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MY
CREDO



CHEDDI JAGAN

A P. P. P. Publication

PREFACE

In this pamphlet Comrade Cheddi Jagan sets out his beliefs with as much clarity as one would wish. Not only does he do this. He effectively establishes the relation of these beliefs with the reality of Guyanese poverty, problems and hopes.

What emerges is the Cheddi Jagan as we have known him from his early struggles for a good life for our people.

Neither changed nor corrupted is his basic political outlook, nor unabated his energy, enthusiasm and dedication.

What emerges is the Cheddi Jagan as he has developed and grown with every strike he has helped to organise, with every political battle he has fought for the working man, with every blow against exploitation, privilege and injustice in Guyana.

As Comrade Jagan constructs his credo in this pamphlet, the sentences give out a heart and soul, determination and sincerity, depth and vision. And his words are weaved about a pervasive humanitarianism.

His credo in the process conquers the imagination and reason, and the Guyanese who reads it would come to realise that the credo of Dr. Cheddi Jagan is genuinely wholly or partly his credo also.

MOSES BHAGWAN

Secretary, Education
and Research Committee.

MY CREDO

by
CHEDDI
JAGAN

PART I. A History of Poverty

Imperialist hirelings, stooges and opportunists in Guyana today have one cry — Jagan and his Communist beliefs are responsible for all our social and economic ills, for the flight of persons and capital, for the non-entry of foreign investors, for Black Friday.

And wait until after independence — all your freedoms will go, your property, your monies, your religion, your newspapers!

Allow me to put the record straight. I came on the political scene around 1945-1946. Let's see what was our glorious heritage before that time.

"I'm not going to take you back to the dawn of our history — to the whiplash, to the torture and mutilation of slaves and so on.

"Let's start about 100 years ago. This is what we read in the preface to the Demerara

Martyr, the story of Rev. John Smith:

"When heavy droughts have come upon the land and the early and later rains have been withheld, and the crops have languished in the field, and the cane refused to yield its abundant juice, they have cried out, 'the people are idle and they do not work.'

"When they turned the cattle of the estates into the Negroes' provision ground, tore the doors from the houses, applied the thumb-screw of rent to the last pinch, and drove the people to seek their own little freeholds, where, unmolested they might cultivate and enjoy the fruits of the earth, the cry has still been, 'the people are idle, they will not work.'

... "and they have forgotten that estates were never yet purchased as investment of capital, expected to yield a moderate but adequate interest, but

on speculation in the hope of yielding enormous return for an almost nominal outlay."

What was the result of nearly a century and a half of British rule by 1950 when the P.P.P. was formed? It can be summarised in two words — backwardness and poverty. Permit me to quote some authorities.

Bloated Bellies

Just before World War II Professor MacMillan in his book, *Warning from the West Indies* wrote:

"Any social and economic study of the West Indies is . . . necessarily a study of poverty."

In *Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean* (1947) Paul Blanchard, a former U.S. State Department Official said:

"The labouring population of almost the whole area lives at a level below human decency.

"The outward signs of Caribbean poverty, ragged clothing, bare feet, children with bloated bellies, shacks made of flattened cans, and lines of unemployed workers waiting at closed gates."

What was applicable to the West Indies was with equal force applicable to British Guiana.

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In 1942, a cost of living survey was carried out by a Government-appointed Committee in Albouystown.

It disclosed that the cost of living in 1942 was about 60 per cent more than in 1938, that: "There is no doubt that the standards of living have undergone considerable deterioration since the outbreak of the war.

" . . . and that the percentage increase in the cost of living would have been greater had the statistics been based on the cost of maintaining the 1938 standards of living."

Where were Mr. P. S. D'Aguiar, Mr. J. Jardim et al when I fought against this? Let them and others who today attack me remember that the present-day minimum wage of \$3.04 a day is a 20 per cent. increase on the 1954 wage of \$2.52 a day.

In the same period, the increase in the official retail price index was only 12 per cent. Even so, I continue to strive for an improvement in the standard of living.

