

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE

NEW BEGINNING PAMPHLETS TO COME

- (1) STATE, PARTY, AND CLASS
- THE RISE AND FALL OF THE PARTY
- (2) EAST - INDIAN QUESTION
- (3) HISTORY OF THE WORKING - CLASS
(1919 - 1956)

BY WALTER RODNEY

political economy

OF THE

Caribbean

DELIVERED AT THE CARIBBEAN UNITY CONFERENCE HELD AT
THE HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON D.C., APRIL 21, 1972

NBM

50¢

My apologies at the outset. I was caught up in some other forms of Black People's business - it delayed me for a few minutes. I am supposed to speak on some aspects of the Political Economy of the Caribbean and from the outset I would like to suggest that there are many of those that I could not speak on, I am not well positioned to speak on, because I left the Caribbean in 1969 - that was at the middle. I have been back very briefly at the end of 1970, and I would not like to project myself as someone who can speak with authority on everything that is going on in the contemporary Caribbean. Many of us are in the same position. We keep in touch via the newspaper, distorted as they are, and via private correspondence. Consequently, I feel that we should concentrate on those sectors which we can appreciate in spite of being abroad, or to some extent, precisely because we are abroad. I have in mind here, that someone who lives in the U.S., for example, may well be in the best position through his or her involvement in the deepening crisis of this capitalist epicycle, to understand some ways in which our society in the Caribbean relates to the total international political economy. Certainly, since my own experience for the last few years has been most concretely connected with the struggle in Africa, with a situation in Africa which in its neo-colonial controls is very similar to that in the Caribbean, I feel that making this overall analysis is something which I am perhaps positioned to do.

From a vantage of Tanzania, an extremely progressive country in contemporary Africa, one of the things that has struck me most is the necessity to re-examine and re-emphasize the connection between the Caribbean and the rest of the Capitalist-Imperialist world. It is not that these are not well known; we all know that the origins of our society and the development of our society goes back to the trade in slaves which was an international phenomenon. Europe went to Africa, took Africans as captives, made them into slaves on West Indian and Caribbean and North American plantations. We all know that for centuries the Caribbean stood as a very pivotal point in the development of Western European Capitalism, North American Capitalism, and the whole Imperialism framework. But, we need to go back, it seems to me, because sometimes this is taken for granted. It is so commonplace, that we are now constantly examining the implications to be drawn from the fact that we have always been, we still are, very much a part of this International-Imperialist world.

I would like to begin my re-examination of that connection by drawing attention to some facets of the Caribbean class-structure. Time and time again in our writings we have referred to the W. I. middle class. It is a much praised, or a much abused class as the case

never tell at any given point in time, because, if you knew, then you would not be acting and thinking the way that you do. But nevertheless collectively we can try to come to an understanding of what are the limitations within the psyche of that class, and to what extent we all participate in those limitations, and to what extent we are all therefore not fitted to serve in the liberation of the country.

Many analyses have been made of colonial elites, of the petty-bourgeois groups, and so and so forth. The Latin Americans are doing very well in their own discussions of "dependency theory" in the last couple of years, looking at the many ways in which the elite in Latin America, that stratum that aids in the exploitation of the Latin American masses, has become so completely dependent upon their external masters; and dependency certainly not only in the economic sense, not only in the political sense, but in the fundamental, psychological sense which Franz Fanon gives a lot of depth to, in terms of the African middle-class or petty-bourgeois class. Our society, the Caribbean society, epitomizes that dependency ethic as far as the ruling stratum, the local middle-class or overseer-class, and we, all of us, we have no vast continental body behind us; we have no culture which predates the arrival of the Europeans; we have been cut off from that African culture; we don't have millions behind us, and therefore even unlike the Indian or the Latin American or the African petty-bourgeois we are even more dependent upon the metropolises, more imitative, more apt to fawn upon our metropolitan masters. It leads to a lack of confidence in self, and time and time again our rationalizations are based really upon that dependency ethic. And I mean by our rationalizations, the rationalizations even by the best of us.

