

'to construct from morning'

Making the People's Budget in Grenada





"The Land is our wealth", reads one of Grenada's numerous billboards. Here, students at the La Sagesse Farm School in the act of producing agricultural wealth from the land, the backbone of Grenada's economy.

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First published 1982, by Fedon Publishers, St. George's, Grenada.
Printed by Coles Printery, Wilbey, Barbados.

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Photographs: Arthur Winner, Pablo Sylvester, Free West Indian.

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Corinth School nearing completion, August 1982.

Introduction

THE PEOPLE'S BUDGET

Any working person knows that Economics is their daily bread. They must deal with and organise money every day of their lives. More working people spend more time every day talking about money than almost everything else. None of us can escape that truth. And yet money itself, as the entire population of Grenada has been discovering over the last three months, is nothing if it does not have the weight and guarantee of *real production* behind it. For money, no matter how pretty it may look neatly packaged and held together in its rubber bands on the other side of the bank counter, has value for the people only if it means *real work, real production, real commitment to Economic Construction*, the vital goal set by the People's Revolutionary Government in Grenada for 1982.

For on March 9th, 1982, an unprecedented event in the English-speaking Caribbean took place in St. George's, Grenada: the presentation by Minister of Finance and Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard of a genuine 'People's Budget'. Why was this such an extraordinary step forward on this small island of 133 square miles and 110,000 people? Over the years, the people of Grenada — like any other people with a long history of suffering from the colonial, neo-colonial or 'free enterprise' systems — had come to view the Budget as a distant and frightening thing, something which came out of obscurity and attacked them every year with more taxes, more problems and more misery. It involved decisions that were completely out of their hands. They had to take it and suffer it. They were told it was the sacred ground of experts, and only those who were used to dealing every day of their lives with the inner workings of banks, insurance companies, finance departments or the management of huge sums of money could ever understand or fathom its strange terminology and foreign language. And yet the very reason why the people feared it was because their money, as little as it might be, meant life and death for them, and those who controlled and oversaw its organisation and distribution could thus sentence them to a lifetime's exploitation and poverty.

And yet the Budget, in truth, is not a distant thing for any working people. It is an integral and absolute part of their daily lives, creating the parameters of their hopes and aspirations. Each man, each woman deals with his or her own budget for their survival and continuation. The only way they can live an organised

life is to organise their budget. Any working person looks at their monthly wage and considers how much they have to spend on rent, on food, on paying their bills, on their children's clothing and school equipment, on the tools of their trade, on their pleasure and recreation. This is elementary budgeting, and if any worker ignores this and fails to organise their earnings, they know that the first to suffer will be their families and themselves, and their lives would soon slide into chaos.

So there should be nothing so strange about the people's involvement in budgeting. So why the profound transformation of the relationship between the people and the economy in Grenada? It is not simply that the People's Revolutionary Government has handed the budget over to the people, so much as recognised that the real economists *are, and have always been* the people, for the management of their domestic economies has always been central and fundamental to the struggle to create the well-being of their lives. What has been accomplished in Grenada and what the first three months of 1982 achieved, was to make the masses of the population aware that all these personal and family budgets, all the money of the country and that which passes through the country, is intimately linked together and a part of the same money supply and result of production, that everything the people earn, borrow, receive from abroad or spend is connected, that all the people are a part of that process and so all the people must be involved in a collective discussion and consultation of how that money is to be raised, controlled and spent.

In the people-based society being built in Grenada, this is an obvious truth that arises naturally out of the revolutionary-democratic process. The People's Budget is a part of the essential logic of the Grenada Revolution. So for the masses, there is nothing strange about trusting them with the composition of the Budget, just as there is nothing strange to them about giving guns to the people to defend through the Militia the new life they are building. These fundamental re-distributions are all allied in the three pillars of the Revolution: the Economy, People's Power and National Defence. Then why is Free Grenada the first English-speaking country in the Americas to have so intimately involved its people in the organisation of the National Budget? Crucially, it has arisen from a central belief in *organisation, in planning*. The chaotic and horrific mess which was inherited when the people seized power on March 13th, 1979, was only equalled by the abysmal level of corruption, waste and mismanagement. The People's Revolutionary Government has always said that in response to that terrible and wholesale decay and destruction of national resources which characterised Gairysm:

'Organisation is our only weapon!' And so the Grenadian people must be linked together and organised in the activity that is most central to their lives: the understanding and management of their economy.