Unbalanced Diet

It should be noted that in many countries of the West wage increases are tied by "escalator" clauses to cost-of-living and productivity. Those

who criticise our wages policy should keep this in mind.

Dr. Francis, then Government Medical Officer, wrote in the abovementioned 1942 Report:

"The food available represented 2,134 calories daily per man value. The Technical Commission on Nutrition has placed the calory requirements per man value to be 2,400 calories of food actually assimilated for an individual not engaged in actual work.

"Moreover the diet is not well balanced as carbohydrates bulk very largely, while the percentage of protein and fat are low. Sufficient of the protein is not derived from animal origin."

How about our children? The Nutrition Committee in 1948 said: "As a result of sampling surveys in widely scattered areas, we can affirm that at least 25 per cent. of school children are necessitous."

What about Housing? The cost of living survey Committee disclosed that for Georgetown in 1942:

"The average number of persons per room — was 2.6: In tenement rooms, however, overcrowding is prevalent and returns disclose that in most in-

stances as many as 12 persons live in a single tenement room."

In the sugar estates, dilapidated barrack-type ranges built during the days of slavery still dominated the scene. The Venn Commission Report of 1948 stated:

"In quite a number the corrugated iron roofs were leaking and the fabric of the buildings was in a general state of decay.

"In numerous instances temporary sheets of awnings have been fixed over the beds to keep off the rain. They had mud floors and consequently, with the rain dripping from roofs, these were made slippery and dangerous; in many cases we found bags laid over the floor to prevent slipping.

"They are built without any plan on low-lying uneven ground. They are few if any, proper footpaths, and in rainy weather communication is difficult.

"The common latrines often built over drainage trenches, are frequently in a bad stage of repair, with little privacy."

Imperialist Policy

What about the economy? There was a total imbalance. This was pinpointed by Dr. Daniel Newmark, agricultural

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economist of the Food and Agriculture Organisation, who visited British Guiana and the West Indies. In his paper submitted to the Caribbean Commission in 1950, he wrote:

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

With the exception of the extractive bauxite industry, there was no attempt at industrialisation.

What prevented the foreign capitalists from coming before I entered the political arena? The answer is simple — it was in keeping with imperialist policy.

Even agriculture in a predominantly agricultural country was badly served. In the early 1950's, Mr. Courbois, then with the F.A.O., pointed out that the credit institutions — banks, insurance companies — were advancing very little credit to the agricultural sector.

According to the post-war Royal Commission:

"... practically all well drained land is in sugar... The areas devoted to rice and pasture are badly drained and abound in large swampy areas where almost amphibious cattle, sheep and pigs eke out an unusual existence."

Colonial Neglect

Sir Charles Woolley, speaking on drainage and irrigation in the Legislative Council in 1950 belatedly lamented:

"We have had levels taken for the whole of our coastal belt, but have never had a department or sub-department concentrating solely on this work so vital to the biggest problem of all in the coastal belt."

"We have had consulting engineers and individual's schemes, but there never has been a comprehensive survey in which we could frame more safely schemes of the kind we are embarking upon."

What was said about drainage and irrigation could have been said about every other field of economic activity.

Notice the speed up in investigations, particularly through U.N. assistance since the P.P.P.-harbour siltation, soil survey, hydro-electric survey, Canje Drainage and Irrigation Project, marketing, industrialisation and so on.

Due to years of colonial neglect, little or nothing was done in these fields.

The Guianese people suffered with their lives as a result of exploitation, backwardness and poverty. In the 1946 Annual Report, Dr. Giglioli wrote:

"Approximately 60 per cent of its school children between 1938 and 1945 showed evidence of chronic malaria; the birth rate was low and the death rate high."

"In most years the number of deaths exceeded the number of births. Infant mortality in malaria years ranged from 235 to 255 per thousand live births (1938-44)."

The Annual Report of British Guiana for 1949 stated:

"Between 1838 when slavery was abolished and 1917 when the last batch of immigrants arrived, British Guiana had obtained more than 430,000 colonists from India, Africa, Madeira, China and other places."