Take the notion, that the Caribbean cannot stand on its own feet economically - that is something that many progressive West Indians, Caribbean thinkers, would have advanced, and would still advance. Really, it is rooted in that fear that comes from the dependency ethic of the petty-bourgeoisie, to the extent that we don't break with that fear. We lack the confidence even to envisage that we can stand on our own feet, because five hundred years of standing, holding on to the apron-string of an Imperialist power, has left this mark upon us. Time and time again it comes up.

In the political sphere, we find a party comes up that is a typical petty-bourgeois party, and what do the progressives do? They take the stand of, say, let us wait and see.

Let us try yet and see whether this petty-bourgeois party may not reform itself. As I said I am not putting anyone in the dark. I can speak from experience. In this experience, there was I, and a number of people who would have considered themselves young West

might be depending on one's perspective, and it is a somewhat curious term. We know we have the workers and the peasants, and then we have this group we call the middle-class. So it is middle, but not in the limitations of our own geography or our own territory, but middle only if we conceive that there is a unified structure embracing the Caribbean as a part of the wider world. That is the sense in which it is a middle-class. It stands between the vast majority of the peoples of the Caribbean and that class and those peoples in Europe, Western Europe and North America who are responsible for exploiting our resources, our labour, and of course, oppressing us to maintain that exploitation.

In that sense one may better refer to it, perhaps as the Chinese tend to do with similar classes that existed in their society, as a comprador class. Some people refer to it as a bourgeois class, which I think again is a misnomer because our possessing class possesses very little. It does not possess capital in the real sense of the term "capital" in the quantity and of the power to act upon society in the ways that the capitalist bourgeois class acted in the classic European context. I myself have tended to be rather attracted by the terms which would express the fact that they are an overseer group. I see the West Indian middle-class as essentially playing the role of overseers, a term, after all, that is very much rooted in our historical experience on the plantations. There have always been overseers ever since "Independence." And I am saying "they" for the time being, but I could just as well say "we." I don't want to stand here, or sit here, some thousands of miles away and place somebody else on the dock, or to try and run down the scene in the West Indies by which I call the name of this or that Caribbean political leader and try to show what he has done or has not done.

It seems to me that if a conference of this sort is to be serious, it ought to address itself to the people who are participating. We ought to realize that we are in fact all part of that same middle-class, that same comprador class, that same overseer class. And this is so in spite of our origin. I come of the streets from Georgetown, Guyana, from a working-class district, but I would not be wise anyone or try to mislead anyone that I am still functioning as a worker engaged in the process of production. I am not. The very nature of my selection within this minority group in the Caribbean that had the opportunity to be educated, means that I have been drafted into this overseer class. The value systems associated with that education, the privileges which go with that education, make me, make all of us in this room, part of that class. So what we want to be able to do, is to analyze certain facets or for that matter all the facets of the behaviour of that class, to understand to what extent we have genuinely broken from the tradition of the overseer class. I take it that we have been trying to break. You try to break. How far do you reach? You can

Indians, with the future of that region at heart. While we were in Jamaica, we were playing games with the P. N. P., because at that time the P. N. P. said "We want to change." Now that they had been thrown out of power by the J. L. P. at that time, and so they were playing around supposedly with ideas that were more progressive, and there were those of us who harboured the illusions and the delusions that it would make a difference. There are many others who saw the government of the P. N. P. headed by Forbes Burnham come to power in Guyana, and they said the same thing . . . give Burnham a chance, perhaps he means what he says, perhaps it does not matter that he was put in power originally by the C. I. A. . . . he might have had a change of heart.

