operating through pressure groups and study groups and the rising consciousness of the whole people, through the 30s and the 40s, he proclaimed that Massa day done, and many thought that a new order was about to be born.

When King Calypso was



1960..... The people decided and moved

crowned in 1956, singing to the skies that "the Yankees gone and Sparrow take over now", many thought that a new order was dawning.

There was little difference between King Creole's 1956 Manifesto and King Calypso's Jean and Dinah except maybe the latter was honest in boldly stating that he had come to control lock, stock and barrel.

Both played on and exploited the national consciousness of the entire people. Without this national consciousness neither could have survived.

Both drew overwhelming support.

And the support grew when in 1959, a political programme came out of King Creole's Party. The programme involved the return of Chaguanamas to Trinidad, immediate Independence, and a vibrant Federation.

Of all the leaders of the West Indies, King Creole was in the forefront in such radical demands.

The people thought that at last the time had come when their centuries-old aspirations would be fulfilled.

There came immense popularity for King Creole throughout the entire West Indies. It was this programme that placed him as the vanguard leaders.

We never dreamed then that we, the masses of people, would be the ones to be begging please, please.

And in 1960, we marched in the rain, 20,000 of us. . . we marched on Chaguanamas thus setting once again into motion the wheel of progress towards total liberation, and the final abolition of slavery.

As we marched we sang, in the style of King Calypso: Listen, Uncle Sam We want back we land! Take you rotten grapefruit and go.

And we were serious, not only about Chaguanamas, but about the whole programme of the Party. . . the programme touched us, it was part of us, and so serious about it were we that we were prepared to face the United States, the most powerful nation of the world.

We were ready to die for that programme. There was national unity of the highest stage, so much so that with little genuine effort a true national community could have evolved. But it was all in vain.

The big march served the purpose of King Creole alone. From 1956 to 1960 there had been no real attempt by the ruling party to deal seriously with burning issues which involved the

basic needs of the people; land and agriculture, sugar, unemployment, meaningful education, fishery, cultural reconstruction, ownership of resources, housing, social services etc.

King Creole started, but that was not enough. The people wanted to deal with these problems, collectively they wished to be involved in discussions, in making decisions, and in formulating policies that concerned their very lives.

But to King Creole 'Power to the People', people's politics people's involvement, and democracy meant only people taking part in rallies, or demonstrations organised by the Party, people being attentive pupils when lectured to at Woodford Square.

He did not wish to see beyond this. So the march to Chaguanamas was to give us some 'people's politics and involvement' and most of all to spend the energies of the mass movement before the energies were turned spontaneously towards a creative direction.

And as the months passed and we reminisced about the big march, King Creole began to play a significant role in destroying the attempted Federation, and the programme that brought us all together began to fall apart.

And our minds were diverted off the issues of Chaguanamas, which remained in the hands of the Yankees, by promises of American "aid", the return of a small de-activated area, the use of a beach — Tembladora and most of all by the

glib talk of Independence, political control, national pride, national dignity.

And we forgot the programme in its entirety, overlooking the fact that no one aspect of the programme could ever be truly successful isolated from the other aspects.

There can never be any real total political and economic Independence of Trinidad and Tobago without ownership of all lands and a unifying of the Caribbean.

It was intellectual dishonesty on the part of King Creole to push a political line contrary to this.

The destruction of the programme gave way to more foreign domination and exploitation.

It was a betrayal of the people, an unforgivable crime. . . weakly and humourosly supported by irrational mathematics (1 from 10 leaves 0) such an act is typical of a coward, gutless, petty dictator hiding behind a mass of arrogance.

From the moment he broke up the programme, he began to die.

King Calypso could not help but follow. Art does not allow dishonesty. He did not sing one word about the great betrayal of the people.

That was dishonesty conscious or unconscious. So he began to die too.

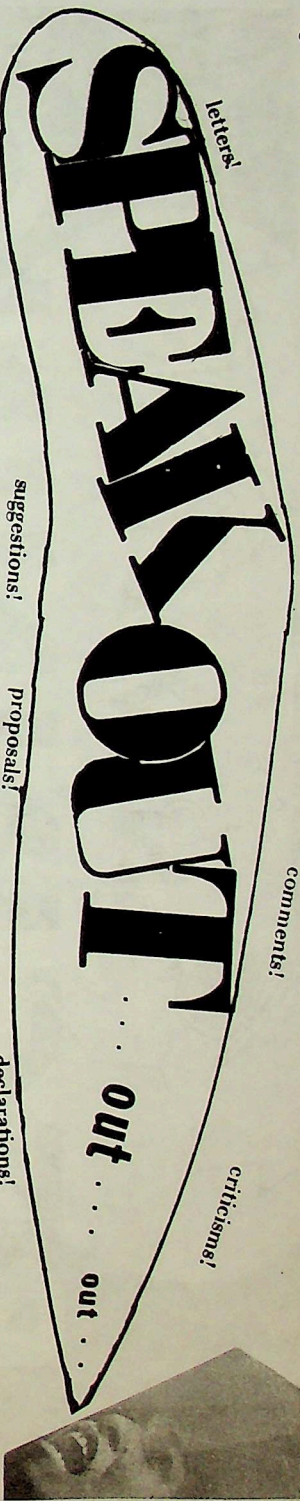
When Independence itself came, the glow quickly died, for all that glitters is not gold, and all the cheap trickery was exposed and all come tumbling down King Creole was revealed

Cont'd Pg. 9



1971.....Where are they now?





opinions!

suggestions!

proposals!

declarations!

comments!

criticisms!

# BROTHER RAP

## Message to the Fuzz

SO YOU could rap good, real good. You're a brother in the struggle and you could expound for hours on the horrors of the capitalist system. Your Afro is buffing all the way out there, and your dashiki is prettier than the other brothers. Your bracelets and pendants become an inseparable part of your dress and nobody more militant than you.

Brother, you rap about new moral values and standards, but you never make an attempt to put these new values into practice. It just never occurs to you that you are not practising what you preach. Self-criticism is not for you since you think you are the complete revolutionary. But this attitude clearly betrays the fact that you're the most reactionary of the reactionaries.

You like to rap, brother Rap, but hard work ain't your bag. You exploit more than the capitalists for you are living off a people's struggle.

The sisters are an easy prey for your revolutionary rhetoric and you exploit them. Yet nobody can rap better than you about the need to treat the sisters like human beings with minds of their own.

You implore the brothers to change their relationship with the sisters. But that new relationship does not include you, Brother Rap.

You rap and wait till the "revolution comes" to change.

# DRUGS!

THE influx of decadent values from the North American continent through their music and films, such as Woodstock has apparently destroyed the fervour for revolution which was once so much alive in the youth of our society.

Having been offered token reforms after our active part in the 1970 rebellion, and having been the victims of increased official police repression, we are now initiating our American counterparts and following them into the depths of escapism.

To combat unemployment, social negligence and political mismanagement, we have turned from the mainstream of the society and are moving off on a tangent, tracing a path that offers only periodic

But don't you realise the revolution isn't coming. The revolution is here Brother Rap and its brothers like you who are making it difficult to carry it on. Do something practical for a change, brother. You still have to prove yourself to the people.

"The decisive precondition for the revolutionizing of the masses is the revolutionizing of revolutionaries."

### REVOLUTIONARY OR REACTIONARY

Why is it that a person who proclaims he is a revolutionary is one who is a cop hater, and has isolated himself from the society? I ask, is this being revolutionary or reactionary?

If these brothers minds were educated, as they say, they will not be police-haters to such an extent. They would have realised that the police is a potential black man, and time and patience will bring him home.

The police must be made to realise that they are being used by the Capitalists to protect their interests, not for their good.

Furthermore, they are more of a victim than the brothers on the block.

Your isolation from the rest of the community brothers, is another very unrevolutionary move.

moments of relief.

We are onto DRUGS. The price of this cop-out is high, for in our state of mental paralysis we are unable to understand our roles in the society.

In this state, our minds become a vacuum for unrealistic dreams and hopes. All the positive aspects of our social conditioning are destroyed and there remains a mass of protoplasm that is devoid of any functional fabric on which a NEW man can be built.

To satisfy our needs a rigorous system of exploitation has evolved. A pyramid-type structure is used for distribution with those at the bottom "cutting-up" each other to get a larger piece of the action.

The growers and suppliers at the top,

POLICEMEN, we are all victims of the same system. We grew up in the same poverty-stricken slums.

You, like us, wanted out. You left the slums for the police force. To get out, to get money you are asked to crack your brother's skull.

This you do willingly for you hate poverty. You are still very much like us, we have the same enemies - frustration, exploitation, and degradation.

We only differ in the methods which we use to fight (the enemy) these enemies. We choose to confront the establishment and die, if need be, for our freedom.

You choose to hide behind a badge and pretend that everything is all right. When your brothers tell you that this is not so, you crack their skulls.

And for a few measley pennies. We do not hate you, we love you. We are your people, and you ours. We want you on our side, where you belong.

The pressure we put on the establishment is going to increase, and when they start to feel the impact of this pressure, they are going to put the squeeze on you.

You must remember that the base of the revolution is the Community - community organisations.