"Even making allowances for immigrants returning to their native lands, it might be assumed that they would have maintained their numbers. Yet the population of 309,000 in 1911 had become 307,000 in 1921."

Political And Economic Battles

But this was not all. Guianese didn't die only from malnutri-

tion and disease. They died in numerous battles for freedom, political and economic — in surrections, in strikes, in demonstrations from the early days of slavery to as late as the Enmore shooting in 1948.

February, 1962, was not the only time this country had disturbance and riot. Our history is full of instances of disturbances and riots, from the Angel Gabriel Riots of 1846 to the disturbances towards the end of the last century and more recently just before the last war.

The only difference between 1962 and before was that the others were principally due to economic distress and unemployment because of capitalist rule and exploitation, whilst the 1962 riot was a counter-revolutionary attempt spearheaded by reactionary and opportunist elements to return to the Old Order and hold back the clock of history.

What were our rights and liberties shortly before and after my entry on the political scene?

The oppressed working people did not have the right to vote. Legislative Council was in the main an exclusive charmed circle of planters, businessmen and professionals. No wonder Professor Arthur

Lewis in his pamphlet 'Labour in the West Indies' wrote:

"The impression is now widespread among the people that the Governor and officials are little more than the tools of a white oligarchy of planters, merchants and bankers, in whose society they spend most of their time and whose will it is that the policy of the government is the policy of the local club decided on perhaps over a round of golf or a whisky and soda."

It was the P.P.P's agitation which secured for the Guianese people universal adult suffrage. As a result, today the representatives of the working class and farmers dominate the Legislature.

And speaking about a **"white oligarchy of planters, merchants and bankers."** Did they not dominate every phase of life, economic, social and cultural?

How high could men and women of colour, of Indo-and Afro-Guianese extraction rise in the Police and Civil Service, in business, in banks and insurance companies?

**Ask the present Chief Justice.
Ask Dr. Hanoman-Singh.
Ask Mr. Stoll.**

And you small businessmen, recall who dominated Water Street; who got the bank credits and overdrafts; who got the

goods quotas and the dollar quotas. Those bad days are now rapidly becoming memories of the past.

Yet today you are told by these same controllers and manipulators that Jagan wants to take away your rights. But I'm sure you will not forget that it was the P.P.P. and I who fought for these rights, who were principally responsible for the change, for your improved status.

What about trade union rights. These were in the main denied. Many trade unions were not recognised. Where they were, employers attempted and in some cases succeeded to corrupt and buy out leaders. Company unions were the order of the day.

As President of the Sawmill and Forest Workers' Union, I was not allowed to set foot on timber grants and quarries (leased crown lands) owned by Willems Timber Company and other capitalists. These are the so-called Defenders of Freedom today.

Intimidated

Many militant workers who were acting as local trade union organisers throughout the country were intimidated, fired, victimised and given trespass notices. Some of these so-called Defenders of Freedom, including Mr. D'Aguiar, are only now signing collective agreements with the workers.

As a Legislator, I could not enter my own constituency because of a trespass order placed on me by the sugar planters.

When I protested in the Legislative Council, the then President, Governor Sir Charles Woolley, said that it was a private matter. I was later charged for breaking the trespass order.

Such were our rights and freedoms. I must not forget Mr. Lionel Luckhoo's infamous subversive literature motion which resulted in many publications being banned and jail terms for those who were caught with banned literature.

Who can deny that if Guianese today enjoy the right to vote and enjoy a greater measure of human rights and liberties it is due principally to my activities in and out of the Legislative Council from 1947 to 1953.

Racialism

Who can deny that if slums and ranges have been cleared and workers today live in decent housing settlements in sugar estates, in New Amsterdam and Greater Georgetown, it is due principally to the P.P.P.

Who can deny that the racialism of 1947-50 was equally as strong as it is today.

Did I not destroy racialism in 1953 which was fostered by the reactionary political influences of the East Indian Association and League of Coloured People.