Now that subjectivism goes back to the limitations of approach of members of our class, even those I said who attempt to break with the situation. So I am suggesting that we need to recognize that fear, recognize the fact that very often where our argument appear to be rational or derived from the intellect, they really don't. They simple derive from that very basic emotion of fear, fear of self, lack of self-confidence, fear of the masses, lack of confidence in the masses. The best of us I say. Take James who is sitting beside me. He admits, as does Nkhrumah, as does Nyerere, that the movement towards African Independence went faster and further than they could envisage. They did not see that the masses were going that far and that fast.

Just recently after I had left the Caribbean, back in Africa, I kept saying to myself - Jamaica first, the forces are ready . . . Trinidad and Guyana, we have to wait. But the people of Trinidad did not wait. They moved. And I am not afraid to admit that I can come up here and say that I said the Trinidad people would throw Williams out, or would rise against Williams; and I would try to get some glory from that so-called, supposed prediction, but in fact I didn't. I did not see that they would go that far, that fast. So I am saying that all of us, at all times, we need to re-assess what we are proposing when those proposals would suggest that things are not right, the people are not mature, this isn't possible, that is not possible, and it is buttressed by all kinds of academic arguments. I suggested that we must cut through those and see at the bottom of these limitations - this very rare, real psychological fear that is part of the make-up of this dependent class, this petty-bourgeois class, that has been serving the imperialists for so long.

Now it follows, that if for so long we have been tied, and if the ties by their very nature have acted to deepen our exploitation

and to make our misery even more intense, then the way out must be by cutting these ties. The concept of increased developmental aid, increased private investment, these things are antithetical to our development. They are in fact the causes of our present state. So clearly, they could not at the same time be solutions to our predicament.

We need to think in terms of a complete break. And the experience of Tanzania has certainly shown me that in Africa, and in that particular part of Africa, individuals have come to that realization, and they are coming to take action along those lines while we are still trying to find out whether there is some room to manoeuvre within the overall structure. We are not yet prepared to make that very total and complete break with the Imperialist past. Except of course in Cuba, and that is why the example in Cuba is very seldom seriously pursued within the Caribbean and certainly not within the British West Indies.

For years now, starting with a romantic attraction to Cuba, and later on getting a deep appreciation, I've been saying to comrades and friends, brothers and sisters, we must get down to understanding what the Cuban people have achieved. But look at the writings that have come out of the Caribbean and you will find that there is a marked absence of any serious appraisal of the Cuban revolution. Imagine that, in 1972 (the Cuban Revolution came to power at the end of 1958) and in all these years everybody else, white progressives and even liberals in this country (U.S.) have seen fit to make serious analysis of Cuba and its implications to their society. But we in the Caribbean, we haven't done that yet. And I think it is, because somehow we smelled it out, that that is a serious path, requiring a commitment beyond the commitment we were prepared to make at that given point in time, and that we must also move in.

That is still on the agenda: A serious analysis of Cuba and its relationship to the rest of the Caribbean society because we have seen Cuba move through a number of phases :- its success in winning power, power goes into the hands of a progressive dedicated group, its ability to maintain itself in the face of external aggression, the ability to maintain itself in the face of all the counter-revolutionary action by the petty-bourgeoisie, the delivery of the goods in strict materialistic terms - food, clothing and shelter for the Cuban masses, the survival of the Cuban economy, the extension of the Cuban economy, the tremendous proliferation of effort in every field of culture and education, science and technology, and more recently, the fact that the Cuban masses are clearly taking an ever bigger share in determining their destiny, because the direction of change in Cuba today, is that more and more the Cuban people

the majority of the Cuban people will enter into every phase of decision making starting from the political cell and moving right up to the question of the planning of the national economy. Now these changes have only been possible because the Cuban people made that decisive break with the past, that break with Imperialism in all fronts, which took place in 1958 and in the years immediately succeeding that.