You must realise to call yourself a revolutionary is to attempt to begin at the end.

after picking up their vast untaxed profits occupy the most expensive seats in the audience, and watch our mindless bodies drifting along the streets, suffering increasing states of depression and frustration.

We are pushing our minds and physically destroy our bodies! There is no ideology which we the worshippers of drugs adhere to. We misunderstand the use of drugs in societies where drugs have formed part of those societies religious rituals.

We are apparently completely ignorant of the harm that abuse of these drugs would create. This practice of drug-tase follows an irrational pattern and once the "grass" and the "X" are available, they are used continually without any rags for contemplation

or the necessities of survival. If the user is employed which is very unlikely, a days work seems a nuisance. One wonders how the leaders in this society could allow the increase in this practice to continue unchecked. They know who the top men in the "grass" business are. They know where all the supplies of "X" come from. Ever so often we hear of some brother on the block being busted for having a few joints, while the key men, the main suppliers are left untouched, so that supplies will always be available.

I believe that they do not want to tackle the drug problem seriously, because as long as we remain "tight", we are not a threat so they can continue neglecting us.

Then gone will be the days of your friendship with the establishment. They will be your enemy as we are theirs. Don't wait 'till its too late brothers and sisters, we would hate to fight our own people...

### WHY NO BOOKS?

WHY is it that can possibly explain the banning of literature in this Country.

Is it because they stupidly feel that a revolution would occur simply because the people read books? Most of these books come from the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and Co., yet the rulers of those white countries do not see it fit to ban the same books.

Why? Is it because the metropolitan rulers and ours look at us through the same spectacles.

Thomas Carlyle, Throllope Charles Dickens, David Hume, Rudyard Kipling and Company, thought of black people as beasts of burden who would and could never absorb anything intellectually.

One wonders how different is the contempt, scorn and disrespect which the power drunks of this country hold in store for us to that of their white counterparts.

They fear that if our minds are together we could emerge as a conscious, organised group, ready to take our stand alongside the other progressive sectors of the society, and participate in the eventual removal of this tyrannical system.

We, the youth must not allow ourselves to be further destroyed in this society. We must realise that the drug scene is another attempt to keep us in the grips of this evil, inhumane system. Come off the "heights" and remember that we have a great contribution to make to the inevitable removal of this system and the creation of the NEW SOCIETY.

A Brother,  
Upper Oxford Street  
Fill out  
subscription form  
- Pg. 6

# THE EXPLOSION FEBRUARY

**Wally Look - Lai Speaks**  
on "1970" at National Conference on the Rights of Black People  
in London, Britain, May 22

**BEGINNING** as a purely anti-Canadian demonstration, the whole thing rapidly escalated into being a mass protest against all the injustices within Trinidad society itself. The youths invaded the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception — the spiritual stronghold of the respectable middle class — and openly discussed forbidden topics like the relevance of religion to social change, and the questionable role of the Established Church in West Indian society.

### YOUTH TAKE THE LEAD

The demonstration horrified Trinidad's middle class, and was condemned by government spokesmen, the Church and the mass media in the most scathing terms. That night Williams made his first move. All the youth leaders were arrested and charged under an ancient and obsolete 19th century statute which inflicted prison terms on anyone creating a disturbance within a mile from a place of holy worship.

It was clear to the entire population, especially the unemployed youth, whose numbers run into tens of thousands in Trinidad today, that these arrests were purely political, and that what was happening was that Williams had fired the first shot in a planned attempt to get rid of all the dissident elements in the society.

The youth rose to the challenge, and organised a massive demonstration of solidarity with their leaders which stunned the entire society. 20,000 youths from all over the country turned out to register their support for the arrested leaders.

On March 2nd, the morning of the hearing, they gathered again before the courts, and, inevitably, came into conflict with the police. There was a spontaneous eruption of violence, and windows of business places in the area were smashed by angry crowds.

From that night onwards, the whole country was thrown into the middle of a political crisis which had literally erupted overnight. Almost every day, thousands upon thousands of young people marched up and down the country, clamouring against the inequalities of the economic and political order.

During the night, buildings belonging to all those considered enemies of the people were burned. These included foreign banks and business places, party offices, police stations, and social clubs known for their practise of racial discrimination against the Black masses. The square next to the Parliament buildings — Woodford Square — was taken over by the demonstrators and renamed the People's Parliament, and it served as a base and meeting place for huge numbers of people.

The demonstrations grew larger and larger by the day, and after 8 weeks, it became clear to the ruling powers that this was no overnight flash of anger from a headstrong population, but a profound movement of popular protest against the whole system. What is more, it began to attract the attention of all the other dissident elements in the society — the organised working class, the Indian peasantry and rural worker, and large sections of the Black middle class.

On April 21, the government declared a State of Emergency in an attempt to bring an end to the state of political unrest in the country, and to prevent the workers in sugar, and transport from entering the scene.

What followed after that is fairly well-known: the masses erupted into a frenzy of violence unparalleled in the history of the West Indies, and this was followed by a mutiny in the Army, a situation which, as we have said, could have been predicted as long ago as 1969. The Army mutiny as we know, was subsequently quelled when the leaders of the revolt, Rex LaSalle and Raffique Shah, were arrested through the treachery and betrayal of the Commanding Officer of the Army, Colonel Joffe Serrette, whom the mutineers themselves had recalled into the Army during the crisis to take charge of affairs.

Deprived of their leaders, the rank

and file soldiers reluctantly allowed themselves to be brought back under the control of the Establishment, and this is where the situation stands up to today.

### FORCE AS SOLUTION

The political situation in Trinidad and Tobago today is even more tense than it was last year during the uprising of the people. None of the problems which gave rise to this popular upheaval has been solved in the past year, which is not surprising. The Williams government is today completely paralysed, and can maintain itself only by the threat of sheer force. The sole concern of the Trinidad government today is not with curing the society's ills, but with maintaining power at all costs. Williams knows it is too late to pacify the people. His only alternative is to

shores of Trinidad.

### ELECTION VERDICT?

His third tactic is to call a general election in the country, which he can rig because the whole thing is conducted with automatic voting machines. The purpose of this is to lend some air of credibility to his tottering regime, before the eyes of the Western world, on whom he is dependent in the final analysis for his political survival.

Election day is two days from today, on Monday 24th May. It is an election which he will have to run on his own since all the major opposition parties in the country have pulled out of the election. Only yesterday a demonstration of workers, students and unemployed was held through the streets of Port-of-Spain calling on the people to boycott

## Society on fire!



"The youths invade the spiritual stronghold of the respectable middle class."

try and brutalise them into silence. This is what he has been preparing to do for the past year.

### WILLIAMS' TACTICS

The Court Martial has sentenced Shah to 15 years, and LaSalle to 12. The anger of the masses has once more begun to express itself. The unemployed, the most violent section of the population are openly threatening to burn the whole place down; the labour movement has begun to flex its muscles once more; the ISA has completely broken down, and today strikes and industrial unrest are a normal part of the labour scene.

Even high school students have begun to take part in agitating and demonstrating against all the society's accumulated ills. The loyalty of the Army is still in question, and even sections of the hitherto conservative police force are beginning to show signs of wanting to defect to the movement.

In the face of this kind of threat, Williams has been resorting to 3 political devices: firstly, he has been trying to divide the mass movement, in particular the Africans and the Indians. He has been allying himself with some of the most reactionary leaders of the Indian community to scare the Indians off from the mass movement.

Secondly, he has been preparing for a military confrontation with the masses. Since he is not sure about the loyalty of all the armed forces of the State, he has begun to create a secret paramilitary force, expanding it as fast as possible.

He has also been doing secret deals with the Venezuelans, the Americans and the British for armed intervention in case his own forces are unable to contain the movement. He has been playing upon the ignorance of the Venezuelan government about the character of the mass movement, deluding them into believing that the mass movement in Trinidad represents a potential danger to the internal security of Venezuela, and so far he has been fairly successful in tricking them into doing what he wants them to do. Last year the Venezuelans were the first to arrive off the

the election.

Within the next two days, he shall know what sentence the people have passed on him: if they fail to turn out to vote it will mean the end for him politically. After that, only naked force will keep his government in power. With the armed forces of the country divided, and the possibility of permanent foreign troops on Trinidad soil a remote one, it is hard to see how he can survive the coming onslaught of the popular forces.

### OUR TASK IS TO FINISH

That, then is the situation in Trinidad today. The Revolution, far from being over, has only just begun. In the coming months we are going to see a final resolution of this conflict once and for all. The people of Trinidad, like the people of the entire Caribbean, are determined to bring a final end to 5 centuries of misery, degradation and spirited emptiness in this generation. For too long have we had to suffer the fate of being the passive objects of other people's historical adventures; for too long have we been content to remain the marionette children of history, lost in a maze of definitions which were not of our own making but the making of the enemy.

The day is soon approaching when we shall bring an end to all this. For the old order is dead; and the new order is struggling to be born. It is the historic responsibility of this generation to finish the task which other people began many centuries ago, and to bring the new society into being in our lifetime.