There is also the accompanying principle that democracy cannot function, and people cannot truly participate in the decisions which affect their lives, unless they have been *informed and educated* about the essential forces in the world around them which bear down upon them and threaten to mould their lives. Along with that truth goes the imperative to train the people to understand and create power from knowledge so they would be in a position to *control* these forces. Economic forces *are* the most vital and devastating *or* liberating forces affecting the people's lives, so an underlying reason for the People's Budget in Grenada was clearly *mass education integrated with mass participation*. To the Grenada Revolution they are one and indivisible; they cannot be conceived of separately and cannot be torn apart.

Comrades Bishop and Coard have many times referred to the working people of Grenada as the builders and constructors of the economy. What the People's Budget also told them clearly was that they are also its organisers and managers. Why had this simple truth and logic not been practised before in the Eastern Caribbean? Because imperialism, which still holds in a vice the economies of most of Grenada's sister islands and neighbours, does not like such ideas. They are, of course, a direct threat to its hegemony and economic power in the region. Imperialism dreads the progress to the People's Budget, the notion that the organisation and management of a national economy should ever be the property of the people themselves. For that would mean necessarily that the insights and priorities of the people would stand above the priorities of naked profit! It would mean that the priorities of the rich and voracious multinational corporations who are the swill of imperialism would be displaced by the will of the poor working people, the scrunters of the world. And that is the extent of the discovery that has come through the process of the People's Budget in Grenada; this is what has been achieved in the first three months of the Year Of Economic Construction by the Grenadian people. They have democratised Economics, they have claimed the budget as their own. They have also told their leaders loud and clear what they think they should be doing. They have shouted across Grenada's ridges, forests and beaches, from village to village, from Zonal Council to Zonal Council with resonance, wisdom and love: 'People first!'

This process was never saying that the people don't need

trained economists and planners to make it work. It was not decrying scholarship, professionalism and expertise. Comrade Coard stated very clearly at the outset of the process that the Grenada Revolution is the unified expression of people *and* professionalism, and this principle was illustrated continuously throughout the three months of the People's Budget. For working with the Grenada Revolution are some of the most revolutionary, self-sacrificing and democratic economists in the entire region who have come to the country to help it grow, produce and flourish. These technicians worked night and day during these months, striving in every muscle, nerve and fibre in their brains and their bodies to bring the full facts and details of the economy to the people. The masses met them time after time and grew to know their faces and voices with intimacy. They discussed with them, exchanged ideas and criticisms with them at Workers' Parish Councils and Zonal Councils all over the country, explaining, clarifying, laying the flesh and blood of the economy bare for the people so they could be *informed*, so they could *know* and hold the basis for making sound, wise and correct judgements, and also give forth the sparkling and profound insights on the economy that arose from the true genius of the people during these remarkable three months.

These economists from the Ministries of Finance, Trade and Planning were holding in their heads the collective expertise and revolutionary commitment of Guyana, St. Lucia, Jamaica and Cuba, as well as Grenada. They were not sitting back in luxury offices with huge ebony desks, carpets a foot thick and drinks cabinets at their elbows like the imperialist and monetarist economists of New York or London, arrogantly building their empires and making decisions over the heads of the people to exploit their labour, cut their benefits, take away their jobs and grind them into poverty. What we witnessed in Grenada was an outstanding level of co-operation, a *partnership* between skilled technicians and economists from the ministries, and the people themselves, the true builders, producers and consumers of the economy being constructed in Grenada. In the marriage of the technicians and the people a bond was created which is symbolic of the anti-bureaucratic process through which the future wealth of the country will be organised.