As far as our attempt to do this is concerned, our lack of attainment, we need to keep in mind that it is not merely breaking with Imperialism that is at stake. The situation is not stagnant. We will break with Imperialism and move forward, or we will stay where we are in political terms, and day after day things will get worse. This is something to which I want to draw your attention. There is a simplistic interpretation of neo-colonialism, that is, merely colonialism in a new form, colonialism without old masters. I think that is too simple. It is in fact a deepening of the contradictions of colonialism. Things do not just remain static - they get worse in a neo-colonial situation. Most of us in this room, would have lived the thinking part of our lives under neo-colonialism, not under colonialism, so colonialism is not a bogey that we have to be afraid of. We have lived, I grew up, in an atmosphere where in fact the petty-bourgeoisie was moving into positions of power. So I know that the situation that persists in the Caribbean, is a situation to be attributed not to former colonial rule but to what we call neo-colonialism, and it is a situation that is getting worse rather than better. It must of necessity get worse; because the neo-colonialism arrangement is one in which the petty-bourgeoisie has decided they want a few more fruits for themselves, a few cars, a few inches added to each car, more access to the metropolises, running to and from Miami or the Mediterranean as the case might be, more perfumes for their wives, more liquor for themselves. To get these they have decided to squeeze the mass of the people, because they are not getting it from Imperialism.

IMPERIALISM IS NOT GIVING UP ITS SUPER PROFITS.

Anything that goes to the petty-bourgeoisie by way of so-called material benefits, must come out of the accumulation that is being made by the masses. It is part of that surplus which is being squeezed to give a better life for the petty-bourgeoisie. So the process of neo-colonial rule is one in which the petty-bourgeoisie themselves will intensify the economic exploitation of their own people in the direction of fulfilling their self interests. It is one in which corruption will increase rather than decrease because it is impossible to do these things in an uncorrupt manner, and therefore corruption becomes the order of the day. We must not be surprised at those

things. We must not be surprised at the increasing political authoritarianism moving towards complete denial of political freedom. That we must not be surprised at, because this class, the overseer class, where does the overseer get his power? It resides in the whip. It does not reside in any form of political consensus, or political manoeuvring. It is essentially the naked force that is there at his disposal backed up by his fear, his self-hate, his viciousness. He must exercise force to maintain his position. You see, in the metropolises, the bourgeoisie is powerful enough to allow certain latitudes - that is what is called bourgeois democracy. So long as their position is not threatened, they would allow something that is called bourgeois democracy. When their position is threatened it will degenerate into a fascist situation, but as long as it is not threatened the trappings of bourgeois democracy will remain - or to the extent that it is not threatened.

In the Caribbean however, there is no room for manoeuvre as far as the petty-bourgeoisie is concerned. The moment they are threatened, they are so close to the wall, they must hit back with force. Hence the deterioration, hence the political authoritarianism, that has marked the last few years in the Caribbean.

We must be aware that sometimes it can be masked by different forms of political behaviour. I would suggest that we have seen two types emerging in the Caribbean over the last five years. We see the outright reactionary government who on every challenge move further to the right, become more obscure, become more vicious, reveal themselves to be anti-people, anti-black, anti-African, anti-everything that suggests progress for the Caribbean people. The kind of policy adopted by Shearer's government, by the Williams government - yield nothing, except to man the guns. And then there is the second policy which in the short run suggests, join the bandwagon, try to run with the tide in one way or the other. But in essence, that too is a tactic which will expose itself sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, because where do they have to go so long as they remain tied to the metropolises? Where does the government of the P.N.C. have to go? It had its period of flirtation with the black progressives.

