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7 August 1985

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ARGENTINA

TEXT OF DOCUMENT ON PROPOSED FALKLANDS TREATY RELEASED

PY181940 Buenos Aires AMBITO FINANCIERO (Special Supplement) in Spanish  
3 Jul 85 pp 1-4

[Text] The study we will undertake has to do with the methodology for presenting the various "alternatives" which, from the standpoint of institutional organization, can be offered to address the problem of establishing a constitutional-legal framework for the Malvinas. These alternatives take into account--to play the "devil's advocate"--the many objections that can be raised in each case, especially the objections from the British standpoint, which tend to undermine the credibility or viability of the Argentine proposals. Thus, the objections are refuted in each case so as to give assurance that there are no obstacles or problems of a constitutional character that can impede the advance of negotiations between the parties to find a definitive settlement of the question. The broad Argentine constitutional framework makes viable the most varied alternatives, and one of them can eventually become the formula that brings together the comparative advantages of all the alternatives. To sum up, this paper is intended only to facilitate the discussion of the practical and concrete effects of the application of the concept of "sovereignty," but avoiding polemics over the academic significance of the concept. This is a working tool or an instrument to make it possible to make progress in the debate; but it is not intended to be an erudite exposition of all the aspects involved in such an intricate question.

Territorialization

- I) On the question of national territories, the Argentine legislation is this:
- A) National law No 1532 (Annals 1881-188, page 141 and following pages) which was revoked by Article 63 of Law 14315.
  - B) National law No 14315 (Annals 1954-XIV-A page 91) published in the Official Bulletin of 31 August 1954.
  - C) National law No 14408 (Annals 1955-XV, page 4 and following) published in the Official Bulletin of 30 June 1955. All the national territories were turned into provinces under this law. Tierra del Fuego was not a province, but it was included in what is today the Santa Cruz Province.

D) Decree-law No 21178/56, whereby the provisional government of General Aramburu separated the Santa Cruz Province from the national territory of Tierra del Fuego (Annals Year 1956-XVI-A, page 1105) published in the Official Bulletin of 29 November 1956.

E) Decree-law No 2191/57 published in the Official Bulletin of 19 March 1957, which reestablished the territory of Tierra del Fuego, constituting the organic law thereof.

F) Decree-law No 687/82 creating the Military Governorship of the Malvinas Islands separated from the national territory of Tierra del Fuego.

II) The analysis of Decree-law No 2191/57 is fundamentally important because:

A) It is the norm in force on this matter, which expressly included the territory of the Malvinas Islands in its Article 2.

The aforementioned norm regulates in detail the question of competence of the territorial government, its various agencies, its form of designation or election (whatever the case).

The National Congress acts as local legislative body (Article 15), consequently restricting the functions of the territorial legislative body to those of a technical and administrative character. This is the case because it is a question of delegation of authority by the federal government to the territory.

[PY191430] III) In considering the hypothesis of territorialization of the islands, the text of the draft prepared by the Foreign Ministry has been analyzed and the following conclusions have been made:

A) The separation of the Malvinas Islands from the national territory of Tierra del Fuego is clear and advisable, although Article 1 of the draft seemed to disregard the fact that the existence of that territory has already been recognized in a provision of Argentine law.

B) The organization of the government and administration of the new territory is delegated to the national executive power, subject to referendum by the National Congress. The reason for this resolution cannot be understood because:

1) It seems that decree No 2191/57 has not been taken into consideration; because the regime of military governorship can only be appropriate in a state of emergency stemming from a wartime situation.

2) The National Congress has the authority to pass a law on the organization, administration and government of the national territories (Article 67, item 14 of the National Constitution); and there is no need for delegation.

3) The provision (Article 4 of the draft) that the executive power can designate the governor of the national territory of the Malvinas Islands is not very clear. This would raise the possibility of having a national territory without autonomous authority.

As can be seen in the material that has been appended, Argentina must offer the maximum guarantee, in every way, to the current inhabitants of the islands. In this regard, the legal status of national territory that is proposed does not seem, either in letter or in spirit, the most appropriate to offer such a guarantee.

IV) Proceeding to consider the alternative of territorialization, the following observations should be made:

A) In the first place, within the model of national territory, our country must offer the islanders at least a legal status similar to decree-law No 2191/57, whose Article 2 includes the Malvinas Islands. Legislation that is inferior to that now in existence on the matter of organization, authorities, duties and functions cannot be proposed.

B) In the second place, the islander's aspiration that the "common law" become the local law is not in tune with the limited functions of the territorial legislature; not even given the possibility of modifying any of the judicial systems (European or common law) to suit any eventual needs related to the coexistence of the inhabitants. This is so because the National Congress will always be the local legislature.

C) In the third place, a local legislature with limited functions, municipal authorities, and national deputies are elected under the system we analyze; but the governor (who is designated by the executive power) is not elected, nor does he have representation before the nation's senate.

D) But, fundamentally, since these functions are delegated to the authorities of the territory by the federal government, they can be revoked at any time, because the laws or resolutions dictated by those authorities can be revoked under the provision of Article 67, item 14 of the National Constitution. Also these functions can be directly revoked by totally or partially modifying the territorial law; or indirectly by dictating countermanding laws on the same matters.

[PY191507] To summarize: Although it is very simple, the national territory system does not seem to be the most appropriate entity to offer adequate guarantees to the islands' population. For similar reasons, the incorporation of the Malvinas Islands into another province is not the best solution either.

Once the idea of territorialization has been ruled out, the most viable idea is "to provincialize" the Malvinas Islands. But, the same treatment should be given to Tierra del Fuego, either beforehand or at the same time. This should be done because it does not seem logical or coherent to provincialize what we do not yet have and not to provincialize what we already have.

Moreover, it is imperative to regulate the institutional situation of the islands because the provincialization of Tierra del Fuego is under study, and, should this be implemented, with the Malvinas Islands incorporated, the special incorporation pact provided for in Article 104 in fine of the National Constitution will not change. It will not change because the

incorporation of what is already incorporated is impossible, and the opportunity for reservation of powers has been lost. It would be lost as the result of satisfying the British demand for special guarantees for the islanders.

#### Associate Free State. Confederate State

Let us consider, for application in the Malvinas case, the dual models of associate free state and confederate state.

In the comparative study of various systems of law, the best known model of associate free state is Puerto Rico. Perusing the Constitution of Puerto Rico (United States Code 1976 Edition, pages 1290 through 1316, the copy of which is appended) the judicial link between the United States and Puerto Rico is not apparent. There are only a few isolated provisions that deal with that relationship; for instance, that the reform of the Constitution of Puerto Rico must be approved by the U.S. Congress (paragraph 731 D); that the citizens of Puerto Rico and of the United States can be members of the legislative, executive, or judicial powers in both estates (Article III, Section 5; Article IV, Section 3; and Article V, Section 9); and that public officials must subscribe to the oath to comply with and enforce the Constitution of the United States and that of Puerto Rico (Article VI, Section 16). As for the rest, the Constitution of Puerto Rico resembles that of a sovereign state.

Except for the oath of loyalty to the U.S. Constitution that must be subscribed to by the Puerto Rican people, there are no other provisions in the Constitution of Puerto Rico related to the supremacy of federal law; nor are there provisions for the relations between the federal state and the associate state, for conditions of citizenship, for national defense, and for foreign relations.

The constitutional relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico, like the status of the Puerto Rican citizens, is not consecrated in a single text--as far as we know--but is drawn in separate and successive laws (such as the Jones Act in 1917, the Foraker Act, the Crawford Act, the Butler Act, and others). It should also be considered that the system of relations between the two states emerges from the customs and practices of the two peoples, and from their jurisprudence, whenever they had to apply the system.

It becomes clear, consequently, that the model of associate free state similar to Puerto Rico does not seem a viable alternative, because the judicial nature of this relationship cannot be adequately adjusted to our judicial system, which is founded on continental European law.

[PY191603] Another alternative that has been studied is that of treating the Malvinas as a confederate state with the Republic of Argentina. The historical model of confederation is found in the Helventian Confederation applied in the United States through the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union" that were approved by the First Continental Congress of the United States in March 1781.

In Argentina, the Federal Pact of 1831 established the antecedents of a confederation with similar characteristics.

The link among confederate states hinges on questions of foreign relations and national defense, on the use of currency and systems of weights and measures, and on the equal treatment of citizens of each state on a reciprocal basis. All these questions are managed by the central government, reserving for each member state the sovereignty, freedom, and independence of its internal government.

What distinguishes the confederate model are the rights of secession, nullification and revocation reserved to each member state; namely, to be able to separate from the system and to nullify unilaterally legislation dictated by the central government. It does not seem feasible nor advisable to create a Malvinas confederate state that may withdraw from the Argentine federation whenever its population so resolves, or that may nullify legislation of the central government, even in matters that in this model are usually delegated to the central government (foreign relations and national defense).

Should this model be adopted, the hoped-for integration of the Malvinas into the national union would be subject to the political decision of a population that not only has a fragile history of integration with our country, but also could take advantage of the power it will retain--especially considering the new structure to be formed after the incorporation of new inhabitants into the islands--to cause a traumatic break in national sovereignty. Moreover, the revocation power of the authorities of the confederate state, when it departs from the express terms of the mandate, establishes a separation from the representative system enshrined in Article 1 of the National Constitution that establishes a principle that cannot be affected by the special pacts of incorporation referred to in Article 104 of the National Constitution.

The incorporation of the Malvinas Islands should be implemented on the basis of its permanent integration, without being a condition to the possibility that the Malvinians can separate whenever interests alien to the national interest finds separation necessary. These are sufficient reasons to reject the models of confederate state and associate free state.

#### Transitory Regime

##### 1) Leasing

Leasing, or cession on lease, as a form of limited territorial jurisdiction, has been approached with some reservations by experts in International Public Law. Thus, Charles Rousseau considers it as a "disguised and temporary cession of sovereignty" (International Public Law, 3d Edition, pages 226-227). Daniel Antokoletz agrees with this characterization, and adds that "this system sometimes leads to annexation: Hong Kong, leased to Great Britain in 1841, was turned into a British colony in 1848; Macao, leased to Portugal in 1857, was annexed in 1887" (International Public Law, Volume II, pages 310-311).

It can be said, regarding the question under discussion, that such an agreement would imply an improvement over the present situation, because, should Great Britain acquiesce to leasing the islands, it would indicate at least a formal recognition of Argentine sovereignty over the islands.

It should be taken into account, however, that the lessor state keeps the right to exercise sovereignty (jurisdiction rights, police power, etc.).

This way the final solution to the problem will be deferred for 25, 50 or 99 years, and it will be subject to the fluctuations of British foreign policy. It would amount to leaving the complete solution to the problem to our children or grandchildren. So this does not seem to be the best way of addressing the problem when other more favorable alternatives are possible.

[PY191845] 2) Regime of Joint Administration

This alternative, which was reciprocally proposed by Great Britain and Argentina in the 1967-77 period, can be offered as a preliminary step to the implementation of the final solution. In such a case, we can point out that none of the demands made by the British in 1967 seem unacceptable to us for the following reasons:

- a) The fact that the joint administration will not make it possible to alter, for better or for worse, the respective aspirations of the parties over the islands, and that it will not be detrimental to the current positions in that respect, does not--it seems to us--encroach on the current Argentine position, because it will be difficult for Great Britain to refuse to allow the Argentine flag to be hoisted if it has agreed to joint administration. It is clear that circumstance alone improves the current Argentine position. Moreover, a commitment like the one proposed will not imply the interruption of negotiations to attain the express recognition of sovereignty at the end of the joint administration. On the other hand, the express statement that the joint administration does not imply "detriment" to the current claims of both parties means that Argentina would in no way give up its aspiration to sovereignty in this case.
- b) The request that Argentina, at the time of transfer (if Great Britain spoke of transfer, it had the recognition of sovereignty in mind) should guarantee the islands' inhabitants freedoms and rights equal to those they enjoyed prior to the joint administration is perfectly acceptable, considering what has been said about the regime of provincialization with an incorporation pact. Under that pact, that equality must be guaranteed.
- c) The possibility that the inhabitants of the islands will be allowed to enter and leave the islands for a period of 10 years under conditions equal to those prevailing before the joint administration is also feasible, on the same terms that have been analyzed in considering the provincialization proposal.

d) The maintenance of the islands' institutional regime during the transition period, with the addition of seven legislators to be chosen jointly by the two countries, and with the participation of Argentina in establishing the type of joint administration to be created, deserves the following consideration: In our opinion, the solution must be based on the same terms presented under the provincialization proposal. This means that the local political rights should be established on the /jus soli/ [published in boldface] principle, so that, during the transitional joint administration, there will be no legislators who were not born in the islands, but there will be Argentine representatives in the government, in a form and proportion to be agreed on.

What seems important in this joint administration proposal is the possibility of raising the Argentine flag over the islands (a sign of affirmation of sovereignty); the opening of the border to allow the establishment of an Argentine population on the islands, thus facilitating a cultural transformation; and the corresponding possibility of opening intensive trade with the islands, of acquiring property, and of establishing industries in those territories.

All these terms will be accepted more easily by Great Britain, than the actual sharing of public power, and it is possible that the situation will change in favor of Argentine interests at the end of the period agreed on.

3) The permanent British exigency of conditioning the establishment of the joint administration on a favorable plebiscite among the islands' population is the only aspiration that is not easy to accept, because the plebiscite will most likely be unfavorable to the proposal. The offer of alternatives for commercial opening, and for establishing population and ownership [dominal] are, therefore, more important than the fact of having a shared government. The argument of the interests involved in the implied possibility of economic progress will probably be the bait most easily accepted by the islanders. Of course, this would have been easier before rather than after the war.

#### [PY191925] Regime of Rotatory Government

A different alternative is the installation of a rotatory or alternate government. This raises the possibility that the Argentines will control the government for one period of time, and the British the next. The serious flaw in this plan is the method of electing the government, if it is elected on the democratic principle that the government is elected by the governed. For reasons that are alien to Argentina, the large majority of the islanders are not Argentines and have not been brought up in the culture of our country. Therefore, if this plan were to be chosen it would mean entering into a political game of relevant consequences because it would be tilted in favor of British interests. This hypothesis of rotating power is, therefore, a mere appearance that can never be effective.

## Minority Regime

The judicial meaning of the word "capitulations" used in one of the British counterproposals is obsolete and refers to special pacts that some imperial states concluded with ethnic minority groups that lived in conquered territories (the Ottoman Empire's pact with Armenians, Kurds and Greeks, for instance). In sum, capitulations refer to statutes of minorities in which individual and ethnic rights are recognized.

This formula is not only anachronistic but unnecessary, because under the provincialization alternative, the islanders will enjoy all the rights and guarantees that the National Constitution grants to Argentine citizens plus the special rights and assurances guaranteed by the special incorporation pact, which will give them a privileged status, even over other Argentine citizens.

## Provincialization With Pact of Incorporation

The alternative of provincialization of the Malvinas Islands, as an expedient to legitimize the institutional situation of those territories now occupied by Great Britain is the most advisable for the practical objective of obtaining British acquiescence. In fact, this option offers the maximum protection of the islanders' rights, for the purpose of maintaining their current situation in the terms the occupant country demands, since "province" is the political unit of greatest autonomy within the existing federal state. Moreover, the possibility of signing a pact of incorporation is a clear way of enhancing the rights of the island's population, and of elevating the exercise of autonomy to exclusive and optimum levels.

We think that Argentina should take the initiative in this regard as a concrete demonstration of its best attitude within the existing institutional structure and of offering a bridge of communication that the occupying country should accept if it really wants an effective solution to the conflict. To that effect, the possibility of signing a treaty of incorporation offers the islanders the opportunity to be consulted on the terms of this treaty, thereby satisfying the insistent British demands that, if an agreement on the conflict is to be reached, the desires of the islanders must be taken into consideration.

The major problem that the provincialization of the Malvinas Islands poses has to do with the precise determination of the political rights of its inhabitants, both with regard to participation in a constituent assembly that will frame the Constitution for the new province--pursuant to the pact of incorporation, of course--and with regard to the determination of who will have the right to vote or to be elected as the local authority.

[PY200315] It is clear, in that context, that the constitutional requirement of a 2-year residency to be elected a national deputy or a national senator (Articles 40 and 47 of the National Constitution) cannot be applied. It does not seem reasonable either that simple registration in the province should entitle one to exercise the electoral right therein to elect both national

and local authorities. Summing up, the exercise of political rights cannot be granted by compliance with the residency requirement, because the population of the islands, soon after the new province is created, will be raised by Argentines who reside on the mainland. Thus, they could easily control the local electoral body and, consequently, make it impossible to guarantee the maintenance of the islanders' juridical situation, as Great Britain demands.

In view of this situation, the proposal for a pact of incorporation as a new province should establish--as a differential clause regarding the other provinces--that both active and passive political rights can only be exercised by born natives. In this way, the local government and the representation of provincial interests in the national government can be guaranteed to the current residents for a period that will last until the new generation of islanders, offspring of the new inhabitants, can impose their quantitative majority over the old residents. This amounts to establishing the principle of *ius soli* [citizenship determined by place of birth] regarding the exercise of local citizenship, considering the need for negotiation imposed by the historical circumstance that determines the incorporation of the new province. It is expected that in this way an answer can be given to the ever-present British argument that Argentina is in no position to guarantee all the acquired rights of the current Malvinas residents.

Obviously, the right of any island resident to elect national deputies to the nation's Congress and the president and vice president of the nation cannot be restricted, because the postulate of the sovereignty of the people established in Article 33 of the National Constitution cannot be curtailed. Nevertheless, and for the same political reasons, the pact of incorporation should establish an exemption to the clause of recognition of political rights based on the principle of *ius soli*. The exemption should apply to the current residents of the islands, many of whom may not have been born therein; consequently, full political rights should be granted to all current residents, whether or not they were born on the islands. To this effect, the list that is prepared by the British will be accepted, and the list will be sealed and added to the pact that is signed.

#### 1) Reason for the Incorporation Pact and Its Historical Antecedents

Article 104 of the National Constitution states that the provinces keep for themselves any power that has been expressly specified in special pacts at the time of their incorporation. This constitutional norm permits the establishment of a special regime of differentiated provincial autonomy, as determined by peculiar historical reasons, such as can be the case of the Malvinas Islands. It cannot be argued that the provision of Article 104 of the National Constitution was only valid for the pact of 11 November 1859, signed in San Jose de Flores, to incorporate Buenos Aires into the Argentine Federation. This argument cannot be made because the aforementioned constitutional provision is written in broad and general terms; that is to say, it has a comprehensive character foreseeing future incorporations, both of territories that at present are not included in the political body and of national territories that have not yet attained provincial status. Incorporation is not merely territorial in character.

[PY200345] What should be taken into account is that the aforementioned pact of incorporation of Buenos Aires Province--whereby it can govern and legislate certain banking establishments (Bank of the Province, Mortgage Bank, and Pawn-broking Bank), exclusive of the federal authorities and, therefore, outside the jurisdiction of the laws of the nation--has been recognized and ratified repeatedly by rulings of the National Supreme Court (Folios 186-170; 147-239; 239-25). This confirms our hypothesis that this conventional pact is adequate to answer the pessimistic arguments invoked by the British Government that compliance with a statute of guarantees and privileges for the islanders must be insured.

We believe that the form to implement the pact of incorporation should begin by the signing of a previous pact of commitment to be executed between the Argentine Foreign Ministry and the British Foreign Office, a document that will thereafter be submitted to a popular referendum by the Argentine people and the Malvinas residents. The pact will then have to be approved by Congress and the British Parliament.

Should it be expected that the proposal for a pact of incorporation will be rejected by the islands' residents, the holding of a referendum would not be advisable, and this would be sufficient reason to rule out this consultative mechanism. The effective fulfillment of the pact should be guaranteed by three members of the international community.

## 2) Content of the Pact of Incorporation of the Malvinas Islands Province

The question of political rights has already been studied. Only the other aspects of the pact warrant consideration in detail here.

A) Institutional organization of the new province: On the basis of the division of powers of the state, which are inherent in the republican form of government, alternative proposals regarding the composition of the three powers of the state could be accepted. A legislative organization that is parliamentary in nature could be accepted, if proposed. It is also possible, upholding the supremacy of the National Constitution, to accept the establishment of the jury trial system in the province, even at the level of the federal court. It can also be accepted that the federal judges on the Malvinas Islands be appointed upon designation of the local executive branch without, however, bypassing the approval of the nation's Senate, because to do so would affect the federal constitutional order to an extent that would be incompatible with the necessary equality that must exist among the local states. The provincial judges can be chosen by any procedure, including the elective procedure.

All the varieties that may be proposed regarding the functioning of the judiciary are acceptable, including the institution of an ombudsman to guarantee the correct operation of the public administration in order to safeguard the patrimony of all the inhabitants, is perfectly admissible in a proposal.

These terms are not incompatible with the provisions of Article 5 of the Constitution, because it should be understood that the broadness of the final

paragraph of Article 104 of the Constitution permits this type of solution, provided the representative, republican and federal principles imbued in our National Constitution are not violated.

B) Federal intervention and declaration of a state of siege: intervention by the federal executive, without the removal of the local authorities, can be accepted. Military aid will only be provided at the request of the province's constituted authorities, or in the case of the foreign occupation of the islands, thus averting the fear of legal intervention, which, however, can be ordered by the federal government to guarantee the operation of the republican form of government in compliance with Article 6 of the National Constitution.

The declaration of a state of siege in the Malvinas Islands by the federal government can also be banned. Should its imposition become necessary, the special pact may provide for it by authorizing the local government to impose it, in accordance with local legislation.

[PY201840] C) Recognition of the rights granted to the islanders: The incorporation pact can stipulate that all the rights acquired under the rule of "common law" at the time of birth be respected. To this effect, the validity of those rights can be extended for the exclusive purpose of covering and protecting the juridical relations that were established before the incorporation of the new province.

The stability of juridical relations can be expressly extended to the subjective public rights of the public servants, even establishing the "stability" of those who already had public appointments.

At any rate, the contracts that generated ongoing juridical relations can be reviewed through a formula similar to Article 3 of the Civil Code, which says:

"As the laws become effective, they will be applicable to the ulterior consequences of existing juridical relations and situations inclusively. They are without public or private retroactive application, save provisions to the contrary. The retroactivity established by common law can at no time affect rights protected by constitutional guarantees. The new supplementary laws are not applicable to contracts being executed."

D) Power of the new province to dictate common laws: Regarding the law that should govern the juridical relations contracted after the incorporation of the new province, it would be possible to establish an exemption for the regime of common laws provided for in Article 67, item 11, of the National Constitution, and to allow the local legislative body to establish its fundamental codes. Until such a situation is established, the common laws dictated by the National Congress will be applied. This juridical situation can be discretionally modified by the local legislative body should doing so be found appropriate.

Obviously, the incorporation pact can establish the applicability of Argentine laws in the following case:

- 1) When there is a legislative vacuum.
- 2) When the Argentine law is favorable to the validity of a juridical act.
- 3) When the Argentine law is more lenient than the existing rules.

#### Penal Regime, Procedural Regime and Judicial Organization

On these matters, the National Constitution contains very useful regulations for this strategy, since "the provinces keep for themselves any power that has not been delegated" (Article 104), they set up "their own local institutions and abide by them," and they have delegated to the National Congress the enactment of procedural norms (Article 67, Item 11, of the National Constitution).

On the other hand, "the judicial procedures in one province are valid in all the others."

Although the National Congress is empowered to dictate the Penal Code, this fact does not represent all the repressive power the federal organization can afford precisely because, on the basis of nondelegated powers, the provinces retain their own competence in the area of penal law not transferred to the federation; such as, infringements, crimes and punishments in electoral, fiscal and other matters.

Regarding penal laws that the local legislature may dictate, either on the basis of nondelegated powers or the exemption to the regime of common penal law provided for by Article 67, Item 11, of the National Constitution, the following constitutional rules, which are part of the "Nation's Supreme Law to which the provincial authorities must conform" (Article 31), are pertinent:

- Only the law can establish punishable acts and their corresponding penalties.
- The criminal act and its penalty must be precisely described.
- The law must be in effect prior to the commission of the act being judged.
- Human acts can only entail penal responsibility.
- Penal responsibility for someone else's act is inadmissible.
- The penal responsibility is conditioned to the culpability of the accused, because responsibility without direct culpability is inadmissible in penal law [responsabilidad objetiva].
- The punishment is applicable only to the accused and cannot be transferred to third parties.
- The penal law does not warrant application of the principle of juridical analogy [in cases where the specific crime is not described in the penal code] to the detriment of the accused.

--All inhabitants are equal before the penal law.

--Private actions that do not violate public order or morals, or cause no damage to third parties are outside the jurisdiction of court authorities.

--The death sentence for political reasons, all kinds of torture, and whipping are abolished.

[PY210401] --Prisons are meant for security not for punishment of criminals (Articles 16, 18, 19 and 103, in fine, of the National Constitution).

This doctrine was also especially developed on the basis of the Supreme Court's decision in the case of "Mouviel, O., and others" published in rulings 236-639.

Regarding the procedural norms and the judicial organization the provinces must adopt, and the following conditions must be satisfied on matters of criminal law:

--The judicial power must be independent (Articles 5 and 95 of the National Constitution).

--The natural judge principle must be made effective and nobody can be judged by special commissions or removed from the jurisdiction of the duly-appointed judges who were serving when the crime being tried was committed (Article 18 of the National Constitution).

--Nobody can be forced to incriminate himself (Article 18 of the National Constitution).

--The principle of the right to defense in trial is inviolable, thus it must be implemented in keeping with the "standards" of due legal process, and the decision adopted must be based on the law (Article 18 of the National Constitution).

--Any criminal verdict, or the equivalent thereof dictated by an administrative entity should be appealable so as to permit judicial review (Articles 18, 95 and 100 of the National Constitution).

--Lastly, in order to guarantee freedom of expression, Congress "will not pass laws restricting freedom of the press or imposing federal jurisdiction over the press" (Article 32 of the National Constitution).

Having noted the area of legal competence of the provinces, it should be recalled as a frame or reference separating delegated and nondelegated penal powers, that "each province will dictate a constitution for itself, under the representative and republican system in accordance with the principles, declarations and guarantees of the National Constitution." In this regard, the characteristics of the National Constitution have been described above, and Article 5 thereof says that provincial constitutions should "insure the administration of justice"...conditions under which the federal government guarantees the functioning and exercise of each province's institutions.

E) Federal laws applicable to the Malvinas Province: On the basis of the powers delegated to the federal government by Article 67 of the National Constitution, and those the province reserves for itself under the special pact of incorporation, we can additionally define "the federal laws" applicable to the islands. These are the laws Congress dictates in the exercise of functions vested in it by the National Constitution (Article 67 mainly), excluding the functions that the province has reserved for itself in the special pact of incorporation.

It should be understood, as was said in a previous paragraph, that clauses related to the sovereignty of the people, and the federal and republican system should not be negotiable.

Now comes the question of Federal Penal Law, that is, the penal laws that are not reserved to the provinces and that do not constitute common legislation dictated by Congress, under provisions of Article 67, Item, [as received] of the National Constitution (the case of the Penal Code which is a common, non-federal law).

On this matter that has to do with unity and consolidation of the sovereignty of the federal state, the federal penal laws should be applicable to the new province, considering that federal interests are at stake and that federal agencies are charged with applying them. This is, for instance, the case of the free enterprise system, which guarantees freedom of commerce, and competition in the supply and demand of goods and services in the marketplace.

F) Provincial Public Domain: This subject entails the discussion of the all-important question of whether the ownership of energy resource (hydrocarbons, electricity, and sea resources) that have been established over the entire national territory by a national law should be applied to the new province. This question, obviously, calls for an important political decision, which has to do with the claims the affected provinces made in order to offset the effects that are negative to their interests. Of course, there is no objection to having the pact of incorporation provide for the supremacy of the province's public domain. A regime of royalties in favor of the national state can be set up so that it can participate in the profits earned from those resources in proportions to be established.

G) Economic, financial autonomy of the new province: The islands possibilities for self-determination may in this regard have to be defined so as to determine the federal contribution on the basis of such an evaluation. The corresponding local and federal tax codes should be established in accordance with that analysis, including a provision for the province to collect customs revenues, thereby confirming the autonomous character of the regulation set down in the incorporation pact.