The formation of the People's Budget is an obvious illustration of why imperialism stands so much in awe of tiny Grenada — the ant against the dinosaur. What of the scare in Washington in February 1982 when it was thought that information in the U.S. Budget had been leaked and people actually knew of some of its contents before the appointed day of revelation? Panic in the

White House! The secrets of the economy had escaped! So what did the Administration do? To prevent any more information seeping through the White House cracks, they brought the Budget Day forward! They are so afraid of the people knowing the truth about what goes on with all those dollars, so frightened to death that knowledge should ever become the common property of the people — like it is in Grenada, where all the books are open. And what about Old Mother England, who like the old lady in the nursery rhyme she used to teach her colonised children, now finds that her cupboard is bare! Every year her secrets from the people are safer than her Crown Jewels — she locks her budget away in a little tin box with scratches all over it, etched by the fingernails of truth trying to get out! Every year we see the same ceremony of secrecy, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer hugging the tin box to his chest, then waving it daringly at the cameramen and newspaper reporters, but determined that nothing shall get out and nobody's eyes shall get in until the box is unlocked in Parliament. Then suddenly, with no participation or consultation with the people, the economy for the next twelve months is revealed and everything worthwhile is chopped! And a few weeks before the presentation of the People's Budget to the masses in Grenada, there was a diplomat from the British Foreign Office in Barbados — a gentleman called Mr. Luce — who was telling the region that he wouldn't visit Grenada because they had no democracy there!

Yet within these three months in Grenada we saw the working people — the agricultural workers, the road workers, hotel workers, masons, carpenters, factory workers, and fishermen — understanding for the first time in their lives the 'mysteries' of economics. And in doing so they realised that the mysteries are man-made, blown out like smoke screens over the simple truth by those forces which would do anything to prevent the poor and working people from understanding the truth of the lives that they live and the economic forces that are oppressing them. We saw the people clarifying and understanding through their councils and workshops concepts like 'Gross National Expenditure', 'Domestic Investment', 'Social Wage', 'Recurrent Expenditure', and 'Capital Expenditure' when just a few days before these would have appeared as words of an untranslatable language. Now in Grenada, they spin off the lips of the people — you will hear them on the buses, in the markets, in the rum shops, on the streets. For during the Budget process the entire population were students at a vast national School of Economics — the Grenada School of Popular Economics — with campuses in every village in the country feeding back their ideas to the comrade technicians.

This was only further evidence — particularly to those who make a point of doubting it — that the People's Revolutionary Government believes in the truth, and believes that the people of Grenada, *all* the people of Grenada, have an unquestionable and inalienable right to that truth and all the data, documentation and information that go into its composition. So you will find no scratched-up tin brief case in Grenada, no hurried and last-minute scurrying around and bringing forward of the Budget Day because someone somewhere has some information about something in it! In Grenada everyone everywhere has all the information about everything in the Budget, and its end product is the result of mass involvement, mass contribution. For Comrade Coard's final presentation on March 9th was the boiled-down essence of the ideas and suggestions of 110,000 people.

During his Budget Presentation, which was delivered publicly at the National Convention Centre, Grenada's largest conference venue, to workers, technicians, students, teachers, nurses and soldiers from all over the nation, Comrade Coard outlined the procedures that had led up to this day:

'Comrades, what has been the nature of our mass process of democratising the national budget? What structures have we used to achieve this? You will remember that the process really began on a mass scale with our Conference of Delegates of Mass Organisations on the Economy, here, at The Dome, on January 29th. This included 1,000 delegates from the National Women's Organisation, the National Youth Organisation, the trade unions, the Productive Farmers Union, the People's Revolutionary Army — in fact, all our mass organisations.

This was swiftly followed up by a series of 25 Zonal and Workers' Parish Councils throughout the country. Comrades, our people came out in their thousands! For example, on February 15th we had five councils proceeding simultaneously, with our technicians heading out in all directions and conducting sessions in St. George's, St. Paul's, Grand Roy, St. Patrick's and St. David's. On the night of February 18th, six councils were in progress — at Paradise, St. George's Northwest, St. Patrick's, Tivoli, Pomme Rose and Gouyave. Our people's voices were echoing right across the island.

Meetings were also organised with the representatives and organisations of the private sector. Then on March 1st we held another conference on the economy at The Dome, giving a special invitation to anyone who thought they had not yet aired their views or suggestions, all those Grenadians who are not yet members of our mass organisations, including senior citizens, the self-

employed and those working for small enterprises. This was followed by a three-day session, also at The Dome, with the representatives and managers of the State enterprises.