**NEXT ISSUE  
-WHAT WE  
WANT  
-A MINIMAL Prog.**

FOR THE ASSOCIATE STATES NOW,  
INDEPENDENCE  
CARIBBEAN UNIT AFTER

### ANTIGUA

THE Antigua government has accused BWIA of "unethical behaviour, duplicity and negotiating in bad faith.

The Antigua government has been authorised to negotiate on behalf of the Associated States of the Eastern Caribbean for the accumulating of 75% of the shares in LIAT, an airline that is staffed mainly by Eastern Caribbean people, and operated solely around the Leeward Islands. In the midst of negotiation it has been discovered that BWIA may sell out lock, stock and barrel to an English Company.

This is not only due to "unethical behaviour". It is more than that. It is a lack of concern for the welfare of each other. It is arrogance of the highest not to take the countries most directly involved in LIAT into consideration when negotiating anything that must affect them.

The slave masters sold us mercilessly without our consent for we were beasts. The attitude is no different if LIAT is sold without first negotiating with the Eastern Caribbean.

It is time for us to stop viewing ourselves in the eyes of our slave masters. And it is frightening when one remembers that BWIA is owned by the PNM of Trinidad and Tobago.

This is 1971, let the workers and people of the Eastern Caribbean control LIAT. To Hell with Court Line or whatever is the name of the English Company.

### GRENADE

GAIRY has denied reports that he rules by Gestapo methods. He claims that this is news to him for people of Grenada are very free and live by true democracy. Then he immediately contradicted himself by saying:

"I am no slacker, I am not tolerating any form of subversion." In true democracy nothing can be termed 'subversive', and no one can be intolerant.

If there is no Gestapo rule, why did the Chief Justice pack up and leave Grenada in disgust?

If there is democracy and free speech, why were the nurses arrested earlier this year when they voiced their opinions?

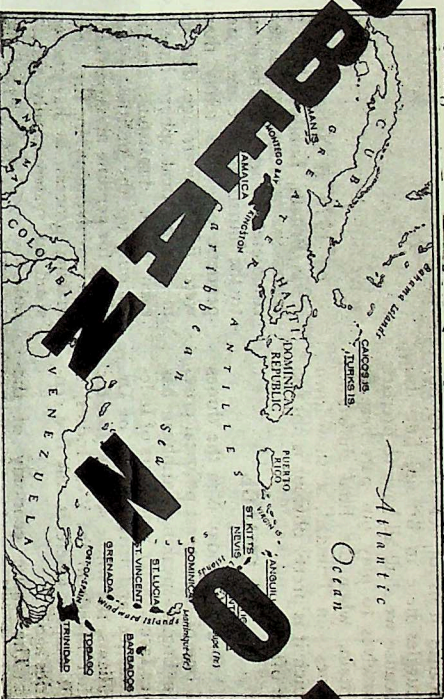
Why were certain professionals, i.e. lawyers and doctors and civil servants locked up earlier this year?

Why is the ruling regime taking over all the lands, and not

### CUBA

THE Cuban people are showing once again that true development can only come from hard work, self-reliance and total involvement of each and everyone in the building of their country.

Their golden rule is that all must work side by side for the benefit of all.



Seeing that this golden rule is the basis of their values we all can then understand their new scheme for alleviating the housing problem.

The Cuban people have decided to build their own houses, because they are the government, and they all must take the responsibility for the project.

All factories, industrial plants, and other working centres are setting up their own building forces.

The houses built would belong to the working centres

giving any to the poor people but allowing it to waste?

And why are all the old criminals with unpteen charges still pending being secretly made police and given special privileges when the constitution states that the names of all would-be police must be printed in the public newspapers before they are sworn in?

History will wipe such as Gairy off the face of the earth, without a trace.

### Trinidad and Tobago

IN May 1970, a report came over the CBS news in Canada stating that the Coast Guard of Trinidad and Tobago was training with NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation), forces in Culebra, Puerto Rico.

NATO is an organisation pledged to maintain the supremacy of our big northern neighbours.

It is the organisation that supplies the Portuguese with planes and tanks to massacre our people in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, it supplies South Africa with arms and technology to keep our people there in slavery, it supplies West Pakistan in its extermination of our people in East Pakistan.

It supplies Israel in its genocidal war against the Arabs... and we can go on and on.

What was our Coast Guard learning from such an organisation?

We want to know. The

and be allocated to the most needy workers.

Teachers, pupils, workers, administrative employees have all pitched in... most of them initially without any experience, but they learn from those who have the know-how.

Now they are erecting flats at an average of 6 or 7 days per

flat.

As regards the transport problem, the people have decided to set up "People's Councils of Support to Transport".

Their task would be to assist the ones directly involved in transport to overcome the problems.

Such day to day programmes will not only produce the New Man, but the most complete man, humanity is yet to see. May the Cuban people survive despite the hostilities of the so-called developed nations.

people must know. Is our Coast Guard still functioning at Culebra? The people must know NOW!

### GYANA

ORGANISED crime motivated by greed for political power has become a daily nightmare of the Guyanese people.

When a person has power he is forced to consolidate this power, and as a result he is driven to constantly seek more and more power by destroying those who he thinks are a threat.

Burnham is no different, and presently he is attempting to liquidate all that speak out against him.

Recently when the Demba bauxite workers went on strike, despite the fact that the government is now supposed to be partners of the industry, a number of the workers were beaten up, by paid thugs.

In addition a number of the university professors have been intimidated in one way or the other, for example the house of one professor was almost totally damaged by unknown assailants.

Last week another professor, Dr. Josua Ramsammy was shot in the lung while sitting in his car downtown.

People got the number of the "get away" car, but when the licensing office was approached for information, Burnham's police closed the office.

Presently he is still in a critical position. And these are

CARIBBEAN UNITY  
IS A NECESSITY.  
BUT UNITY AT THE ROOTS  
THROUGH STRUGGLE FOR  
LIBERATION.

just a few of the incidents that have occurred within recent times.

Let Burnham understand that this type of organised crime against the people only serves to harden convictions, and make the people more resolute in their fight for change.

The whole world is now quite aware of the contradictions between his foreign policy and his home policies.

For instance, Burnham gave \$10,000 to support the African guerrillas fighting oppression, he sent money as well as dashikis to a group in Antigua, likewise to a student group at Cave Hill, Barbados, and also to a group in St. Vincent, but this latter group refused his offerings, and in addition he allows Black American and African revolutionaries to hold mini-conferences in Guyana except when they are invited by Guyanese other than himself.

And in the midst of all this, he brutally attacks Guyanese individuals and groups like the Movement Against Oppression, who share similar ideological positions as the very external people he supports.

Despite Burnham's cleverness, his double-faced attitudes have come to light.

And his foreign policy is geared to gain popularity amongst the progressive forces throughout the Caribbean region and the world, so as to counter-balance his growing unpopularity at home.

And he believes that if he becomes very popular internally there will be very little outside help forthcoming for the progressive groups in Guyana. Burnham is fooling himself.

THREE economists, Dr. Norman Girvan, Dr. Alistair McIntyre, and Dr. George Beckford have sent a cable to the Burnham Government stating that due to the violent acts against their colleagues at the University of Guyana they will no longer be able to be of any service to the Guyanese government.

This cable was sent from Jamaica after news of the Ramsammy incident was circulated.

The mere fact that these three economists are Jamaicans is a sign of the kind of consciousness that is developing on a Caribbean level.

It is such deep concern for each other that tells us that the Caribbean Nation is about to be born.

# Judge not best judged! ye

CAPITALISM created slavery and indenturedship and together they created the dehumanised men who now sit in "death row" of Her Majesty's Prisons" waiting to be put to death by order of her 1971 House Slaves. Murder in Trinidad is a by-product of the Inhumanity which the Rich dole out to the poor. With very few exceptions we do not see members of the upper and middle classes ending their days dangling from the end of the hangman's rope.

The men from the upper and middle classes are in a commanding position and therefore are able to arrest the respect from this society. He feels self-assured that he is above a lot of things and does not see it necessary to prove his manhood. Some of the reasons may be as follows:

First of all he does not have to face the humiliation experienced by poor people from the nurse, the doctor, and the ward's man when he requires medical attention — the inadequate health office services is something he only hears about for he is normally treated by the specialist in the quiet of a nursing home which he can easily afford, with the funds which he gets by shamelessly exploiting poor people.

He does not have to encounter the embarrassment caused by the "No Vacancy" sign on the Personnel Office door, or the hostility and contempt which the Personnel Officer holds in store for one in the event of one ignoring the above notice. When he steals, it is not because he is hungry, but because he is greedy. He is never subjected to sadistic police cruelty like the squeezing of his genitals and the primitive and barbaric beatings which takes place in "Her Majesty's Police Station".

Nor does he ever have the nightmare of being sent to "Her Majesty's Prisons" he meet human degradation operating in high gear — e.g. — where psychological delapidated men use their fellow men as sex partners — not because they want to be homosexuals but because they have become monsters designed by prison life. This is a fact in 1971 and nobody is aware of this as much as the under-privileged man.