It is also feasible to set up a duty-free zone in the islands. As for the collection of direct taxes by the federal state, a practice that has become regular despite the fact that it should be exceptional, under provision of Article 67, Item 2, of the National Constitution, the incorporation pact can

establish that the federal state can collect such taxes from the islanders through a congressional law, whenever the local legislature consent. This will stress the federalist character of the nation-province relation. Customs, however, should only be set up at the national level and deal exclusively in foreign trade. In several of his works, Juan Bautista Alberdi said that internal customs impede national consolidation. Economic circulation to and from the islands must necessarily be facilitated. The case of customs in Buenos Aires during the entire 19th century must be recalled. Nevertheless, the new province can be given a percentage of the customs fees levied on goods entering through the national customs in the Malvinas Islands for a period of time.

H) The situation in the Antarctic after the incorporation pact: We feel that this matter should not be included in the incorporation pact as it is completely extraneous. It could be advisable to sign a special agreement on scientific and technical cooperation regarding the Antarctic between Argentina and Great Britain. Nothing should be said about the pretensions of both countries to sovereignty over those territories, because it is better for the two countries not to argue that sovereignty over the Malvinas has an influence on the respective rights to the Antarctic. Argentina must claim its pretensions in the Antarctic, regardless of the final outcome of the Malvinas question. The criterion applied to the Friendship and Peace Treaty with Chile should be followed.

I) Defense and Foreign Relations: In these two aspects, Argentina cannot delegate any constitutional power on these matters, nor can it delegate any power regarding the effective defense of national sovereignty. A temporary ban on the establishment of military bases of certain characteristics can be accepted, although the British interest in maintaining this petition is hard to understand, since the circumstances are different from those prevailing in Hong Kong when the same petition was presented-unsuccessfully. It could be accepted, for a set period of time, that the local police be made up and governed by the current inhabitants of the islands. But this has to do with internal security.

J) The right to move and settle: The right of any inhabitant of Argentina to move to and from the new province cannot be subject to any restrictive regime nor differentiated from movement in any other province in the country. Also, the entry and departure to and from the mainland of islanders carrying British passports should be guaranteed for a period of at least 10 years, leaving the local authorities to exercise control over immigration and emigration. A British consulate should be established in the islands to tend to the interests of residents thereon. British citizens should enjoy the right to freely enter, leave and reside on the islands.

[PY212257] K) Guarantee clause in case of coup d'etat: A clause to this effect could be introduced in the incorporation pact providing for the automatic "secession" or separation from the federal state. This would be advantageous both for the British who would not want to be exposed to this type of emergency, and for the Argentines who would then have an important additional safeguard against that tragic emergency. With this guarantee clause, the

coupists would have to contend with another barrier in addition to that posed by the institutional penalties that could punish them as criminals.

L) Worship: The question of relations with the Anglican Church, to which the majority of islanders belong, is touchy, because the head of this church is the queen of England. This opens the way for a foreign head of state to have ecclesiastical jurisdiction over an Argentine territory. This situation would permit that chief of state to maintain an undeniable political influence in the islands.

That situation can be easily solved by applying to the Anglican Church the patronage provisions that our Constitution granted to the Catholic Church up until the 1966 concordat with the Holy See; namely:

1) Only Congress will admit religious orders (Anglican) (Article 67, Item 20, of the National Constitution).

2) The executive branch will present to the (Anglican) church the candidate for bishop, from three candidates proposed by the Senate (Article 86, Item 8, of the National Constitution).

3) The executive branch approves or disapproves the passage of councils' decrees, edicts, briefs and rescripts from the head of the Anglican Church, and does so with the agreement of the Supreme Court, or through a law making general provisions (Article 86, Item 9, of the National Constitution).

In this way, the political influence of the head of the Anglican Church in the islands will be neutralized.

L) Citizenship; The agreements on dual citizenship that our country signed with Spain and Italy can be adapted and taken as models to solve the question of nationality and citizenship of the islanders.

It can be gathered from the agreement with Italy (a copy is attached), which was ratified by Law 20588, that Argentines and Italians who switch nationalities, maintain their nationality of birth but have the exercise of nationality rights suspended. In the case of islanders who want to retain their British citizenship, the suspension could only be restricted to their right to elect representatives to the British Parliament, if they have that right.

The remaining clauses of those agreements seem perfectly applicable.

M) Language: Spanish and English will be the official languages of the islands. So, it must be determined that:

1) Official matters will be obligatorily transacted in both languages.

2) As far as the educational system is concerned, it will be obligatorily conducted in both languages at all levels, and it will be staffed by bilingual teachers appointed jointly by the Education and Justice Ministry of the nation, the local government, and the federal government.

- 3) The use of either language will be optional in nonofficial business.
- 4) As for the language in the communications media, a special law will schedule programs in both languages, alternately.

#### Family Law: Divorce

The doctrine of acquired rights must be considered in the constitutional area, because, according to Orgaz, the judges cannot in practice avoid referring to that doctrine in order to counter retroactivity--even if imposed by law--so as to protect constitutional rights.

In the area of family law, divorce can be considered as an acquired right for the current inhabitants of the Malvinas, given that the institution has a long tradition and has been recognized for many years in Great Britain.

[PY220100] Until our specific legislation on divorce, which is reflected in the text of Article 64, Law 2393, is modified--either through a law sanctioning divorce, or by revoking Decree-law 4070/56--means must be provided to respect the institution of divorce existing in the Malvinas Islands.

This can be done through a special reserve clause to be included in the incorporation pact, upholding the current status of the Malvinas population regarding maintenance of divorce and its attendant juridical effects.

In this regard, the immediate problem refers to the application of that clause, to whom it applies, how long will it be in force, and to whether it will be inclusive of those persons who settle in the Malvinas Islands.

A) The first solution, limiting in character, would be to recognize the right to divorce for the current inhabitants of the islands, for which purpose a list prepared by the residents will be sealed and added to the pact that is signed.

The single residents whose names are included in that list will have the right to invoke that special reserve clause included in the incorporation pact.

That right will likewise be guaranteed for natives of the islands who are not residents at the time the list is prepared.

B) The duration of the special reserve clause should be politically discussed at the time it is written. A period of no less than 10 years is advisable.

C) Another situation that should be considered is whether divorce rights can be granted to Argentines who become residents of the Malvinas in good faith, not with the sole intention of evading the pertinent law enforceable on the mainland.

With the application of the residency law, according to Calandrelli, the personal character of a legal relationship--because the personal law is applied by applying the residency law--is reconciled with the public order,

because the residency law is the *lex fori*, thus the latter is applied by applying the former.

It should be recalled that the residency theory is the one that prevails in our juridical system and the one that was approved by the Montevideo Treaties of 1889 and 1940.

## II--Recognition of the Evidential Value of Marriage Certificates

The validity of marriage status certificates will be fully recognized if they have been issued by duly appointed authorities during the British administration.

0) Legislation on labor matters, trade unionism, and social security: The British Government wants the islands to keep their current labor and trade unionist regime, and the British legislation to be applied to social security services.

It is obviously easier to recognize spiritual rights (freedom of worship, education, use of language) than those with a material or economic connotation. This is so because of the marked differences between the European continental law and the "common law."

It is possible, however, to find negotiable points to obviate the problems with sufficient juridical support in the Argentine legislation.

I. [as published] Labor legislation: The current Regime of Labor Contract (de facto law number 21297, t.o. [nontranslated abbreviation in Spanish] through decree 390/76) establishes the following order of precedence in order to rule labor relations:

- 1st) This law;
- 2d) Professional laws and statutes;
- 3d) Labor bargain contracts;
- 4th) Consent of the parties;
- 5th) Uses and mores.

The solution can be found through two alternatives:

[PY220129] Labor bargaining contracts: In the Malvinas, labor relations will be regulated through free bargaining between employers and employees, possibly with an Argentine official or an individual elected by the residents acting as mediator.

Once a bargaining contract is signed (Articles 8 and 9 of Law 14250), it is binding on all workers, industrialists and/or businessmen in a given activity within the zone of its application. This is particularly important because the Argentine law permitting zone bargaining contracts, shows that this proposed formula is viable.

Various pronouncements, especially by the Supreme Court of the Buenos Aires Province, have upheld the constitutionality of the two aforementioned articles (the Law, volume 92, page 575, and others).

Decree 6582/54, which is regulated by Law 14250, holds that the representativity of the interested parties pertains to the activity and zone (Article 1, Item E, of Decree 6582/54). In this way, the risk that the conventional regulation not be managed by the interested parties of the region (the islands in this case) is prevented.

Current practices, uses and mores in the islands can be included in the bargaining contracts. The constitutional guarantees granted by Article 14 bis can be easily assured, since they have to do with universally recognized principles.

Should a question not be provided for in the bargaining contract, nor amenable by local uses and mores, the provisions of the Regime of Labor Contract could be applied, instead.

We can add, to prove that the proposal does not violate the Argentine legislation, that Article 2 of the Regime of Labor Contract sets the limits within which the legislation applies, and determines the category of workers that are exempted (domestic servants, rural workers, etc.). No technical obstacle prevents those who are engaged in services in the islands from being exempted, keeping the Regime of Labor Contract as a substitute law.

The other alternative is that the National Congress could pass a professional statute under the name of statute for the Malvinian workers. Our current legislation has made possible the existence of 17 statutes (for domestic workers, newspapermen, health professionals, private teachers, construction and maritime workers, and even soccer players). So, one more statute should not pose a problem. There can be no objection to having the local legislative body pass the labor statute.

That statute should encompass the legislation now in force in the islands, that is, the common law; or at least general guidelines that should be judged indispensable.

There is no technical or legal obstacle to passing a law-statute, and then complementing it with the zone collective bargaining contracts.

#### Legislation on Trade Unionism

No difficulties can be foreseen in this area, because:

A) The first paragraph of Article 14 bis of our Constitution guarantees the existence of free, democratic trade unions that can secure recognition simply by signing in a special registry.

B) Argentina has ratified, through Law 14932, the 87th Convention of the International Labor Organization (9 July 1948) which refers to freedom for trades unionism and protection for the right to have labor organizations.

Finally, union representativity for given zones or geographical areas can be granted under our current legislation.

Therefore, we understand that the British petition on this matter is easily satisfied.

[PY221412] Social Security Legislation

The laws on social security system (retirements, pensions, assistance, etc.) are similar in all countries.

Differences can be found only in forms and details, but not in the essentials. Our major problem here is lack of money and the administration of funds.

For years, our country has had various types of retirement benefits provided by various institutions such as railroad, public health, commerce, rural and maritime institutions. So, creating a retirement fund for the Malvinas will be no problem. Moreover, it would be justified by the distance and communication difficulties. This retirement fund would be based in the Malvinas and its funds would be independently administered.

Another alternative would be to create a complementary fund, which already exists under our laws for some activities.

P) Currency: The difference in the lifestyle of British and Argentines is most pronounced when it comes to currency. This is because of the inflationary phenomenon which we need not discuss here. That the islanders desire to keep their own currency is quite reasonable. From the constitutional standpoint, no obstacle can be found to letting them keep their currency.

Item 10 of Article 67 of the National Constitution gives the National Congress the authority to print money (issue paper money) and, to set its value and that of foreign currencies.

True, that function of the National Congress has been distorted by the delegation of that function to the Central Bank, and by the fact that foreign currency has not circulated legally in the country since the last century.

No constitutional principle is violated if the value of the currency circulating in the Malvinas is determined by the Central Bank of the Argentine Republic or by the original authority, or if its circulation is restricted to the islands.

This is so because in our country, money is managed by authorities empowered by the National Congress to carry out a function vested in it by the National Constitution.

Lastly, two points must be mentioned:

1) Article 67, Item 1, of our National Constitution, referring to customs, establishes that national taxes can be paid with the currency circulating in the respective provinces, at a fair rate of exchange.

2) Recognizing that arguments to the contrary are subject to objections, the country must have a uniform system of weights and measures. This is not true of currency. These two topics are dealt with in Item 1 of Article 67 of the National Constitution.

Who should issue the Malvinian currency and control its circulation? A suggested answer to this question is that it should be our treasury, under joint control by the Central Bank of the Argentine Republic and representatives of the islands' authorities.

Q) Properties of the Falkland Islands Company: The acquisition of properties of the Falkland Islands Company should not include the purchase of land, which is subject to eminent domain (sovereignty).

That acquisition is not essential and it would depend on whether or not the company wanted to dispose of its properties. It would be advisable, however, to transfer the services that company provides, including the infrastructure of those services. This should be done, if possible, by acquiring stock in the company, because this would provide an important economic structure that would help consolidate the political and institutional links of the islanders with our country.

R) Public debt: Given the momentous importance of this question, which embraces both the internal and external debt, it would be advisable to include it in the pact of incorporation.

The two parties should go on record that each population assumes responsibility only for the public debt position at the time of signing the pact of incorporation of the Malvinas Islands as a new province of the Argentine Federal State.

CSO: 3348/823

ARGENTINA

AIR FORCE SAYS ARTIFICIAL COMET 'SUCCESSFUL'

PY210236 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 1010 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] Buenos Aires, 19 Jul (DYN)--The air force has reported that an artificial comet has been "successfully tested" at an altitude of 110 km as part of an international scientific project.

It was reported that the artificial comet was tested over the Pacific ocean, at 253 degrees longitude West [as received] and 17 degrees latitude South. The experiment was carried out early on 18 July.

The air force explained that the comet "was different from the ones observed in similar experiments over Tahiti in December 1984, because new phenomena were observed on this occasion."

In this regard, it was reported that "the comet's tail was three times longer, reaching a length of 15,000 to 18,000 km in 4 minutes," and that "the comet's head split into two parts at a speed of 1,000 km per second."

The source explained that the experiment was observed from an air force Boeing 707 fitted with equipment for night detection of residual light and with special television tracking systems.

During the observation, which lasted 6 minutes and 30 seconds, it was possible to detect turbulence and other phenomena that were also detected by the Characto Station in Arequipa, Peru. However, U.S. and Argentine stations were unable to observe the same phenomena because of weather conditions.

Argentine, Peruvian, and FRG scientists participated in the experiment, which was supplemented studies carried out by a team of scientists from several countries in coordination with the FRG's Max Planck Institute.

The director of the project, which also has NASA support, is Colonel Arnoldo Valenzuela.

CSO: 3348/817

ARGENTINA

BRIEFS

DISARMAMENT DELEGATE--Buenos Aires, 24 Jun (TELAM)--The executive branch has designated Mario Alberto Campora as Argentina delegate to the special mission for disarmament, which is headquartered in Geneva. [Summary] [Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 0352 GMT 25 Jun 85 PY]

GROWTH RATE DOWN--Buenos Aires, 26 Jun (TELAM)--The Economy Ministry has officially reported that the GNP grew at an annual rate of 0.5 percent in the first quarter of 1985, and that this growth rate reflects a decline in comparison with the last months of 1984. [Summary] [Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2153 GMT 26 Jun 85 PY]

OIL ASSOCIATION SECRETARY--Montevideo, 2 Jul (AFP)--Juan Fiorioli, 57, an Argentine engineer, has taken over as the secretary general of the Latin American Petroleum Industry Mutual Aid Association (ARPEL). Fiorioli is replacing Jarrim Ampudia, an Ecuadorian citizen. [Excerpt] [Paris AFP in Spanish 2341 GMT 2 Jul 85 PY]

ENVOY TRANSFERS SUSPENDED--Buenos Aires, 5 Jun (TELAM)--The Foreign Ministry has reported that in the face of the budget cuts ordered by the executive branch for fiscal year 1985, the transfer of Foreign Ministry personnel scheduled for this year will not be implemented. [Excerpt] [Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2057 GMT 5 Jun 85 PY]

CSO: 3348/817

BAHAMAS

## FNM YOUTH ARM SCORES NOTTAGE, PLP YOUNG LIBERALS

Nassau THE TRIBUNE in English 6 Jul 85 p 1

[Text]

**THE TORCHBEARERS** Association, youth arm of the Opposition FNM, says it stands "totally" behind the Action Group's "bold and courageous" step against former PLP Cabinet Minister Kendal Nottage and described as a "cheap political ploy" a Young Liberals statement inviting them to condemn opposition to Mr Nottage's participation in last week's march against drugs.

The December 1984 report of the Commission of Inquiry into drugs and related corruption found that Mr Nottage, wittingly or unwittingly, fronted for Boston Mafioso Michael Salvatore Caruana.

The Free National Movement's Action Group last week used a loudspeaker mounted at the starting point of the National Drug Council's anti-drug march to publicly denounce Mr Nottage's participation.

Action Group members then approached Mr Nottage and verbally confronted him as he stood among PLP supporters.

The Progressive Young Liberals, youth arm of the ruling Progressive Liberal Party, issued a statement condemning the Action Group and calling on the Torchbearers to do likewise.

The Torchbearers, in a release issued yesterday, described the "so-called release" of the Young Liberals as a "cheap political ploy" designed to trap them into appearing unconcerned about the issue of drugs.

"On the contrary," continue the FNM youth, "our deep concern about the horror of

drugs leads us to condemn Mr Kendal Nottage, who, whether he knew it or not, fronted for the Mafia."

The release recalls that FNM Leader Kendal Isaacs, QC, while speaking at a church convention several months ago, called for a co-ordinated effort against the "serious drug problem."

The Torchbearers say they are sympathetic towards "our unfortunate brothers and sisters who have become cocaine addicts, many of whom are unemployed, depressed and out of desperation resort to drugs.

"However, we strongly condemn those terrorists who commit the ungodly crime of drug trafficking and other similar offences," including the Mafia, say Torchbearers.

Drug trafficking is an inhuman act committed against Bahamians "and the fight to rid our society of it demands our greatest efforts."

For this reason, say the FNM youth, "we have given our 100 percent support to efforts by the Drug Task Force and similar organizations."

The Torchbearers suggest one reason for the Young Liberals' release is upcoming elections in that organisation.

The FNM youth group says it has no interest in the internal politics of the Young Liberals, adding that if their counterparts "need something constructive to say" it is "sincerely" suggested that they "attempt to lobby the Prime Minister and his entire Government to resign."

"It should be remembered that it is the attitude of the Government which Mr Moncur (Young Liberals Chairman) supports that is responsible for the horrific drug problem that besets our beloved country.

"We further suggest that Mr Moncur should have been lobbying his Government to bring about the reforms suggested by the Drug Task Force in its report tabled in the House many months ago.

"And, finally, we suggest that Mr Moncur should have been calling upon the Government to make laws which will reflect our society's will when dealing with drug pushers," the Torchbearers said.

"The ones in existence, now are too lenient."

In the release condemned by the Torchbearers, the Young Liberals said that it was "pleased to have been a part of the march (against drugs) as it gave us the opportunity to register our concern over the ravaging effects of drug abuse in our country and also because it gave us the opportunity to join our fellow countrymen in an expression of solidarity with the courageous efforts which are being made by the National Drug Council to rid our land of this scourge.

"At the same time we must also, however, register our disappointment over the rowdy, abusive and downright nasty manner in which members of the Action Group of the Free National Movement behaved. It seems to us that the only interest was to turn the march into a political fiasco and thereby draw attention away from the real purpose of the march, which was to show that there is a nationwide, bipartisan determination to actively struggle against the problem of drugs," said the PLP youth group. "The Action Group of the FNM," they said, "came out to pick on Kendal Nottage. The Young Liberals and everyone else came out to declare war on drugs. It is, therefore, most unfortunate that the Action Group of the FNM and Mr Kendal Isaacs, by their behaviour, distracted attention from the message which the march was trying to send. Indeed, we understand that many people who had intended to march were discouraged

from doing so upon learning of the crude and crazy manner in which the Action Group was behaving.

"All this," said the PLP's Young Liberals, "raises in our minds the question as to whether the FNM is really committed to the national war on drugs. Can it be that their only concern is to seek political mileage in any and everything, no matter what the occasion and no matter what the topic?"

BAHAMAS

## GOVERNMENT WARNS AGAINST AIRCRAFT, PILOT VIOLATIONS

Nassau THE TRIBUNE in English 8 Jul 85 pp 1, 4

[Article by Marcia Bethel]

[Text]

THE MINISTRY of Transport has warned that it is an offence punishable under the law for any person to operate aircraft charter services without first obtaining a licence or permit from the Ministry.

Apparently numerous reports have reached the Ministry alleging that aircraft are being operated illegally to/from and within the Bahamas. Such operations contravene the Civil Aviation (Licensing of Air Services) Regulations, 1976.

Any person found guilty of this offence is liable on a summary conviction, on a first offence, to a fine not exceeding \$5,000 or imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year. On the second offence the person is liable to a fine not exceeding \$10,000 or imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

The Ministry also reminded aircraft owners that aircraft cannot be added to the fleet without prior approval.

The owners of licensed charter services at Nassau International Airport have filed numerous complaints with the Ministry of Transport for several years. The Ministry has attempted, unsuccessfully, to put a stop to the illegal operations. A statement similar to this one was issued last year August. It also warned that it is a crime to operate charter services illegally.

Today Paul Aranha, owner of Trans Island Airways, pointed out that unless the laws are enforced regularly by policing action, the problem will continue.

He said that the problem at Nassau airport is "totally uncontrolled" and stressed the danger these unlicensed businesses pose to the flying public. Mr Aranha said that because the pilots do not adhere to any proper flying or aircraft maintenance standards, it is difficult to say whether the pilots have the proper licenses.

He spoke of one pilot who has only a private pilot's licence, yet he is operating a very "active" charter business.

Mr Aranha said he was able to come up with the names of 30 persons operating charter businesses without proper permits. He said, however, that this problem will exist everywhere in the world where there is an airport.

He said the experience in England has been that it has been difficult to bring people to trial for this type of offence and even more difficult to get a conviction.

"But, the experience has also been that when you have a constant surveillance and a constant attempt to stop this type of thing, most illegal operators are frightened out of it. Where there are aeroplanes the problem will always exist," he said.

"However, some years ago in England, virtually overnight most of the illegal operators stopped (because of the

crackdown). The more determined ones will continue, but the threat of punishment will act as a deterrent," Mr Aranha said.

He said that these people operate mainly from the ramps and therefore have no overhead expenses like an office or employees. He said many of them don't pay landing fees at the airport and have no aircraft insurance. The Treasury is losing money in the form of licence fees and business licence tax.

Mr Aranha also said he has reason to believe that there have been accidents involving these illegal operators.

7 August 1985

BAHAMAS

## BRIEFS

NEW PAPER RAPS PINDLING--Prime Minister Lynden Pindling "did not disclose (his income and assets) fully and accurately--it's as simple as that," a front page editorial in the first issue of Bahamas BEACON contends. The bi-weekly published by Cooper's Town MP and former Housing and National Insurance Minister Hubert Ingraham, went on the newstands today. "The Public Disclosure Commission does not have the legal power or capacity to excuse Sir Lynden's nondisclosure and any attempt to do so would be a nullity," the editorial says. It continues that Sir Lynden ought now to take serious account of the high office of prime minister, the reputation and future of the Bahamas and of the PLP, and the examples and lessons that this generation will pass on to the next. "The country cannot be expected to engage in an endless attempt to defend the indefensible," the editorial says. It also quoted its legal and constitutional adviser as recommending that Opposition leader Kendal Isaacs, whose application against the Public Disclosure Commission was dismissed last week, should appeal the Chief Justice's decision. In its first edition, Mr Ingraham dedicated the BEACON to "truth, honesty, fairness, hard and honest work, integrity, even-handedness and a high degree of journalistic ethics." [Text] [Nassau THE TRIBUNE in English 9 Jul 85 p 1]

VATICAN ENVOY--His Excellency the Governor General Sir Gerald Cash accepted the credentials of the ambassador of the Holy See, His Excellency the Apostolic Pro-Nuncio (Manuel Monterio de Castro), yesterday. [Summary] [Nassau Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 3 Jul 85 FL]

CSO: 3298/901

BARBADOS

PUERTO RICO'S GOVERNOR VISITS, COMMENTS ON TRADE

Opportunities Offered

Bridgetown BARBADOS ADVOCATE in English 29 Jun 85 p 1

[Text]

Puerto Rico has warned that the proposed repeal of a section of an American Tax Code could spell danger for that country's economic programme of assistance to Barbados and other Caribbean countries.

Speaking yesterday at a luncheon hosted by Prime Minister Bernard St. John at the Barbados Hilton, Mr. Rafael Hernandez Colon, Puerto Rico's Governor, said the repeal of Code 936 would also inflict damage on the American-sponsored Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI).

He said that Section 936 of the American Tax Code was part of a Tax Simplification Plan now before the United States Congress.

Companies operating under Section 936 of the code account for 60 per cent of the manufacturing employment in Puerto Rico, the governor recalled during his inauguration that Puerto Rico had committed some US\$700 million to a strategy of shared regional development.

"In effect, we have dedicated the resources at our disposal to the service of President Reagan's historic CBI. We have offered financing, on favourable terms, for new plants in Puerto Rico to corporations ready to invest their own funds on twin plants on other Caribbean islands," he said.

"We want to widen the grounds of opportunity; we want to be agents of change; we want others to have a place to stand, and a chance for their own Operations Bootstrap," the Governor told the luncheon.

He warned however that ending code 936 was not reform. "It would represent a critical loss to our economy; it would set back the prospect and stability of this region," he pointed out.

He said that given the chance Puerto Rico will bring thousands of new jobs to Caribbean Basin countries where unemployment was the ally of instability.

Mr. Hernandez Colon also outlined the areas in which some Caribbean countries were benefiting from the scheme. He said that Barbados was getting houses prefabricated in Puerto Rico. Yesterday the governor visited Husbands, St. James, where the units are located.

"We are now encouraging Intel to finance the expansion, in Barbados and Puerto Rico, of a twin project in the computer field," he said.

He said there were four pharmaceutical firms prepared to create new twin plants and new jobs in Puerto Rico and Grenada if his country succeeded in preserving Section 936.

In Jamaica, he said, they were pursuing the possibility of investing Section 936 funds from the Puerto Rico Redevelopment Bank to construct factories in Jamaica's free trade zone.

In addition Mr. Hernandez Colon said his country will be offering each Caribbean island 10 scholarships to persons to study at the technical centre in Mayaguez.

St. John Remarks

Bridgetown BARBADOS ADVOCATE in English 29 Jun 85 p 1

[Article by Eric Nurse]

[Text]

Barbados' exports to Puerto Rico totalled \$194.5 million last year, an increase of nearly 12 per cent over 1983, Prime Minister Bernard St. John said yesterday.

The Prime Minister made the statement in welcoming Puerto Rico Gov. Rafael Hernandez Colon, at the opening of the Caribbean Manufacturers Exhibition (CARIMEX) here.

The Governor is also scheduled to visit a housing project here developed jointly by firms on the two islands.

St. John called Mr. Hernandez Colon's visit "an indication of the growing recognition of the leaders of the wider Caribbean of the need for increased regional co-operation."

The Prime Minister said it was difficult to over-dramatise the devastating effect the decline in trade among Caribbean Community (CARICOM) member states has had on their economies.

The 13-member regional trade organisation has suffered sharp reductions in intra-regional trade as the economic pinch of the world recession pushed some member states to impose protectionist measures.

St. John said Barbados' exports to non-Caricom markets rose by five per cent last year, with the largest slice of that increase going to Puerto Rico.

He said the \$194.5 million in goods exported to Puerto Rico in 1984 represented an increase of 11.9 per cent over the previous year.

Meanwhile, the nation's exports to Caricom states, which had increased at a rate of 25 per cent a year during the period 1977 - 1982, dropped by 2.3 per cent in 1983 and another 16.5 per cent last year.

With roughly half of Barbados' exports going to Caricom members, any significant drop in that trade has an immediate and significant impact on the island's economy, the

Prime Minister said.

St. John said the outlook for trade within the Caricom region continues gloomy with "perhaps a sharpening in 1985 of the difficulties which beset Caribbean economies in 1984."

He attributed the problem to the continued suspension of the Caricom Multilateral Clearing Facility, the organisation's credit mechanism, and to the continued existence of trade barriers.

"It is still incumbent on all regional governments to create the conditions whereby regional trade may be revitalised," St. John said.

The CARIMEX exhibit, in which hundreds of regional manufacturers are displaying their products, coincides with the opening here next week of the Caricom summit at which the heads of government of member countries are expected to continue exploring ways of resolving the trade crisis within the region. (AP)

CSO: 3298/881

BARBADOS

REPORT SHOWS FIRST-QUARTER IMPORTS DOWN, EXPORTS UP

FL102145 Bridgetown CANA in English 2015 GMT 10 Jul 85

[By Irvine Reid]

[Text] Bridgetown, July 10--Barbados today reported a 16.8 million dollar (one BDS dollar: 50 cents US) first quarter increase in the value of its exports and a near 10 percent drop in imports.

Exports were up from 163.4 million dollars to 180.2 million dollars, a 10.3 percent jump, and imports fell from 325.2 million to 292.7 million dollars.