So comrades, you can see how we organised this People's Budget. We have tried to deliberately scoop up the ideas and opinions of literally every section of our nation, leaving nothing to chance or guesswork. What we found as a result of all these sessions was an amazing commonality of opinion being expressed in all the villages of our country. People in Tivoli were making the same basic points as those in St. George's, Gouyave was echoing St. David's. This told us much about the central and underlying unity of our people and their aspirations, but it also told us quite clearly that there were certain fundamental problems that had to be resolved, certain abuses that had to be stamped out, certain examples of corruption and waste that had to be eliminated. It had to be so! Our people as a whole were telling us loud and clear.'

Grenada is a society in revolutionary transformation that is building new and vibrant institutions to replace the dysfunctional, elitist and alienated structures that were inherited from British colonialism and the corruption and hideous rule of the Gairy dictatorship. The People's Budget is yet another example of a determined and bold rupture with the deformity of the past, and the move to forge a totally new political culture of people's participation and people's creation. As more and more of the crippling, undemocratic institutions are discarded in favour of courageous new initiatives, the strength and audacity of the innovations send shock-waves through the decrepit and exploitative structures of the past and their superannuated caretakers, who only croak and yelp in vain. For the People's Budget is making the people themselves the guardians and stewards of their own production, their own wealth, their own resources, and no force on earth will ever take back what is theirs.

FEDON PUBLISHERS

1. THE CONFERENCE OF DELEGATES OF THE MASS ORGANISATIONS ON THE ECONOMY

AND EXTRACTS FROM
COMRADE BERNARD COARD'S REPORT

This conference was a unique and unprecedented event in the Caribbean, and as such, a genuine innovation in budgetary practice. Just over one thousand people attended from Grenada's population of 110,000, so approximately one hundredth of the nation's people were actually present. And everyone there was a representative.

At the registration session during the first two hours of the morning, the east wing of the Holiday Inn, which was being used as an assembly venue, was crammed with soldiers, farmers, workers from private and public sectors and state organisations, unemployed youth, housewives and mothers, agricultural workers, teachers, nurses, police — from every village in Grenada. Delegates queued, chatting enthusiastically and expectantly, but keeping to firm discipline and order as they waited to register at the respective desks. Transport had been mobilised from all over the island to ensure the delegates' attendance, and a convoy of mini-buses was parked outside the conference centre.

The Ministry of Finance had resolved that this conference was to be a real and full exercise of information and consciousness-raising on all vital and detailed aspects of the Economy. A large-format, 88-page bound book had been prepared by workers of the Ministries of Finance, Trade, Planning and Education, and printed by the Government Printery. This was the *Report on the National Economy for 1981 and the Prospects for 1982* which carried the title, *Work Harder! Produce More! Build Grenada!* — which was to become the slogan for 1982, already dubbed *The Year of Economic Construction* in Grenada. This publication not only contained Comrade Coard's speech, but included 22 pages of charts, graphs and tables setting out the details of the 1981 economic performance from the exact amount of guava cheese or bottles of pepper sauce produced by the Agro-Industrial plant, to a breakdown of the recurrent expenditure of the Governor General. Everything was included, yet another manifestation of the promises and commitment of the People's Revolutionary Government to open all the books to the people, and hide none of the facts of the Economy

from them. Each delegate's eyes were transfixed by this information, as they scanned the tables and figures while Comrade Coard referred to them during his two-hour long address. It was a mighty seminar with a class of a thousand, each eagerly participating in the minutiae of their country's economic flesh and blood. Concentration was profound as the working people of Grenada physically gripped the report and mentally gripped the economic truths and prospects of their work and lives, and an explosion of applause greeted Comrade Coard's final words.