Homicide in this country is undoubtedly a peculiarity of the poor and ignorant. Unquestionably, this is far from being accidental. It can be assumed, however, that the under-privileged persons get the least jobs, health facilities, education and good housing etc., and it can be safely assumed that he is the receiver of most insults, hunger, cruelty at the hands of "Her Majesty's Police and Prison Services" and victims of death from curable illnesses.

What happens to a child that grows up seeing his mother passing through the backdoor of some middle class person's "house" to act as a servant and hearing the smallest child in the "house" call

ing his mother by her first name, and the mother in turn is forced to call this little brat Mr. Michael or Miss Janice, or seeing his mother eating whatever scraps those gluttonous pigs may have given her, and later he ends up working or just limping when he should be at school.

He does not have the education, nor the "family breeding" to go into the bank and the places which the upper and middle classes say "are respectable".

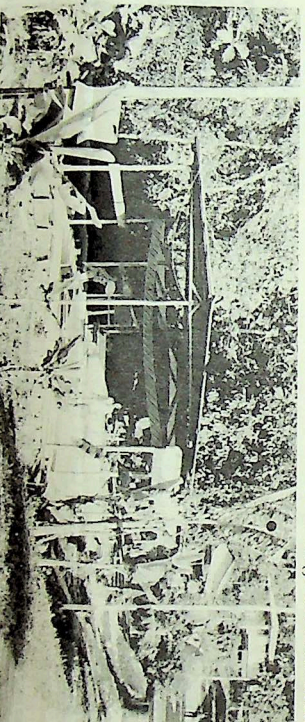
He therefore, is made to think of himself as not respectable and he sometimes throws caution to the wind. He beats his wife or his girlfriend so that his contemporary will look up to him as a hero. He would, at the drop of a hat — wound another man in order to prove his manhood — "fame" it is called.

## BIRTH OF A COMMUNITY

### COALMINE

All through those years 1956 to 1971 saw Coalmine struggling to gain success. They fought hard, tried desperately to build a centre, but there was no possible site.

A few months ago the council decided on a site, centrally located, and vowed to make the necessary negotiations to obtain such. Investigations showed the land situated at the Coalmine Junction belonged to Mr. Wattoon.



people build Community Centre

After holding talks with him he said that his two lots were already given to the church, but since they had other plans he would be willing to donate it to the Village Council.

The Village Council, seeing that he was poor, as do all the villagers, offered to pay him for it on an instalment basis. He refused because he was one of the heartset villagers bent on progress.

From then the Village Council started seriously. They were, in a manner, put out of the Governor Presbyterian School, and was forced to keep meetings at the home of the P.R.O. of the Council, Mr. Raman Harripaul.

The moment the land was given two villagers, Mr. A. Mohammed and B. Benjamin utilised the site. One female villager, a trustee, Mrs. C. Baptist

It is not unusual to hear someone say "I don ketching meb soandso I ch kyar ah blankety-blank nuh." "If you only say hape, I lick off you soandso head!"

In point of fact what the individual is saying is that life to him is such a misery, that he is indifferent to society, and does not place much value on life, be it his or anyone's.

Nevertheless, the "wise people" in our society will have us believe that hanging will prevent this man from killing someone.

They are 1,000,000 times wrong, and they know it. The question is why are they so opposed to the abolition of capital punishment, it is because they realise that the only way they could continue to exist is by total dictatorship, which will require

look "day to make night" to do her part.

Permission was obtained from Ministry of Agriculture, Forest Department to cut some teak poles. Immediately several youths sacrificed the Sunday and went up to the Government forest some thirty or more miles away to perform their tasks.

From morning to evening the villagers take their turn to do what they can. Manual work was done in the leveling of the site. Those skilled in carpentry aided in the framing of the structure. The Village Council then,

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the death penalty as an instrument for keeping people quiet, as practised in Haiti, South Africa, Rhodesia, Russia, Spain, and some Latin American states?

They argue that the abolitionists are a minority — so what? Christ did not belong to a majority, nor was the abolitionists who argued against slavery. Scientists in the early days were put to death for daring to interfere with the old order of things, but how many of us would like the task today of defending the Romans against Christ, or the Sugar Plantation owners against the slaves?

Some day those who are responsible for creating people of unsound mind and then shamelessly and pitilessly strangling them, will have to square their debt with history.

routines embarked on a new method of working for the completion of the centre. Mr. George Hernandez said that he will have his record player available and they will work during the nights.

After two months, the centre is almost completed and the villagers are happy. They have sacrificed, not in vain for the public can now see Coalmine at work, and as one. They have, United, organised and their love for each other is ripening all because of a Community Centre.

At present the Centre is housing a Nursery School run by the Council. The tutor is Miss Valerie Morales, a young girl who has proved to be liked by adults as well as children and one of the more public minded villagers. Others have plans of their own. One character wants to open an Adult Education Class, and a Common Entrance class. At present too, young students nearby usually go to the centre to do their homework and have some fun and games.

Both the youth group and the Women's Group have big plans for the centre which they would like to withhold for the meantime.

They intend to allow the centre for the use of the Welfare Department to pay Pension etc., seeing that the pensioners have to sit or stand around in peoples' homes because the Cooca-house where they pay at present is too small. They plan also to have it used as a church.

They have said that it isn't any one man business. They have teamed up and worked together and have been successful.

POWER TO COALMINE.

**Very Important**  
that  
**you read the**  
**Next Issue**

# EMERGENCY

## WHAT WE WANT NOW:

- 1) THE Unconditional Removal of the State of Emergency.
- 2) THE Immediate Release of all Political Prisoners.
- 3) Lifting of THE BAN on Demonstrations of the People in Port-of-Spain and SAN FERNANDO.
- 4) Dropping of ALL POLITICAL CHARGES.
- 5) LIFTING OF THE BAN on Books, magazines, and all other literature.
- 6) Freedom of assembly and Expression without Police harassment and victimization.
- 7) Repeal of the ISA. Back To Collective Bargaining. THE Institution of a Labour CODE decided upon by assemblies of all working People at their place of work, after national Debate.
- 8) Establishment of a Labour Tribunal consisting of 60% of elected workers' representatives, 30% Employers' representatives, and 10% Peoples' Govt representatives.
- 9) Overtime by workers' choice and not compulsory. Employers' victimization of workers for not working overtime punishable by decision of the Labour TRIBUNAL.
- 10) A compulsory minimum wage for workers.
- 11) Taking over of all estates and idle lands and the distributing of these lands to Farmers and agricultural workers.
- 12) ALL social services and Community improvement projects to be controlled by the people in their villages and communities through elected Community assembly councils.
- 13) ALL reserves of the Country must be brought back into the country. THE CENTRAL BANK must have complete control of our Reserves, foreign exchange and loans.

### NEW BEGINNING

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## CLASS STRUGGLE FOR POWER

ONLY eleven months after the end of the 1970 State of Emergency, the ruling class through its political gang has found it necessary to impose another State of Emergency on the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

This is the fifth State of Emergency that the political gang of the ruling class has imposed on the people in the fifteen years of its reign.

It is now clear that we are living under a class dictatorship - the dictatorship of the local and foreign bourgeoisie; the local and foreign exploiters of the people.

The conflict of the classes is becoming more and more acute.

There can no longer be a peaceful co-existence between the classes. The classes are now at war and the local and foreign bourgeoisie has fired the first shot in this class war.

But whereas the oppressive economic forces and their political gang are ready and prepared, the revolutionary class are not prepared.

Our immediate task is to build the revolutionary organization of the people necessary for the making of the revolution.

### THE TWO OPPOSING CLASSES

The events surrounding the declaration of the present State of Emergency demonstrates clearly who form the oppressive bourgeois class and who are the revolutionary classes.

The violence that exploded at Badger's offices in San Fernando was the result of a class conflict between the workers and the foreign bourgeoisie.

Badger, the American Construction Co., which was in charge of constructing Texaco's desulphurization plant is interested only in making huge profits by exploiting local labour.

Texaco has the same interest. The result is that the workers suffer the brutality, oppression, exploitation and inhumanity of the capitalist system.

The question is not race. It is not Black vs White. It is class vs class: oppressive, exploiting bourgeois class vs exploited, dehumanised working-class. That is the conflict.

The oppressive bourgeois class consists of the foreign capitalists; the local class of exploiters in commerce, trade and finance; the local gang in the Trade Union Congress and the political gang in the seats of Power. With them are the top officers of the Police, Army and Coast Guard.

On the opposing side are the working-class, the farmers, the unemployed youths, a section of the professional and educated groups, and the students. They form the revolutionary or potentially revolutionary class and the vast majority of the people.

These two opposing social classes are more and more coming face to face with each other in a bitter struggle for power in the society. The outcome of the escalating struggle will depend on the consciousness of the working class and what it does in the days and weeks ahead.

### STRUGGLE FOR STATE POWER

The fundamental struggle that is fast developing is a struggle for State power. Who pass what laws? Who tells who what to do? Who has the power to decide what to do and how? The answers to these questions depend on who has State-power.

Today the oppressive bourgeois class has State power in its hands. It has on its side the top hierarchy of the Police, Army and Coast Guard.

The declaration of the present State of Emergency is living proof of their Power. For it is clear who suffers as a result of the State of Emergency.