Commenting on the improvement in exports, the state run Export Promotion Corporation (EPC) said this growth was mainly caused by the increase in re-exports, which rose by 17.6 million dollars to reach 64.9 million dollars, during the period under review. The major re-export was oil, valued at 34.7 million dollars.

The EPC said that for the first quarter domestic exports actually declined by .7 percent or 847,000 dollars compared with the corresponding period last year. The major domestic export categories were listed as machinery and transport equipment as well as chemicals.

Marginal increases of 8.6 percent and 8.1 percent were recorded in the machinery and transport equipment and manufactured articles classified chiefly by materials categories. However, these were offset by declines of 35.8 percent and 30.5 percent recorded respectively by miscellaneous manufactured articles and chemicals categories, the EPC said.

The corporation said domestic exports to the Caribbean Community (Caricom) region declined by 8.2 million dollars or were 33.9 percent below the 1984 first quarter figure.

Domestic exports to Trinidad and Tobago were 6.3 million dollars, a decline of 61.8 percent, while domestic exports to Jamaica were 2.5 million dollars, an increase of 4.7 percent, the corporation said.

Domestic exports to Guyana reached 476,000 dollars. St. Lucia was Barbados' third largest Caricom market during the first quarter of 1985. Barbados' domestic exports to that country increased by 68.2 percent to reach two million dollars.

Total exports to Caricom recorded an increase of 13.5 million dollars or 45.3 percent above 1984 figures. This was mainly due to the substantial increase in re-exports of oil to Guyana, according to the corporation.

The corporation said that with respect to extra-regional trade there was an increase in exports during the first three months of this year when compared with the same period in 1984. Domestic exports to non-Caricom sources rose by 7.4 million dollars, or 7.9 percent, while total exports increased by 3.2 million dollars, or 2.4 percent.

The EPC said that Puerto Rico surpassed the United States to become Barbados' largest extra-regional market during the period, adding that that country absorbed 61.8 percent, or 61.4 million dollars, and 44.9 percent, or 61.5 million dollars, of Barbados' domestic and total exports respectively to extra-regional markets.

Electronic components continued to be Barbados' major domestic export to Puerto Rico.

The United States was Barbados' second largest extra-regional market for domestic and total exports. The US imported 32.7 million dollars and 34.6 million dollars or 32.9 and 25.3 percent respectively of domestic and total exports to non-Caricom markets by the end of March this year.

The European Economic Community (EEC) took 2.2 million dollars and 2.8 million dollars worth of this country's domestic and total exports during the period, the EPC said.

CSO: 3298/869

BARBADOS

ST JOHN EXPLAINS RATIONALE FOR CABINET RESHUFFLE

Bridgetown DAILY NATION in English 1 Jul 85 p 12

[Text]

PRIME MINISTER BERNARD ST. JOHN yesterday spelt out the reasons and some of the duties of his ministers involved in his first Cabinet reshuffle which became effective from June 15.

He began with those who may be considered of aspiring to full Cabinet rank, and in doing so, Mr. St. John outlined how the reshuffle was aimed at implementing the major components of his first budgetary proposals.

Speaking in the *Ellis and Company programme on Voice of Barbados* (VOB), Prime Minister St. John said: "If a start was made with the Ministry of Finance itself, it would be noticed that this ministry was no longer responsible through its planning division for natural resources.

He said: "Natural resources has been shifted to the Ministry of Agriculture. One of the objects of the Budget was to make sure that the structural adjustments which we consider necessary in the economy . . . that we would have in place of mechanisms to ensure that Government's programmes for structural adjustments would be smoothly carried into effect."

Mr. St. John said that the total utilisation of our natural resources and land resources in the form of agriculture, in his opinion, loomed large in the structural adjustments.

So that, he said, the Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources would now be looking after fisheries, agriculture, mining and oil exploitation. He would be backed up by the necessary expertise at the civil service level to allow that to take place.

Secondly, Mr. St. John said, the minister who was Minister of State in charge of Planning (Senator Clyde Griffith) and who spent a considerable amount of time on energy and natural resources will now be freed to aid him in the implementing of the general development plan.

The Prime Minister pointed out that Government has a Planning and Priorities Committee which meets once a month.

He said: "We have found that it is necessary for us to have a minister whose time would be taken up in monitoring the decisions of the Planning and Priorities Committee. So Senator Griffith will do that," Prime Minister St. John said.

In addition, the Prime Minister said, Senator Griffith would take over the leadership of the Senate.

Mr. St. John said that Parliamentary Secretary Owen Arthur would be involved far more now in the fiscal and financial control aspects of the Ministry of Finance. The Prime Minister said Mr. Arthur was in charge of the section dealing with the review of the subventions that go to the statutory corporations, particularly those of a commercial nature.

## MONETARY POLICY

Mr. Arthur was also involved in monitoring with other ministries, those aspects of monetary policy relating to the banking system and relating to the flow of money.

Mr. St. John said that at the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Labour of Social Security changes did occur there.

He recalled that much emphasis had been placed on the question of training, and the integration of all of the agencies in Barbados involved both at the institutional level, and at the non-institutional level, in delivering the new training programmes for young people.

He said that Mr. DeLisle Bradshaw, had been freed of the responsibility of certain aspects of social security and his time and energy would now be more involved in the implementation of the Government's training programme.

He said that community development had been added to Mr. Bradshaw because it was thought that much of the infrastructure of community development was used in the delivery of some of the skills training programme, and it was necessary to have all aspects within one ministry.

Mr. St. John added that the part of the social security that had been transferred to the Ministry of Health was a matter of Government tidying up social security, particularly to the old people.

Said the Prime Minister: "Mr. Bradshaw was responsible for the National Assistance Board, which delivered such things as housing for the old people and certain aspects of welfare.

"Now with all that in the Ministry of Health, together with the implementation of the old age pension legislation, the implementation of the National Health Service (NHS) which starts with the over 65, we can begin to see within one Ministry, the total package of Government's programme for over 65," the Prime Minister said.

He noted that those were the major areas.

But he added that the Ministry of Housing was the last area and that was equally important. He said that Town Planning had been transferred from the Ministry of the Prime Minister and had gone to the Ministry of Housing and Lands.

So that, Mr. St. John said, Government thought that again by bringing together that convenient group of subjects, they would be able to have a good look as to whether policies in relation to delivery of land, sites and services, and delivery of houses which had now been under conditions, declared a partnership between the private and public sector, would be implemented.

CSO: 3298/881

BARBADOS

BRIEFS

TROTMAN CANDIDACY--Senator O'Brien Trotman will represent the Barbados Labour Party in the constituency of Christ Church West Central at the next General Election. At a special branch meeting held last night at Vauxhall Mixed School, Senator Trotman polled 280 votes while the other two candidates for nomination, Senator Herbie Yearwood and Mr Sinclair Howell polled 148 and 53 votes respectively. Hundreds of party members gathered in the small courtyard of the school to vote in what had become the most heated campaign within the BLP for constituency nomination. However, when the results of the poll were announced the losing candidates as well as the victor all congratulated each other on their "fine effort." Mr Howell said: "We will now join hands on a common plough to win this seat for the Barbados Labour Party." This is the first time Senator Trotman, Minister of Health, will be facing the polls. The incumbent for Christ Church West Central is Mr Maurice King of the Democratic Labour Party." [Text]  
[Bridgetown BARBADOS ADVOCATE in English 8 Jul 85 p 1]

CSO: 3298/881

DOMINICA

REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON PRE-ELECTION POLITICAL SITUATION

Political Broadcast Policy

Roseau THE NEW CHRONICLE in English 7 Jun 85 p 2

[Text]

A policy statement on the functions of the Dominica Broadcasting Service in view of the upcoming general elections reveals that airtime will be available to all political parties and independent candidates in the 1985 campaign.

According to the statement each party will be entitled to one broadcast each week of ten, fifteen or twenty minutes duration at the option of the party.

The statement cautions that nothing is to be included in the programme which offends against good taste or decency or "is likely to encourage or incite crime or lead to disorder or be offensive to public feeling....."

Close to July 1, election day, DBS proposes to invite leaders of the major political parties to debate, but the statement says: "There shall be no adjudication at such debate or debates."

In the general programming of the radio, however all interviews and comments "of a direct political nature" will cease to be aired.

Official sources have indicated that the station reserves the right to host panel discussions in English and Kwéyòl on current political developments using panelists who may or may not be political candidates.

Text of Charles Address

Roseau THE NEW CHRONICLE in English 7 Jun 85 p 19

[Text of address by Prime Minister M. Eugenia Charles to the nation on 4 June 1985]

[Text]

Five years ago on the 21st July, you the people of Dominica put the Freedom Party in charge of the affairs of Dominica. During that time we have served you well and faithfully and performed creditably in your eyes and the eyes of the world. We believe, and in the numerous manifestations you have displayed in the last few months, you have led us to believe that you know that we have achieved on your behalf, and with your help, more than you had expected.

In the field of Education we have ensured that as many people as possible who are capable of absorbing knowledge are given the opportunity to do so - this applies both to the very young as well as the adults. You have merely to recall the adaptation of our curriculum, the Junior Secondary Programme, the Youth Skills Programme, the Adult Education classes as well as the Summer School to appreciate the broad widening of the choice in education. In the Health field we have ensured by posting of doctors throughout the island, by providing wide ambulance services, by establishing the drug revolving fund that services in health have been brought to the doorstep of all Dominicans.

We have been concerned for the wellbeing of our people so that adequate housing has been high on our priority list and we have studied and planned the use of indigenous materials in the construction of our houses. In our concern

for the less fortunate we have encouraged and assisted in the building of a new home for the aged and the establishing of two small such homes outside of Roseau. We have raised the level of public assistance to \$50.00 per month and ensured that it has been paid promptly and we have lengthened the list of deserving persons who receive it.

Realising that unemployment is the problem that looms the largest, we have encouraged light industry and have provided factory shells to attract persons to begin manufacturing in this island. Most of these entrepreneurs are local persons but there are a few foreign investors who have also provided the much needed jobs.

We recognise that agriculture is the mainstay of the island and we have studied the very important banana industry and realising that efficiency in the industry and great participation by the farmer was required we went about diligently and

painstakingly explaining to the farmers until they adopted the ideas which have now brought the banana industry to the point where it can be seen to be viable again. So that today the farmer is obtaining the highest price that he has ever received for bananas since the industry was established in Dominica. Production is also rising. We realise that credit for fertilizer is an important component in the success of the industry and we have discussed with an aid donor a plan by which the new banana farmer or the banana farmer with new plantings can obtain inputs on credit so that his yield can be greatly improved. This scheme should come into effect in September.

While recognising the importance of the banana industry we realise that it is to the farmer's benefit to have diversification of crops and plans have been carried out to ensure that this is established.

With all of this it is necessary to obtain markets and with the present situation in

CARICOM it is necessary to also look outside the region. Government has therefore set in place a marketing intelligence unit which when fully developed will assist persons in the private sector to market the products and crops of Dominica in a very efficient way.

In spite of the fact that world recession hit us hard and in spite of the fact that unscrupulous persons attempted to upset the Government on more than one occasion we made great strides in improving the economy; we have learned to live within our budget except when disasters strike; we have ensured a modest growth of 3%; we have brought down inflation to a remarkably low 2.5% and we have ensured that domestic savings have increased by almost 50%. During the period many new shops and stores have opened their doors to the public and the sales of motor vehicles have grown to an unusually high level.

While doing all this we undertook a massive major road programme which is complete in some areas and advancing rapidly in others. We have begun the electrification of the east coast; we have repaired schools and built others; we have built new clinics and hospitals; repaired ports and built jettys and bridges; and repaired most of the dwelling houses belonging to Government.

Though the rate of unemployment has decreased from 21% to 13% we are not satisfied. We wish to do a great deal more to encourage the rate to decrease to one figure and a low figure at that.

To do this we will continue to encourage entrepreneurs both local and foreign to establish manufacturing establishments here so that more persons can be employed. We will also encourage more efficient methods of agriculture and the settlement of the lands at Geneva and Castle Bruce as well as Soufriere will give us the opportunity to encourage new and young farmers to enter into this field and succeed at it.

During our term of office we reduced the rate of personal income tax and we keep this subject under constant review to arrive at a solution which is gradual, fair, not cumbersome and yet revenue bearing.

When we came to you before the 1980 elections and asked you to place your confidence in us we were careful to make no promises because we did not know what the financial situation would allow us to undertake.

However we can now tell you with confidence that though we have many medium sized projects to undertake we have four main targets before us - the enhancement of the lot of the farmer so that he can earn more for his hard work and that means a continuation of the process we are using towards marketing and the supply of input; the increase in our hydro electricity supply to encourage industry and so that we can get rid of the fuel surcharge; an islandwide project for the provision of feeder roads; a national water scheme which is already in the making. All of these projects will ensure that the rate of unemployment is lowered.

Equally with the unemployment rate our thoughts have been concerned with the unity of our people and we have made every effort to meet you on every possible occasion to ensure that we understand and keep in our minds your hopes and aspirations and to ensure that you understand the decisions we are making for the benefit of the country and yourselves.

It is with sadness that I have witnessed the level to which some of the recent political meetings have sunk. Mepuis and vilification do not add lustre to a campaign and the stirring of hatred in the minds of supporters is detrimental to the continuing peace in this island. I wish however to request members and supporters of the Dominica Freedom Party not to respond to the mepuis and abuse of members on the other side. The only cure for such behaviour is to ignore it as if it had not been heard. I can afford to give you this advice because I overcame much worse in the 1975 regime from the men who thought they were leaders of the country.

I would like to exhort every one to refrain from such behaviour and from violence for the sake of the peace and well being of our island.

I have just this left to say. I have requested the President to dissolve the House of Assembly and he had the proclamation read earlier this morning. He has fixed Nomination Day for the 15th of June and Election Day will be on the 1st July.

Let us be careful and thoughtful in making our choice. Let us think of our country first and ourselves last. Let us be honest and fair in our judgement. Let us forget our likes and dislikes but seek the achievements which have become visible in our country and realise that there is much more to follow if we make the right choice.

Let 1985 be the beginning of another term in which Government works for the improvement of all the people of Dominica.

Blast at Seraphin

Roseau THE NEW CHRONICLE in English 7 Jun 85 p 9

[Article by Joey Vanterpool]

[Text]

The American suburb echoed with my laughter as I read Oliver Seraphin's letter (NEW CHRONICLE - March 8, 1985) accusing persons of maligning him. His expressed concern was that his good name was being tarnished, and that, to him, was a negative factor, with General Elections around the corner.

This master of character assassination has himself had a field day in pernicious behaviour during his diatribes in the House of Assembly and more recently, on "re-vitalized" Labour Party platforms.

Oliver Seraphin is one individual whom I learned never to take seriously. He lives from one fantasy to another. His most significant contribution to the land of elves and goblins was canvassing for votes from a helicopter while destitute Dominicans (those he purports to champion) were still scrunting for food to eat and still living in tents pitched on his helicopter landing fields.

Seraphin is audacious enough to harbour the thought that Dominicans have, with time, forgotten his many misdeeds and the questionable conduct of his regime. Indeed, the extent of his maladministration is unprecedented in Dominica and indeed the Caribbean, given his short stay in office.

His inability to comprehend that he is all washed up, a real nobody, a political buffoon, is truly astounding. Were it not for the very serious implications for Dominica if this man succeeds in his diabolic quest for recognition and power, his entire "comeback" could be viewed as just another prankish episode in his repertoire of comic book capers, much like his promotional helium balloon floating over the Roseau harbour.

Seraphin who, as Interim Prime Minister, engineered the disappearance of Dominica Passports, Serial Numbers 017151 to 017174, from Police Headquarters, so that he could sell them to Iranians, while operating from a bogus office in the United States.

When Seraphin can come to grips with the reality that he is a relic of Dominica's sordid political past, and gets down to the serious business of pursuing his employment to earn a living, maybe the public whom he has so abused and insulted in the past, will find the graciousness in their hearts to forgive (but not forget) his many calculated acts of mischief, and abuse of political office.

The public, and more so genuine Labourites, must forever shun a man who indicated that he had a private hot-line to St. Francis when the going got too hot for the seat of his pants, "spilled the beans" on government secrets to save his hide, abandoned his colleagues, capitalized on the misfortunes of his Prime Minister (who made him what he was), stabbed the Dominica Labour Party in the back, and used the worst hurricane of the century to enhance his image as a suave politician while channeling hurricane relief supplies to Democratic Labour Party cronies and for his own personal benefit, and leaving the National Treasury dirt broke. It was Seraphin who, as Interim Prime Minister, engineered the disappearance of Dominica Passports, Serial Numbers 017151 to 017174, from Police Headquarters, so that he could sell them to Iranians, while operating from a bogus office in the United States.

It was Seraphin too, who as early as the day before Philip Timothy was gunned down, was already conspiring with

the deceased Eustace Francis, to effect a palace coup and oust Patrick John; and all the while claiming that he was in contact with St. Francis.

I have tried many times, albeit unsuccessfully, to open former Prime Minister John's eyes to the fact that his real enemies are not from without, but from within. This holds true today as he shares platforms with persons who have sworn to destroy him. I am reminded of Mr. Masterlyn Labad's fondness for saying, "Time will tell."

I am amazed that the Labour Movement in Dominica can even harbour the thought of Seraphin's presence in a party he did so much to divide and destroy.

The Labour Party in Dominica began as a noble idea. Rogues and vagabonds later infiltrated it. Seraphin is a prominent member of the many brigands who brought this noble idea to its knees.

Seraphin is such a despicable fellow. To hear Seraphin talk of me, one would never suspect that he once had a hand-delivered letter, stressing my ethical conduct, brought to me in the hope that I would help him form the Democratic Labour Party. That letter was handed to me by Mr. Bob Peters, and is now in the possession of a prominent member of the Freedom Party. Indeed, that very same letter was read at a Freedom Party meeting at Potters-

ville at the last elections

For the record I wish him and others of that ilk to know that I am employed in honest work, improving my education, and writing for a national magazine.

Oliver Seraphin should have left well alone when I departed the shores of Dominica. By foolishly introducing my name on his platforms, he has opened a veritable Pandora's Box which he would have wished remained shut tight.

I hope he is now acutely aware that time and distance have not dimmed my memory, much less my pen.

## Progressive Force Candidates

Roseau THE NEW CHRONICLE in English 14 Jun 85 p 1

[Text]

The Dominica Progressive Force (DPF) formed by Lennard 'Pappy' Baptiste two years ago will field at least 12 candidates for the July 1 General Elections. This brings to three the number of political parties contesting the elections. Mr. Baptiste who formed the Party and immediately launched into an island-wide campaign at the time up to earlier this year was not available for comment. He was expected back in Dominica yesterday, Thursday after two months in England.

Secretary of the DPF Moses Drigo said to the NEW CHRONICLE over the telephone that the Party would certainly be contesting the elections. Definite candidates and their constituencies were Lennard Baptiste - Salisbury, Moses Drigo - Castle Bruce, Augustus Lewis - Grand Fond, Clifford Joseph - Carib Territory, Aurelius Joseph - Vieille Case, Andrew Carbon - Grand Bay and Marcus Thomas - Bagatelle/Petit Savanne. Tentative candidates were Lawrence Brumant - Paix Bouche and Ashworth Simon - Mahaut. Other constituencies whose candidates were also not decided upon were Portsmouth, Colihaut and the Valley.

Asked about the low profile of the Party at this stage, Drigo said this was deliberate.

The Party at this time was more into a house to house campaign. The DPF would be going back onto the political platform as of this weekend.

M. Drigo in responding to their strongest constituencies at this time said Castle Bruce, Petit Savanne and Grand Fond were particularly good. Also promising were Carib Territory and Vieille Case while Salisbury was in the balance, he said.

Party leader Lennard Baptiste pulled away from a merger to coalesce the Democratic Labour Party of O.J. Seraphine and the Dominica Labour Party of Patrick John, when this two latter gentlemen decided on Seraphine as leader of the (Joint) Labour Party. Baptiste who had aspirations towards the leadership of the Labour Party withdrew his support and formed his Dominica Progressive Force.

Since then Michael Douglas who led a minuscule Dominica United Labour Party so staged managed things that he took over the Labour Party which as separate entities wanted nothing to do with Douglas.

It was thought for a while that the DPF had finished with its political dreams for Dominica in the wake of recent political happenings.

Appearance of Graffiti

JPRS-LAM-85-067  
7 August 1985

Roseau THE NEW CHRONICLE in English 14 Jun 85 p 1

[Text]

Residents of Roseau and environs were shocked to find bold writings spray-painted on their houses, gates, and steps earlier this week.

Canefield resident Mrs. Martha Jacobs told the NEW CHRONICLE she was angry and vexed .... "I feel that is a dirty trick". She awoke to find "Freedom must go" printed in bold, red and green letters on her white wall.

Another resident found "Rise Again with Labour" on her newly-painted wall said "whether you are for labour or not you do not write these things on people's walls."

"Dyer for Canefield ..." was another slogan smeared across the white, newly-painted house of Louis Benoit.

"I have bought paint remover and I am trying to remove the writings", Mr. Benoit said.

Police sources said a number of complaints about the graffiti have been lodged and they are investigating the matter.

According to law it is a crime to "write upon, soil, mark, or deface any building, wall, fence, lamposts or other object without consent.

Political graffiti is not the only sign of the impending elections.

In some areas old shoes have been hung on electricity lines and poles. The shoe is the voting symbol of the Labour Party. This has brought calls from the Dominica Electricity Company to issue warnings against this practice.

According to a Domlec Authority the objects on the poles and lines have caused sagging and could damage the transmission and distribution lines.

The official further added that this practice could bridge together and the line could fall on either property or persons and result in fire or loss of life.

Attack on Rosie Douglas

Roseau THE NEW CHRONICLE in English 28 Jun 85 p 7

[Text]

Paix Bouche Independent candidate, Jenner Armour, said on Tuesday that his opponent, Rosie Douglas, the lone candidate of the United Dominica Labour Party, controls the Dominica Labour Party headed by his brother, Michael Douglas.

Mr. Armour, along with two other independents, Irwin Andrew, of Marigot, and Cleve Tavernier of Soufriere, spoke to the media during a forum taped for broadcast at DBS.

Mr. Andrew and Mr. Tavenier, Freedom Party members who face expulsion from the party for breaching the rules, both defended their candidature.

Mr. Andrew said he plans to say why he decided to stand for election when the party council meets next month. Mr. Tavernier said he does not propose to attend the meeting.

In his opening statement, Mr. Armour said the general election was important because for the first time Dominica was faced with a situation where one party was dominated by individuals who did not believe in the system of elections, while on the other hand, there was a party and certain independent individuals who did believe in that system.

He asked: "Now why do I say that?" And he responded: "One, because Mr. (Rosie)

Douglas who is contesting in Paix Bouche constituency against me is in my view an established Communist and, secondly, in my view he controls the Labour Party."

Mr. Armour read from Mr. Rosie Douglas's book, "Chains or Change" and from his "Thesis on Socialist Education" which he said was being distributed to young people to support his point.

He said that the Labour Party had rejected Mr. Douglas as a candidate for the constituency but that within two weeks he had managed to obtain the support of Patrick John who he understood had led the fight against him at the executive.

"Rosie obviously considers that he would have obtained complete control of the Labour Party," said Mr. Armour, "as he obviously controls Mr. Michael Douglas, his brother."

Mr. Armour noted that Rosie Douglas does not have any documents printed with his symbol and no individual manifesto. That showed, he added, that by now he had intended he should have had sufficient control of the Labour Party so that he would have been run as a candidate of the Labour Party with their manifesto and with their symbol.

The question was, said Mr. Armour, how long it would take him to get complete control of the Labour Party. He added.

He said that Rosie Douglas was masquerading as Labour and recalled his criticisms in his book of Edward LeBlanc when he was leader of the Labour Party.

In 1980 Mr. Armour defeated Mr. Douglas by 203 votes.

DOMINICA

BRIEFS

CIVIL SERVICE WAGE TALKS--Negotiations continue today between the Dominica Civil Service Association and the Dominica Government who has presented a counter offer to the CSA's request for an average 47 percent increase in Civil Servants salary. Today CSA is submitting its counter offer to the governments' made on Wednesday, 12 June. Representing the union are C.S.A. President John Alexis, Vice President Ralph Elwin, General Secretary Arthur Smith and Treasurer Alvin Thomas. The government's negotiating team headed by Ossie Symes, Chief Establishment Officer, Cabinet Secretary Vernon Shaw and Financial Secretary Alick Lazarre. Both sides met for the first time on 5 June, 5 months after the CSA's proposals were submitted to government. CSA General Secretary has said it is amazing that government has chosen the month immediately preceding the General Elections to commence negotiations. [Text] [Roseau THE NEW CHRONICLE in English 14 Jun 85 p 1]

AMBASSADOR TO EEC--Roseau, 8 Jul CANA--Former trade minister Charles Savarin is to be Dominica's ambassador to the European Community, Prime Minister Eugenia Charles has announced. She told reporters that Savarin is a good negotiator and her administration was confident that he would be able to do a good job for us. Charles said: We want representation there (Brussels) because that is really the place where we can find a lot of assistance. [Excerpts] [Bridgetown CANA in English 1343 GMT 9 Jul 85 FL]

CSO: 3298/904

JAMAICA

## GENERAL STRIKE ENDS, REPERCUSSIONS DISCUSSED, ASSESSED

### Civil Servant Layoffs

Kingston THE SUNDAY GLEANER in English 30 Jun 85 p 1

[Text]

**SEVERAL thousand public-sector workers are being axed. Further redundancies in the public sector began on Friday as part of the Government's expenditure cutting exercise which is underpinned by the Government's agreement with the International Monetary Fund.**

According to a statement from the Minister of the Public Service, the Hon. Errol Anderson, the effort was to ensure "the recovery of the economy".

However, the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. Edward Seaga, when asked yesterday about the exact numbers to be slashed from the Government's payroll, would not comment. He referred the Gleaner to the statement put out by Mr. Anderson.

Efforts to contact the Minister to ascertain how many of the 100,000-odd public-sector workers would be axed, were unsuccessful up to press time last night.

The Gleaner understands that the Ministries of Agriculture, Health and Local Government will experience the major staff cuts.

So far, reports are that workers have been laid off at the Ministry of Social Security and at the Prices Commission and others are expected to be issued with letters of termination during this week.

The statement issued by Mr. Anderson said:

"In view of the need to reduce

expenditure to ensure the recovery of the economy, the decision has been taken to carry out a programme of staff reductions commencing on Friday, 28th June, 1985. The Government regrets the need to carry out this programme of staff reduction, but it is necessary to recognise that it is not possible to fund the Public Service at the present level of more than 100,000 employees.

"Every effort is being made, where feasible, to re-deploy staff members who are not essential in one area to other areas where their services can be effectively utilised. In implementing this exercise, Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Government Departments have been asked to keep the trade unions and other employee organisations fully advised as to the measures being taken in the various Ministries, Departments and Statutory Bodies.

"Every effort is also being made to ensure that the benefits for which employees are eligible are paid at the earliest possible date. Some who have now been made redundant have received full benefits promptly at the time of redundancy, but it will be appreciated that in an exercise where records are in some cases not centralised, it will not be possible to make final payment for a few weeks although in every case at least a por-

tion of the payments to be received will be made immediately.

"I intend to meet with the trade unions and other bodies involved to discuss all aspects of this programme and to examine any particular difficulties that might arise in various areas. All efforts are being made to limit the scope of this programme as far as is humanly possible. In the meantime, all Ministry workers who have written directly, and some through trade unions, requesting to be considered for redundancy will be carefully evaluated in an attempt to meet their request".

## Stone on Implications for Seaga

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 1 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by Carl Stone]

[Excerpts]

The massive show of support for the strike call which brought the economy to a standstill between Monday and Tuesday of last week surprised both the Government and the union leaders.

What I found even more extraordinary was the fact that as late as Wednesday many middle class persons who normally complain bitterly about inconveniences caused by strikes and road-blocks were calmly adjusting to the dislocations and expressing sympathy for the strike position.

The thousands of private sector workers all over the main urban centres of the country who came out in solidarity with the public sector unionised workers were recording a strident vote of disapproval of Mr. Seaga and his policies.

Make no mistake about it. If a Michael Manley, an Alexander Bustamante, or a Trevor Munroe had taken hold of the groundswell of working class anger that erupted last week and had decided to challenge Eddie Seaga, the PNP would only have to pick up the pieces of the mangled government that would have been left to tell of what would have happened.

But our union movement has long ceased to be very political in spite of their party connections. They are business unions which concentrate on collective bargaining, leaving the struggle for state power to other organs.

Faced with this choice they opted not to challenge Mr. Seaga.

They came to the Thursday meeting seeking for a peaceful way out and an end to impasse.