This presentation was followed by the delegates workshops which continued right through the afternoon, each one led by a ministry technician. For the first time in their lives these working people had been unleashed, through the combined strategy of mass mobilisation and mass education, to frame the economic forces which circumscribed their own lives. The response was massive. As the secretary of each workshop group in turn stood by the microphone to give his/her report at the plenary session which followed the workshops, the proof of the masses' huge appetite to participate in and to create their *own* parameters for the national economy emerged time and time again in their suggestions, criticisms and insights. Each contribution was recorded, to be considered by the Cabinet during a three-week period immediately before the final budget presentation. What follows are only a few of the points read out by the workshop secretaries during the final plenary session:

1. End corruption, reckless driving and 'liming' in the use of government vehicles, by introducing stricter schedules and logging systems for their drivers.
2. Contract jobs for the government must be paid on a fixed budget. As one delegate declared: 'Look how long it taking to paint the Green Bridge!'
3. The cost of damage to government property, such as refrigerators, should be borne by the persons who are responsible for causing it.
4. A system of greater responsibility must be instituted for government officers, to prevent pilfering — as in the case of the Government Dispensary — to prevent regular non-attendance, or, as in the case of the Treasury, to improve the attitude and politeness of the public servants.
5. A more efficient system of collection from the nutmeg pools must be devised.
6. Import duties must be raised on foreign products: a 'harder' duty on foreign liquor, cigarettes and luxury articles.

7. More respect and a greater sense of economy must be shown to Government stationery: 'It have a worker in my ministry who carry home he fish from the market in big Government envelopes, marked: *On Grenada Government Service*,' protested a delegate.
8. Encourage the local manufacture of soap by reducing the cost of imported caustic soda, which is a vital ingredient.
9. The Grand Etang Rest House should be converted into a hotel.
10. A 'heavy' campaign should be launched to educate the people to grow local and eat local. Imported beverages like *Solo* should be replaced by more cheaply canned or cartoned local nectars, and imported cereals can be replaced by tannia loaf. Local fish should be canned, and importation of canned fish should cease: 'Some of we doesn't know if it is muck we eating!'
11. The National Co-operative Development Agency (NACDA), should undertake to identify markets for the produce of the co-operatives.
12. All Army, Police and Nurses' uniforms should be produced locally.
13. The Ministry of Communications and Works should end all delays in the delivery of materials for road repair. On one project the workers waited for three days before the material arrived, thus three days' work and production were lost. Also, delivery of materials for community work brigades must be prompter.
14. Local businessmen should co-operate in finding the brands of necessary imports that combine the highest quality with the most reasonable cost.
15. *Spice Island Products* (the brand name of the local agro-industrial products) should be more aggressive in its advertising, and should begin to put its nectars into small plastic bags for schoolchildren.
16. Mass organisations should identify idle lands and organise unemployed youth to work them.
17. Schools and army camps must be more seriously organised for production activities, through army farms and school gardens.
18. Praedial larceny and all stealing from farmers to receive more severe punishment.

19. The coconut farms now lying abandoned must be rehabilitated.
20. Company taxes must be increased.
21. There must be greater penalties for businessmen who fail to affix stamps to their receipts.
22. Historic sites must be developed, and organised tours of Grenada should also be available to Grenadians themselves.
23. Medical centres should be increased in size, number and facilities; there should be an improvement in the nurses' attitudes in these centres, and a continuing campaign to educate the people on Primary Health Care should be organised.
24. The mass organisations should help to repair and re-build Mirabeau Farm School.
25. To help clarify the difference between real wage and social wage, and to explain other economic terms, a regular radio programme needs to be organised.
26. The free milk distribution should be better organised, so that it reaches *all* villages.
27. Business places should institute a shift system in their lunch hours, to enable them to stay open all through the working day. Banking hours too should be more flexible.
28. Agricultural lands must not be eaten away by being sold off and used for private housing.
29. Incentives should be introduced so that workers pay less tax on overtime work.
30. 'We should find better terms of trade with countries more friendly to us', and move away from relying upon Geest and other imperialist companies.
31. Livestock farming must be increased.
32. The Marketing and National Importing Board (MNIB) must select better fruit to sell to its consumers.
33. 'If we wasting, is weself we harming!' All government workers must raise their consciousness about *waste*.
34. We should aim for better terms of trade by selling our nutmegs and cocoa to the socialist countries for processing.
35. Greater attempts must still be made to diversify our cash crops.
36. Government workers should work one day a month without pay for the Year of Economic Construction.
37. We should organise a survey to find out whether we can find cheaper ways of packaging our agro-industrial products.