Not the foreign capitalists. Not the local exploiters. Not Crichtow, Tull and the TUC gang. They don't need to demonstrate, hold public meetings or go on strike to fight for their interests.

The people who suffer most are the workers. Therefore, it is clear that power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, the small minority.

## ALL OR NOTHING.

# CRISIS

WHO IS THE 'AVERAGE LAW-ABIDING CITIZEN'?

IF HE EXISTS, HE MUST BE A MEMBER OF THE WORKING CLASS OR THE UNEMPLOYED, THE VERY THREE CLASSES WHICH THE REGIME HAS DECLARED WAR ON, OVER THE PAST FOURTEEN YEARS.

How IRONIC THEN, IS THIS PRESENT STATE OF EMERGENCY THAT HAS BEEN PASSED TO "PROTECT" SUPPOSEDLY THE VERY PEOPLE THE REGIME HAS MADE WAR ON, SINCE IT CAME INTO EXISTENCE IN 1956.

# STRUGGLE FOR POWER

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To deal with the economy, to deal with the oppression of the workers, to deal with banks, to deal with the sufferings of the farmers, to deal with unemployment, to deal with all these things a revolution is a necessity and that means that the revolutionary classes must have State power.

The struggle therefore is not and cannot be a racial struggle; it cannot, must not and is not a struggle of Black vs White.

It must be and is a struggle of the two opposing social classes for State power. Only when the revolutionary social classes have State power can we begin the fundamental changes in the society in the interest of the oppressed majority.

## OUR IMMEDIATE TASK

To take State power, the revolutionary classes must be organised and they must find new revolutionary forms of organisations.

Today, the revolutionary classes are unorganised at the roots. Any attempt by any small group of militants in the society to confront the oppressive bourgeoisie class forces would be stupid and against the interest of the people.

The revolutionary classes themselves must be organised from the roots up. The revolutionary classes must organise now in defence of their class interest.

On this page the Co-ordinating Council publishes "What we Want Now". We are not speaking to the oppressive Government NO. 100 times NO.

We are articulating the feelings and thoughts of the revolutionary classes and propagandising them for all of us to discuss, decide and organise around.

Our immediate task is to organise at Work, organise on the Estates, organise in Schools, organise on the block and around; "What we Want Now", then take positive action to get "What We Want Now!"

## ORGANISE FOR POWER NOW!

## A PEOPLE'S GOVT NOW:

THE declaration of the Present state of Emergency proves beyond doubt that the govt cannot govern. A People's govt must now take state power.

### WE WANT NOW

- 1) The unconditional resignation of the govt.
- 2) The resignation of all officers of the Police, Army and Coast Guard.
- 3) The resignation of all members of the magistracy and judiciary.
- 4) The election of a National Provisional Assembly of the people.

ⓐ All working people (Army and police included) to elect two representatives to the Prov. Assembly.

ⓑ All villages and communities to elect Community Assembly Councils. Each Assembly Council to elect one rep. to the Prov. Assembly.

ⓒ Representatives on Prov. Assembly can be thrown out at any time by their electors.

ⓓ The Provisional Assembly would be the National Govt and would appoint all officers of State. The Assembly must draft a new constitution to present to the people for their decision. PEOPLE OF TRINIDAD and TOBAGO - ORGANISE TO BRING YOUR OWN GOVT INTO BEING.

From Pg. 11

"Ceylon"

rested, and a prolonged curfew imposed.

Mrs. Bandaranaike hoped that the Ceylonese people would have forgotten what happened during December of last year. She was sadly mistaken. Hers is one of the many puppet-governments, that are totally controlled by foreign capitalists.

Her so-called friends are not interested in her or her government. What they want is to get as much as possible out of her country.

This they cannot do if a people's revolution is successful there, so they are doing everything possible to prevent the Ceylonese from being free.

But dominating friends are not what the Ceylonese people want. They want a "free Independent Socialist Republic, and they are prepared to fight and die in the process of obtaining their freedom.

From Pg. 8

"Hungary 1956"

organisation is necessary as an active force around which the people can rally. But once the people begin to act, they will form their own organisations to suit the situation. What they seek to establish is not a central power or a messiah, but mass popular organisations co-ordinated on a national scale.

The essence of the People's Councils was that they were rooted in the 'Meetings' of the workers, peasants and students - which alone had the supreme power to decide on all questions: of social activity - economics, politics, government, law, production, work, trade etc.

**HUNGARY 1956**

# THE EXPERIENCE OF A

The revolution was not led by any vanguard organisation. There was no central committee giving directives to the people. There was no messiah. Hundreds of thousands of people joined in a collective unity, fought pitched battles with Russian troops, tanks and aircraft bombers, and organised themselves by the most highly democratic method the modern world has ever experienced.

As with most revolutions, the Hungarian Revolution began as a protest, a rebellion against the oppressive conditions of life within the communist system. Moscow-

During the height of the revolutionary struggle, the workers, peasants and youth formed their own mass organisations, elected their own councils and ran their affairs with a government of councils. Never before and never since has a whole people so completely overturned, smashed an oppressive social system and created a new social order. All that the Hungarians achieved in ONE WEEK. The secret of their swiftness, successes and creative genius was the organisation of People's Councils they developed to suit the circumstances.

Gyor to work out "a programme of revolutionary social change for our country and people". A government of workers, peasants, students and soldiers councils were formed.

## ROOTS OF COUNCILS

The workers, peasants and students councils were based on the workers meetings in factories and industries, the large peasants meetings on the farms and student meetings in the schools. These meetings decided what should be done and who should do what. The councils were elected by the meetings to

# PEOPLE'S Revolution

style.

## YOUTH IN THE LEAD

It was the students, young intellectuals and writers that gave the spark. In April 1956, they formed the Petöfi circle named after a popular Hungarian revolutionary poet of the 19th century. They held discussion sessions, published pamphlets and papers and organised public meetings.

Thousands were attracted to their meetings at which resolutions were passed and demands were made on the ruling regime of the Communist party. They kept up the agitation and education for a period of six months from April to October by which time they had become extremely popular. Their leaflets and papers were read in the factories, in the schools and universities and even among the peasantry. They criticised the Communist party, the bureaucracy, the conditions of the workers and the oppressive life in Hungary. Their demands were basically three-fold:

- (1) FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
- (2) TRUTH
- (3) WORKERS SELF-MANAGEMENT

On October 23, they organised a demonstration in Budapest, the capital of Hungary "to express deep sympathy and solidarity with our Polish brothers in their struggle for freedom". Months before the revolt of the Polish workers and students was crushed by Russian tanks and the trial of Polish workers was taking place in October. It was this demonstration that transformed the rising mass movement from a merely protest movement into a revolutionary move-

## THE MASSES MOVE

The demonstration began with about 50,000 workers and students at the statue of Petöfi. Many speeches were made and resolutions were passed. But during the course of the demonstration emphasis shifted from solidarity with the Polish workers to Hungarian problems. A list of seven political demands were formulated, the two important being workers self-management in the factories and peasants control of the land and agricultural production.

The demonstration then went to the radio station and had their demands read on radio. By this time their numbers had swollen to about 250,000. On the way, they pulled down the statue of Stalin as a symbol of the destruction of the old order.

## THE OPPRESSORS' VIOLENCE

At the radio station, they found themselves face-to-face with riot troops and security forces. In the ensuing battle of words, the troops open machine-gun fire on the demonstration. The blood of hundreds of Hungarians flowed on the streets of Budapest. This confrontation between armed troops of the Communist government and an unarmed people marked the end of the

first stage and an actual beginning of the revolution. The situation became transformed from rebellion into revolution, literally overnight.

## WORKERS TAKE CONTROL

Before the workers were silent. They joined the demonstration as everybody else. Now all hell broke loose. Workers occupied the factories, took control and began producing arms and ammunition in the arms factories. Other workers produced only what was necessary for the struggle. By October 24, all factories and industries in the major cities were taken by the workers. Truck load of arms left the factories to be distributed to the people. Within hours a revolutionary council of workers and students was elected in Budapest.

The communist government replied by calling in Russian troops and tanks to restore order. Major street battles were fought between Russian tanks and the now armed people. But the people were able to get many of the Russian soldiers on their side. The Hungarian police and soldiers handed over their weapons to the people and joined the revolutionary movement.

Only the security forces and the riot troops remained on the side of the Communist government. It was now open war between the people and the Communist party. **THE QUESTION OF POWER WAS DIRECTLY POSED**

## WORKERS' COUNCILS

By the afternoon of October 24, workers councils were elected in almost all factories, industries and work centres in Budapest. As news spread to other cities, the workers there followed the Budapest workers. Workers took control in the steel mills, in the power stations, in the radio stations, in the coal mines, in transport, everywhere. There was no governmental directives or any central leadership. Workers councils took over the management of factories and ran them.

On October 25, the Workers Councils had begun to link up. In the cities an overall regional council was elected by workers in all the main centres of work. The regional council consisted of delegates elected by all the councils in the region of the city. "Delegates from other regional councils were being sent to Budapest to co-ordinate activities with the Budapest council and to put forward their own proposals.