The Council of Churches mediation efforts offered them that way out but the cunning Mr. Seaga, the master strategist, was playing another game. Mr. Seaga was clearly intent on emasculating the union leadership to ensure that they become so discredited that they could never mount another general strike.

The expected call from Jamaica House never came and the union leaders were left stranded in front of an angry 15,000 crowd of anti-Seaga militants who would have chased them out of the park if they tried to make any case for calling off the strike. The meeting almost ended in total confusion.

### Seaga knew...

Mr. Seaga knew that the strike could not hold for much longer, in any event, unless the unions decided to turn it into a political challenge of the Government. He knew the union leaders were desperately seeking a way out and he deliberately left them out in the cold by ignoring the Council of Churches mediation effort.

Mr. Seaga's withdrawal of the offer to meet the union leaders was his final strategic move to make them look like "boys" after he stood his ground and yielded not one inch in the face of a general strike that paralysed this economy for at least 48 hours last week. The union leaders had clearly under-estimated Eddie Seaga's toughness.

### Absurd

He stated the case almost to the point of absurdity when he contended that improving the offer to the unions would undermine our ability to meet debt payments. The point is absurd since the debt payment is almost two billion dollars and the regrading money slightly over 100 million dollars. What he contended was equivalent to a man insisting that if he bought his friend a beer he would not be able to pay his rent.

Efforts now being made to take disciplinary action against those who went on strike might well bring the dying strike effort back to life and open up a more bitter and violent second round of the Seaga-trade union fight. The cost to the country could be massive and Mr. Seaga

might end up provoking the unions into the power struggle they have backed away from. Mr. Seaga would be well advised to quit while he is ahead. He could well end up giving the labour movement to Trevor Munroe on a platter.

The working class of this country recorded last week a massive vote of no confidence in Mr. Seaga and he must surely know what that means having himself tried and failed to call a one-day general strike in 1979 when the polls showed that his party then had more support than the PNP.

Details of Worker Suspensions

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 2 Jul 85 pp 1, 3

[Text] Trade union figures up to yesterday afternoon indicated that at least 2,700 workers islandwide in the public sector had either been made redundant, laid off or suspended over the weekend on the troubled labour front.

The major trade unions--BITU, NWU, JALGO, JUPOPE, UTASP and TUC--met in a two-hour session at the headquarters of the Joint Trade Unions Research Development Centre at Waterloo Road, St. Andrew, yesterday afternoon to discuss the situation.

Sources said they agreed to go along with the decision at the Oceana hotel in Kingston on Sunday, to suspend strike action for the time being, after their call for a general strike last week which paralysed the country at mid-week.

They would seek dialogue with Government this week on redundancies, lay-offs, and disciplinary action in regard to workers who had gone on strike, and meet again on Sunday to assess the situation, sources said.

From reports reaching the trade unions yesterday:

--1,200 firemen had been suspended.

--200 JPSCO workers were also suspended, pending disciplinary hearings.

--Over 650 notices of dismissals had been sent to twelve Parish Councils.

--At infirmaries, over 250 made redundant.

--At hospitals--KPH, Childrens', National Chest, Isaac Barrant, Buff Bay--approximately 250 made redundant.

--Health aides in the Corporate Area and Trelawny, 110 made redundant.

--At the Prices Commission there were 45 redundancies.

Firemen, facing disciplinary action, when they turned up for work were reportedly barred by soldiers, who have been manning fire stations since they took strike action.

At the Kingston Public Hospital, which had a section burnt out by arsonists last week soldiers, who have taken up duty there, are instituting strict security, and workers returning to their posts have to produce identification or will not be let in.

And, in another development, the unions representing JPSCO workers--the BITU, NWU and UTASP--in a letter to management yesterday demanded that the company

immediately withdraw the letters of suspension, or face the consequences of "strong and concerted action by workers in order to protect their rights."

It further said that the unions had not been informed of enquiries to be held at various locations on various dates, and as such are unable to attend.

### Issue of Seaga's Leadership

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 2 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by Carl Wint]

[Excerpts]

At the time of writing the strike is petering out but continuing.

Ostensibly, the strike had three issues contending with. There was the demand for an end to further redundancies; an end to price increases; and a rejection of the wage increases offered by the Government.

Speaking to those issues Prime Minister Edward Seaga said that further redundancies were "unavoidable", the matter of further price increases depended on the stability, or lack of it, on the devaluation of the Jamaican dollar; and the Government was in no position to increase the level of its pay increase offer.

The Prime minister had made those points before in his Budget presentation.

Only a fool could fail to see that the strike had less to do with those three issues than with the attitude of the Prime Minister. Those issues are genuine enough, and live enough, to be of deep concern to the entire society, but they were merely excuses for the strike.

### Seaga's leadership

At the crux of the matter is the style of Mr. Seaga's leadership. The leaders in the various interest groups, be they trade unions, agricultural organisations, or business and industrial groups have the feeling that they are of no consequence. They have the perception that Mr. Seaga is treating them as a school master treats children, very young children. The ramparts of their egos have been assaulted

and violated and they do not take kindly to that sort of treatment.

If Mr. Seaga's prescriptions for the rehabilitation of the Jamaican economy are correct, and if they are to work effectively, they must have the cooperation of the other leaders in the country.

The Prime Minister must consult, and he must be seen to be consulting, and giving these leaders an opportunity to make a contribution on behalf of the people they represent. It can't be a one-man band.

Are we to understand that the trade union leaders are not aware that the Government is broke? Are we to understand that they do not have the national interest at heart? Not likely. The point is that they need to be brought into the inner circle where they can help to set priorities. And even if their contribution is not given the weight they think it deserves, the fact that they are there smoothes the way for effective implementation of policies of merit.

The Prime Minister has requested that the workers go back to work, after which he will meet with the union leaders. To that extent the strike has been successful. If they are able to persuade the Prime Minister as to where the additional funds should come from to meet their expressed demands, then it can be said that the strike was successful. If they fail, all that has been accomplished would be zilch.

From where I sit the only point was that the Prime Minister had to be shown that the trade unions could shut down the country. They wanted in. Mr. Seaga has said, O.K. you can come in.

## Manley on Threat to Labor

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 3 Jul 85 p 1

[Text]

The President of the People's National Party, Mr. Michael Manley, yesterday accused the JLP Government of deliberately implementing a policy to destroy the labour movement in Jamaica by the use of oppressive measures. This, he said, had begun as far back as late 1980 when the policy of arbitrary dismissals by Government was seen for the first time in almost a decade.

In a statement issued from the Party's headquarters, Mr. Manley referred to the suspension of workers who were involved in the national industrial action last week. He said these suspensions were a violation of the fundamental right of workers to withdraw their labour through strike action.

He also said the timing of the wholesale lay-offs in the public sector following the national unrest last week was a display of arrogant power by a government which appeared to have forgotten that the founder of the JLP, National Hero the Rt. Excellent Sir Alexander Bustamante, fought for the establishment of trade unions and fundamental workers' rights.

He warned that any action which denied workers the right to strike, and which was successful, would be a prelude to the next step which was to deny workers the right to join the trade union of their choice. Once this fundamental right was taken away, all other rights now enjoyed by the people of Jamaica were in peril.

Mr. Manley questioned the use of officers and men of the Jamaica Defence Force who were stationed at the entrances to the Kinston Public and Victoria Jubilee Hospitals on Monday with lists of workers who

could enter these institutions to resume their work and those who were not allowed to do so.

The PNP Leader said this and other developments this week were wrong and dangerous on three counts. These were, he said:

- (1) to seek to punish workers for the peaceful exercise of the right to strike undermines one of the foundations of freedom;
- (2) to pick and choose among workers for the purpose of punishment reflects the arbitrary use of power and is designed to create fear by making each worker wonder who will be next; and
- (3) the misuse of the army when workers were seeking to return to work compromises its constitutional neutrality".

Mr. Manley said the army could be used to maintain vital services in the public interest, but it should never be used as an instrument of oppression and to make arbitrary victimisation possible.

"The whole pattern of conduct suggests an intention to impose a military solution to our problems which would provide the base for dictatorship and the final destruction of our democratic institutions and principles. The union movement may only be the first target," he said.

Mr. Manley then said:

"I call on all Jamaicans who seriously care for our democratic way of life to take note of these developments. I call on you all to decide whether you will remain ambivalent and silent while anti-worker policies are implemented; and preserve democracy. Especially, I call on the workers to resist this erosion of their hard-won rights."

Union-Government Meetings

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 4 Jul 85 pp 1, 3

[Text]

**THE ISSUE of the suspension of over 200 JPSCo workers and some 1,200 firemen on Monday, following last week's general strike, remained unresolved up to yesterday.**

At a meeting at the Ministry of Labour in Kingston yesterday morning on the JPSCo suspensions, the Ministry told the unions and the company to take the matter to the local level and report back on their deliberations on Monday morning at 10 o'clock.

The unions representing the workers — NWU, BITU and UTASP — had reported the matter to the Ministry as a dispute, at an earlier meeting on Monday.

After yesterday's meeting Mr. Clive Dobson of the NWU told the Gleaner that a general workers' meeting had been called at JPSCo's Sports Club, Ruthven Road, for this afternoon on the issue.

On the firemen's suspension, JALGO's General Secretary, Mr. E. Lloyd Taylor, said yesterday there were no new developments and the issue had been reported by JALGO and the NWU, who represent the firemen, as a dispute to the Ministry of Labour.

He said the firemen went out in support of wage and fringe benefit claims made on government and it was an industrial dispute and he could not see Government placing disciplinary charges on them.

He said they had got a reply on their claims from Government by letter dated June 20, which came to hand on June 21, and which was read to the firemen on Monday, June 24 (the start of the call by unions for a general strike).

Mr. Taylor said the firemen on

hearing the contents of the letter went on strike, and when they returned after a week they had been "locked out."

He said they have had meetings on Friday and Monday last on the matter at the Ministry of Labour.

Meanwhile, fire stations continue to be manned by soldiers.

JALGO on Tuesday sent letters to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, on notices of redundancies, laying offs and termination notices served on over 200 employees in the Parish Council Infirmaries effective from July 1, 1985, and employees in the Public Health and Midwifery sections of the Parish Council services being served letters advising them they would be absorbed in the Ministry of Health, without consultations with the union.

JALGO asked for urgent meetings on these matters.

Mr. Taylor in the letter regarding employees at the Parish Council Infirmaries, said the principle of "last in, first out" was not observed.

It said permanent employees with several years of service are being made to go and their junior and temporary employees, some with less than two years service are being retained.

Mr. Hopeton Caven of the TUC, also told the Gleaner that the principle of "last in, first out" had been abandoned.

He said on Monday night at the Prices Commission (where there were 45 redundancies) employees with nine years service had been made redundant while some with six months service had been retained.

He said the Government's action was "a rejection of the olive branch for peace."

Following the general strike call by the major trade unions for last week, at a meeting on Sunday they decided to suspend strike action, and this week have had dialogue with the relevant authorities on the industrial issues, and meet again this Sunday to assess the situation.

## Seaga on Strike's Effect

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 5 Jul 85 pp 1, 3

[Article by Vincent Tulloch]

[Text] Bridgetown, July 4

The general strike of last week, called by six major trade unions to protest government's wage offer and described by Seaga as a 'misnomer', had little impact if any on tourism, Prime Minister Edward Seaga said here today.

Responding to questions about the likely effect on the fragile tourist trade from North American gateways and Europe, he said that it got very little publicity in the marketplace, hence the effect could be marginal. However, the situation is being monitored and necessary action will be taken to correct any image problem.

"I have done nothing more than what my glorious predecessor Bustamante would have done were he threatened with this sort of rebellious situation. He would have done the same thing I have done."

A tough-talking Seaga made it clear that he has no apology for disciplinary action being taken against some workers who participated in last week's general strike. Backrounding the issue relating to the suspension of workers in the Jamaica Public Service Company, fire services and National Water Authority, Seaga said that workers in essential services have a certain responsibility to the public. He cited the danger the country was exposed to during the strike and the near loss of life at the Kingston Public Hospital resulting from a fire during the strike.

Prime Minister Edward Seaga said today that social unrest his government faced in recent times are unavoidable. He put such unrest down to the social cost for adjusting the

economy.

Answering questions at a press conference here, Seaga defended his economic policy of structural adjustment, dismissed last week's labour challenge to it by branding strikers as 'rebellious' and dismissing the notion of a general strike as a misnomer.

In a tough and confident appearance before a packed room at the Marriott's Sam Lord's Castle, Seaga in defending his monetarist policy said: "Changes to the value of the currency are bound to have an impact on the people of the country. I would say that the Jamaican people over the years in which we have been adjusting the economy, have shown that they understand, have shown patience, and have shown that they recognise that there are no real alternatives."

In defending his economic policy, he made it clear that it was up to regional governments to take the necessary action to make their products accessible to the Jamaican market.

Answering questions about charges from Trinidad that its trade with Jamaica is imbalanced, a theme which was a highlight at the four-day Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Heads of Government Summit here, Seaga said that trade matters were removed from the general caucus, for bilateral discussions between the governments involved.

He said that the question now was whether structural adjustment is desirable.

"At the Nassau Summit last year, governments of the region recognised that structural adjustment of the

region's economy was top priority, and agreed to undertake individual adjustment," he said.

Jamaica is far in front since it began its programme from 1981, he said. Consequently, the competitiveness of Jamaican goods is such that they find ready markets in Caricom. On the other hand, imports into Jamaica are more expensive

and do not find ready markets. Without naming Trinidad, Seaga wondered whether those who postpone structural adjustment are not responsible for trade decline.

Seaga made it clear that he had given no assurance to anyone that he will make special trading concessions. Caricom goods, he said, are exempted from certain taxes; the most recent imposition is stamp duty last April.

In other related matters, Seaga said that Jamaica is in the process of clearing up the payment of trade arrears with other agencies such as the Caricom Multilateral Clearing Facility (CMCF) which the country owed just over U.S.\$2 million. On the matter of claims from Trinidadian businessmen that they cannot get pay for goods sold to Jamaica, he said that may have been so in the past. However, Trinidad now owed Jamaicans U.S.\$1 million.

In respect of ourstanding debts to Trinidad, most of which he said was contracted in the seventies and which now stood at about US\$100 million, he said this year Jamaica will make a substantial payment on the outstanding amount. Seaga who took time out of the caucus to meet the local press was calm and firm in his response to questions.

He flies to Puerto Rico tomorrow for talks with Governor Raphael Hernandez Colon. Seaga said he will meet the Governor on his way home. The Puerto Rican leader was due to visit Jamaica last week but postponed it because of the general strike which crippled the country.

#### Suspension of Firemen

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 5 Jul 85 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts]

[Text] As the dispute involving the Fire Service and the Jamaica Public Service Company over the suspension of workers who participated in last week's general strike continues, the JPSCO is to meet the unions this morning. But lawyers for JALGO, the union which represents the firemen, have threatened legal action if the firemen are not allowed to resume immediately.

Unions representing the JPSCO workers--the BITU, NWU and UTASP--held a workers meeting at the company's Ruthven Road sports club in St. Andrew, yesterday at which it was announced that the company would meet them at Oceana Hotel in Kingston this morning, to discuss the issue of the suspension of 200 workers following last week's general strike.

In the latest development in the decision by the KSAC Fire Brigade to suspend the firemen following last week's strike, the legal firm of Rattray, Patterson, Rattray has written the Superintendent, Mr. A. L. Ridgeway, stating:

"We contend that the members of the Brigade are being unlawfully locked out of their place of employment and demand that they be immediately allowed to resume their employment, failing which we will have no other option but to advise legal proceedings."

The letter, which was signed by Mr. Carl Rattray, Q. C., and copied to the news media, said that the firm was acting on behalf of JALGO.

It said that the firemen had since then been prevented from taking up their duties and had been locked out of their place of employment. "They had been presented with no charges nor have they been informed of the dates of the hearing of the purported charges so that the length of their suspension be known."

"We remind you that under the Labour Relations and Industrial Disputes Act the Fire Brigade is an Essential Service and your action has since the 1st of July, 1985, deprived the Corporate Area of this Essential Service and placed at risk the lives of the Corporate Area in the event of fire."

Jamaica Defence Force soldiers have been manning the fire stations since the firemen went on strike last week Monday as part of a general strike called by six trade unions including JALGO.

#### Power-Barge Policy

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 5 Jul 85 p 3

[Text]

KINGSTON, July 4 (Jampress): Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Edward Seaga, emphasised today that the new Jamaica Public Service 40-megawatt diesel plant or floating power barge at Rockfort will not be used for military purposes.

He said that the power barge was to assure the maintenance of electricity to essential services at all times in the national interest.

In a statement to Jampress from Barbados where he is attending the Commonwealth Caribbean Heads of Government Conference, Mr. Seaga said:

"With reference to the statement made in the House of Representatives on Tuesday this week regarding the operation of the floating power barge at Rockfort under a management contract with the Jamaica Defence Force, I wish to inform the public that the purpose of the arrangement is to assure the maintenance of electricity services to Essential Services at all times in the national interest.

In particular, I wish to indicate that the power barge will not be used for military purposes, nor will the

personnel operating the barge operate it or be permitted to operate it for military purposes. The non-military use of the barge will be manifest".

On Tuesday, Hon. Pearnell Charles, Minister of Public Utilities and Transport told the House of Representatives that the power barge will be far more cost efficient in terms of the use of fuel than any other plant in the JPS system, and will result in significant savings in fuel to the country.

He pointed out that the power barge would provide more reliable service to the consumers and country at large.

The Minister explained that during the recent strike, hospitals, water supplies and several other essential services were put to a halt in one way or another by workers who walked off their jobs at the JPS.

Mr. Charles said that the government should make every effort to see that the country was not ground to a halt and that at least some minimum amount of essential services be kept in operation so as to save the lives of people, the sick and the infirm when workers unlawfully withdraw their services.

JAMAICA

GOVERNMENT TO CLOSE SCHOOLS; JOB LOSSES PROTESTED

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 5 Jul 85 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] Hundreds of teachers and ancillary workers are to lose their jobs from the closure of the 29-year old Moneague Teachers' College in St. Ann at the end of this school year as well as some aspects of the EXED community college programme.

The Shortwood Teachers' College in St. Andrew is also reportedly to be closed as well as a number of small primary schools.

Teachers' colleges will not be enrolling any new students for the academic year 1985/86 and the teachers' and nursing programmes at the EXED Community College in Kingston are to be discontinued "indefinitely."

Resulting from these developments, hundreds of teachers, students and ancillary workers are to lose their jobs or be displaced.

The closure of Moneague has been confirmed but not that of Shortwood.

The Ministry of Education has said that the situation has occurred "because of the economic crisis which the Government is now going through" and because there is at present an over-supply of teachers.

The Permanent Secretary said that at EXED college the teachers and nurses programmes were to be "suspended indefinitely." The nurses in training would be assigned to other institutions through the Ministry of Health.

"The programmes are to be closed because of the economic crisis which the Government is now going through," Mr. Turner said. He could not confirm whether or not it was true that a number of small primary schools would be closed.

For its part, the Jamaica Teachers' Association (JTA) has condemned the Government's decision "to close educational institutions including at least one Teachers' College (Moneague), several primary schools, abandon programmes in Community Colleges and dismiss hundreds of teachers without prior consultation with the persons and institutions concerned or with the JTA."

The JTA has also called on the Government to change its approach to how it deals with Jamaicans. It also stated that it deplores "the fact that hundreds of teachers will hear about loss of jobs after schools are closed and that many children in small rural communities will be deprived of educational opportunities in September 1985.

CSO: 3298/883

JAMAICA

## PNP ACCUSES GOVERNMENT OF TRYING TO DIVIDE CHURCHES

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 5 Jul 85 p 3

[Text]

The People's National Party has accused the Government of deliberately attempting to divide the churches.

In a statement yesterday the party said that while ignoring the request of the Jamaica Council of Churches (JCC) to meet with the him during last week's general strike, the Prime Minister met with another group of churches, some of whom were represented at a meeting held by the Council with the Trade Unions.

The PNP's criticism came in a statement i condemning the dumping of garbage in the JCC premises yesterday. It called the incident a "disgraceful" one which has occurred at a time when members of JCC "are being verbally insulted for attempting to play a national role in helping to resolve the present national crisis."

The party said it was satisfied that the use of the three trucks to litter the Council's premises was not an isolated incident and suggested that the act was "an organised threat."

"In a country with a strong religious tradition, and one in which ecumenical movement has gone further than in most countries in the world it is a shame that anyone should take upon himself to destroy the unity of action of the churches which has been developing in our country."

The PNP said that it expected Mr. Seaga to "immediately and publicly condemn those persons involved in this dispicable act. Anything less would be sheer hypocrisy."

JAMAICA

PNP BOYCOTTING GOVERNMENT-ORGANIZED TRIBUTE TO NORMAN MANLEY

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 4 Jul 85 p 1

[Text]

The People's National Party is boycotting the Sports Day tribute being organised by the Prime Minister's Office to mark the 92nd anniversary of the birth of National Hero, the Rt. Excellent Norman Manley, in Manchester today, on the ground that the "celebration of this anniversary had not been given the serious attention it properly deserved."

The Party said in a statement last night that its General Secretary, Dr. Paul Robertson, had informed the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office of the decision not to be represented at the Sports Day tribute.

The statement said that the Party had noticed advertisements announcing the function in the media for some time, and had been surprised that it had received no formal notification about it.

It said that the first official information came by a letter dated June 26 to the President of the Party, Mr. Michael Manley, and which was delivered by hand to his office at 5 p.m. on Monday July 1, three days before the function, five days after it was written, and long after the gener-

al public had been informed about it in the news media.

The statement quoted Dr. Robertson as saying that the Party wished to place on record that it regarded the manner in which this function was organised as an insult to the memory of the National Hero and the Party he led as President.

Dr. Robertson in his letter to the Minister of State, according to the statement, gave five reasons for saying that the manner in which the function was organised was an insult:

● "While the Rt. Excellent Norman Manley is a National Hero of Jamaica he was also the founding President of the People's National Party — the first national political organisation in Jamaica and a Party which has formed the Government of our country for four terms since Universal Adult Suffrage was granted to the people of Jamaica. We would therefore have expected that our special association with the National Hero would have been respected, and we would have been paid the courtesy of being involved in the planning of the celebrations."

● "The Party itself has not been invited to participate in the function. An invitation to the President to

attend is certainly not the same as participation by him or the Party."

● "The President of the Party, Mr. Michael Manley, has been invited to attend, but there is no indication in the letter where it will take place or at what time."

● "Dr. Douglas Manley, a prominent member of the Party and a son of the National Hero was only sent an invitation yesterday (Tuesday), two days before the function."

● "The letter to Mr. Michael Manley begins with the comment, 'as you are no doubt aware, July 4 is the birthday of National Hero, the Rt. Excellent Norman Washington Manley'. We consider this as curious as it questions Mr. Manley's memory of the significance of the date."

The statement said that as a consequence of all the above, neither Mr. Michael Manley nor Mr. Douglas Manley would be attending.

The statement quoted Dr. Robertson as saying further that it was the Party's view that the entire matter exposed both incompetence and confusion, and reflected a slight by the Prime Minister's Office to the memory of the National Hero.

It said that the Hon. Edna Manley, who was invited as a special guest at the function will attend.

CSO: 3298/884

JAMAICA

PNP CHAIRMAN EXPLAINS REMARKS ON TRADE SITUATION

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 29 Jun 85 p 8

[Letter to the editor]

[Text]

The Editor, Sir:

In its reckless haste uncritically to defend the policy of deregulation, the *Gleaner's* editorial of Monday, June 23, attacks my presentation to the Jamaica Exporters Association luncheon on a ground which I never advanced.

At no time did I contend that the 1985 first quarter deficit of US\$176.3 million and an excess of US\$84.2 million over the first quarter of 1984 was attributed to deregulation.

The reporter for the Business column of your newspaper correctly did not report me as having made any such statement and had your editorial writer been present, the error in your Editorial might well have been avoided.

Reference was made to the frightening increase in the Trade Deficit as part of a catalogue to establish that Jamaica is now in a state of economic emergency and that all the economic indicators are pointing to the wrong direction. These include:

- The size of our external debt that now stands at US\$1,500 per capita
- IMF credit, which represents 440.8% of quota
- A trade deficit from 1981-1984 in the staggering amount of US\$2,309.2 Billion
- Interest rates of 31%
- A liquidity ratio of 48% and the severity of the credit squeeze
- The imposition of J\$500 million of additional taxation in this fiscal year
- The continuing depreciation of the Jamaican \$

- A BOJ deficit of J\$679 million in 1984

- An inflation rate of 31.2% and,
- Unemployment of 30% according to World Bank figures

True it is that all these are the direct consequence of present economic policies, deregulation included, which the Government seems determined to pursue despite all the available evidence as to its consequences.

It is widely known that the huge deterioration in the balance of trade figures when the first quarters for 1984 and 1985 are compared are not primarily due to the latest bout of deregulation which was in fact announced in April and the full deleterious impact of which are still to be felt in both the industrial and agricultural sectors. The main cause was that imports of fuel in 1984 were kept at a dangerously low level, and our reserves were virtually depleted as part of a juggling exercise in order "to cook the books" for the IMF.

The main thesis of the JEA presentation was that strategies of import substitution and export growth are not mutually exclusive but complementary.

There is no country which has developed a successful export policy that did not commence by initial protection of the domestic market.

In the short run, a Jamaica of 2 million people so dependent on imported raw materials and with such considerable demand for imported consumer items, cannot cope with its chronic shortage of foreign exchange and severe im-

balance of trade simply by relying on a policy of import substitution or expecting that expanded exports will occur overnight.

This country needs to coalesce around a policy of export expansion both in terms of earnings generation and import savings through substitution.

It is simply a fallacy to maintain that a strategy to expand exports is incompatible with a drive to simultaneously enhance import substitution capability. Indeed, the very capacity to be competitive in the export market, is a function of the level of efficiency with which the productive unit is capable of satisfying domestic market demand which, for our purposes, extend beyond the boundaries of our own territory into those of our CARICOM neighbours.

In presenting twelve (12) clear proposals which the People's National Party offers as an alternative on export policy, I make no apology for stating that "since the local market must provide the launching pad for export production, the present process of deregulation must be halted. We should not waste precious foreign exchange in importing goods and services where local production demonstrates the ability to supply the local need."

In our haste to dismantle all forms of protection, we must make sure that we do not throw the baby out with the bath water.

I am etc.,

P.J. PATTERSON, Q.C

Chairman  
People's National Party  
June 26, 1985

CSO: 3298/884

JAMAICA

## IMPROVEMENT IN FOREIGN RESERVES BALANCE REVIEWED

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 5 Jul 85 p 25

[Text]

### Balance of Payments

The fiscal monetary and credit programmes, together with the export promotion drive and import restraint culminated in positive results in the Balance of Payments. At the end of 1984, the accumulation of foreign reserves stood at US\$224.9 million, a significant turn-around of over US\$500 million compared with the 1983 position of minus US\$289.1 million. The Current Account was in deficit of US\$279.6 million indicating an improvement of 21.2% over 1983, while the Capital Account showed a net surplus of US\$504.5 million in 1984 compared with US\$65.9 million in 1983.

The performance on the Capital Account was impressive; net official capital movements increased by 11.6% to US\$358.2 million while private capital flows (including errors and omissions) showed a quantum leap from minus US\$401.4 million to positive US\$146.3 million. This robust increase in private inflows stands in stark contrast to the situation prevailing in 1983. The government's Balance of Payments objectives for 1984-85, therefore, were largely achieved although at some cost as indicated below.

### Inflation

Stimulated by the devaluation of the Jamaican dollar, inflation accelerated in 1984, in tandem with the removal of subsidies (leading to specific price increases for petrol, electricity, telephone and water) devaluation pushed the G.D.P. deflator up 36.4% while the average consumer price index advanced 27% compared with 11.3% for 1983.

Official pricing policy was geared to reflect real costs of goods and services in final prices. This was evident as early as January 1984 when a number of price increases were imposed. Petroleum prices rose 50%; however, a cross subsidy of \$126 million was provided to cushion increases in electricity rates and moderate the cost of kerosene and fuel oil to lower income groups.

Public utility prices also escalated: electricity tariffs by over 100% overseas telephone calls by

100%, water 60%. As stated before, these were either eliminated or reduced and utility price increases in particular tended to have multiplier effects on price inflation.

Subsidies to food imports were halved, partly as means of reducing the drain on the public purse and also to mitigate the disincentives to the domestic agricultural sector. This policy in part led to some productivity increase (a 25-30% increase in domestic crop volume) which kept the increase in farm gate prices below the inflation rate.