Let those who attack me today remember my stand yesterday. I have not changed. What I believed in 1945/46 I still hold dear today.

Today my beliefs are being questioned and blamed. Were

the beliefs of Critchlow, Woolford, Eleazer, Dargan, Cannon, Thorne, to name a few, not questioned and blamed also?

With these leaders of the past I share an intense nationalism and patriotism and a deep sense of duty to uproot the Guianese from the status as a people with a low economic and cultural level.

Incidentally, in 1932, one of our dailies wrote of Mr. Critchlow on his return from Russia:

"We are very interested in the account Mr. Critchlow had brought back to the West Indies of his activities in the Soviet Union. We believe all he said of his experiences and wish to assure him that if and when it suits him, we will accommodate him in a cell."

But I also subscribe to and believe in the theory of Marxism. Marxism is a body of scientific principles formulated by Marx and Engels.

It was Karl Marx who discovered the laws of social change, fathomed the mysteries of the capitalist economic system and showed how to unlock the vast pentup energies that can provide abundance for all.

Just as Darwin discovered how evolution works in nature, so Marx discovered how it works in history. In the words of the famous biologist, J. S. B. Haldane.

"Marxism is simply scientific method applied to human history."

It was Marx who first laid bare the mainspring of capitalist production, surplus value.

He not only, like the "utopian" Socialists and Communists, Robert Owen, Saint Simon and Fourier, talked about exploitation and the vision of a new ideal society.

He showed how the working class was exploited, how surplus value — profit, rent and interest — was extracted by the capitalists, landlords and bankers, and how the new socialist society was to be organised — public ownership of the means of production.

Road to Socialism

My opponents have led the Guianese people to feel that Marxism means violence, slave camps, denial of civil and human rights and seizure of property. This is not what it means to me.

They argue by simple historical analogy — what happened in the USSR and Cuba would happen here; methods applied there would be applied here.

"Our doctrine is not a dogma, but a guide to action" said Marx and Engels, who always scorned the mere acquisition and repetition of 'formulae'.

There are various roads to Socialism. What road is followed will depend upon the peculiar feature of each country, its economics, politics, culture and tradition, national composition, religious backgrounds and so on.

I will in another article, point out the specific features of what I mean by Guiana's road to Socialism. Suffice it to say that to me Marxism means not a decrease in democracy and civil and human rights but an enlargement of these rights.

Today, as a nationalist and anti-colonialist I struggle for the political independence of my country; as an anti-imperialist for the ending of foreign domination and subjection of my country; as a democrat for the rights and liberties which yesterday were trampled underfoot and today, in many instances are being denied by vested capitalist, for the creation of new society.

I am interested in creating a free Guiana and a new society — a society free from exploitation, a society of equality and brotherhood where truly human relationships will prevail.

PART II.

"My position . . . a Marxist"

Cheddi Jagan

ARE you a Communist? Answer yes or no.

Those who have posed this question are witch-hunters. They assume that communism is evil and then go on to label anyone they don't like as a Communist. Even Eisenhower has been called a Communist.

Today they witchhunt the Communists. At the turn of this century it was the "socialists" who were witch-hunted and called "crafty agitators." Before that, during the time of the American War of Independence, it was the "republicans."

And before that scientists like Galileo and Copernicus and Servetus were persecuted for preaching so-called heretical doctrines.

Was not Jesus Christ put to the cross? What were his doctrines?

The Acts of the Apostles (Acts 2, verses 44-45) say: "And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all according as any man had need."

Science and technology have within their grasp the realisation of man's needs. Think of the possibilities.

"It is quite feasible," stated Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the scientist, who was at one time one of the directors of the U.S. atomic bomb project, "that a city the size of Seattle should be completely heated

from an atomic energy source in less than five years."

Two pounds of uranium contain potential energy equivalent to 6,000,000 pounds of coal. Witness the scene in the biggest capitalist country today, the U.S.A. In the face of about five million unemployed Americans, U.S. factories are operating at about 70 per cent of full capacity. And there is a "Soil Bank," — U.S. farmers are paid to keep land idle.