The peasants formed their own councils on the collective state farms and began to co-ordinate agricultural production with the workers councils of the cities. In some regions councils of workers, peasants, students and soldiers were formed on a joint basis.

On October 29, exactly six days after the historic demonstration, delegates from councils throughout the country met at



carry out the decisions of the meetings and to co-ordinate with other workers, peasants and students.

The councils were not simply a governmental form. They were all-embracing. They were political, governmental, economic, social; all in one. The numbers on the councils varied depending on local situations. And all categories of workers were elected to the councils — white-collar workers, professionals, technicians, writers, housewives etc.

## GOVERNMENT BY COUNCILS

The local and regional councils established themselves as a local government independent of any central power. They armed the people in organised units, dissolved all organisations of the communist party, redistributed the land among the peasants and formed peasants' controlled co-operatives, organised trade and distribution of products, released all political prisoners and created 25 new daily newspapers.

They also fixed a minimum and maximum wage for all workers. The councils were at the same time constituted as courts to try and pass judgement on the bosses. They demanded the immediate withdrawal of all Russian troops from Hungarian soil and the National meeting of Workers Councils decided that Hungary should withdraw from the Narsaw pact. When iron lungs were needed at a hospital in one of the main cities, the regional council cabled West Germany and organised the delivery of the iron lungs.

## THE COUNTER REVOLUTION

The hierarchy of the communist party could not have allowed this world-shaking revolution to succeed. Unable to crush the revolution from within, and the Russians realizing the chain effect of such a revolution, decided to launch a massive counter-revolution. Armed invasion, lies and pacification promises were their tactics. It took 6,000 Russian tanks and 150 MIG fighter planes to crush the Hungarian Revolution. And even then, the struggle continued for twelve months before the people's councils were finally crushed by means of mass arrests, murder and torture.

## LESSONS

The Hungarian Revolution has shown that the elitest vanguard organisation as the agent of revolution is DEAD. Revolutionary

# Womanhood

## be true!

I AM not the least bit interested in politics'.

So said our present Miss Trinidad and Tobago in an interview since her crowning.

It is disappointing that she should represent a struggling Third-World nation as an example of the women we produce.

Also disappointing was the fact that with the exception of one black contestant, our Afro female representatives saw it fit to use European wigs for the show.

Why must these sisters insist on having long European-type tresses falling on their shoulders before they can feel beautiful and confident?

Does this mean that the majority of our black women here in Trinidad and Tobago are no more politically or socially conscious than they were a generation ago?

In any case who gives anyone the right to decide who is more beautiful than who?

By what standards do they judge? One should view this

contemptible and dehumanising exercise of exhibiting like merchandise a dirty insult to womanhood.

Do they not realise that as women they have an important role to play in delvering the future of Trinidad and Tobago? In other words we may be responsible for making or breaking a nation.

It is an accepted fact that the mother of the family does most of the child-rearing.

The black mother therefore holds the fate of the child's way of thinking — his attitudes and values — in her grasp from early childhood.

What type of job are you prepared to do? What type of job have you done? A simple test may be to ask your child to draw a picture of how she would like to look when going to a party — in other words, when she is her prettiest.

What does she do to her hair? Even if her hair is an inch long, by some miracle this hair sweeps past her shoulders — and

the style is European of course. Why? Without even realising it, you have taught your daughters, our future generation of black women, to reject their kinky hair.

They eventually reject themselves as persons and try vainly to get those black characteristics to look as white as possible — they use bleaching creams and European wigs.

There is even an 'art' of make-up so the large nose and full lips are 'toned down'.

After all this brainwashing, no doubt there is a mental block when black consciousness is mentioned...

She does not want to get out of her dream world...she is "not the least bit interested..."

Wake up black women. Be interested in your destiny. Our black brothers need us. It is imperative that we work shoulder to shoulder with them in the struggle.

Our black children also need us. We shape their future lives. The only countries that are progressive are those with a progressive womanhood. All truly developed countries must have had a developed womanhood.

**WAKE UP BLACK WOMEN!**

# NOW WE KNOW!

NOW we know why the draft of the New Constitution has not been published before. The authors of that particular piece

of hypocrisy and deception are the little men who are hopping about like mad all over the British Empire implementing the real official policy, implicit in statements made by the Prime Minister from time to time.

That man of brave speeches has told the world again and again that he does not intend the old order to change; that he does not mean to yield and inch in concessions to anyone, least of all to people in the Colonies. Time and again he has avowed in open parliament that, in so many words, what we are fighting for is that England might retain her exclusive prerogative to the conquest and enslavement of other nations, and she will not brook competition in that particular field from anyone.

For it is not the non-dissolution of the Empire that is aimed at — there are free dominions within the Empire — but it is the non-dissolution of a colonial system which permits the shameless exploitation of those colonies across the seas of an Empire upon which the sun never sets.

That the sun may never set upon aggression and inequality and human degradation; that the sun may never set upon privileges and repression and exploitation... That the sun may never set upon the putting of one man's greed before the blood and sweat of a million.

That the sun may never set upon urchins in rags and old men and old women in rags, prostrate with hunger and sores upon the

sidewalks of cities and upon straw pallets among vermin in poor-houses and prisons and homes.

That the sun may never set upon the grooming of people of alien races who have been brought the blessings of empire; of famine and plague and the sword...

That the sun may never set upon the insulence and arrogance of one race toward all

## ART and the ARTIST

others; and especially to those whose manhood they hold in eternal bondage through their own straw-bosses and quishings and cheap jim-cracks and all the scabs and blacklegs and yes-men and betrayers of their own whom they can buy for a piece of ribbon to wear on their coats or a medal to wear on their coats or some letters to come after their names or for the privilege of calling some big-wig by his first name 'Hello, Bill!' 'Hello Charlie, how's the boy?' or with a sinecure of office with access to travelling expenses or with other such scraps which fall unnoticed from the full table

From Page 1

"Where are the People?"

For what he really is; a stringent supporter of the exploitation of man by man, a supporter of the bourgeois elite mired elements against the masses of people, an agent of metropolitan imperialism that thrives on unemployment and poverty.

He has deliberately refrained from attempting to transform the national consciousness of the people into political and social consciousness by giving a

where the unholy feast is devoured by their lords and masters.

For such things as these Colonials from all parts of Empire are fighting...

For such things as these our young men have added their names to the roll of honoured dead with their mothers and wives and sisters and sweat hearts present at the unveiling

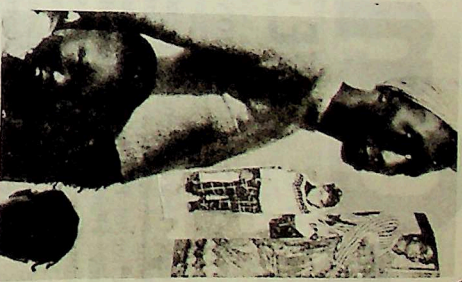
and proud to honour their dead... For such things...

That the sun may never set upon the great British tradition of Democracy which chains men and women and little children with more than physical chains; chains of ignorance and the apathy of the underfed and the subsmissiveness which is a spiritual sickness in the thews and sinews of a man; chains them in dungeons of gold mines and diamond mines and upon sugar plantations and rubber plantations and tea plantations.

For the great idea of Demo-

permanent organisational form to the mass movement thus to ensure 'Power to the people', also he has refrained from changing the relationships between people in the economic, political and cultural fields, and from allowing the people their chance to true education by which their potential and creativity could be developed.

But instead he destroyed the initial programme and transformed national consciousness into chauvinism or petty nationalism (Grenadians go home etc.).



QUOTATION:

It is in this kind of struggle that the woman stands firm in her own strength, throws all the energy she has accumulated during centuries of oppression, her infinite capacity to resist, her courage. It is in this kind of struggle that family relations change and the woman prepares for her role in the society that is being built.

cracy which relegates all "niggers" of whichever race to their proper place in the scheme of political economy:

That we Colonials may ever sing in our schoolrooms those rousing songs like: There'll Always Be An England and Rule Britannia and the rest...

That we might take an equal pride with all Englishmen in the glory of the Greatest Empire upon Earth; that we may rejoice we are privileged to serve it seeing it couldn't exist without us.

That we may take pride if we are no more than the great hunks of red meat upon which the noble Lion feeds that might have the great sinews and the fierce blood and the mighty roar to fight his enemies... That we may rise dutifully to our feet and sing with the rest "God Save the King" before we take our seats in the cinema or after the show...

That we might rejoice in our bonds and join in sneering at the great socialist republics which comprise the greatest state upon earth...

That we might rejoice in our poverty and degradation and sickness and ignorance and scores; for it is accounted more blessed to be poor...

For such things as these we are fighting side by side with others in the good cause; Now we know.

PUBLIC OPINION, Tuesday, July 11, 1944.

By Roger Mairs

He lectured rather than educated. The party now swings programme-less in an ideological vacuum.

And except for very old die-hards the party has no mass support (as shown by the last election). The people have deserted King Creole. No leader can hide the truth, for the people collectively will always find it.

And now they have found it they are demanding that "public business must be the business of the public".