Inflation was uniformly felt throughout the country and was most intense in the second and third quarters of 1984. On an annualized basis, prices increased 36.7% and 50.9% for the second and third quarters, but by the last quarter they had ebbed to 13.4% on an annualized basis despite the more rapid depreciation of the exchange rate in this period.

### National Income and Product

Preliminary estimates indicate that during 1984 the level of economic activity declined marginally relative to 1983.

Gross Domestic Product in current prices during the year was \$9,367.8 million. When adjustments are made to remove the effects of price changes, the constant price G.D.P. moves from \$1,931.4 million in 1983 to \$1,923.8 million in 1984, a decline in real terms of 0.4 percent.

Economic activity during the year was positively supported by a relatively strong performance in the tourism sector (in which earnings increased by some US\$7.4 million) and by increases in exports, particularly of garments (manufacturing sector) and winter vegetables (agricultural sector). The agricultural sector recorded strong gains as substantial growth of the domestic and non-traditional agricultural sub-sector superceded the sluggish performance in the major traditional agricultural exports, sugar and bananas. There were increases over 1983 in the export of bauxite and alumina due to accelerated shipments, but the levels remained well below 1980.

The performance of the economy was influenced significantly by the measures for economic stabilisation which the government negotiated with the IMF. Of particular relevance to the GDP were the operational targets to improve the balance of payments and the fiscal deficit/GDP ratio.

The measures had a deflationary impact on the GDP. They included tight monetary and credit policies, increases in interest rates and in taxation, restraints in Government spending and in public and private consumption. These measures achieved their objectives in meeting and in some cases, surpassing the fiscal and monetary targets set for economic and financial equilibrium of the period.

Shifts in the composition of aggregate demand (although not dramatic) were generally in line with Government's strategy. Consumption expenditure as a percentage of GDP was reduced from 90.7 percent in 1983 to 82.0 percent in 1984, while investment demand similarly moved slightly from 21.6 percent of GDP.

On the supply side, the major source of growth was the Agricultural Sector, with real growth of some 10 percent followed by Households and Private Non Profit Institutions with a growth of 3.3 percent.

There were declines in a number of sectors, notably "Manufacturing" and "Construction & Installation", which declined by 6.4 percent and 5.4 percent respectively. "Financing and Insurance" declined by 6.3 percent but this was due largely to the treatment of Bank of Jamaica losses on the sector as a whole.

## **Agriculture**

Policies for the long term development of the Agricultural sector were pursued during 1984. These involved a process of modernization and structural adjustment involving all classes of farmers producing for both the export and domestic markets.

Output in the domestic sub-sector increased by 22.8 percent in volume and 32 percent in prices over 1983. These gains are a result of policies to revitalize agriculture through improved marketing arrangements, increased farmgate prices, improved agricultural technology (under the stimulus of Agro-21) and easier access to credit. However, output continued to be adversely affected by the high incidence of praedial larceny.

Traditional and non-traditional agricultural exports increased by 86.4 percent to a value of over J\$373 million. The increases in export earnings were due primarily to the favourable effects of the exchange rate adjustments. The largest contribution amounting to some J\$226 million was made by sugar, an increase of some 119 percent over 1983. Root crops increased by 36 percent, but banana exports declined by about 67 percent owing primarily to the transition brought about by the adjustment process, under which the acreage in export fruit is being rationalized from 35,000 to under half that acreage in exportable fruit located in strategic areas close to the ports.

In an effort to improve the internal agricultural marketing system, the Ministry of Agriculture continued to establish Producer Marketing Organisations in a number of major production areas. The functions of the Agricultural Marketing Corporation were redefined and action taken to transform it into an Agricultural export centre.

With regard to agricultural credit, allocations from the Agricultural Credit Bank increased by 24% to J\$53.4 million while commercial banks' loan and advances outstanding to the sector increased from J\$265.3 million to J\$400.9 million, an increase of 51 percent over December 1983. The agricultural loan portfolio was expanded in 1984 with the establishment of the Jamaica Agricultural Development Foundation — a private venture capital institution. During the period of its operation (August-December), the foundation committed J\$3.4 million to agriculture.

CSO: 3298/884

## BRODERICK GIVES DETAILS BEHIND GROWTH IN AGRICULTURE

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 13 Jun 85 pp 1, 3

[Text]

A 10 percent growth in the agricultural sector was hailed by the Minister of Agriculture the Hon Dr. Percival Broderick in his Budget presentation to Parliament yesterday.

Domestic food production, he said, moved from 419,166 tons in 1983 to 514,656 tons in 1984 — an absolute increase of 23 percent.

Dr. Broderick said the agricultural policy of the Government for the year 1985/86 is to develop agriculture to contribute to the nation's foreign exchange earnings; the creation of employment; to substitute for importation; "to meet the need to grow what we eat;" and to make a significant contribution to the local wage bill.

Some of the mechanisms designed to meet these objectives within the sector are: the Agro 21 programme, the Food Sufficiency Programme, the Crop Diversification programme and the agricultural component of the "Solidarity" programme.

The Minister said it was hoped to achieve these objectives, despite the fact that the Recurrent Budget of the Ministry of Agriculture had been cut by \$7.7 million since the Estimates were laid on the Table of the House on May 16.

The total allocation for the Ministry of Agriculture in the 1985/86 Estimate of Expenditure now amounts to \$106.6 million, and when the provisions for those agricultural projects for which financing is included in the Budget of the Ministry of Finance is added, the total alloca-

tion for Agriculture will be \$157.45 million, compared with \$132.524 million last year, Dr. Broderick said.

The areas to be affected by the budgetary cut are: regional offices, forestry, fisheries, rural physical planning. In addition, the Orange River Research Station will be transferred to the Cocoa Industry Board, the Agricultural Credit Board is to be removed from budgetary support and to become self-financing. Contributions to international regional organisation which were formerly paid by the Ministry of Agriculture must now be paid by the relevant commodity organisations such as the Sugar Industry Authority, the Coffee Industry Board and the Cocoa Industry Board.

The Agricultural Aides Programme is reduced by \$1,724,000 and 538 Aides are to be laid off. Midland Enterprises as an organisation which was formerly paid by the Ministry of Agriculture must now be paid by the relevant commodity organisations such as the Sugar Industry Authority, the Coffee Industry Board and the Cocoa Industry Board.

The Agricultural Aides Programme is reduced by \$1,724,000 and 538 Aides are to be laid off. Midland Enterprises has also been removed from the Budget and the Ministry's Nursery Production Programme has been reduced \$896,000, as well as the provisions for soil conservation, land settlements and land acquisition.

"What we will be striving for ... is a Ministry totally restructured, devoid of waste, inefficiency and duplication

of resources. Adjustments of staffing and related functions at the head office will also be taking place so that a top-heavy structure does not emanate, bearing little or no relationship to the field services," the Minister said.

In the area of Livestock Research and Development, it is proposed to operate only Bodles and Grove Place stations. The complex at Montpelier will be included in the divestment package, "involving Shettlewood Dairy Farm".

Dr. Broderick said provisions will be made which will allow for the acceleration of the commencement of "very important programmes." Among these are the Clavery Cottage/Shirley Castle Coffee Project, where an increase in budgetary provision of \$16,076,000 will allow for road construction, nursery development and credit programmes to be stepped up, and for the construction of a new pulper; and the expansion of the Marcus Garvey Drive Factory, which is to get underway.

A lowland coffee project scheduled over four years is to be implemented this year in St. James, Trelawny, St. Ann, Clarendon, Manchester, St. Mary and St. Catherine, with the assistance of a loan and a grant from the EEC.

Another programme to be started will be the Small Farmer Citrus Development project scheduled over five years. It will involve over 1,900 acres of citrus and is to impact on approximately 300 farms. This project will

also be financed with a loan and grant from the EEC.

Dr. Broderick referred to what he termed the pleasing performance of the agricultural sector last year when it enjoyed a growth rate of 10% over the previous year.

"We were happy to receive that information because it reflected the response to the stimulus of the Government's agricultural policy; the response to the implementation of plans which were outlined to the House in previous years; and the response to the hard work of the farming community and related areas which impact on the sector," the Minister said.

Domestic food crop production moved from 419,166 tons in 1983 to 514,656 tons in 1984 — an absolute increase of 23%. There has also been a significant increase in the volume of non-traditional crops exported, as exporters and farmers responded to the improved opportunities offered by the CBI, the Minister said, pointing out that small farmers contributed 84% of the total non-traditional exports and earned J\$18 million, compared with the 16% accounted for by large farmers with earnings of over J\$5 million.

"The future looks good, because improvements which are being implemented in our ability to grade, package and transport our non-traditional exports should lead to significant increases in our present levels of exports," he said.

The following are some of the points made by the Minister in relation to specific crops:

● **COCOA** — The 1984/85 production exceeded 3,000 tons of fermented beans. The total income to growers went up from \$9.6 million for the 1982/83 to \$11.5 million for the 1983/84 crop; and the payment for the 1984/85 crop is projected to be \$15.5 million.

The Cocoa Board's growing projects are to be 51% owned by the JAS Cocoa Growers Federation.

● **COFFEE** — Production for the 1985/86 crop is expected to be approximately 380,000 boxes and will exceed the previous crop by approximately 108,000 boxes. The foreign exchange earnings from the 1985/86 crop will be about US\$10.3 million.

● **BANANA** — The final phase of the restructuring programme is on-stream and plans are being worked by the Ministry of Agriculture to assist small farmers who produce "viable" export fruit to participate.

The price paid to growers is now directly related to the 'green-boat' price.

The Banana Insurance Fund is to be reviewed; benefits from statutory acreages have been increased from \$350 to \$500 per acre and growers can now insure new plantings at \$1,000 per acre. In addition, the production of the Tetraploid variety is on-stream, and the Banana Export Company (BECO) is functioning, with farmers already benefiting from the new price regime.

● **SUGAR** — World market prices for sugar are not expected to recover in the near future and are now at the

lowest level in 15 years. There is no International Sugar Agreement in place.

The local industry is to be further restructured to produce 230,000 tons per crop.

● **PIMENTO** — The price for the coming pimento crop will be increased from \$2.30 per pound to \$3.50 per pound, and \$33 million will be required to purchase this year's crop.

● **FISHERIES** — Last year, fishermen got 130 outboard motors, 60 fishing boats, 677 new licences were granted to fishermen, and 170 new fishing boats were registered. Subsidy is being removed from fuel and mesh-wire, and effective immediately the price of outboard motor fuel oil will be increased from \$4.65 per gallon to \$5.20 per gallon.

● **LIVESTOCK** — Farmers in association with the Jamaica Livestock Association are planning a milk-marketing corporation.

● **TOBACCO** — The Tobacco Industry Control Authority (TICA) Heads of Agreement are to be signed shortly, following which there will be divestment to a consortium of manufacturers headed by the Cigarette Company of Jamaica.

Dr. Broderick noted that the number of agricultural exporters have more than quadrupled and that the restructuring of the sector was being done to "give our farmers the best opportunity to produce consistently high quality and quantities for viable markets".

CSO: 3298/884

JAMAICA

## WATER CRISIS IN CAPITAL, ELSEWHERE GETTING WORSE

Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 3 Jul 85 pp 1, 3

[Text]

**T**HE EXTENT OF THE WATER CRISIS affecting the Corporate Area was outlined to the House of Representatives yesterday by Minister of Public Utilities, the Hon Pearnel Charles. He said the National Water Commission (NWC) will be unable to provide water through the mains to certain sections of the city, as long as the current drought continues.

Those areas would have to suffice with trucked water until the situation improves, the Minister said. Distribution from the Hermitage and Mona systems will be limited to two three-hour periods — 5 a.m. to 8 a.m. and 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. Consumers not getting water during those periods should phone the Water Commission at 68189, 66197 or 66621.

The Minister, who was opening the sectoral debate, said that this had come about because, after the power went out following last week's strike by Jamaica Public Service Company personnel, there was no way of generating any water through those mains and what was already in the mains was all that could be distributed.

He said that there was absolutely no water available to recharge those mains before rain falls, and the NWC would be unable to pump water through the mains to the public in those parts of the Corporate Area until the storage improved.

However, the Commission had brought in as many trucks as possible to truck water to affected areas, and he was appealing to consumers in those areas to get as many containers as they could so that they could

18 million gallons from Hermitage and Mona, respectively, represent usable storage."

Turning to other developments in the area of water, Mr. Charles said that water was restored to Spanish Town and many surrounding areas over the week-end by NWC staffers and JDF personnel working together.

In the northern section of the island, all systems were reported back to normal, but a power outage which began at 7.30 a.m. yesterday was affecting supplies in some areas including Annotto Bay, Port Maria, Highgate and Port Antonio.

Vandalism to some of the pipelines, especially those of the Rio Cobre System and the downtown area and sections of New Kingston, were out of water even after power was restored, [as published].

store at least two days' supply because it was not possible to supply the areas with trucks daily.

Mr. Charles said that storage in the Hermitage and Mona reservoirs had dropped to their lowest levels in several years and as a result, the NWC was appealing to all consumers to restrict their usage of water to essential domestic purposes only. In particular, the Commission was appealing to consumers not to use available water for washing cars, filling swimming pools or watering lawns and gardens.

Mr. Charles said: "This morning storage in the Hermitage Reservoir stood at 69 million gallons out of a capacity of 393 million gallons, and at Mona, storage was some 64 million gallons out of a capacity of 808 million gallons. Of these totals, only approximately 20 million gallons and

CSO: 3298/885

JAMAICA

BRIEFS

COUNCIL OFFICES FIRE--Four Paths, Cn., June 29--Fire suspected to be the work of arsonists early this morning destroyed the Clarendon Parish Council offices at Chapelton. Residents told this correspondent that an explosion was heard between 4 and 5 a.m. and then the old wooden building was seen ablaze. The fire brigade was summoned but by the time the firemen arrived the building was already destroyed. The police are investigating. [Text] [Kingston THE SUNDAY GLEANER in English 30 Jun 85 p 1]

FURTHER DOLLAR SLIDE--Kingston, 10 Jul (CANA)--The Jamaican dollar slid by another four cents against the U.S. dollar at yesterday's Central Bank foreign exchange and parity fixing auction. Commercial banks were today selling the U.S. dollar at J5.75, the rate at which the auction cleared, and buying at five cents higher as the regulations provide. The Jamaican dollar has now fallen by 85 cents since the beginning of the year. Foreign exchange bids totalling U.S. 5.3 million dollars were sought against the 3 million dollars that was available yesterday. The supply satisfied 65.2 percent of qualified bids and 56.6 percent of total demand. The next auction will be tomorrow. [Text] [Bridgetown CANA in English 1429 GMT 10 Jul 85 FL]

CSO: 3298/885

NICARAGUA

BORGE SPEECH AT PHILOSOPHY SYMPOSIUM

PA12244 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1905 GMT 6 Jul 85

[Speech by Commander of the Revolution Tomas Borge Martinez at the closing ceremony of the Carlos Fonseca Amador Philosophy Symposium at the Central American University in Managua -- live]

[Text] Companeros: You are undoubtedly very studious, very much interested in philosophy, since you chose lunchtime for these reflections. It might be that you want to be reminded of Diogenes or the hungry masses mentioned by our companero Alberto Navarro, [not further identified]; I do not know. Anyway, without trying to make excuses, I want to let you know that I feel a bit shy, not of the public but of the subject that we are going to discuss, considering the fact that we are on a continent that is underdeveloped in the philosophical and even in the political sense. Of course, this underdevelopment is not balanced. In Nicaragua we are staging a revolution, that is, discovering a rainbow, experiencing a political development that is not in parallel with ideological development. This unbalanced development has been tested in the fire, which differentiates it from other countries, where the revolution is still just a plan.

My dear university companeros, strictly speaking, political development requires the existence of a group of participating institutions as well as a wealth of ideologies, theories, and philosophy that complement that participation to form a complex and rich political awareness that can be applied in a complex and rich manner. We, of course, are aware that some other countries on the continent have accumulated a political experience more substantial than ours. However, unlike those countries, we have achieved the quality, the level of power, by which the stages gradually experienced by others are interpreted and overlapped. These conditions, achieved for the practical and political development of our people, are also the conditions for their cultural and political development. In the final analysis, political development leads to and demands philosophical development. The objective conditions, the class conflicts lead us into history, not entirely, or rather, not so much through ideology as through revolutionary passion.

As Carlos Fonseca said, we are revolutionaries more from our shame than from conviction. We did not have a sufficiently clear awareness of the

class struggle, but we were aware of our shame, and that aroused the passion of the Nicaraguan revolutionaries. However, this implies that while philosophy may have been partially or absolutely essential for carrying out the revolution, it is definitely essential in order to understand, consolidate, deepen, and develop the revolution. Philosophical understanding, that is, close examination and adaptation of the surrounding reality, is the life insurance of revolutions. Naturally, our philosophical conception was qualitatively different from the traditional philosophy, while we were struggling to achieve power. There was a faint but sufficiently clear light so that we would not stumble, so that we would not be defeated by serious mistakes. At least, we were clear about the nature of the world. We knew how to differentiate between idealism and materialism. We had a slight knowledge of those problems. Indeed, perhaps our lack of an in-depth knowledge of scientific theories did not allow, or rather did allow us to use philosophical materialism as a high form of moral idealism.

In theory, it is necessary to work with abstractions, and sometimes, one runs the risk of losing track of men. Feuerbach ended up replacing real men with an abstract man. Of course, I am not trying to justify backwardness, or to sing the praises of the abstract application of all theories, which is nothing more than to replace theory with speculation and scientific philosophy with pragmatism. Although philosophy generated revolutionary science and, without that early light, the transformation of society would not have been possible, for many, philosophy became a cop-out and pretext. This is why, at a determined moment, we Latin American revolutionaries are faced with the choice of practicing a philosophy that had already been discovered in Western Europe, or of consoling ourselves with a philosophy that the Western Europeans have not been able to put into practice except as a philosophy of absenteeism, a philosophy of white wine, the complicity of toast with a cup of coffee, a philosophy of distress and of the justification of bourgeois selfishness.

The failure to practice a scientific philosophy that is widely known academically has given birth to philosophical distortions, even if they are disguised as advanced concepts, like wearing clothes without a deodorant. As is known, the dialectic combination of theory and practice results in a synthesis that perfects the theory. When revolutionary theory and practice do not go hand in hand, the theory, including philosophical theory, gets distorted and deformed. Practice is the proof of a theory, just as the theory can be the proof of practice. When they are not combined, the theory becomes anemic and is converted into a dirty game of mirrors. By this I mean that for the Nicaraguan revolutionaries, and in particular for Carlos Fonseca, practice was not foreign to a theoretical concept, but practice was so important that it obscured the theory. Had we been totally alien to theoretical conceptualization, we would not even have been aware, as Carlos was, of the extent to which concentration on practical revolutionary activities obliged us to postpone theological tasks.

Carlos said this in reference to the way the role of Rigoberto Lopez Perez in our revolutionary process was underplayed. In the same way that the

delay of this ideological theory was a factor in the failure to fully understand Rigoberto's role, it was also a factor in the failure to understand other problems. That is why our practice has been so costly. This practice and its unbalanced development within itself and in parallel with theory imposed upon us the contradictions of a dependent capitalist nation that we wanted to transform.

Of course, we are sons of the cultural-theoretical backwardness. The bourgeoisie and the oligarchy bequeathed this backwardness to us, together with economic backwardness. It was indeed a sort of miracle that we accumulated a literary culture, although it was almost exclusively based on poetry. Nicaragua was on the verge of producing great novelists. Sergio Ramirez did not become a great novelist because of his job: politics. It was virtually impossible for us to produce philosophers, although it was inevitable that we should produce philosophical interpreters. There is no doubt that Carlos Fonseca correctly interpreted the revolutionary theory, and he was no stranger to philosophy. However, he was unable to become a contributor to universal theory, and he had no choice, I believe fortunately, other than to become a creator of revolutions based on his own experience.

If anyone had a clear idea of our cultural and political backwardness and its causes, it was Carlos Fonseca. He detected the lack of culture inherited from the ruling class, and he linked this to the archaic cattle and coffee economy that dominated Nicaragua's history until the 1950's.

The isolation from world markets that is a consequence of the cattle economy and the fact that hardly any modernization is required in the coffee industry, which expanded at the end of the last century, isolated our peoples from world culture.

The only attempt to achieve an independent capitalist development, and therefore a cultural development pulverized by U.S. imperialism, [as heard] was made by Jose Santos Zelaya, who was linked to the expansion of coffee growing.

At the end of the century, the Frenchman Levy, said he could find more books on Nicaragua in France, than in Nicaragua itself. To this obscurantism which prevailed in the history of Nicaragua, one must add Somizism, which was unphilosophical, sadistic and responsible for a bloody comedy, which gave continuity to U.S. intervention.

What cultural development could you expect under such circumstances? Gernomi Perez, Tomas A. Young, Jose Dolores Gales, Salvador Mendieta and Saponias Salvatierra, among others, chronicled our history in pieces. They made a few forays into the facts, fulfilling Montesquieu's inevitable prophecy, and they noted a few insignificant elements of analysis.

Textbooks are few, and are primarily descriptive. The majority are compilations of articles; consequently, the topics are merely tangential. If we cannot find very much in the field of social sciences, where the level

of thought is close to that of the romance novel, what can we expect to find in philosophy, the highest level of thought to which man can rise? What else could we expect in that society of landowners who lived in a universe of church bells and bell towers, in which the main ideological institution was the church, with its scholastic philosophy?

At the end of the century in Nicaragua, we did not even have publishers of Autusto Comte, and we have reached the present without publishing writers like (Verson) or Ortega y Gasset, much less, very much less Marx. The Vanguard group made bold contributions to literature, and tried with ingenuity to surprise us with mirages in the philosophical desert, and within an empirical framework they tried to make us recall the existence of (Charles Murrah) and Jacques Maritain.

As Carlos Fonseca observed, the intellectual radical free thinkers during the years of the armed U.S. intervention, surrendered to the nationalist trends of the bourgeoisie that they represented, and conditions did not exist for them to be replaced by revolutionary intellectuals.

The past: the most reactionary aspect of world thinking. [sentence as heard] The intellectual movement fell into the hands of the Vanguard literary group, whose intention of converting themselves into ideologues of a political movement based on a scholastic philosophy constitutes an episode in the political, but not the cultural life of the country. However, from the view point of philosophical production, they contributed nothing. They did not even get to be the opponents of science, and they were in the political rearguard, although it is necessary to admit that they placed themselves at the forefront of Nicaraguan literature. Jose Coronel Urtecho, leader of the Vanguard group, placed himself later in the vanguard of political self-criticism, which is the most decent form of self-criticism.

Modernization of agriculture through the cultivation of cotton, at the start of the 1950's, opened the door to a culture plagued by affectation. Imperialism controlled the school system in 1950 through the Inter-American Public Education Cooperative System, which was relieved of the 60 diverse institutions that are instruments of USAID.

The elitist university -- where dogs were dismembered for anatomy studies, and where endless codes existed for an abundance of pettifoggers, who persisted, once they came into existence -- became a factory of technicians and cadres to make the dependent capitalism work, to make tractors and machinery profitable, and to justify the whisky and the trips to Miami.

Of course, this modernization of the economy implies economic and social contradictions and problems. It demanded not only practical solutions, but theoretical ones as well -- solutions that the dependent capitalistic development, and the unilateral culture that served as its superstructure, could not even begin to provide. The identification and correct solution of those contradictions could only come from the revolution, which had to develop clandestinely. The stimulus that the Cuban revolution provided to revolutionary practice and theory on the continent, also existed in this country trapped by backwardness and dictatorship.

The results of our efforts to scientifically understand our social reality began to crystallize in the 1970's with works like those of Carlos Fonseca, Ricardo Morales, Jaime Wheelock, and others. Similarly there are some 10 to 12 graduate theses still buried in the archives of universities in several countries. Marco Valle, Oscar Rene Vargas, and Alberto Lanuza published a few articles in books and magazines. As for philosophy, we also had to wait until the 1970's or 1980's to find the basic, systematic efforts made by Nicaraguans. We are referring to Alejandro Serrano, especially in his essay, "Philosophy and Crisis," and Carlos Bendana, with his essay on the interpretation of Marx' thesis of [word indistinct] which serves as a prologue for the bilingual edition of the thesis. In addition, some university works of other Nicaraguans are still unpublished.

This brief historical review gives us a starting point for expanding on our initial premise on the role of philosophy and its relationship to social science.

The question on the business of philosophy -- this is a most abstract business -- is a specific one that can only properly be asked by watching -- as if with a telescope or a microscope -- the specific circumstance in which this business occurs and by establishing a relationship between the purely philosophical problems and the social problems posed by this specific situation. The testimony of our backwardness tells us that -- as in nearly all social sciences disciplines, and, particularly, in philosophy -- everything is still to be done. One thing is clear, however. Regardless of what society's philosophers and scientists may do, they have to do it in-depth, that is to say, to understand and direct the revolution rather than turn it into gibberish.

As we said at the beginning, the theoretical revolution cannot be separated from the practical revolution. It is appropriate to stress this, because, ideologically speaking, our society still pays tribute to the past. One of the illusions of the past is the concept that theory and practice are self-sustaining entities, two parallel worlds, and two faces that march somewhere but refuse to look each other in the eye. The concept that theory does not need practice and that practice does not require theory has been advanced in the capitalist societies, particularly in those that are the most highly developed. This concept has been exported to us by those societies for centuries. In them, work has been broken down into separate compartments for every individual in specific professions or trades. It is perfectly understandable why the philosopher believes that philosophy is entirely unrelated to life, because this alienation has cut his ties with social life.

It is interesting to see how far the division of work distorts even the history of philosophy. For instance, we usually hear that Thales -- historically the first philosopher -- fell into a well while contemplating the stars. This is interpreted as an illustration of the fact that philosophy turns its back on practical needs. For some, Thales was not the first philosopher, but a sort of primate. The interpretation ignores the fact that

it was Thales of Miletus who tried -- as a politician -- to organize a confederation of the Ionic cities against the Persian invaders.

To understand Thales as a philosopher and politician, we must deviate from the capitalist society's concept of man. It is necessary to consider man as embodying manifold theoretical artistic, and practical manifestations. We are considering the relationship between one of these manifestations -- philosophy -- and another, the social sciences and those that form part of practical life. This question is in itself philosophical because it leads us to question the fundamentals; and philosophy is the knowledge of the fundamentals. The object of philosophical reflection is to ponder such factors as existence, space, time, causality, essence, appearance, and so forth. These are the fundamental structures of all that exists: all beings, all realities, from galaxies to the sands of the sea, the unmistakable sigh of the nonconformists, those who conspire against ugliness, and even those who rebel against love.

This leads us to consider the relationship between philosophy and social sciences. In studying a specific reality, every science must use the concepts of those factors elaborated on by philosophy. The way a science utilizes the categories of cause, movement, and so forth, depends on the way these categories have been elaborated on philosophically. For instance, Newton could construct classical mechanisms based on the concepts of absolute time and space -- time and space philosophically conceived as something that can exist apart from material bodies.

With this philosophical concept of time and space, however, we reach a point where physical research is frozen in scientific underdevelopment. Einstein had to become a philosopher, reconsider these concepts, and -- stroking his beard -- he arrived at the conclusion that these concepts are properties of matter. He was then able to raise the theory of modern physics. Had they dealt more frequently with philosophy, they could have saved themselves much work. The concept of time and space as properties of matter had been defended by philosophers like (Fuehrbach).

This consideration is all the more important in social sciences when we deal with the newer sciences, inasmuch as researchers today -- to understand social reality -- continue to frequently use methodological categories that belong to other sciences. For instances, the concept of causality is entirely different in physics, biology, and social sciences. Under the influence of physics, society was interpreted as a mechanical chain of circumstances. Society was considered a machine. Efforts were also made to interpret society by utilizing the causality of the [word indistinct] organizations. Society was conceived as an organization.

Today, we can say that social causality is dialectical and that those other concepts were projections or extrapolations of another science. To reach this conclusion, however, deep philosophical reflection was necessary. This reflection must be attributed to the German classics. This reflection was a process, a means of communication that was not cut off by persecution and

clumsiness. What would have become of the materialist Marx without the idealist Hegel? It was necessary for the scientific concept of the world to be conceived amid flames and error, that is, experience. This reflection -- that is a reflection on methods for social sciences -- is the more urgent, considering that all of us know that these sciences remain expectant and impassive in Latin America, like a policeman who forgot how to direct traffic. Suffice it to say that -- like the Cuban revolution -- the Nicaraguan revolution was not foreseen in any of the interpretive canons in the prevailing theories in Latin America during the sixties.