Many people here in this country (U.S) - Afro-American brothers, thought that the government of Guyana was a solution for the people of the Caribbean. Many brothers in the Caribbean began to say ... things are bad in Kingston, Jamaica, but perhaps in Guyana, in Georgetown, Burnham is doing something different. They must have forgotten what Brother James wrote a long time ago. From Kingston to Georgetown, Government and opposition, they must all

go. They had forgotten that, and they thought that an opposition could come to power which, because of its verbalization and because of the posture that it adopted, would offer more to the Caribbean people. But instead, we have seen that the mask has been removed. We have seen that the alliance between the Black progressive forces and Burnham has broken asunder. We have seen that a sort of terrorism against the intelligentsia, and against any form of protest has begun in Guyana, which quite possibly will advance too, along the road of re-action even further and faster than is true today in Trinidad or in Jamaica. Indeed, without wanting to sound pessimistic, I say that we must not forget the example of Haiti. A revolution which unleashed certain popular forces, but which after a while, we don't need to go into all the details, became compromised, and became the most reactionary aspect of the Caribbean life. I have had disagreements with very serious people who would have argued to the contrary, but I think that the last five years is showing that this is the direction in which we are moving.

And I think that there are basic forces which would indicate that that is the only direction we would move so long as we retain a political structure in which the petty-bourgeoisie, as petty-bourgeoisie, continue to function without committing what Fanon would call suicide of the class, without really beginning to deal with the mass-interest. When they do so, when they relate to deal with the masses - so in a very superficial and manipulative manner. What was true of Guyana, and what seems to be developing now in Jamaica, is that after the petty-bourgeoisie has tried for a long time to deny the creativity of the masses, they have tried for a long time to deny the every direction, other than the direction which says, liberation for black people-liberation for the mass of the working population on the land and in the towns. They have now come around to understanding that these forces are too great to be contained, and therefore they are prepared to accommodate these forces as far as they can. More than accommodate, to co-opt. They can commercialize, they can talk about joining the culture of the masses, when really what they want to do is commercialize and degrade the culture of the masses. The petty-bourgeoisie has never had a culture - they hang on to the external world, they have never created anything, so in that sense, anything of value that has come out of our society has come from the masses. Now this is understood, but it is also possible to jump on certain bandwagons, as they say in Jamaica, "to jump on Rasta-bandwagon." That is a technique of the present political elite. But it is not intended to really come to grips with the power of the people - with the creativity of the people, and it certainly is not intended to release

the bonds that tie us to the metropolitan economy.

Now I am bringing all of this forward, and I am virtually softening my criticisms of the regimes as they exist, because it serves no really useful purpose to get vitriolic and get very bitter about what they are doing and the way they are manoeuvring. It is only important that we understand what is going on, and we appreciate the extent to which we are involved in one way or another, the extent to which we have limitations. Now, one of the limitations of the situation is that the whole economy, the neo-colonialist economy is so narrow that it does not even provide us with training-hence the vast number of Caribbean people who come outside seeking those opportunities. But it seems to me, that those of us who are outside will have to decide whether we are outside as a temporary expedient, whether we are outside and can still contribute to an African people's struggle in a Pan-African sense, whether we are going to cop out entirely, or whether we are going to find ways and means of re-integrating our energies into those of the Caribbean people. And in this regard, one of the things that we need to address ourselves to is the question of organization. I believe that that is the prior question, the most uppermost question in the Caribbean today.

A few years ago we might have said ideology - we might have said people need to be given an overall framework which is ideological, and they need to be shown how that ideology relates to their day-to-day needs. I think we have passed that. Anyone who has gone back to the Caribbean has been confounded by the fact that the ideological development of the people had, in fact, gone far beyond that of the petty-bourgeoisie. It is only a question of helping to articulate a position which they have already arrived at.

Take the issue of Blackness which has been kept out of West Indian political life for so long. The moment it was raised, it spread like wildfire. Everybody knows that because it did relate to the day-to-day needs, interests and demands of the Caribbean people. And they said it in no uncertain terms. They understand that. So I don't believe that it is the ideology that is the problem that is uppermost, although, needless to say, even ideology will require constant definition an re-definition.