Cont'd on Page 10



# —ON REVOLUTION

## THE OBJECTIVE OF REVOLUTION

### THE NEW SOCIAL RELATIONS

The new system of social relations that must form the objective of POWER and revolutionary change is co-operated, associated, socialised relations.

Nowhere in the modern world does this kind of relations exist. A few underdeveloped countries (Tanzania, Zambia, Cuba) are working towards it, but as yet they have not succeeded in establishing it as a way of life.

But the falsification and vulgarization of co-operative socialised relations have been taken to such an extreme in the modern world, that it contains only relations and no co-operation, association or socialization.

The vulgar propagandists of co-operative socialised relations have been stuck in the mud of state-capitalism and

dictatorship for at least fifty years, and many of them who babble about workers' control of the economy and a people's government see parliament, the party (in effect the leader) and the so-called economic plan as the end.

### HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Co-operative socialised relations must replace the hierarchy of rulers, managers and officials in the organisation of modern society by the free association of people in all aspects of social living to control their own social affairs and lives.

These new relations must destroy the alienation of man from himself, of man from woman, of human labour from the products of human labour, by making man and woman the beginning and end of all social activity.

## IDEOLOGY and ORGANISATION for REVOLUTION

The liberation of woman from her own mental hang-ups, and from the denomination of man, giving full scope to the creative potential of man and woman to seek full development in a humane society, and the

opening of new yet unknown horizons of human endeavour by replacing development through competition for power, privilege and material gain with human advancement through co-operation and association; that must be the objective of revolutionary change.

All practical forms of organisation must be founded on that and must seek to advance

that conception in reality.

### ORGANISE, AND THEN MOVE

Revolutionary change as the establishment of co-operative socialised relations in all aspects of social living cannot be achieved overnight.

That is an impossibility. The decades and centuries of old attitudes, values, habits, customs and behaviour weigh heavily upon the rising popular consciousness.

A whole new popular organisational effort with responsibility, discipline and initiative

## IDEOLOGY and ORGANISATION for REVOLUTION

at the roots is demanded of our epoch to nurture the rising humanness of our people and to translate it into reality.

The task required of us is 1,000 times more gigantic than a highly industrialised society. But we can do it and NOW.

We urgently need to come to grips with ourselves, both individually and collectively, to organise in our communities, on our blocks, in our schools, in our villages, in our factories everywhere, and to chart a new direction.

Then, as a whole organised people, we can MOVE smashing everything that block our way forward.

## WHO and WHAT are THEY:

SOMETIME in the near future, the Workers' Bank will officially be opened for business.

As stated by General Manager, Neville Mitchell, the bank has been set up "to revolutionise the banking system by participation from the grass-roots".

How he proposes to do this has not been made very clear in any of his public statements and thus it is our belief that the reasons for setting up the bank, the basic function it expects to perform and the policies of the bank should be examined further.

### Why was it set up ?

Traditionally, the Commercial Banks, Barclays, Nova Scotia etc., have never been prepared to meet the needs of the small man, whether he be a worker, a peasant or a non-professional.

These banks by their policies have made it obvious that the only people who could get loans from them were the big shots in this place.

Questions like how much land you have, do you own a house, do you have any life insurance etc. made it impossible for the small man without any collateral to get any assistance for any type of personal venture.

As a result, the worker always had to turn to the money-lenders with their ridiculous \$5 for \$6 in a week, sometimes to pull them out of a jam.

### Basic Function

The bank has therefore

been set up to organise the savings of workers and to channel these savings into efficient and productive development projects as a means of self-help.

It is a bank which is organised like any other commercial bank, the only difference being that unlike the other banks, the



accent would be on the welfare of the worker.

In effect therefore, the small man should stand a better chance of getting a loan from the Workers' Bank.

### POLICIES

Neville Mitchell, the bank's General Manager has stated that although "the bank must inevitably modify substantially conventional banking policy and practices, any innovations must not lead to losses".

He is saying therefore, that although the bank will be performing a social function i.e.

easier accessibility to credit for the small man, PROFITS will be most important and the degree to which the banking system will be "revolutionised" (to use his term) will depend entirely upon the profitability of the bank.

### NO REAL CHANGE

Mr. Mitchell as Sparrow say "if you plant cassava, you can't get fig." The Workers' Bank is being organised exactly along the lines of the other commercial banks, with their Board of Directors, General Manager and other staff.

The social relationships between the owners of the bank, the people who use the bank's services and the managing clique, most of necessity give rise to alienation and conflict between these respective groups.

And it should be evident that the banking system would be revolutionized when and only when we are in CONTROL of ALL financial institutions in this country, under the guidance of a powerful Central Bank.

From Page 9  
"Where are the People?"

King Calypso says nothing

He can no longer sing for the masses. Their feelings, aspirations, hurts and humiliation are no longer to be found in his verses for he has no regards for their humanity.

But we have no fear the people in their struggle will formulate their own verses. You are dead. And now it is even too late to just sing a song praising

the revolution of the people—You King Calypso must become part of the revolution.

For the cultural struggle cannot be separated from the political and economic struggle.

In 1970, the people moved against King Creole but he survived. The mass movement did not fail. It was forestalled, and the education that has come from the mistakes made is healthy beyond compare. The people will win, they have the patience and can wait.

On the 1st October, in a bold futile attempt to recover lost ground, the King Creole having worked behind the scenes for some time, announced the handing over of Chaguaramas.

Dying politicians always attempt to relive the high-points of their careers.

Chaguaramas made him and broke him. No attempt to patch up the programme of yesterday by rekindling the main issue would work.

The gap between 1960 and 1971 is too great. When King Creole shouted "Brigadier break the flag" the only ones around to witness the empty ceremony were a handful of soldiers of whose loyalty he is unsure.

We ask you King Creole: "Where are the People?"

**NEXT ISSUE  
—WHO  
ARE  
WE?**



# The International Scene: NEWS and VIEWS

## USA

THE Pan-African Nationalist Movement in the US is well on its way towards achieving the aims and objectives stipulated in the Atlanta Resolutions of September 1970.

In a recent information release, the movement emphasised once again the need for all theories to be transposed into practice, in the sense that new institutions must be developed based on Pan-African philosophy and theories.

The movement is now more adamant than before in its belief that there could be no freedom, or self-determination without the attendant and sometimes brutal work that is absolutely necessary to sustain it. And to work is to build.

For instance, instead of simply talking about communications, the movement has charged its communication work-council with the task of manning and developing a national newspaper ("Nation Time").

And the political liberation work-council has the responsibility for setting up the beginnings of an international African Political Party, starting with the Eastern Region of the United States; New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Ohio.

The strategy is to work towards regional political conventions throughout the above-named states, with the aim of bringing all these conventions together on

## South Africa

THE South Africans claimed recently that guerrillas attacked them and then retreated into Zambia.

They have sent troops into Zambian territory after announcing that they adamantly maintain the right to pursue guerrillas to their place of refuge.

Such a bold encroachment on the sovereignty of the Zambian people should have resulted in screams of protest from the rest of the world, especially from the big nations.

So far no protest has come, and we wonder whether it is coincidental that this attack on the national rights of Zambia has happened only now when Zambia is internally disunited?

And we wonder too if it is also coincidental that the puppet Amin of Uganda is now about to visit South Africa.

It was Uganda, maybe soon it will be Zambia, and then... Tanzania.

For it is clear to us that South Africa is the base in Africa for the anti-human, devilish actions of International Imperialism.

a national level to formalise the national strategy of the black political movement in 1972.

The Education Work council, and the Technology work-council are busy developing meaningful institutions, in their specific fields as well as in the fields of Creativity, Religion, History, Law and Justice, Social-Organisation and Community Organisation.

As things worsened, the masses confronted the government demanding betterment. What really sparked the situation, was Mr. Perera's accusation of the Youth Movement.

He branded them C.I.A. agents. The Young Nationalists then made their position clear publicly.

What shocked the government, was that the meetings of Tamata Vinukhi Peramuna (The People's Liberation Front) kept getting supporters, even in government considered areas. This showed that the people's minds were made up.

During the pre-election period some of the militants of the P.L.F. had been arrested and charged with the ever so popular change of 'plotting to violently disrupt the peaceful processes of democracy'.

The irony of this was known when the United Party won the elections, and a poster campaign had to be organised before the P.L.F. leader Rohan Wijeweera, who was fast becoming very popular, was released from prison. Rohan who was well educated had an organisation that consisted of mainly ex-students and jobless students.

The conducted educational classes among the peasants of the

## France

MEMBERS of the S.N.P.T. The French National Union of Uniformed Police, directly challenged the Minister of the Interior, when they held a special conference in Evian in the second week of September.

At the end of the conference they marched through Thonon for ten miles and published a statement.

They said they demanded Higher wages, more recruits, and better working conditions; they also demanded a personal meeting with the Premier, M. Chaban-Delmas on the 15th, bypassing the correct official channel for complaint, The Minister of the Interior, M. Marcellin.

Marcellin has replied by recalling the Chief-Brigadier of the S.N.P.T., M. Daurrelle, from his duties, and sacking four other senior officers, responsible for security in a number of French provinces.