We speak about dialectical causality and analysis, yet we frequently continue to mechanically relate the analysis of production rates and the popular movements formed on the bases of these relations. In this sense and because it demands a deep reflection on the method, the Nicaraguan revolution is a challenge for the philosophy of the revolution. We have said at other times that Nicaragua is a huge laboratory. Of course, this metaphor must be kept within the bounds of the decency of concepts. It is a big laboratory, first of all, in the sense that our people, that is to say, the peoples of Latin America, as Companero Navarro said, are trying out new experiences in the fields of economic practice, politics, exercise of power, art, and freedom.

In the second place, we can say that an ideological laboratory is a theoretical one, not because all ideologies are eclectically tested here, but because all the new experiences we have mentioned are the touchstones for the really theoretical and scientific traditions that have been developed in Latin America, particularly since the victory of the Cuban revolution. This revolution toppled the idols and schemes through which some tried to mechanically interpret our bitter, tropical, and subversive reality. New and original social experiences are occurring in Nicaragua in the framework of a philosophically complex situation that challenges the theoreticians' abilities. Of course, we who live directly through these experiences have a special responsibility both from the view of Latin American peoples' hopes for freedom and the view of progress for the theory of revolution. We have a special responsibility regarding these experiences and their theoretization in order to determine what can be generalized. The idea is to contribute toward our justified pretense of being builders of the great experience accumulated by Latin American peoples.

An example of a common problem on which the Nicaraguan experience can shed light is the relationship between Christianity and revolution. For their own experiences, the reflection on this problem began in Latin American countries, such as Colombia and Peru. One of the approaches to this problem from the Christians' viewpoint formed what has been described as liberation theology. Embodying the Christians' revolutionary experiences and their sensitivity toward social problems demanded philosophical reflection on social reality, men, and history from theologians like Gustavo Gutierrez.

This is an issue which apparently concerns the entire church, because this is an institution that must be alive in this world. And so, throughout history the church has had to renew its ideals to face new historical situations. Theology itself cannot be conceived in isolation from Greek philosophy, which though created by pagans, the fathers of the church brought to fruition. Following the Greeks' discovery of philosophy and science, the scientific disciplines had to suffer the flames of the Middle Ages, which reduced them to clandestine laboratories and self-denigration.

However, even during this era, the church was not stranger to philosophical discussions that reflected social changes. This is borne out by the polemic over universals between nominalists and realists. Those who adhered to the latter group, such as Saint Anselm, felt that ideas and species, had a real existence in God's mind. Nominalists such as William of Occam felt that the universals are figures of speech and that only individual entities exist. Who can deny that this dispute, which we can say was won by the nominalists, was linked to changes undergone by the decaying feudal world, to the rebirth of trade, and to other social changes, which would lead to development of realism in the arts, research of nature, rebirth of social sciences, and, in sum, capitalist society?

Moreover, the Christian movement allowed many revolutionaries to reevaluate and overcome the schematic fashion in which they would have to deal with participation of Christians. This is an area of social research that is still not fully explored, and of course, this practical convergence does not eliminate philosophical differences. In fact, Saint Anselm, whom we have just mentioned, summarized the principles of theology using Saint Augustine's formula: I believe in order to understand, because for believers the first thing is what is commonly referred to as faith. To the contrary, philosophy in its strictest sense -- the scientific sense -- and based on the Greek name by which we still call this science is friendship of knowledge and the search for science, understanding reality apart from what commonly is referred to as faith.

If the church's own doctrine has evolved through philosophical disputes, if within the church's bosom there are differences of opinions, why should there not be a radical difference between scientific philosophy and nonscientific philosophy, between philosophy in general and scientific philosophy? Nevertheless, differences do not preclude political convergence, as actions have made clear. In fact, this is one of the features of the pluralism that characterizes the Nicaraguan revolution's actions, which must not be confused with theoretical concessions to eclecticism.

We coincide in our common goal of freedom for an oppressed and exploited people. Within a truly liberated society every man does what he wants with his freedom as long as the principle that each man's freedom is the condition for the freedom of other prevails. That Christian who analyzes philosophy's fundamental problems, has picked up the gauntlet to face the unavoidable though not necessarily violent clash with the philosopher scientist. But a

Christian who sides with social commitment is a brother in the struggle against man's exploitation of man. We say that there is no contradiction between Christianity and revolution. However, the unity we promote -- in contrast to Hegelian unity -- does not erase the differences between terms.

This and many more other problems constitute the brilliant texture of our experience. We cannot deal with these problems through solely empirical means. The need to give practical and adequate replies to them inexorable lead us to philosophical views. In order for these views to be correct, we must successfully implement them; we must come to terms with our philosophical conscience. It is interesting to observe that self-styled dialectical scholars use eclectic criteria to see reality in terms of a purely formal logic wherein the theory of class struggle coexists with Max Weber's ideals. This is not to suggest that authors such as Weber are metaphysically isolated, as if the mystical cortex which has characterized their studies had no rational seed. This is not to confront them with mental [word indistinct] where they have already been known and catalogued as ideological diversionists.

A genuine coming to terms, is a reflective coming to terms which points out the error by exposing the error's philosophical premises, which points out positive aspects in negative aspects; which knows how to incorporate the positive aspects in a vision, the scientific element of which is guaranteed by the genuine [word indistinct] premises.

We must again take up the example of Jose Carlos Mariategui, an imaginative thinker and creator. Although Mariategui made no contribution to the field of philosophy, he was no stranger to philosophical discussion in his highly critical teaching post. He did not polemicize dogmatically. He learned from his foes, Mariategui was a lithe, honest, and considerable swordsman. Inasmuch as we only vaguely admit our errors, we continue to be subject to errors. For that reason, dialectic was not just one more of Mariategui's gifts, instead it was a fruitful means to analyze reality. For that reason, he was able to apply this method to Latin American reality while preserving its critical and revolutionary essence.

In contrast to those who automatically transplanted European interpretive and organizational formulas, Mariategui analyzed our own reality and, based on that analysis, he organized that reality to suit the revolutionary movement. For example, an attempt was made to interpret the Indians' reality in terms of nationalistic matters, as was the case with oppressed ethnic groups in some European countries. Mariategui, who was no fool discovered that that problem within the context of our reality should be viewed in terms of class struggle. Moreover, his views on the revolutionary party based on class composition, organizational structures, and alliances outraged the importers of slogans and schemes. Mariategui was accused of substituting a hypothetical national reality for a revolutionary thinking. Some persons had to wait for the advent of the Cuban revolution to realize that national realities are part of overall reality.

Others, even after the Nicaraguan revolution, are still unaware that its premises are twin to those of Jose Marti. In Nicaragua we have a revolution that in terms of names, adjectives, and even content, has not mechanically reproduced other experiences. One of the worst evils that has existed in the revolutionary drama in Latin America has been the mechanical repetition, the establishment of a foreign political structure originating from the agreements and analyses of the Third International. The disregard for Latin American nationalism originates from the correct analysis of European nationalism. To Europe, the transfer of these policies to our countries in a mechanical manner produced distortions in the understanding of the revolutionary process, such as the attacks on Augusto Cesar Sandino by the Mexican Communist Party. In the same way, these analyses that were copied resulted in the introduction of Soviet and other mechanical molds that took place in the realm of political naivete and in the absence of practical answers. The survival of these childish attitudes in the present, from a practical and theoretical point of view, is something we can verify in the experience of this revolution.

The plan of some minority political groups in this country to establish a proletarian revolution once the petit bourgeois revolution in power has been exhausted, is a sign of infantilism and an expression of the supremely primitive concept of dialectics. From the philosophical point of view, the process of developing differences, the struggle among adversaries, and the intensification of that struggle to arrive at open conflicts, are lost from sight. Conflicts are conceived, from these naive philosophical attitudes, as something complete, as something that does not have a stage of development and accumulation of that is to say, as an abstract confrontation between adversaries in the framework of the old formal logic, which politically results in the disregard for the means and the process of struggle to achieve revolutionary objectives.

Anyway, I think that it is essential to mention that here we have a true revolution, which began when the first drop of blood was shed by a Sandinist Front member in 1963. And, the whole process of struggle has developed since that day and must unavoidably culminate with a superior society. This does not deny the ideological struggle, but rather confirms it precisely because development is achieved through contradictions. That ideological struggle must occur. Through this struggle we must determine the theoretical criteria that will allow us to dodge the stumbling blocks placed by the left and the right's infantilism.

The practice of political naivete based on ideological, messianic, and mechanistic ideas, which simplify the essence of the theory and place it in the sphere of empiricism, can lead to the negation of the revolutionary process; it can be the silver platter that history has denied the Yankee imperialism. Therefore, we believe that the only way we can suggest the possibility of a Latin American philosophy is by arriving at true conclusions through normal channels of thought. This must be understood as a contribution to philosophy through Latin American experience. The fact that a strictly Latin American philosophy is still being talked about, is proof of the degree of dependency we still experience.

Philosophy, a combined vision of everything, is the highest expression of the independence of the mind, of the awareness a people have of their own identity. However, this identity is not achieved in an abstract manner, it is affirmed and denied through practical and theoretical affirmation and negation.

From this viewpoint, we value Alejandro Serrano's philosophical work. He has attempted to demonstrate the incapacity of positivism and rationalism as a means to resolve the current crisis of thought. For us in particular, the criticism made of positivism or empiricism makes sense, because this continues to influence social investigations as well as political practice itself. It influences especially those who are now aware of its inclusion in this philosophical trend. Without an operation of ideological fumigation there is no possibility of finding a theory worth more than a memorandum. If we ask ourselves about the theoretical construction that the Latin American situation demands -- a situation in revolution -- we must once again go back to the problem of unity between theory and practice. From the philosophical view, more exactly from the sociological view, the problem is to incorporate practice in knowledge.

When the revolutionary thinkers attempt to resolve this, they usually fall into pragmatism, a philosophy that not coincidentally is evident in the most developed imperialist nation in the world. In reacting to this fall into pragmatism they fall into theoretics and for us, the Latin Americans -- because of the influence he had during his time -- this exemplifies (Luis Altuzer).

Companero Bendana suggested a solution when he stressed the differences between (?Furebach's) ideal of what is essential form (?should be). The mistake that prevents some from sociologically understanding the unity between theory and practice lies in the fact that they have stopped at the phenomenalist form of knowledge. Undoubtedly, controversy has the final word in this issue, and it is definitely capable of establishing the revolutionary practice.

We believe one of the traits that must characterize a philosopher in Latin America is his effort to close the gap between philosophical investigation and analysis of the specific situation.

Evidently, philosophy, social sciences, and the analysis of the specific situation, operate on different levels. However, the separation of work, referred to in the beginning, makes these activities evolve in a normal manner as partitioned worlds.

It seems that the philosopher's concerns have nothing to do with the efforts of the social scientist; and that the efforts of the social scientist have little to do with political practice, and vice versa.

In the construction process of our culture the philosopher must make an effort to explain the practical implications of his thoughts. He must do this to

pass on to others the need for philosophy or to show how their behavior can predetermine, aware or not of the phenomena, set philosophical positions. The less concerned a philosopher is of examining the practical implications of his investigation, the stronger the risk of falling into merely speculative discussions -- the risk that his philosophy will stop being a philosophy. For this philosophy to be scientific it must offer knowledge, interpretation, and the transformation of a world that was foreign to us, a world that was unknown and mistreated.

Of course, this concern for practical implications is not something one can impose as a duty, as something necessary for the philosophers activities. This concern is born from the philosopher's practical contact with reality; it is born from the demands of the practice itself. From this viewpoint there is nothing more demanding than a revolution; there is nothing more demanding than the Latin American situation, especially this little piece of lava, milk, blood, and honey, which is the Nicaraguan revolution. These circumstances for the Latin Americans to contribute in theory to the science of society and to the universe of philosophy fit exactly within the context of this transformation.

The problem that the social reality creates for the revolutionary practice leads to philosophical thinking, and this philosophical thinking, while contributing to the Latin American national awareness, must also contribute to the universal development of philosophy and science.

In Nicaragua we must face very difficult situations with our daily enthusiasm. The practice of philosophy and its teachings clash with the material conditions, absence of funds, human resources, probable prejudices, sectarianism, and even philosophical practices. The urgent administrative and practical tasks absorb all the time required to contribute in this field. We do not have libraries or bookstores sufficiently equipped with material on social sciences or philosophy. The inherited ignorance is such, that at times, according to what we have heard, books have been burned in some libraries. They used the pretext that they had no space or that the books were not signed out by anyone because they were written in a foreign language.

The social researchers have institutions such as the (CIERA), (CIPCA) or (INIES) but those involved in philosophy do not have a research center, unless Alejandro Serrano [Nicaraguan Supreme Court President -- FBIS] establishes one in the Supreme Court. [laughter] We understand that the Philosophy Department will be closed in this university. It is said that it will be temporary due to insurmountable circumstances. While the conditions do not permit it to reopen, the professors of this department should not resign themselves to decrease their activity to just teaching introductory classes for other departments. The professors and the cultivators of philosophy should also organize an association. It should be a pluralistic association in ideological terms where everything should be discussed except the return of the inquisition. It will guarantee the continuity of their efforts.

All of these adverse conditions seem to close in like an uncomfortable circle. But even though it seems that I am trying to put together a puzzle, these difficulties and difficult conditions do not fall outside the imperialist aggression. The inherited underdevelopment is not only materialistic. It is also cultural. The economic blockade is not only materialistic. It is also cultural. The aggression seeks to kill matter and spirit. A nation is a place where ideas and matter exist. Men build and dispute them, sometimes tearing apart their entrails. When the ideas of the workers in that struggle become a predominant force and a center of illumination, then a revolutionary change has taken place. Of course it is absolutely intolerable to imperialism, the mentally retarded, and the oligarchy. This change must be valued and brought to synthesis. That is why the study and teaching of revolutionary theory is essential. Without revolutionary theory there cannot be a revolution.

Hegel wrote the last pages of his "Phenomenology of Mind" in Jena in 1806 under the thunder of the cannons of Napoleon, who represented the progressive bourgeois ideas of that era. You students of philosophy or perhaps philosophers must accept a new challenge. Carlos Fonseca accepted this challenge when he lived in a clandestine manner. Under the thunder of the ideological offensives -- which are the most dangerous -- and of the enemy's machine guns, with adrenaline in the conscience, with an alert mind, and with the homeland's rifles, we are committed to studying, teaching, constructing, and reconstructing theory.

As Companero Navarro said, let us continue working until the next meeting, dear companeros. Free fatherland [Shouts of "or death"].

CSO: 3248/449

PARAGUAY

## FORMER JOURNALIST DENOUNCES LACK OF PRESS FREEDOM

PY281612 Paris AFP in Spanish 1428 GMT 27 Jun 85

[Text] Paris, 27 Jun (AFP)--Today, in Paris, Alcibiades Gonzalez Delvalle, secretary general of the Union of Journalists of Paraguay, denounced the lack of press freedom and the persecution of journalists in his country.

Gonzalez Delvalle, who worked for the newspaper ABC COLOR until it was closed down by the regime of President Alfredo Stroessner in March 1984, is now in Paris following visits to Spain and Sweden as part of a European tour, during which he met with representatives of labor unions and political parties.

He recounted that in May 1984 he wanted to publish a sports weekly, but that it was closed after its second issue by the authorities on the pretext that Gonzalez Delvalle was not a sports journalist.

He also said that he could not get any shop in Paraguay to print a collection of Sunday columns that had already been carried in the press and that the police seized the copies that were printed in Argentina when he tried to introduce them in Paraguay.

According to him, the Union of Journalists of Paraguay has 200 members. It is affiliated with six other unions in the Interunion Organization, which is independent from the pro-government union organization. This interunion group is struggling for political democratization, which must begin with the suspension of the state of siege.

Gonzalez Delvalle mentioned the television programs from Argentina that can be viewed in Paraguay, bringing an air of democracy in their newscasts, which show that a president can be criticized and strikes can be staged without causing chaos.

Asked about the political situation in his country, Gonzalez del Valle noted that Stroessner is not the problem. The problem is what will follow him. We will have to work with an eye on the post-Stroessner era, so that we will not fall into the hands of another dictator or into tragic anarchy.

He ended up by saying that the main task of the political parties is to prepare for a transition without violence in a country where there is much pent-up hatred and rancor.

PARAGUAY

COLORADO PARTY LEADER HITS EXECUTIVE BOARD

PY290336 Asuncion Cerro Cora Sistema Nacional Television in Spanish 1600 GMT  
27 Jun 85

[Interview with Miguel Angel Gamarra Dure, candidate for the Colorado Integration Movement for the presidency of the Ignacio A. Pane Center, an auxiliary university organization of the Government Board of the Colorado Party; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] Is the Colorado Integration Movement [MIC] withdrawing from the elections?

[Gamarra Dure] The MIC, after a meeting of its leadership made up of representatives of the different schools of the National University and the Catholic University, has decided not to legitimize with its presence this election that will be the culmination of a series of deceptions which the Colorado people are suffering, of a succession of decisions that amount to a true electoral orchestration, of a situation that has been developing since the last convention of the Colorado Party. At that convention the Government Board had already demonstrated a complete insensitivity and lack of interest in the sentiments of the Colorado people. To give you a little background, we, the journalists and the Colorado people, know that the representatives of the Colorado people have asked that a party leader who deserves our affection and respect, Mr Mario Abdo Benitez [president Stroessner's private secretary], be promoted. This request was, however, totally ignored by the Government Board, a large sector of which is made up of a clique of oligarchs who believe that the surname is a primary qualification to occupy posts of leadership within the party structure....

[Question] Do the MIC people believe that all those who support Mario Abdo Benitez are persecuted? Would this situation in the Ignacio A. Pane Center and the MIC be a consequence of that persecution?

[Gamarra Dure] Of course. We have to be very clear in saying that Mario Abdo Benitez is the standardbearer of the sentiments of the Colorado people who look upon him as one of the best spokesmen for the doctrine and accomplishments of the government of our unique leader, President Alfredo Stroessner. This has annoyed those gentlemen who sit in the party government junta. We have unfortunately come to realize that the party president himself, Dr Juan

Ramon Chavez, is one of them, and he is the head of this oligarchic structure that wants to sidetrack the Colorado people who are eager to occupy important positions within the party directorate. This is a persecution. My assertion is founded on the real assaults perpetrated in the Colorado party local directorates. Concrete examples of this can be found in the local directorates of Guarambare, Santa Elena, Yuty, Capiata and Isla Pucu. There the representatives of the party Government Board have committed juridical atrocities and trampled the sovereignty of the people who are the fundamental basis of the Colorado party, a party of the people. The last party convention has shown that these gentlemen are in favor of democracy when democracy favors them. If democracy does not favor them, they simply trample it. I think that the Colorado people must adopt a healthy decision regarding these types of leaders so that the party government junta may yet be the interpreter of the sentiments of the Colorado people.

[Question] What will the MIC do?

[Camarra Dure] We will continue our political path. We will continue to strengthen the party and struggle so that the image of the Colorado Party is refurbished once for all. We will return to our bases because we are part of the bases. We have never abandoned them, and have never adopted postures like those gentlemen who, as I said before, have demonstrated in a party convention that they do not care about the thinking of the local party directorates. From those bases, we will then help the efforts so that these gentlemen who--and here I am clear and categorical--speak of the post-Stroessnerism in their familiar gatherings [sentence as heard]. Because these gentlemen are speculating with what can happen tomorrow or after tomorrow, making conjectures that are incoherent in politics. We are clear in our position and say that we are Stroessnerists. We are from the beginning loyal to President Stroessner.

[Question] These are statements by Miguel Angel Camarra Dure, MIC candidate for the presidency of the Ignacio A. Pane Center. These are really violent statements regarding the situation in the university Colorado center a few days before the elections that are scheduled for the next 3 days. However, these elections will not be held because the MIC has withdrawn in disagreement with actions of the representatives of the Colorado Party junta as delegates before this university organization.

CSO: 3348/829

PARAGUAY

CP MEMBER STRESSES WORKERS DESIRES

PY221934 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 21 Jun 85

[By Ananias Maidana, a member of the Paraguayan Communist Party board]

[Text] The massive and aggressive demonstrations held in the streets of the capital under antidictatorial slogans are among the outstanding national events that occurred over the past few months.

The Movement of Unity and Trade Union Action in Exile has been established abroad as an expression of the united struggle of the country's working class. In its declaration of principles, this movement reasserts the decision to contribute to the unity of the workers movement and to the recovery and strengthening of its independent and class nature.

The Paraguayan Movement of Unity and Trade Union Action in Exile (?MPUASE) does not merely limit itself to developing its activities outside the country but projects its actions toward the interior of Paraguay.

The (?MPUASE) hopes to contribute to the fight to overthrow the dictatorship, to work for the unity of the workers, and to assist in the development of an independent and aggressive workers movement as part of the unity of all Paraguayan democratic forces.

To this end, the (?MPUASE) has raised a program of minimum economic and democratic claims that includes: immediate salary and wage hikes to cover vital needs; the complete suspension of the dismissals of workers and the eviction of campesinos; the cessation of police harassment, the release of all political and union leaders held prisoners, and the return of the exiles without discrimination; urgent measures against the rising cost of living, the high prices for basic items, the short supplies and the contraband; the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship as a guarantee for the development of the process of social and national liberation; support for the struggle for world peace since the struggles and achievements of the working class would be wasted and senseless if a world war broke out.

In order to achieve these objectives today, more than ever we need to forge an iron-willed and aggressive unity to give a victorious impetus to the workers movement toward the conquest of the claims and the destruction of the dictatorship.

ST LUCIA

COMPTON REPORTS ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH WORLD BANK

Castries THE VOICE in English 26 Jun 85 p 12

[Article by Ernie Seon]

[Text]

**PRIME Minister John Compton says his Government has finalised talks with the World Bank for financing the Soufriere geothermal project.**

Mr Compton was reporting on his recent visit to the United States to attend the Caribbean Group for Cooperation in Economic Development.

He said an agreement involving US \$6 million allocation for drilling at the Sulphur Springs site will be signed here next month.

He added that half of the money will be put up by USAID and the remainder by the United Nations Development Programme. "After the stage is completed he will look at the production of electricity."

Mr. Compton said he was confident that the World Bank will accede to a request from Eastern Caribbean nations to allow them further access to its loans.

The Caribbean nations pressed their case at the just concluded meeting in Washington of the Caribbean Group which co-ordinates

international aid to the region.

The Bank is currently trying to graduate several middle income West Indian nations from eligibility for its loans because their per capita incomes, although in some cases meagre, are well above those of the world poorest nations.

However the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States says it is wrong to use the per capita income as an indicator for development in countries which have peculiar characteristics and are susceptible to all kinds of disasters.

"I think the World Bank is quite likely to approve our request. It is just a matter of time before we are graduated but what we are asking is for time for us to adjust ourselves before graduating. We have strong support on this from Canada, the United States and the EEC (European Community)," Compton said.

He said the CGCED meeting was "better and more rewarding" than previous ones because the world economy is coming out of the recession. "Potential donors are more amenable to discussing aid programmes,"

he noted. He said the meeting accepted a proposal put forward by St. Lucia on behalf of the OECS for special con-

cessionary financing to tie the islands over their budgetary problems.

"This was very well accepted and the World Bank and other potential donors are to meet us in July in an effort to work out the aid allocations," he added.

With regards to the financing of the proposed west coast road, Compton said there is still a financial gap of four million dollars. "We have pledges for six million and later this year we hope to finalise negotiations for the four million gap."

He said St. Lucia was also planning a project with USAID involving the production of 150 acres of winter vegetables for export.

At the meeting the Caribbean leaders complained that Washington's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), was not moving quickly enough, and there was still a lot more to be done.

"We in the Caribbean need to make a greater push to make U.S. businessmen more aware of opportunities, although there has been some movement in Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti. There has not been substantial movement within the Eastern Caribbean.

"But the venture is only one year old, and it is a matter for us to take the ball. People would not come to us. It is for us to go to them."

ST LUCIA

NATIONAL YOUTH COUNCIL FORMING GROUPS ISLANDWIDE

Castries THE VOICE in English 19 Jun 85 p 2

[Text]

**DESPITE** a ruling by the Ministry of Youth that it was not properly constituted, the National Youth Council (NYC) formed in April, is pressing ahead with plans for youth groups around the island.

One of the recommendations coming out of the April national consultation on the problems affecting young people in St. Lucia, was the need for a National Students' Movement. The consultation was organized by the International Year of the Youth (IYY) Committee and the Ministry of Youth.

Last Saturday, this National Students' Movement came into being when a Students' Branch under the National Youth Council was formed. The elections took place during a meeting held specifically for that purpose and the actual voting was supervised by officials of the National Youth Council.

A five member executive was elected to serve for a period of one year. The executive comprises: President — Ernest Hilaire ('A' Level College), Vice President — Kem Patrick Prospere — ('A' Level College), Secretary — Arlette Satney — (St. Joseph's Convent), Treasurer — Gloria Severin — (Teachers Training College), Public Relations Officer — Henry Mangal — ('A' Level College).

The students' branch also operates with a general council comprising one representative from each Secondary School on the island. The present executive has been charged with the responsibility of drawing up a constitution which will have to be approved by the general council.

After the constitution has been fully ratified by the various student bodies, it is expected that the Students' Branch will be formally launched on International Students Day on November 17.

Meanwhile, the executive of the Students' Branch of the National Youth Council is planning to meet officials from UNESCO and the Ministry of Education as soon as possible so as to lay the basis for dialogue and a healthy working relationship.

CSO: 3298/886

ST LUCIA

## REPORTAGE ON TWO PROGRESSIVE LABOUR PARTY MEETINGS

Castries CRUSADER in English 29 Jun 85 p 11

[Text]

The progressive Labour Party this week increased the momentum of its new mobilisational thrust of educating the masses by holding two public meetings.

On Tuesday the blasting horns of the Progressive Labour Party moved easterly to the fishing village of Dennery.

A responsive crowd of Dennerians lined the main street in the village to hear the HEART BROTHERS expound on the various issues in the country.

Bro. Jon Odlum who chaired the meeting highlighted the Government's attitude in destroying the minds of our people. He spoke of the land problems in the country and the failure of the Fisheries Complex. He lambasted Government's lack of priority in bringing Her Majesty to St. Lucia at this time.

Bro. Nicholas Joseph spoke of the lack of justice in the country. Bro. Joseph said that no man must be made to feel that because he is a police officer he can do what he wants in this country. He said, "If the Police Officers involved in the YAMAHA killing were not guilty, why did they have to transfer them to the out districts?"

Party Leader George Odlum who was the final speaker for the night spoke of the need for people to be true to themselves, stating that if people are true to themselves, they cannot be false to anyone. He spoke of the system of Government which is anti-worker stating that he would have liked to see a Dennery free of exploitation, victimisation etc. The party Leader ended his contribution by calling on the people of Dennery to put their heads together to rid themselves of the Government.

On Wednesday night the P.L.P. turned Southwest to the town of Soufriere.

It took the people almost by surprise but like Dennery the people came out in their numbers to listen.

The attentive gathering of Soufrierians heard Bro Jon Odlum who spoke about the function of the P.L.P. He said that the P.L.P.'S ROLE IS TO EDUCATE THE PEOPLE SO THAT THEY WILL NOT BE BLUFFED BY THE Government.

Sister Bianca Alexander spoke of the problems of women in the society. She called on the women of Soufriere to organise themselves to show the Queen

their real situation when she visits the island in October. The sister challenged the women to struggle along side their husbands to rid themselves of the government.

Comrade Nicholas Joseph called on the government to respect workers and the people of St. Lucia. He spoke of District Representative Lennard Riviere's failure, describing him as "more than a miserable failure." Comrade Joseph also spoke of the failure of the education system and pin-pointed Cuba as a country with an excellent education system.

Comrade George Odum in his role as the closing speaker and Leader of the Party spoke of the need for people to be aware of what is happening in the outside world. He highlighted the economic failures of countries like Jamaica, Dominica and linked them with the failure of John Compton in St. Lucia. He said that throughout his time in politics he has endeavoured to show the people that the power to make and break governments is in their hands. He dealt with the communist-bogey and called on the people of Soufriere to unite, stating that there is a force and a power in unity.

CSO: 3298/886

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

ALLIANCE CONGRESS PICKS ROBINSON AS LEADER, UNOPPOSED

ULF-Opposition Row

Port-of-Spain EXPRESS in English 5 Jul 85 p 40

[Text] Trouble is brewing in the Alliance camp. A Democratic Action Congress (DAC) activist has accused Opposition Senate leader Dr Brinsley Samaroo of leading a "university faction" to hijack the United Labour Front (ULF) support in Sunday's Alliance Congress.