I think it is the problem of organization. And this applies to all territories, but particularly the larger territories. It applies to all Jamaica, Trinidad and Guyana. It applies to Haiti, because for a long time people in Haiti have reached a certain position, but they

do not seem to be able to create the organization which is required for a very simple thing . . . that is power. Everytime the word is mentioned people shun away. Indeed, when it is preceded by the word Black, they shun even further. But power is what we are about. We want the capacity to re-arrange our own lives, and you don't do that without power. Politics is about Power - about the allocation of power, about making decisions which one can back up by power, by defending oneself.

How do the masses of people in the Caribbean organise for power? This seems to be the primary question. In Trinidad, to use an example which I only know of second-hand from correspondence and from the Press, I will surmise that what happened there, which is now referred to at times as the revolution in Trinidad, those momentous days during which Williams was virtually thrown from power, I would surmise that the question of organization - or the organizational front - was the weakest. Leadership there was in terms of ideas. Leadership there was in terms of energy. Leadership there was in terms of determination.

Some very beautiful brothers and sisters sprung up in that situation, challenged it, and from all respects it seems to me - that at a certain point in time our friend Williams was out of power; de facto, the government of Trinidad had fallen. If only there was some other organizational structure to take power. But that structure had not been built, through no fault perhaps, of the people concerned. The events ran very fast, and they themselves were still coping with their own particular kinds of problems, particularly mobilization problems, and perhaps had not yet reached the stage where they had considered, that if you want to take power, you have to build an alternative to the existing structure . . . Everywhere this is true.

The Vietnamese did it in Vietnam, and that is why today they could talk of a government of Vietnam, that is, of the Southern region - a provisional government. They really mean it is a provisional government, because while they are the National Liberation Front, they are building the structure which could take power when power is formally handed over to them. If tomorrow the Vietnamese manage to chase the Americans out of Vietnam, as is very likely, out of the land of Vietnam (the Americans will stay in the sea, and in the air, and they will bomb - but they will be out of land), then the provisional revolutionary government will govern like any other government. It has built a structure to do that.

Similarly, in the liberated areas of Africa, the same experience has been shown. You don't just say, . . . "Out with the Portuguese!", you say . . . when the Portuguese go, we must have something to replace the administration and all the other structures of colonial government. Because if not, we will just inherit what exists. We will inherit the machinery of oppression and exploitation. It will not serve the interests of a liberated people. And therefore their intention is to try and build those new structures which are both for the purpose of taking power, as well as exercising power when that power is taken.

I do not think that in the West Indies our sights have been sufficiently set, and our collective energies have been sufficiently brought to bear on this question of what structures we require in order to seize power and take power on behalf of the masses against the petty-bourgeoisie, against the conspiracy of International Capitalism and Imperialism. As I said, in Trinidad, and one can also sight Jamaica in the same light, one can sight Guyana . . . we have the people in motion. We have individuals who have returned, and we have young men who are still living in the island, who are saying exactly what needs to be said. But there are no structures as alternatives to the present petty-bourgeoisie structures.

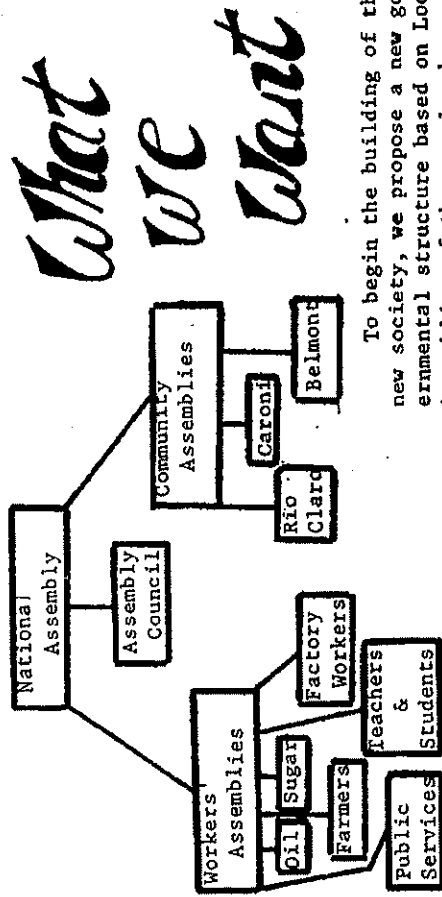
What happened in Trinidad? When the elections came up, the people just did not vote. Williams got 28%. Now imagine that. A government in the West Indies is ruling with 28%. And whose government? . . . the Doctor - that famous character. He has 28% of the Trinidadian people's vote. Now I think what was happening with the other huge percentage, that 72% of the population, they just did not vote because they did not see an alternative at that point in time, that took their fancy.