M. Monate, the general secretary of the Federation of Police Unions, to which the S.N.P.T. is affiliated, says "I can tell you we have gone beyond the positions taken, at Evian, we're not going to send anymore

## NAMIBIA

THE PEOPLE of this country, which is a colony of South Africa, are experiencing the result of apartheid at the hands of the South African Regime.

This takes the form of police torture, illegal arrest and a total disregard for humanity.

This is the cruelty that our Black brothers in Namibia have to face, as in all other capitalist countries.

These people's protest are centered on the awakening of

Sinhalese race, and had the full confidence of their students.

However, the P.L.F. was not the only organisation that saw and reacted to the government's incompetence. There were some speculations that these organisations were racists, but this again was proven false when Wijeweera co-ordinated his efforts with the two other prominent organisations; the International of Bata Tampae and the Young Socialists League, which both operated in the Tamil stronghold (another race).

By this there was a total unifying of all the peoples, regardless of race. Most of all the people trusted one another. This union of forces frightened the government into doing very foolish things. They accused the co-ordinating bodies of just about any and everything. When this failed Mrs. Bandaranaike called in "The big 5 — the Americans; British; Russians; Yugoslav and India — with all their military contraptions to defend her selfish interests and obviously try to kill the revolutionary spirit of the people.

The events which ended in bloody civil war and foreign interventions was gradually being

delegations of ten or twelve men to the Ministry of Finance or the Elysee, the police will now take a tougher line.

"Asked by a journalist from Le Figaro, if he thought the police would strike, Monate said "first there will be massive demonstrations in all major cities, after that we shall see..."

On the same day.

Using a language that paraphrases the appeal of the Minister Teachers of the Interior, the Minister of Education addressed the secondary school teachers, whose unions started a strike on the 15th.

"I do not understand this strike...it has no justification...I know that a real and general dissatisfaction exists in the teaching profession, who find it difficult to teach the youth of today.

But by taking the struggle into a material level, the unions are confusing the nature of this dissatisfaction and transforming it into mistrust.

To instill or encourage mistrust in the teachers for the system which they are part of, is to ruin their confidence in the value of individual effort. Discouragement makes a bad teacher and children are quick to spot it"

their minds against the dehumanising conditions that they are forced to survive under by the Capitalists.

All the countries of the Third World must support Namibia in its stride to self-determination especially at the United Nations level.

No Caribbean leader has ever made a statement on Namibia. Why?'



Army officers boast that "once we are convinced prisoners are insurgents, we take them to the cemetery and dispose of them. We have learned too many lessons from Vietnam and Malaysia, we must destroy them completely."

forgotten when early in this year we saw the stabbing of a policeman during a little skirmish outside the U.S Embassy.

Without any investigation, the government brought out the army, a State of Emergency was declared — the P.L.F. outlawed the leaders once again were ar-

Cont'd Pg. 7.

## CEYLON

When the new government came into power in May of last year, the people were optimistic about their future, not only because of the end of the former bourgeois government, but because they knew that they had the land-power and literacy to build a free Independent and sovereign Socialist-Republic as promised by the new government.

The Ceylonese were promised that they would go left and forward, by the new government and to this effect certain external changes were made, i.e. concerning their diplomatic relations etc., but nothing was really done internally.

The people wanted their resources to be used to stop their dependency on Tea and Rubber, whose prices were dropping on the world market.

However this was ignored, and they soon found themselves in an Economic slump, which if heeded could have been prevented, but the new government found that it could not go "forward and left" as it had vigorously advocated.

It had been trapped by foreign capitalists. Economic problems kept mounting — high

# OUR Revolutionary Review

OF RECENT NATIONAL NEWS AND EVENTS

## Politics LOCAL ELECTIONS

ON November 1, the present regime indulges itself in another bout of elections.

It is most evident from the statistics of the most recent farce — the general elections — that the majority of the people of this country are completely and totally fed-up with the entire governmental system.

One no longer hears for example arguments such as — “What we really need is a strong opposition” or “if we could only get some honest men to put in” etc, as the people understand that the whole damn mess must go.

Our task therefore is not merely the lowering of the voting age or the re-introduction of the ballot box or all the other electoral reforms that certain individuals and groups are clamouring for, but the creation of a new form of government which is in harmony with the social institutions created by the people themselves.

It is vital therefore that we, the people organise ourselves in Local, Regional and National Assemblies, for the creation of this new form of government.

## BAN ON LECTURER

THE government of Trinidad and Tobago has seen it fit to BAN Grenada-born U.W.I, lecturer, Pat Emmanuel.

Unlike other governments of the region e.g. Jamaican government, which are prepared to publicly announce any banings, the government of Trinidad and Tobago in its typical SNAKE IN THE GRASS fashion, has refused to renew his work permit.

Pat Emmanuel was one of the detainees during the 1970 State of Emergency and one imagines that his identification with the oppressed masses of Trinidad and Tobago in particular and the rest of the Caribbean and the Third World in general, made him ‘persona non-grata’.

The Trinidad and Tobago government like all the other neo-colonial governments throughout the Caribbean, are attempting to isolate the progressive brothers and sisters by restricting their movements in the region.

As long as the inhumane capitalist system continues to dominate the region and as long as the governments of the region are prepared to act as agents for the major capitalist countries against the interests of the Caribbean peoples, then like drowning rats they will have to be banning brothers like Pat Emmanuel who have great visions for “the New Man” in the Caribbean.



Servol at the Poor Man's dinner

## Social Problems

CONSCIENCE MONEY NOT SUFFICIENT

SERVOL spearheaded by Fr. Gerard Pantin, local head of the Roman Catholic Church has decided to repeat its “\$50-a-plate poor man's dinner” at the Hilton for Christmas.

This token gesture by Pantin and his kind, which would supposedly make them sleep easier at night, having eased their consciences, is like breaking bottle where people have to walk and then giving them plaster when they get cut.

Fr. Pantin knows that Lawentille is only one of the numerous areas inhabited by the poor, oppressed masses of this country.

He knows that these areas are a direct result of the existing inhumane, racist, corrupt, social, economic and political system.

He knows that his group has been set up primarily to postpone the inevitable head-on collision of the possessors and

dis-possessed in this country.

We should all know that the eventual salvation of these areas depends entirely upon the residents of the respective areas. They must organise themselves in People's Assemblies where they work and where they live.

They must understand that it is their responsibility whether they stagnate or go forward.

If Fr. Pantin really wants to help this country, he might for a start get involved in the following projects.

— develop a greater social conscience amongst his followers.  
— distribute the vast riches especially the land holdings of the R.C. Church to the landless peasants and other poor peoples in the society.

— discontinue all racist practices against non-white children, teachers and nurses in Roman Catholic educational and health institutions.

## SOLDIERS APPEAL

THE Privy Council will begin to hear the appeals of some of the heroic soldiers who were given inhumane jail sentences by Williams puppet military courts.

At this point in time, it is highly unlikely that these brothers would receive any justice in these courts because in political terms, the stand that they made has been interpreted by the exploiters of this country, as being against their capitalist interests.

These are some of the brothers who heroically placed themselves on the side of the people and categorically refused to engage in their brutal and murderous repression by the government's armed forces.

Their unselfish acts in openly identifying with and



The heroic soldiers

ment and the commercial concerns in the country.

The social relationships existing between union executive and workers are the same as those existing between board of directors and workers and between government and people.

THE first threat made by N.E. Crichtow, President of the Trinidad and Tobago Labour Congress to the OWTU was to request the expulsion of the OWTU from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers.

The workers should be aware of the following:-

— Victor Reuther, international affairs directors of the United Automobile Workers (one of the most powerful unions in the U.S.A.) has stated that the AFL-CIO and some of its affiliates have permitted themselves to be used by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), as a cover for clandestine operations abroad.”

THE ICFTU is the AFL-CIO's expression for international relations.

The AFL-CIO uses its school the American Institute of Free Labour Development (AIFLD) to indoctrinate and brainwash local men for “union leadership”.

The aim of the ICFTU and its local agents is to maintain control of the key sectors of our economy.

## BWIA/LIAT

### OWNERSHIP ENT CONTROL

THE Trinidad, and Tobago government is at present caught up in a hassle with some other governments of Caribbean countries with respect to the sale of LIAT to an English group — Court Line.

What these governments and most people do not seem to understand is that although there are Trinidadians like Ellis Clarke on the Board of Directors the people of Trinidad and Tobago who are supposedly the major owners of BWIA and LIAT, are the main financiers of the airlines, the government of Trinidad has defaulted on its responsibility to the people (as usual) and has allowed the Americans like Hunt and Campbell who run the airlines to be the ones with the REAL CONTROL over all important decisions.

The Board of Directors apparently only rubber-stamp their decisions.

— Why hasn't the government made any public statement on BWIA?

— How much longer do we have to wait for the government's

### White Paper on BWIA?

— Why can't the people of Trinidad and Tobago, the real owners see the annual financial statements of the airline?

Why is there a deliberate policy to remove all Trinidadians from top posts and replace them by Canadians and Americans in places like Toronto.

Why was the Martinez and Copeland affair hushed up?