The row began about three weeks ago when it was discovered that a slate of candidates for the Alliance elections proposed by "the university faction" was circulated with the omission of ULF party chairman Nizam Mohammed and general secretary Kelvin Ramnath. This resulted in intense campaigning by both men and the convening of a meeting of the ULF central committee last Tuesday night,

This meeting was called by Mohammed and attended by over 250 persons. Opposition leader Basdeo Panday did not attend the meeting which was held at the Rienzi Complex in Couva. The central committee comprises 120 members. This was the first time that the ULF central committee had met since 1981.

At the ULF central committee meeting, DAC activist Bridgelal Kedar waded into Dr Samaroo, accusing him of high-handed tactics and making plans to hijack the ULF. A heated argument ensued and Dr Samaroo reportedly left the meeting.

Verbal attacks were also launched at Alliance administrative secretary Alloy Lequay, who is opposing Ramnath for the post of Alliance general secretary at Sunday's poll. The meeting failed to agree on a slate of representatives for Sunday's meeting.

Mohammed dealt with the draft national Alliance of Trinidad and Tobago Constitution which he claimed had been designed to prevent the "grassroot" people from taking part in the party's affair. Mohammed criticised Article 11 of the NATT constitution and proposed an amendment which will no longer give the right to councillors to form the electoral district committees.

Mohammed argued that the constitution gave the right to councillors to form these committees and, therefore, control the delegates at Congresses. It was

proposed that the people would be responsible for forming the electoral district committees. That amendment would be put to the Congress on Sunday.

Yesterday, several ULF supporters crowded the EXPRESS San Fernando Desk, questioning the motive behind the convening of the ULF central committee meeting, as well as the composition of the committee. ULF supporters said that chairman Mohammed allowed persons who were not on the central committee to participate in discussions at the meeting.

They also questioned the amendment to the constitution by Mohammed, claiming that he (Mohammed) was a member of the Alliance constitution committee and, therefore, assisted in framing the present constitution. The ULF supporters said that Mohammed must have had some motive for wanting that section amended now.

### Tapia House Leader's Views

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 6 Jul 85 p 7

[Article by Beau Tewarie]

[Text]

SINCE 1981, the National Alliance has been a fairly loose coalition of three formerly competing parties — the United Labour Front (ULF), the Democratic Action Congress (DAC), and the Tapia House Movement (Tapia).

Tomorrow at the Rienzi Complex in Couva, that loose coalition will be tightened and strengthened and the alliance of three parties, already four years old, will be solidified.

Of some significance is the fact that the National Alliance has been operating without a constitution for the past four years; yet, in spite of this, it has held firmly together.

One reason for this positive achievement is that, notwithstanding differences of opinion on particular issues from time to time, a general atmosphere of mutual respect has, more often than not, prevailed in the alliance.

Secondly, within Alliance circles, there has been over the years, a good deal of discussion and debate.

Also, a capacity for tolerance and a willingness to give and take have been clearly demonstrated in all quarters.

#### RECOGNITION

Finally, due recognition has been given to the principal units of the Alliance in most matters of importance.

Moreover, at the level of regional organisation, a great degree of solidity and cohesion has been achieved, because at that level a

genuine Alliance exists regardless of the party units from which Alliance members come.

This has been an organic development of grassroots organisation led by those activists who understand that party organisation is the key to the survival, growth and development of a national party network capable of effecting change.

At another level, there has been mutual agreement on fundamental principles and this coherence in terms of aims and objectives for the society at large has helped to weld the forces contained in the Alliance together into an ideologically coherent party, truly national in perspective.

The aims and objectives of the Alliance constitution to be ratified on Sunday are instructive.

The Alliance pledges to:

● Continually work towards national unity and to collaborate with organisations and individuals also dedicated to this aim;

● promote the economic, moral, social, cultural and educational development of our people;

● uphold the rule of law, the basic and fundamental rights of the individual within a framework of economic and social justice and a democratic system of political participation which will be sensitive to multiple interests in the society;

● foster national unity, patriotism and social cohesion among our citizens.

● provide good and humane Government with high standards of public service, a high degree of integrity and work towards the realisation of the objects as stated in the preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago;

● promote economic, cultural and political association with other Caribbean countries in particular and a better understanding among peoples of all nations; and,

● support and collaborate with progressive people who are struggling against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, facism and apartheid throughout the world.

The objectives of the National

Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) are obviously similar.

For the NAR is to be perceived as a more comprehensive coalition and a more definitive step towards the generally agreed goal of national unity.

As a step towards the consolidation of the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR), the formalisation of the Alliance which takes place tomorrow is vital.

The NAR constitution recognises two units, the Alliance and the Organisation for National Reconstruction (ONR).

Basically, then, tomorrow the Alliance will be putting its house in order before embarking on the more formidable task of consolidating the NAR.

During his recent meet-the-party tour, the political leader of the ruling People's National Movement (PNM) concluded that the constitution of the NAR had little to do with the aspirations of the people of Trinidad and Tobago and was simply a convenient coming together of opposition forces bent on

removing the PNM.

Nothing could be further from the truth. For instance, the draft constitution that Mr. Chambers had in his possession obviously did not include the aims and objectives, which would have helped to clarify where the NAR stands in relation to the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

Secondly, the constitution is merely one document already agreed to by the parties of the NAR.

Still to be presented to the public is the policy and programme document which will be the basis of our manifesto and which will certainly indicate our vision for the future of Trinidad and Tobago.

It is clear that Mr. Chambers will do all that he can to undermine the genuine unity that is being forged among the parties and to thwart the momentum for change that is building up throughout the country. That is to be expected.

What the Alliance and the NAR must guard against over the next few vital months are mistakes that are likely to be prompted by tension

and anxiety as the political pressures mount.

#### STABILITY

Clearly statesmanship, stability, commitment, intellect, and a broad all-embracing vision for a decent and humane society are the requirements of leadership at this time.

There can be no flinching now from a commitment to justice, morality and fairplay. The country is hungry for morality in public affairs and any party that now aspires to Government must be able to embrace such positive values in the men and women that it puts before the nation as examples.

The day for guileful politicians who prey on the weaknesses of others, and village headmen who thrive on pettiness and intrigue are over.

A party that aspires to govern for and on behalf of the people must be open to the ablest and the best and must be clearly committed to meaningful change, not simply be interested in an exchange of power for the sake of power.

#### Nominees for Office

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 6 Jul 85 p 3

[Text]

#### SAN FERNANDO:

SEVEN of ten offices will be contested at tomorrow's Congress of the National Alliance to be held at Reinz Complex Couva.

According to a top official, it is not anticipated that there will be any confrontation by supporters of defeated candidates or candidates themselves, who are expected to accept the results of the elections in the interest of the party and national unity.

The Alliance executive met earlier this week at Reinz Complex and resolved all outstanding issues regarding arrangements for the first national congress and the nomination of candidates for the elections.

In a statement issued yesterday, a spokesman for the party said there would be no election for the offices of Elections Officer, Public Relations Officer and Education and Research Officer.

Mr ANR Robinson is tipped to be elected leader of the Alliance with Opposition Leader Basdeo Panday as Deputy Leader. Other nominees

have withdrawn.

Mr Robinson, Chairman of Democratic Action Congress (DAC), Panday, Alliance Parliamentary Leader, head of the United Labour Front (ULF).

According to a source close to the Alliance, Mr Panday is expected to make a statement at the conference dealing with nominations for leadership, clearing the way for the Leader and Deputy Leader to be elected unopposed.

#### THE NOMINEES

The official list of nominations:  
Leader — Mr Robinson and Mr Panday.

Deputy Leader — Mr. Robinson and Mr Panday.

Secretary — Mr Kelvin Ramnath and Mr Alloy Lequay.

Assistant Secretary — Dr. Sahadeo Basdeo, Dr. Emmanuel Hosein and Mrs Mary King of the Eastern Region.

Chairman — Mr Nizam Mohammed and Dr. Bhoe Tewarie.

Vice-Chairman — Mr Winston Dookeran, Mr Trevor Sudama and Miss Pamela Nicholson of Tobago.

Treasurer — Mr Govindra Roopnarine, Dr. Martin Sampath and Dr. Sahadeo Basdeo.

Meanwhile, the National Council meeting of the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) fixed for today at Couva has been called off as a result of tomorrow's Congress at the Reinz Complex.

A spokesman said yesterday that a new date for the meeting would be decided shortly. He said tomorrow's congress would consider the NAR constitution in the morning with elections to be held in the afternoon.

### Panday Withdrawal

Port-of-Spain EXPRESS in English 8 Jul 85 p 48

[Text] Opposition leader Basdeo Panday yesterday withdrew his nomination for the post of political leader of the National Alliance of Trinidad and Tobago (NATT) saying that he preferred to be a "small fish in a big pond".

Panday action, taken at the end of the morning session of the NATT's first congress, allowed Tobago House of Assembly Chairman ANR Robinson to be elected unopposed as the party's first political leader. Panday's withdrawal was greeted with a standing ovation. Panday told the overflowing crowd at the Rienzi Complex in Couva that "leaderitis" had become a chronic disease in the society. Said he, "There are too many of us who feel that they cannot belong unless they have office. They prefer to be 'big fish in small ponds' rather than 'small fish in big ponds'."

Panday said that one of the areas of frustration in any move to unite political parties would have been that of leadership. He said that such frustrations were expected to arise in the jostle for leadership, for office and position when men try to achieve personal ambitions without regard for the party.

Said Panday, "When the time comes, as it has now come for us, to allocate office and position, that is the time when you separate the men from the boys; that is the time when men demonstrate their true colours; that is the time when you know who are patriots and who are self-seekers. It is a moment of truth.

Said Panday, "I have long since made the distinction between 'reigning' and 'ruling' on the one hand and between 'office' and 'power' on the other. After being leader of the opposition for some nine years there are few who are more qualified than I to know the difference between 'office' and 'power'. It has been an office without power in the context of the struggle for a better society."

He added, "I prefer to be a 'small fish in a big pond'. I would rather be a back bencher in the government than be leader of the opposition for another 10 years. If our objective is to remove the PNM and replace them with a government of the people, for the people and by the people, then sacrifices must be made. Personal ambitions must give way to the interest of a greater struggle."

Panday said that it was in this context that he was withdrawing his nomination for election for the office of political leader and he asked the crowd to grant him the honour of being the first to congratulate the party's new political leader ANR Robinson.

## Panday on National Unity

Port-of-Spain EXPRESS in English 8 Jul 85 p 1

[Text]

**OPPOSITION leader Basdeo Panday warned yesterday that the National Alliance of Trinidad and Tobago (NATT) was prepared to lose every single seat in an election rather than divide the nation on racial grounds as an election strategy.**

Panday was speaking at the first congress of the NATT at the Rienzi Complex in Couva. The evening's session was chaired by Dr Martin Sampath of the Democratic Action Congress (DAC).

Said Panday, "We of the Alliance must take a solemn vow that we shall never resort to dividing our people as a means of winning elections even if that were the only way to electoral victory. We must be prepared to lose every single seat rather than inflict that kind of wound on our nation. Our battle cry must be national unity, regardless of the political consequences to ourselves".

He went on, "If the ruling party has failed to move the nation forward despite the enormous wealth under its control, it is because the very method by which it wins the elections becomes its greatest obstacle to progress after the elections.

"How you win determines how you will have to rule. If you divide the nation in order to win the elections, then after the elections you are bound to be faced with a divided people. No government, however much the financial support at its command, can so develop its nation as to bring peace and happiness to its citizens if it divides the people."

Panday told the 500-odd delegates attending the first congress that national unity must not be seen as merely an election strategy. He said without national unity, there could be no real development in the country.

Said Panday, "We will have no hope but to go forward without national unity. Our most valuable resources are our human resources. And there is no way a government is going to succeed in any plan of

development unless it can mobilise its human resources."

After reviewing the various 5-year development plans which were proposed for this country by the government, he said, he did not see anywhere any reference to a mobilising of the human resources. Said Panday, "Given the plural nature of our society no wonder those development plans have failed. They did not tackle the most important aspect of development. That is the development and mobilisation of our human resources".

He continued, "The first job of any new government will be to mobilise its human resources, and there is no better way to do that than to tell people the naked truth. Lay before them the bare facts—all the facts, no matter how unpleasant it may sound.

"If the nation is in trouble, level with the people. Tell them how and where and why. Hold back nothing from them. And once you have made it clear as to where we are and how we got there, then you must indicate, where we go from here."

## Robinson's Victory

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 8 Jul 85 p 1

[Article by Mikey Mahabir]

[Text] Mr. A. N. R. Robinson, Chairman of the Tobago House of Assembly and head of the Democratic Action Congress, has been elected unopposed as the first leader of the National Alliance of Trinidad and Tobago (NATT).

Election of executive officers of the Alliance took place yesterday at the first Congress of the organisation held at the Rienzi Complex in Couva.

Mr. Robinson and parliamentary Opposition Leader Basdeo Panday were both nominated to contest the position of leader and deputy leader, but Mr. Panday declined "in the interest of political unity." He was unopposed for the deputy leadership.

Mr. Panday received a standing ovation from the 500-plus delegates when he announced his decision.

Mr. Robinson, when asked to comment on the move towards political unity, said:

"The country strongly desires this kind of unity which will form the foundation for a new government."

Mr. Panday, in declining nomination for the leadership, said he is of the view that his young nation of ours is on the verge of great and exciting political change,

"It is the change which so many of our people have waited and hoped for so long, that it is incumbent upon all of us to do everything in our power to ensure that the aspirations of our people are in no way frustrated."

He said one of the areas in which such frustrations are expected to arise is the jostle for leadership, for office and positions, when men vie to achieve personal ambitions without regard for the party.

Mr. Panday said "leaderitis" has become a chronic disease in our society: "There are too many of us who feel that they cannot belong unless they have office."

He said they preferred to be "big fish in small pond" rather than "small fish in big pond."

"I prefer to be a small fish in a big pond. I would rather be a backbencher in the government than be leader of the opposition for another ten years," he said.

Elected Chairman of the Alliance was Tapia's Beau Tewarie who defeated Mr. Nizam Mohammed of the United Labour Front by 291 votes to 269. Vice-Chairman is Mr. Sinston Dookeran while Mr. Alloy Lequay was elected General Secretary and Dr. Martin Sampath, Treasurer.

[Editor's Note: Additional results from the NATT organizational meeting are reported by the Port-of-Spain EXPRESS in English on 8 July, page 1, as follows:

Tapia Chairman Dr Beau Tewarie was elected first chairman of the National Alliance of Trinidad and Tobago (NATT), narrowly defeating opposition chief whip Nizam Mohammed in yesterday's election for top posts in the three-party Alliance.

In a show of solidarity, Mohammed hugged Dr Tewarie after the results were announced.

Veteran politician Alloy Lequay defeated United Labour Front general secretary Kelvin Ramnath for the post of general secretary. Lequay pulled 326 votes as against 233 for Ramnath.

In other results Dr Martin Sampath was elected Treasurer with Winston Dookeran capturing the post of vice chairman. Dr Sahadeo Basdeo was elected

assistant general secretary with Stephen Ramsamooj being elected as Election Officer. Dr Brinsley Samaroo won the post of education and research officer while Michael Harris became the new public relations officer.

#### Robinson Address

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 9 Jul 85 p 12

[Article by Mikey Mahabir]

[Text]

**SAN FERNANDO:**  
NEWLY-ELECTED leader of the National Alliance, Mr. A.N.R. Robinson, told hundreds of delegates at the first Congress of the organisation on Sunday that the moment for change has come.

Speaking at the Rienzi Complex, Couva, after he was elected unopposed as leader of the Alliance, Mr. Robinson said: "This is the beginning. From here we implement the constitution which you have approved today, with the amendment you have directed should be made.

"Having agreed on the structure it is our business to breathe flesh and blood into that structure," he said.

The task afterwards, he added, was to complete the negotiations and formalise the position for the National Alliance for Reconstruction.

"Meanwhile all of you must carry the message to the villages, the homes, the shops, the offices, factories, that the great moment for change has really and truly come," he said.

Mr. Robinson said

they had set out not only to build the nation, not only to improve the state of our country, not only to pass on a greater inheritance to those who come after us, but to better the tradition of bored mankind.

He also touched on the question of human dignity and the politics of transformation and said that the politics of transformation to which he was committ-

ed was dedicated towards the promotion of human dignity.

Mr. Robinson also spoke of having a vision of the future where all the talents and capacity of our people, where the unique spirit of our people is expressed and where we can contribute to the world instead of only receiving from the world.

"There is only one direction in which we can go, and I know its forward and there can be no turning back," he declared.

#### Panday Speech

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 9 Jul 85 p 12

[Text] San Fernando: The immediate task of the National Alliance is to remove the ruling People's National Movement (PNM) from office. This was emphasised by parliamentary Opposition Leader and Deputy Political Leader of Alliance, Mr Basdeo Panday last Sunday.

Mr Panday was speaking at the first Congress of the Alliance held at Rienzi Complex, Couva.

He told the large gathering: "In the midst of all depression and gloom there is room for hope. But first, PNM must go. That is our immediate task. And it is not going to be easy."

He said that in planning for that battle, "we must first of all inculcate the highest sense of discipline among ourselves. Party discipline is easy when it is motivated by selflessness. Then we must anticipate all the tricks our opponent is likely to use against us. With the PNM oligarchy that is not difficult."

He spoke of strategies which he believed the PNM would use to divide and rule, but believed that the PNM would be in for a rude shock,

Mr. Panday assured that the Opposition today is more united and credible than it has ever been in our political history. "It contains men and women of intelligence and commitment with their own history of struggles and courage," he said,

"In keeping with our ideal of national unity, it contains people of various ethnic origins, diverse interests and a multiplicity of creeds; that is our greatest strength but it may be the source of our greatest weakness."

Mr. Panday said the PNM was aware of the mighty power of the unity in the Alliance. "We must anticipate, therefore, that they will do all in their power to disrupt and destroy this unity, since it is their only hope for survival."

He said that the most important and urgent task of the Alliance was to set up its political machinery.

#### Tewarie Remarks

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 9 Jul 85 p 12

[Text]

**SAN FERNANDO:**  
VICTORY for national liberation and salvation is what is needed and the National Alliance intends to work towards that goal, according to Dr. Beal Tewarie, newly elected Chairman of the Alliance.

Speaking at the first Congress of the Alliance, held at Rienzi Complex, Couva, on Sunday, Dr. Tewarie said: "Let us not fool ourselves. We can only win a great victory if we build a great party. And we can only build a great party if we have the moral courage to do so."

Dr. Tewarie said: "What we must recognise is that this impulse to create a better world because we are dissatisfied with the one we have is not limited to politicians who consider themselves progressive."

He said that if we in Trinidad and Tobago

sought to create a better society through political involvement and engagement, it was because we understood the significance of the political kingdom.

In a fundamental way, he said, Trinidad and Tobago inherited the political kingdom in 1956, and was given full power over our lives in the negotiated independence of 1962.

Dr. Tewarie said that the party that delivered flag independence was no longer seen as capable of fulfilling the promise of independence. "But if we in the Alliance and in the NAR are summoned to take charge of our nation's destiny in the next elections, don't you think that we will then be called upon to deliver what the old national movement did not? You can bet it."

## Organizational Details

Port-of-Spain EXPRESS in English 9 Jul 85 p 27

[Article by Anthony Milne]

[Excerpts]

THE inclement weather did not keep hundreds of delegates away from the first annual congress of the National Alliance (ULF, DAC, and Tapia) which took place at the Rienzi Complex, Couva, on Sunday.

Of 608 delegates expected, 542 turned up and those who did not were probably prevented from doing so by the continuous rain and high winds that swept much of Trinidad on Sunday.

Delegates came from six electoral regions designated by party organisers: Tobago, Victoria, St Andrew/St David, St Patrick, Nariva/Mayaro, and the Eastern area. Selection of delegates took place on the basis of local government constituencies, with an emphasis on those constituencies already represented in county councils by Alliance councillors, where there are functioning party organisations.

Each councillor was invited to bring four delegates with him, and a certain number of party activists from constituencies not represented in the councils were also invited. So that County Caroni, for example, where the council is composed of 11 Alliance councillors and one other, supplied about 50 candidates. There were about 75 Tapia delegates all together and a number from Tobago. The women's arm and the youth arm of the party supplied 60 delegates each.

The new Alliance public relations officer, Tapia's Michael Harris, himself a Caroni delegate, explained yesterday that this was found to be the most practical form of representation.

"The electoral district committee in each region," he said, "gave the councillors the responsibility to choose the delegates. There was island-wide campaigning for executive positions before the congress, for two of the positions in particular, and this probably gave rise to some of the reports in the media. But I think this is a healthy development, and something new in Trinidad and Tobago politics."

Harris said the new executive now has to meet and continue the progress towards the formalisation of the NAR coalition with the ONR.

"The NAR talks cannot drag on," he maintained, "especially in the light of the resolution moved by Tobago M.P. Pam Nicholson and approved by the congress calling for the expediting of these matters."

During the convention another important resolution was introduced by Nizam Mohammed, who was narrowly defeated by Beau Tewarie in the race for chairmanship of the party, calling for the establishment of party groups in each constituency which might select candidates and make nominations in the future.

Delegates also decided in favour of the proper organisation of a women's arm of the party after heated discussion as to whether this would be good or bad for the advancement of women's causes.

There are now four ULF people on the Alliance executive, two Tapia, three DAC, and one member of the Borough Action Team (BAT). There are eventually to be 12 nominated members as well, and there was an amendment to the draft constitution rejecting the stipulation that each party in the Alliance should supply four of these.

The following is a breakdown of the new executive members by party: ANR Robinson (DAC), party leader; Basdeo Panday (ULF), deputy leader; Bhoendradatt Tewarie (Tapia), chairman; Winston Dookeran (ULF), vice-chairman; Alloy Lequay (BAT), general secretary; Sahadeo Basdeo (ULF), assistant general secretary; Martin Sampath (DAC), treasurer; Michael Harris (Tapia), public relations officer; Stephen Ramsamooj (DAC), elections officer; and Brinsley Samaroo (ULF), education and research officer.

"I am glad the Alliance has put its house in order," new party chairman Beau Tewarie told the EXPRESS yesterday. "Now the way is clear for us to work towards making the NAR a reality."

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

TEXT OF ROBINSON SPEECH TO COMMERCE, INDUSTRY GROUP

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 4-6 Jul 85

[Address by A. N. R. Robinson, chairman of the Tobago House of Assembly, to the Trinidad and Tobago Chamber of Industry and Commerce at the ballroom of the Trinidad Hilton on Tuesday, 2 July, 1985, in three parts]

[4 Jul 85 pp 9, 10]

[Text]

ON OCCASIONS such as this, it may sometimes be a better idea for your guest speaker to speak before he is regaled, as I have been, by your hospitality.

For I am constrained to begin with a sense of guilt knowing full well that I am not about to pay you back in kind.

Moreover, I am in a situation of unfair advantage since my kind hosts are in no position to change their minds.

A few weeks ago when I addressed the Southern Chamber of Industry and Commerce, I chose the subject "Technology of Development."

I wondered whether it was the best thing for everybody that they should have enjoyed the occasion in the manner they did.

#### NEW WISDOM

This time, especially since the new wisdom is "shock" — "oil shock," I chose the subject "The Politics of Transformation" hoping to shock Mr. Hackshaw first, and then you, afterwards.

However, like a sea-

soned businessman, diplomat, oil sheik, or international banker, Mr. Hackshaw took it with a smile.

Let us say at once that I have not come here to ask you to support the National Alliance for Reconstruction — at least, not openly.

I would, of course, be delighted if you do, and certainly think that the country would benefit. But I am sensible enough to leave that decision to your good judgment — with emphasis upon the word "good."

What I am really attempting to do is to continue what I started some 15 years ago in the book I then wrote — "The Mechanics of Independence" and which I continued in "Technology of Development in San Fernando."

"The Politics of Transformation" is a further variation on these themes. The message I want to get across to you at this moment is that we are in a state of shock, not merely oil shock, but multiple shock.

Nothing in our experience prepared us for the situation in which we are today. Independence, when it came on August 31, 1962, was, and continues to be, merely a simple act of faith.

Our declaration of independence was an assertion of faith in ourselves. It was, and continues to be, a statement of belief in and intention to rely ultimately on our own human intelligence.

#### PREPARED

Like Noah of biblical fame, we prepared our independence ark and moved into a dramatically new situation — one of infinite challenges and possibilities.

We have been, ever since, in a new world — as brand new as the one discovered by Christopher Columbus.

But it is the kind of new world that has not impacted upon us all at once and in all its numerous facets.

Thank heaven, that is so. Otherwise, we might all be incapacitated for one reason or another — just like our Govern-

ment!

In "The Mechanics of Independence" I sought to show the systems and structures that confronted us when we achieved independence, the development and other goals that we set before us, the measures by which we had been seeking to achieve those goals in the political social and economic fields and the numerous constraints that attended our efforts. I made my own suggestions regarding the strategies we should adopt in attempting to achieve our goals.

I talked about the internal and external constraints on our efforts to transform our society. What I am doing now is continuing the monologue which I hope at some stage will become a dialogue and ultimately a conversation, symposium or debate at the national level.

The term "transformation" presupposes motor-activity. Motor-activity needs a driving force or power.

In all countries that have made the transition from colonialism

to independence, the motive power has been nationalism. In some, mainly socialist countries; there has been an element of ideology.

The major goals of all newly independent countries have been development and equality. The process by which they have sought to achieve these goals has been described by political scientists as "transformation."

Some use the term "modernisation." I myself prefer "transformation" which I consider to be more comprehensive in scope than modernisation.

The burden of my argument to you this afternoon is that effective management of the situation in which we are today will demand a serious effort to understand this transformation process which has been taking place since we achieved independence in 1962.

I have been deliberately employing a set of related terms: Mechanics of independence; dynamics of transformation; technology of development. These properly belong to the fields of science and technology. They pre-suppose motion, systems, and continuity.

I have applied them however to the political, economic and social fields.

### THE FIRST

On achieving independence, we set out to transform our society, not merely to survive as an independent state, but to achieve a higher stage of development comparable to that of the developed societies and a greater measure of equality through social programmes involving more equitable distribution of the national product.

We recognised expansion and diversification of the productive sector as a key element in the successful transfor-

mation of the economy as a whole.

Thus the Second-Five-Year-Plan, 1964-1968 which was the first in independence, outlined its objectives as follows:

1. To change the structure of the economy, so that the existing over-dependence on a single industry — petroleum — would be reduced.

"If this is to be achieved," said the plan, "then the other sectors of the economy — e.g. manufacturing and agriculture — must expand more rapidly than the petroleum industry."

2. to achieve a satisfactory rate of growth of per capita product and income; and,

3. to provide productive employment for the increasing labour force.

In his introduction to the Third Five-Year Development Plan, 1969-1973, the Prime Minister and Minister of Finance and Planning stated:

"The Draft Plan has been set within the framework of a development strategy which, if successfully implemented, would achieve in 15 years time for the country full employment; a diversified and greatly strengthened economy; and a greater degree of economic independence."

All that was to be achieved by the year 1983. This was the forecast in 1968. The total cost of that Five-Year Plan for the public sector was to be \$375 million.

The previous Five-Year Plan had cost \$306 million. So that the total public sector outlay for the two Five-Year Plans was to be \$681 million.

These figures, may I emphasise, have been taken from the plans themselves.

The two Five-Year Plans did not anticipate any abnormal increase in petroleum prices. Over the plan

period, 1964-1968, current revenue rose from \$185.4 million to \$368.0 million or by 45 per cent.

Over the plan period 1969-1973 current revenue rose from \$268 million to \$476 million or by 78 per cent.

Over the entire decade of the two plans, that is, from 1963 to 1973 current revenue rose from \$185.4 million to \$476 million or by 157 per cent.

Now let us see what happened during the succeeding decade of the oil bonanza. In the first year alone, 1973-1974 current revenue rose from \$476 million to \$1,217.2 million or by 156 per cent, just about equal to the entire preceding ten-year period.

In five years, 1973 to 1978, current revenue rose from \$476 million to \$2,770 million or 480 per — three times the increase of the whole preceding decade.

### RISEN

By 1982, current revenue had risen to \$7,118 million or in one year, nearly two and a half times as much as we received during the entire decade of 1963-1973.

In every single year from 1977 I repeat, every single year from 1977, we received well over the total receipts of the ten-year period 1963-1973.

In fact, in every single year from 1980 onwards we were receiving well over twice as much as the total receipts during the entire ten-year period before the start of the oil boom.

If you have still retained your sanity, remember that we were to achieve our stated goals in the two Five-Year Development Plans without the oil bonanza which was at the time completely unforeseen.

The year before the commencement of the oil bonanza, we had a deficit on the Government's current account of \$8.3 million.