Now what happened in Jamaica? I can't recall the percentage of votes, but as far as I understand it, the people voted against the JLP. They did not vote for the PNP, you know, they voted against the JLP. They said, Pharaoh must go . . . and Pharaoh's army was drowned. They voted along those lines, but there was no alternative other than the status-quo, so that the vote against the JLP turns out, de facto, to be a vote for the P.N.P., because certain other forces do not have the organizational capacity, or the organization readiness to say - we will be the alternative to that government.

I think that is the highest priority on our agenda. I am not going to try and sit from here and suggest the details, ways and means, in which we are going to do that organization. But those of us who are serious, wherever you happen to be living in this Pan-African world

of ours, in the world, provided one has some relationship to the Caribbean, that we need first to understand what is going on. But then that is not so difficult. We have been at this talking for a long time and we are supposed to understand where we are at. But if we are going to talk in terms of what is to be done, then we must think in hard organizational terms, territory to territory, and the whole little territorial business. This is not a question of rhetoric. This is not a question for us to talk before the whole world, which will include, of course, those who are hostile to our interests. But in each territory, it seems to me as of today, as of now, if people are not concerned with the same sorts of problems which moved the Vietnamese, are moving the Mozambiquans and Angolans, are moving the people of Uruguay, of how to build structures that will take power and exercise power in the near future, then we will remain at the level of rhetoric and however much the people move, they will find that those of us who claim some sort of familiarity with the external world, those of us who claim to have some capacity to show them a direction, we will not show them any direction except to the sea. And we want Pharaoh's army to be drowned not ours. So I will end at that note.

The question of ORGANIZATION is at the top of the priority list.



What we want

To begin the building of the new society, we propose a new governmental structure based on Local Assemblies of the people where they live and where they work - to be culminated in a National Assembly. (See Diagram above).

(b) The vast quantity of potentially good agricultural land now abandoned or under-cultivated and held by agricultural big boys, and government, must be distributed to the farmers, in agricultural communities.

(c) Workers must control the means of production - i.e. Direct workers representative bodies or Workers Assemblies must control, run and administrate all the aspects arising out of the areas in which they work. The idea is to remove professional management entirely so that workers and management becomes one and the same thing. Workers presently are forced to work long hours of overtime because of low wages, and high cost of living. They are so over-worked at the moment that all their time and energy is taken up by production. The vast youthful human resources now wasted and degraded in unemployment can be absorbed in creative work, once overtime is abolished and wages are adequate and work-load is minimized so that all workers can involve themselves in the political, social and cultural activities of the nation.

A society where the development of human beings, rather than property or wealth, is the main purpose of all activity. Where workers; potential workers, students, housewives, teachers, farmers, professionals and others must decide what they want, when they want, where they want.

This calls for the total destruction of the present state and its institutions.

We believe that the building of the new society must be based on:

(a) New relations between the people in their daily social, economic and political activities. Whereas now the people are dominated by the governmental bosses, and the workers and farmers are made subservient to the economic bosses, in the building of the new society governmental and economic power must be in the hands of the masses of the people.

This means first and foremost that the present state structure and its institutions must be destroyed and replaced. And only when the masses are politically organized and have control of their local and national life can we evolve a new society based on human development.

"LET THOSE WHO LABOUR HOLD THE REINS."