Communism

Mr. Owen devoted his life to efforts to establish co-operative ownership of the means of production and a co-operative society. He founded "communist colonies" in England and the U.S.A., the most famous was at "New Harmony," Indiana, U.S.A. There was also "Brook Farm."

What is communism? According to my philosophy, communism is the ultimate, ideal classless stage of society with

full social equality of all members under the great principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs—"

A highly organised society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established and harmonious relations will also be established on the basis of the unity of public and personal interests.

This classless society which will take many, many years to achieve will be free from social coercion and force where man will be able to satisfy all his needs — not only free air and water, but free food, clothing and shelter and enough leisure and opportunities to develop fully his talents and faculties.

But this is not the only definition of communism. Under South Africa's "Suppression of Communism Act, 1950", criticism of its hated apartheid policy is deemed Communist. The U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act describes communism as totalitarian dictatorship. Webster's New 20th century Dictionary defines communism inter alia as ruthless suppression of all opposition political parties and all deviation within the party and the suppression of individual and a dictatorship.

You will observe, therefore, that communism means different things to different people. That's why the great

Socrates used to button-hole his students and ask: "Define your terms."

This explains why I have consistently refused to answer "yes" or "no" to the question, "Are you a Communist?"

The term Marxist is a more apt description of my position.

What is Marxism.

Marxism is the name given to a theory developed by Karl Marx, a German, who was born in 1818 and spent most of his adult life in England.

It is a study of human society and its changes as well as a scientific forecast as to what further changes are in store for mankind.

Human society has not remained static. Over centuries it has changed, for example, from a state of slavery to feudalism. Marx was the first person to discover that these changes were not accidental, but followed certain laws.

In Marx's time the society in which he lived in Britain was largely capitalist. He studied the origin of profits and the form of class struggle that emerged from this society.

It was by his penetrating analysis of capitalism that he became world famous, but he was always careful to point out that his economic theories could not be separated from his historical and social studies.

The result of this scientific approach to the study of society is knowledge that can be used to change society just as biology, chemistry, nuclear physics and other scientific knowledge can be used to change the external world.

It is knowledge that can be and is being used to rid humanity of the evils and misery which afflict many people in Guiana and the world today and which help men and women forward to a better form of society.

Our opponents make constant references to fear by, and flight of Guianese. If there has been flight as a result of fear this has to be laid not at my feet, but squarely at the feet of those who since 1946 have used every propaganda means at their disposal — Press, booklets, handbills, radio, pulpit — to smear us and deliberately distort our beliefs. They, having failed in three successive general elections to defeat the PPP, resorted to intimidation, force and violence to overthrow the Government.

Propaganda

Time after time, over and over again, Guianese have been told that I, my Party and my Government will confiscate private property, will seize savings in banks, will burn down churches, will close opposition printing presses, will shoot and jail our opponents.

Is it any wonder that some succumbed to this insidious

propaganda and fled the country?

Could it not be that some fled because of a sense of insecurity due to the violence, arson and looting which resulted in many persons becoming paupers and near-bankrupts?

Could it not be also that others have fled because of the fear of losing privileged social and economic positions?

I want here to deny categorically any intention to confiscate private property, seize savings, suppress freedom of Press, religion and so on, also the rights of the Opposition.

Guide to Violence Action

I have already said that there are many roads to Socialism, that each country will follow the path determined by its own concrete situation, that Marxism is not a stereotyped formula, but a guide to action.

Does it follow that because non-peaceful means ushered in certain revolutionary regimes that there are no other means?

Did not George Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Gandhi, Nehru, Nkrumah, Nasser, to name a few, struggle to end colonialism and neo-colonialism and to achieve a national-democratic liberation?

Were their methods identical? Does it follow that because the Americans after their Declaration of Indepen-

dence fought a violent war to free themselves that non-peaceful means were the only means of achieving national independence?