In the first year of the oil boom, we moved from a deficit position to a surplus of \$627 million almost the equivalent of the previous ten years of capital expenditure.

This current account surplus rose to \$1.7 billion in 1977, three times as much as in the entire decade before the oil boom and to \$3.4 billion in 1981 or five times as much, that is, in one year, the equivalent of 50 years' capital expenditure by the standard of the previous decade.

By 1984, within three years, we had moved back from a current surplus of \$3.4 billion to a deficit of over \$600 million on the Government's current account.

Whatever allowances are made for inflation rates and decline in the value of the currency, with my own experience as a former Finance Minister, I say this is an incredible performance.

Listen to the Minister of Finance — not of the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, the United Arab Emirates, or any of the newly industrialised developing countries of South East Asia, but of Trinidad and Tobago — at the very commencement of the oil boom, in his Budget Speech of 1974:

### PRUDENCE

"Prudence and foresight, therefore, require us to plan our affairs on the assumption that the present situation may not be of long duration and to apply to income from this wasting asset as a defensive shield, to develop the foundation for long-term economic viability, whatever the vicissitudes we might face."

Then followed this severe caution and this promise by the Minister:

"What we must forever guard against — and the Government will take all feasible steps to prevent this —

is to encourage new consumption and expenditure which are unsustainable under normal conditions."

That was the political rhetoric.

The reality was the opposite — the rapid and fantastic increases in current expenditure to which I have referred. At the same time, you will remember that, we were informed that planning had gone out of style.

How was it possible for us to be caught up in this financial extravaganza? Why did the Government aban-

don planning? Why, even at the present time, is such disrespect being shown to members of the National Economic Planning Commission comprising some of the nation's most responsible citizens — top financial experts, including bankers and the Governor of the Central Bank, leading trade unionists, a University Professor, and myself, a former Finance Minister.

The Commission has not been summoned since December of 1983, yet a high public official has told the nation that the Commission still functions.

Why have so many excellent papers and reports by competent and dedicated citizens been ignored?

Why did the Government get rid of its most able and experienced public servants at the start of the oil boom?

At one stage we were even told that the Energy Secretariat was plotting to take over the Government.

It is any wonder that the Ministry of Finance and Planning is now a hot-bed of confusion?

#### Grieves

The new game is "releases" and "credits." A release is a paper signed by the Minister, also called a "warrant." A credit is something issued by the Comptroller of accounts.

There are thousands of them at any moment of time. They are signed and issued at the discretion of the Minister and Comptroller.

It grieves us to see efficient young public servants highly trained in the financial field spending the best years of their lives just running around endeavouring to have these documents signed, making numerous enquiries whether they have been signed or locating them when signed, if signed, while projects stall, workers are paid late, creditors are not paid at all, and Parliament is ignored since the approved budget is abandoned without a word of explanation to the Parliament or to the nation.

Yet our representatives preside over the Security Council of the United Nations settling the affairs of the world while Trinidad and the Caribbean are in a state of progressive disintegration.

I can assure you that we are going to have more foreign exploits this year than we have ever had. Less money, more trouble at home, more foreign adventures.

Of one consequence we can be assured--a rapid and dramatic increase in the public debt.

That is the significance of the strange and sudden entry of a foreign bank into Trinidad and Tobago.

This may indeed be a good thing. But why no official explanation in a matter which involves the reversal of highly publicised policies of localisation?

I suggest to you that in all transitional societies there are two contrary forces at work: The politics of power and the politics of transformation.

Success, whether in the economic or political field, depends on the extent to which the politics of power can be subordinated to the ends of transformation.

[5 Jul 85 p 9]

[Text]

The dilemma of power is, of course, a universal one. However, it poses particular problems in the newly independent state.

In colonial societies, politics have always prevailed over economics, since colonial economic systems and policies are the result of political decisions at the metropolitan centre.

It is a political decision that makes the colony a supplier of raw materials for the metropolitan centre.

It is a political decision that ties the colonial currency and the banking system to those of the metropolitan country.

It is political decisions that determine the colonial country's pattern of trade and its external financial relationships.

To meet the demands of independence, those political decisions have to be reversed and this, in turn, can only be achieved by political action.

The whole colonial system has to be dismantled and a new one put in its place at the same time that the newly independent country is seeking to achieve a higher degree of social justice and

more rapid and diversified development.

The situation demands political management of the highest order. At the same time the temptations of power are very great.

In the newly independent country, the transformation process begins against the background of marked weaknesses in the post-colonial society.

#### TRADITIONS

Firstly, there are no established traditions governing the use of political power in a democratic framework. There is usually a democratic constitution, but it contains only the bare bones of the system.

It is only a skeleton framework. The flesh and blood and spirit of the constitution are absent and have to be supplied in the context of an adversary system of party politics which demands its own rules.

The rules are, however, made while the contest proceeds.

Herein lies the danger.

Since the rules are made by those who hold power, they tend to serve the interests of power. This is so also in developed societies.

However, these

societies possess greater political experience. They also possess a core of traditions built up over a period of time and reinforced by public opinion expressed by business and labour organisations, professional bodies, university communities and the communications media.

In developing societies, those bodies may exist, but to a much lesser degree, while political lines are more sharply drawn, particularly in smaller communities.

So that a strong reasonably independent body of opinion acting as referee to the parties contending for power is usually absent.

In the absence of such strong and independent opinion, a much heavier responsibility devolves upon the leadership in a developing society.

A high sense of responsibility in leaders and total commitment become key elements in the transformation process.

These elements must be combined with a thorough comprehension by the leadership of the forces at work internally and externally. Other qualities may be required but

these are basic and essential.

The crucial element that is most frequently lacking is commitment. Where commitment is lacking the simplest problems requiring obvious solutions become formidable obstacles. Power and survival become the motivating factors. A scapegoat must be found to blame for every failure.

#### SELECTIVELY

Responsibility is thrown out of the window. Self-righteousness quickly enters to take its place.

A power elite is created in the civil service, the state enterprises, the state-controlled media, while business and professional organisations can be infiltrated, often dominated. Independent bodies, writers and institutions come under attack.

The all-pervasive power of the state moves inexorably in one

direction — the preservation and perpetuation of the power elite.

The state protects, through the Police Service, and can do so selectively.

The Police are independent, but their independence is exercised conspicuously against the party dissident or the opponent of the Government.

Independence of the Police ceases at the gate of the high party official and at the street of the Government Minister.

"Go to the D.P.P." But the D.P.P. depends upon the Police, the civil service and the cooperation of Government Ministers such as the Minister in charge of Emigration, the Attorney-General's Department, even on the Prime Minister himself as well as numerous other Government departments and officials. Studied indifference at the top gives the green light to obstruction or victimisation at the bottom.

Where the voting system still exists, elections became the supreme test. The whole panoply of state power is brought into play. The public treasury becomes a party chest.

Take three periods in the history of Trinidad and Tobago — 1961, 1971 and 1981. Follow the pattern in the Government accounts.

In 1958, we had a current account surplus of \$34.4 million; 1959 — \$30.6 million; 1960 — \$29.8 million. In 1961, an election year the surplus fell from \$29.8 million to \$1.8 million.

In 1968, the current account surplus was \$35.6 million; in 1969 — \$48.8 million; in 1970 — \$32.8 million. In 1971, another election year, we went into a deficit of \$6.5 million.

In 1978, we had a current account surplus of \$1.5 billion, 1979 — \$1.5 billion; 1980 — \$3.3 billion; 1981, another election year, we main-

tained the surplus of \$3.4 billion, but the bills came in the following year when the surplus was reduced by \$2 billion to \$1 billion and, by 1983, was almost completely obliterated.

### OPERATION

A cursory examination of our financial statistics would show the disastrous developments that occurred in 1961, 1971, 1981 — all coinciding with General Elections.

It is not difficult to foresee what will take place this year and next year, now that our long-term funds have had such a remarkably short life.

The answer is not to abolish elections. In some newly independent countries the military had done exactly that. But nowhere has the military been able to govern.

The answer is more likely to be in the effective use of elections. But elections occur at only five-year intervals.

Ultimately, the only real answer is community mobilisation for a return to the politics of transformation. The country literally needs a rescue operation.

It is the kind of operation, however, that has to be internally not externally mounted.

The first and most essential requirement for a successful transformation process is the spirit of self-reliance.

We must understand that we do in fact possess the human resources for the regeneration of our society.

This understanding is the most basic requirement for an independent country. Without it we are bound in the long run to revert to colonial rule.

Elections provide us with the opportunity to rescue the country from the degenerative course pursued by the politics of power. But elections provide only

an opportunity, not a certainty.

Few newly-independent countries have so far been able to make use of this mechanism of change. Change, in fact, can even result in merely more of the same. There is no magic way out.

We in Trinidad and Tobago, however, are in a very fortunate position. There are many positive factors in our favour.

In natural and human resources, we are among the best endowed in the developing world.

While we embarked on the independence journey without any experience whatever, we now have behind us over two decades of experience.

We have now acquired deep insights into the behavioural patterns of those who hold the reins of power.

This experience is invaluable. We have seen the over-concentration of power and at the same time the inability to make use of that power for the purpose for which it is intended.

We have seen the abandonment or moral principle as a guide to political action.

We have seen how the sentiment of patriotism can be perverted into self-aggrandisement, how men can hold power and high office and persistently disclaim responsibility for their actions.

### EXTRAVAGANT

In this period of adjustment, many spokesmen at national level have already highlighted the need to adjust our attitudes.

We need to be more efficient, more thrifty, more scientific, more enterprising, and with all of these, I entirely agree.

But our national spokesmen have omitted the most important need to ad-

just our attitudes to state power and to ensure that state power adjusts its attitudes to us.

For, while we may all be guilty in varying degrees, as official spokesmen have been quick to emphasise, it is state power that has been the most ruinous factor in the decade of the oil bonanza.

I suggest to you that unless we appreciate this salient fact we will not have learned from our experience and will be destined to repeat the same mistakes all over again.

It is the politics of power that led the way in extravagant expenditures, fuelled excessive consumption, promoted inflation, discouraged productivity, patronised corruption, neglected and frustrated development in vital areas of the national economy, such as agriculture and tourism demoralised the public service, denuded it of its ablest public servants, ignored constructive criticism, mismanaged the public utilities and the state enterprises and set an overwhelmingly bad example to the youth of our nation.

It is the same selfish use of power that precipitated tragedy in Grenada leading to intervention.

While the politics of power will always be a significant element in the political process, our most urgent task now is to restore supremacy of the politics of transformation.

Leaders must demonstrate commitment and accept responsibility. Otherwise, they become a menace and not an asset to the society.

We the governed must insist on accountability.

[Text]

ACCOUNTABILITY can only be effective where there is freedom of discussion, and freedom of discussion requires free communications media. There can be no compromise in this area.

State-owned television must be opened up to meaningful debate on public issues. Otherwise, there is no justification whatever for the blocking of a second television station.

We must seek genuinely to reconcile our conflicts in the society within a peaceful framework.

#### TOO SMALL

We are too small and too well-endowed in natural and human resources to dissipate our energies in sharp and self-destructive conflicts.

There must be peace among the races that contribute to a multi-cultural society. There must be peace between Trinidad and Tobago based upon the principles outlined in the speech of External Affairs Minister, Errol Mahabir in the recent Security Council debate on Namibia.

I strongly recommend that this speech be read by the Prime Minister and other members of his Cabinet.

We must end our isolation from the rest of the Caribbean and assume a constructive and dynamic role based

upon a genuine and determined effort to achieve mutual understanding in the region.

Our leaders must open the lines of communication to our Caribbean neighbours at the highest level and converse on easy terms.

We must understand the desperate situation of Caribbean countries which are not, like us, energy endowed.

#### CONFIDENCE

While we must protect our interests, we must not seek to do so disregarding the interests of others.

We must be careful not to project an air of arrogance or of patronage to the smaller islands remembering that these are the very attitudes we condemn in

major powers outside the Caribbean:

When we have straightened out our relationship with our sister island of Tobago and our Caribbean neighbours we will be able to take on with confidence new areas of responsibility in other parts of the world.

Let not history say of

this generation: They chaired the Security Council of the United Nations while presiding over the liquidation of their own country — and contributed to disintegration in the Caribbean region.

This I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, is now a real possibility.

Let "citizen of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago" mean in fact as it does in theory, the right and the duty on the part of all of us to play a positive role in determining the destiny of our nation.

Let no one deter us from the task. Let us approach our duty to the nation fearlessly with pride and with confidence, and with the unshakeable conviction that, whatever the past failures, whatever the current difficulties, we possess the human will and the human intelligence to overcome our problems.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

TRADE BALANCE WELL IN BLACK FOR 1985 FIRST QUARTER

FL1081607 Bridgetown CANA in English 2049 GMT 7 Jul 85

[Text] Port-of-Spain, 7 Jul (CANA)--Trinidad and Tobago registered a favourable visible trade balance of 464 million dollars (one TT dollar: 41 cents U.S.) for the first four months of this year, according to Minister in the Finance Ministry Anthony Jacelon,

He said the figure was just 3 million dollars short of the surplus recorded for the whole of 1984. But the drain on the oil-rich twin-island state's economy continued this year.

Jacelon spoke about the economy while addressing members of the local banking and business community at the official opening of a 40 million dollar centre for the Trinidad-Canada-owned Scotiabank last night.

He said Trinidad and Tobago's loss of foreign exchange reserves--last officially placed at 2.6 billion dollars--has slowed down mainly due to continued strengthening of this country's balance of trade position.

The minister said that over the first half of this year, the loss, as reflected in the foreign assets of the Central Bank, was 450 million in comparison with a 934 million dollar loss for the same period last year.

The balance (of visible trade), which had improved from a large deficit in 1983 to a modest surplus of 467 million dollars in 1984, said Jacelon, is estimated to have been in surplus by 464 million dollars for the first four months of 1985. And just within the last month, he added, for the first time I have seen a slight upward swing in foreign reserves,

Jacelon also outlined a number of other developments in the country's economy. He said that up to May of this year, the year-on-year inflation rate had fallen to 7.5 percent. Inflation fell from 16.7 percent in 1983 to 13.3 percent last year.

Jacelon also said that a lowered demand for goods and services had met with an increase in the supply of local products, and a substantial reduction in the rate of price increase had followed,

Since February, said the minister, net sales of foreign exchange by the Central Bank to commercial banks--covering payments for imports of goods and services--have been 42 percent lower than for 1984 and, indeed, lower than at any time since 1980 for the comparable period.

Jacelon also took the opportunity to advise commercial banks not to restrict new investment projects. It is not appropriate for banks at this time to close the window on all new investment projects, said Macelon. I think that merely looking for profits in the short-term will be a short-term policy and a very short-sighted one.

Also speaking at last night's ceremony was the bank's deputy chairman and chairman of the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), Jack De Lima, who illustrated how diversification in the economy would have far-reaching effects.

He said that about 1.6 million dollars has been invested in ammonia and methanol plants which, when construction begins, will lead to increased demand for building materials and other related areas.

De Lima said that this country is well poised to borrow money overseas, based on sound economic feasibility studies and projections.

He added that Trinidad and Tobago's future will depend on food processing for domestic and regional consumption, on high technology industries and on energy-based industries--not necessarily capital intensive,

CSO: 3298/878

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

SUGAR PRODUCTION UP 25 PERCENT; WORKERS GIVEN CREDIT

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 10 Jul 85 p 6

[Text]

**COUVA:**  
**'BETTER worker performance and productivity assisted State-owned Caroni (1975) Limited to have a successful 1985 sugar crop.**

That is the view of Caroni's acting Chief Executive, Mr Teckle Skinner, who said that Caroni ended its 1985 sugar crop on May 11 with an estimated production of 81,250 tonnes, an increase of about 25 per cent over last year's 64,775 tonnes.

Mr Skinner said that although Caroni had taken steps to improve plant and equipment maintenance, cultivation practices and overall efficiency, the most significant things about this crop were the workers' support and increased productivity.

"This year we had less absenteeism and more commitment from all levels of workers," he stated.

Mr Skinner said that this year's sugar production enabled the company to export 50,700 tonnes. The rest would be sold as washed-grey on the local market.

He mentioned too, that Caroni produced about 16,000 tonnes of re-

fined sugar at the Ste Madeleine refinery but had to temporarily cease production for five weeks because of a sharp drop in local demand.

He said that the warehouse at Ste Madeleine was filled to capacity and the company would not be able to continue production until the refined sugar stock was substantially reduced.

This year Caroni processed 1,030,500 tonnes of cane at Ste Madeleine and Brechin Castle — 350,000 tonnes from farmers and 680,000 tonnes from the company's fields.

Mr Skinner said: "It is worth noting that there has been an increase in the amount of farmers' canes

again this year. As you know the farmers eventually contribute about half of the national productions of sugar cane.

"All indications are that they will have the capacity. They have so far responded very well and, particularly this year, made a significant contribution to the total effort."

Mr Skinner said the company was not totally satisfied with this year's performance. There were still many areas that must be improved. All the weak links would be looked at carefully.

"We are going to ensure that we have a better performance next year," said Mr Skinner in the latest issue of "Caroni News."

CSO: 3298/878

7 August 1985

## TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

## FOREIGN FIRMS WAITING IN LINE TO START FERTILIZER PLANTS

Port-of-Spain EXPRESS in English 5 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Davan Maharaj]

[Text]

AT least six developed countries want to set up multi-million-dollar fertiliser plants in Trinidad and Tobago.

This was revealed by National Energy Corporation Chairman Dr Ken Julien when asked by the EXPRESS San Fernando Desk to elaborate on recent statements that this country was in the front stage in the fertiliser industry.

According to Julien, Trinidad and Tobago has received applications from companies in the United States, Norway, Denmark, France, Germany and Spain.

Dr Julien said that there were at least three serious proposals for new ammonia plants and another proposal for the setting up of another methanol plant in the country.

"There are two to three other companies waiting in the wings," he told a gathering of south businessmen who were part of a guided tour of the Pt Lisas Industrial Estate, organised by the southern division of the Trinidad and Tobago Chamber of Industry and Commerce.

Dr Julien spoke about the anxiety of chemical companies to establish plants here as he advocated the contention that "natural gas is the only other significant

commercially exploitable natural resource capable of generating revenue of the required magnitude to offset the decline in gross national revenue as forecasted."

The NEC chairman said that some \$250 million had been paid to the government for sales of natural gas, adding that the cheapness and availability of the commodity were two incentives to foreign investors.

Saying the NEC had

evidence that prospects for existing plants on the estate were extremely good, Dr Julien, who heads the board of at least three other companies based at Pt Lisas, said: "People out there conclude that it (Pt Lisas) was not so bad after all."

Dr Julien said he anticipated that there would be at least one or two more fertiliser plants and another methanol plant.

CSO: 3298/878

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

GUARDIAN BLASTS GOVERNMENT AID TO BURNHAM REGIME IN GUYANA

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 4 Jul 85 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

IF the Loch Ness Monster had swallowed more than 400 million of our badly-needed dollars and gone to the murky bottom of the Scottish lake with that fortune, it would be easier for us to retrieve it than seeking repayment of the same sum from Forbes Burnham's hopelessly bankrupt Guyana.

In the circumstances, we would have preferred the Loch Monster to have it.

The idea that we have aided Burnham's dictatorial and repressive regime to the tune of more than \$400 million now strikes us as quite scandalous, a matter over which the PNM government, quick to defend its belief in democracy, should be thoroughly ashamed.

Purposefully, turning away from the type of open democracy practised in the English-speaking Caribbean, the Burnham government went its own political way. With grandiloquent rhetoric, Mr. Burnham held up the vision of a brave new world for Guyana which his government would create through its revolutionary "Co-operative Republic" and its own brand of self-reliant socialism.

#### AFFECTION

The abject failure of Mr. Burnham's policies, the mockery he has made of the democratic process and the hardships his regime has inflicted on the Guyanese people are the stuff of another West Indian tragedy.

We are left to wonder whether Mr. Chambers, who has shown on several occasions quite a fraternal affection for the Leftist Guyanese Prime Minister, now feels any sense of dismay that Trinidad and Tobago should have invested such a massive amount of its own resources in Mr. Burnham's tawdry undemocratic experiment.

If he does, surely it is now too late. Mr. Burnham may be having the last cynical laugh.

We understand that Mr. Chambers took up the matter of Guyana's debt in a closed-door session with Mr. Burnham during the Caricom Heads of Government conference in Bridgetown on Tuesday morning this week. According to our reporter covering the conference, Mr. Chambers was "particularly anxious" over the issue of repayment of the huge sum owing Trinidad and Tobago.

Since it was during his term of office that much of this assistance was extended to the Burnham regime, it is only fitting that Mr. Chambers make some attempt at getting the sum repaid.

The gesture seems necessary, but not even Mr. Chambers could have any real hope that accounts between TT and Guyana will be squared, at least not while Mr. Burnham remains in power and the Guyanese economy remains prostrate.

Apart from what little assistance he may still be able to obtain from the Communist countries of Eastern Europe, Mr. Burnham can expect no more aid from the international

agencies. The IMF and the World Bank have closed their books on his government and so too has the Caribbean Development Bank. And thanks to his massive trading credit, the Caricom multi-lateral clearing facility now lies embarrassingly exhausted.

With most opportunities for investment dried up and saddled with a massive and corrupt public sector, the Guyanese economy has little chance of a recovery. According to a World Bank assessment, Guyana's external debt now equals 72 per cent of the country's Gross National Product and there is a growing gap between this figure and the government's ability to pay.

#### SETTLEMENT

The Bank sees little prospect of Guyana returning to the level of economic activity attained in the mid 1970s.

Underlying the economic malaise is the ponderous public sector created by Burnham's socialist policies. According to the Bank, a major drawback is "the increased incidence of institutional, managerial and organisational bottlenecks within the public sector."

All that Mr. Burnham may have that we could possibly want in terms of settlement is rice. And even that now we do not need.

Sad that our Government should have befriended the oppressive Burnham regime and supported them to the tune of more than \$400 million. And, to make it more grievous, we might as well kiss that fortune goodbye.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

POLITICS IN STEELBAND ARENA; COMMUNIST PLOT CHARGED

Communist-Infiltration Plot

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 4 Jul 85 p 12

[Text]

PAN TRINBAGO'S President Arnim Smith will be putting his head on the line when the steelband movement's general council meets on Sunday. But Smith's position is expected to be safe — instead the representatives from 72 steelbands are widely expected to lop off nearly a third of Pan Trinbago's executive.

The reason? Allegations of communism creeping into the steelband movement.

Smith, it was learnt, has called the meeting for panmen to vote out at least five members of the executive who belong to the Committee for Labour Solidarity (CLS) which is regarded as a leftist organisation bent on gaining political ground through labour movements such as

the Trinidad and Tobago Unified Teachers' Association (TTUTA) and any other bodies that can have clout.

The Pan Trinbago President has said that it is a simple matter: either the five officers go or he goes. The row has caused the closing of the organisation's Queen Street office this week. It will re-open on Monday. He had said that while anyone is free to belong to any political party as an individual, no group will be allowed to use the movement for political purposes — which he said the group is bent on doing.

Another serious matter to be highlighted at the meeting is a \$5,000 trip to the United Kingdom

taken by one of the left-leaning five.

The funds, it was stated, recently passed into the hands of this executive member without proper authorisation by Pan Trinbago.

The money has since been repaid — but that incident sparked off the confrontation.

Venue for the expected fireworks is the Communication Workers' Hall, Henry Street in Port-of-Spain. Starting time is 10 a.m. and each of the 70 bands registered with the movement can send two delegates.

Mr. Smith, contacted for comment by the "Guardian," failed to turn up for two appointments that were arranged by this reporter.

Issue of Party Affiliations

Port-of-Spain EXPRESS in English 6 Jul 85 p 32

[Article by Anthony Milne]

[Text]

NESTOR Sullivan and Andre Moses, vice-president and education officer respectively of Pan Trinbago, have resigned their offices as a leadership crisis looms in the governing steelband organisation.

The two have issued a statement to a special Pan Trinbago convention planned for tomorrow to deal with the situation. In the statement, after listing the achievements of the Pan Trinbago leadership over the last seven years, they place the blame for the present crisis on politicians involved in a "mad scramble for power" in the run-up to the next general election in Trinidad and Tobago.

Stating that Pan Trinbago was controlled by the People's National Movement before a new leadership took over in 1978, they have blamed in particular

"minions of the Organisation for National Reconstruction" for the new troubles. These people, they claim, working with ONR activists with no interest in pan, hope to take over the governing steelband body for political ends.

Pan Trinbago president Arnim Smith is reportedly a supporter of the ONR.

"We have a lot of respect for many panmen who subscribe to the views of this organisation [the ONR]," the statement continues. "But we want to say loud and clear to these members — to have political views is good, but to submit panmen's interest to the interest of these opportunist politicians again is a grave mistake we will live to regret."

The second problem for the leadership of Pan Trinbago, says the statement, is the "clique of sneezers," a small group of pre-1978 Pan Trinbago officials who have never lost the ambition to regain control of the organisation.

Thirdly, Sullivan and Moses blame the crisis on "power and money."

"There are forces outside there," they say, "who just cannot accept that people entrusted in leadership can handle \$40,000 (for Champs in Concert), have stacked away hundreds of thousands of dollars (for Pan Headquarters and the Pan Factory), receive a yearly \$90,000 (that panmen have sacrificed through the levy) and not touch a cent for themselves."

They described the present problems as "a crime against not only panmen but also our nation." They say they have no intention of being scapegoats at the convention. Sullivan and Moses have reportedly been accused of being "leftist" and of having links with the Committee for Labour Solidarity (CLS).

They have called on panmen to weigh the situation carefully and decide what they want for their future.

CSO; 3298/877

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

OWTU DENIES INVOLVEMENT IN ACTS OF PLANT SABOTAGE

Port-of-Spain EXPRESS in English 5 Jul 85 p 40

[Text]

**THE Oilfields Workers Trade Union yesterday denied that any of its members were involved in alleged acts of sabotage at Charles McEneaney Company Ltd in Port of Spain.**

The company wrote to the union on July 2, complaining that vehicles and a wheel balancer were damaged on June 25, June 26, June 28 and July 1. Damages to the vehicles included the slashing of a driver's seat, smashing of the bubbles of a wheel balancer and the breaking of the rear trunk clip of a cabinet.

Alva Allen, an OWTU labour officer, said

the workers were not responsible and felt the company was attempting to use the incidents as a means of locking out workers. When asked about the union's allegations, the company said it had no comment to make.

The OWTU and Charles McEneaney, a subsidiary of the McEneaney-Alstons Group of Companies, are currently involved in a dispute over the retrenchment of 64 workers.

Yesterday, the parties met at Riverside Plaza and, according to Chief Labour Relations Officer Louis McShine, both parties were considering the names of workers to be retrenched. Allen said later, however, that the union was insisting that "not a man must go."

McShine also said the company appeared to be "flexing" on the method of payment of severance benefits but declined to elaborate. The company has proposed that the workers be paid one-third of the severance payment on retrenchment and the other two-thirds over the next two years.

This has been rejected by the union, which is demanding that the workers keep their jobs, and if they must be retrenched that full severance benefits be paid.

CSO: 3298/877

7 August 1985

## TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

## GUNFIRE ERUPTS IN FRACAS AT NEWSPAPER PREMISES

Port-of-Spain TRINIDAD GUARDIAN in English 5 Jul 85 p 3

[Text]

LOUD explosions later discovered to be gunshots were heard near the office of the "Bomb" — a weekly newspaper situated on Southern Main Road, Curepe — shortly after 9 o'clock Wednesday night.

A group of demonstrators and a demolition gang who were breaking walls and doors to gain entry into the office to eject some displaced "Bomb" workers were forced to join with pedestrians in running helter skelter for safety.

After a lull, two members of the demolition gang identified as Joseph Robinson, 26, DEWD project worker

of Pashley Street, Laventille, and Joel Jones, DEWD worker/newspaper vender of Beetham Estate, Laventille, were found to have received gunshot wounds in their legs.

They were taken to the Port-of-Spain General Hospital where they were attended to and discharged.

**PICKAXES**

It was reported that six motor-cars and one truck pulled up in front the "Bomb" office which is being plagued by an industrial unrest since the sacking of some 35 workers last week.

The men, who were topless, jumped off their vehicles and armed with pick-axes and sledges, started tearing posters and smashing the walls of the building.

A group of displaced workers who had occupied the building started coming out, but by that time five security guards with their dogs who were doing guard duties unleashed their dogs which attacked the demonstrators.

At that stage shots were fired, it was reported, by some unknown gunmen at the dogs, but they missed and struck and wounded two men.

CSO: 3298/877

END