Did not Gandhi and Nehru and Nkrumah and Nyerere liberate their countries from colonialism by peaceful means, by non-violence and civil disobedience?

Let me say categorically to those who say that we are involved in an international conspiracy to deprive Guianese of their rights and property, that we take no orders from Khrushchev or Castro or anyone else.

Wind of change

If we "take orders" from Karl Marx (dead more than a half century ago), we do so in the same sense that scientists "take orders" from Copernicus and Darwin.

We point to these leaders because they have sounded their voices everywhere for the exploited and the oppressed, against colonialism, imperialism, apartheid, j'm-crow, and so on.

Why did Mossadeq fail in 1951 and Colonel Nasser succeed in 1956 after nationalisation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Suez Canal respectively?

Why did Prime Minister Macmillan attack South Africa's apartheid a couple of years ago when, for nearly a decade before, he defended this policy which was persistently attacked by India in the United Nations?

Why did Mr. Macmillan talk about "wind of change" and the necessity "to win men's minds?" Because socialist ideology was sweeping like a wild fire, particularly in under-developed colonial and semi-colonial world.

Anti-Imperialists

Incidentally, I have friendly relations not only with Dr. Castro but also with Nehru, Nasser, Mossadeq, Nkrumah, Sekou Toure and others.

We do so not because they are Communists, not because of their methods (indeed quite a few are non-Communists) but principally because they are anti-colonialists and anti-imperialists.

Cast your minds back. Was not the PPP the only Party which came out openly in support of Dr. Mossadeq and Colonel Nasser?

Incidentally, those who criticise Dr. Castro for his methods and for not holding elections should go back into American history. For about 12 long years, following the American Declaration of Independence, there were no general elections. And in revolutionary USA a lot of property was seized also, and without compensation.

This is what Professor Peter H. Odegard and Professor Allen Helms put in their text book "American Politics:"

"Equally significant were the social and economic consequences of the war. Royal restrictions on the acquisition and use of land and forests

were wiped out. Crown lands fell into the possession of the states, and quitrents were abolished.

"More important still was the abolition of those rules of law, entail and primogeniture, which had been designed to establish and perpetuate a landed aristocracy.

"Moreover, the vast estates held by Tories and their sympathisers were, with a few exceptions, confiscated and broken up into smaller holdings. The land seized was sold to ready purchasers. The De Lancy estate in New York went to 275 persons, Roger Morris' to 250.

"New Hampshire confiscated 28 estates and in Massachusetts a sweeping act confiscated at one blow all the property of all who had fought against the United States or had even retired into places under British authority without permission from the American Government."

"New York sold confiscated lands to the amount of £3,000,000, Maryland realised over £450,000 from the same source, Pennsylvania nearly £1,000,000 and other states lesser amounts.

Roads to Socialism

"No compensation was paid to the owners, and it was left to the British Government to reimburse the Loyalists to the tune of over £3,000,000 although their claims were as high as £8,000,000. American manufacturing and trade were re-

leased from the imperial restrictions imposed before the war . . ."

The main thing to remember is that there are many roads to Socialism. We have always advocated a peaceful parliamentary road to our socialist goal. I made this abundantly clear during my recent official visit to the USA and in particular, in my address to the National Press Club in Washington.

What were the slogans and tactics of the PPP even in the darkest days of its struggle (1954/1957) following the suspension of the Constitution and the forcible removal of the Government from office, based on charges of communist subversion and the intention of establishing a Communist dictatorship.

Did not the PPP advocate, after the return of Mr. Burnham and me from England and India in 1954, the Indian method of struggle — non-violence and civil disobedience?

Opportunism

The mainstream of the PPP continued with this form of struggle. Some later took the path of opportunism. These were the right-wingers — Burnham, Latchmansingh and Jai Narine Singh — who after the publication of the Robertson Commission Report ("so long as the PPP retains its present leadership and policies, there is no way in which any real measure of responsible government can be restored"), sought to achieve power by splitting

the Party rather than facing the sacrifices and consequences of even a peaceful means of struggle.

The leftists— Sydney King and others— took the path of sectarianism and dogmatism. Their line of attack was, firstly, that non-violence and civil disobedience were un-Marxist and non-revolutionary.

Secondly, that the West Indies Federation was the ONLY road to political independence for British Guiana. I argued at the time that this line was adventurous, irresponsible and infantile. Time has proved that our line on Federation and so on was correct.

Distinction

What about private property? Propaganda has been spread that Communists confiscate property and capital, that we will do the same — your money in banks, your homes, shops, lands and factories.

We must make a distinction between property and capital. Money saved in banks or insurance is not capital nor is a home or land for private use capital. Private property becomes capital when it is used to exploit others.

A distinction must thus be made between private property for use and private property for exploitation.

There are also various kinds of capitalists, i.e., the imperialist-monopoly capitalists and the local capitalists.

In most countries, the local capitalists fall into two categories. The first includes the allies of imperialism.

In the second category are local national capitalists who are patriotic, who work for the national liberation of their country and who are generally discriminated against, suppressed and squeezed out by imperialism.

Rumours

We know as a fact that many of the latter have never been given a square deal in British Guiana. They claim that the banks discriminate against them. Commission agents with certain specific lines refuse to allow them to handle those commodities which Big Business seeks to monopolise.

The state machine in the past was used to discriminate against them on currency quotas and goods quotas.

We have always stated that the patriotic capitalists have a vital role to play in the development of our country. They have been made to feel afraid, that their properties will be confiscated and that they will not be allowed to function.

Surely, my Government has neither the inclination, the time nor the personnel to run every small business in the country. Rumours have been spread that even cakeshops and pushcarts will be taken over and their owners will have to work for the state.

This is obviously nonsensical and untrue.

In the building of a socialist economy with wide-spread public ownership there is still room for capitalist enterprises.

Capitalist enterprises can also work on contract for the Government. Indeed, this relationship exists even today in this country. The Maharaja Oil Mills and the Wieting and Richter Oil Mills operate as contractors to the Government. They buy copra at controlled fixed prices, pay minimum wages fixed by Government, and they deliver the finished product to Government also at fixed prices.

Investments

The difference between the two prices is a margin of profit which has been agreed to between Government and the capitalists. In other words, the capitalists work as contractors to the Government; the workers and consumers are protected and the capitalists make a fair return on their investments.

Those who accuse us of confiscation must remember our purchase around the table of the assets of the Demerara Electric Company. If we had sinister intentions, could we not have allowed the company to go ahead with its expansion programme and later confiscated its assets?

I hope I have been able to dispel the ill-founded fears

of those of you who are influenced by propaganda directed against us. My opponents have on many occasions put it this way:

“Jagan, you are honest and sincere, you can be the leader for all of us, but we don't like and trust your connections and associations and methods.

“Your goal, your ends (to each according to his needs, from each according to his ability) may be good, but your means are foul, wicked and bad.”

My answer to that is very simple. If I am honest and sincere, it is because of my beliefs, my ideology. For me, there is a unity of ends and means. Every means must be good in itself no matter in what stage of struggle. Freedom is inseparable from struggle.

“Freedom,” as the famous American Justice Brandeis said, “is the great developer, it is both the means employed and the end attained.” Let those who accuse me point to one specific instance of anything I have done as a means towards my ultimate goal which is bad, which is undemocratic.

Violence

They cannot do so. They operate on fear not of what we did yesterday or today, but what they say we are likely to do tomorrow.

Those who now say I intend to achieve the goal of socialism by violence are the very ones who have used violence to attempt the overthrow of a democratically elected Government.

For me, whether a nationalist, anti-Colonialist, anti-Imperialist, Democrat, Socialist, Humanist, Communist, call

me what you will, for they are all the many faces of my thinking and being.

Democracy per se is basic, not less democracy but more and more democracy. The more democracy there is, the quicker will be achieved our goal and objective — a new society of freedom, plenty and equality.

END.

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