38. Taxi drivers need orientation sessions by the Taxi Drivers' Association to make them more polite and informative to tourists.
39. More conferences like this must be organised!

**EXTRACTS FROM COMRADE COARD'S SPEECH:
REPORT ON THE NATIONAL ECONOMY FOR 1981
AND THE PROSPECTS FOR 1982**

Comrade Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, Comrades of the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement and of the People's Revolutionary Government, Comrade Delegates of the Mass Organisations of our Country, Comrades all.

Comrades, today is another significant day in the history of our country and a major step forward in the development of our new and revolutionary system of People's Democracy supported by all the forces of People's Power. For today is our First *National Conference of Delegates of Mass Organisations on the Economy*, more of the first steps in the setting free of our National Economy from all the secrecy, scandal and corruption of the years of the dictator.

Our Party and Government has given me the task of presenting you with a report on the performance of our economy in 1981 and the prospects for 1982. This review is being presented at a time when the world capitalist economies are facing severe crisis. These economies are facing high rates of inflation, inflation rates above 12 percent. For example, Italy had an inflation rate of 19½% in 1981, while inflation in France was 13.4% and in United Kingdom 12%. These economies are also facing increasing levels of unemployment and slow down in expansion of international trade. Furthermore, available information shows that, in 1981, some of the developed capitalist countries had a negative growth in their economies, as happened in the case of England, West Germany and France. In fact, they grew backwards. They showed an economic decline. The crisis of world capitalism has even had a negative impact on the world socialist countries. And we know very well that it has hit hard the poor under-developed countries like Grenada.

1982: YEAR OF ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

As you will all know comrades, we have called 1982 the 'Year of Economic Construction', and this title needs some con-

sideration and thought. Why did we call it this? What do we mean when we talk about 'Economic Construction'? For if we can answer this question clearly and boldly for our people, we will be able to see what we all are working for during the next eleven months.

You see comrades, as our Comrade Leader said in his New Year Message, we could have called 1982 'The Year of Economic Re-construction', but when we thought about this, we realised that to re-construct, something would have had to be there in the first place. But our centuries of colonialism and the cold, joyless, twenty-eight-years-long blast of Hurricane Gairy, had left us with virtually nothing. So we have to *start from scratch* to build our economy, and that is why we talk not about re-construction, but construction, and why our people, *all of us*, are our builders, our constructors.

Let us think about our own International Airport as a concrete example of this. Three years ago, the area where it is now rolling forward with its massive runway was bush, hills and salt pond. The comrades working there, day and night, have completely changed the entire area, levelling hills, draining ponds — they are even filling in a part of the sea in Hardy Bay. They are re-shaping that part of our island, creating a new geography which will benefit *all* our people. This is not change for its own sake, this is *building*



Rolling down the runway of freedom. The Point Salines International Airport
→ its way to completion in 1983.

for the future, building a huge *investment* for our people and remember, *investment* is what we *put in*, our hard work, our effort, our production. *Investment* is the basis of development of our country. For, with it will come a massive growth in the riches of our country, which will give us more schools, more hospital beds, more and better roads, more chances to export our fruit and produce before it rots, more tourists, more direct communications outside our island to plant us even more firmly in the mainstream of world events.

So when our people take a bus trip to the airport site on a Sunday, sometimes just to gaze and marvel at the changes in the landscape down there at Point Salines, and say to each other, 'Look how this place change, man!' and look down the miles of new, asphalt-concrete runway, they are also looking directly at the future of our country, they are seeing how their own people are builders and constructors. They are seeing how our country can become rich and developed, and how that shining runway leads straight into real change and prosperity for all of us here.

I have used the illustration of our International Airport to begin my presentation today, because it is the most massive and mighty of our development projects, and it will stand as a *symbol* showing us how far we can move and change in the future through an increase in the wealth that now belongs to all of us. It is that wealth which is our economy, and the ways we find to build it, brick by brick, that add up to our *Economic Construction*. Our Agro-Industrial Plant is a brick, our fisheries school is a brick, every new feeder road is a brick, every move forward in education from free secondary education to NISTEP, every new housing estate,



Model of Housing Scheme — Grand Anse.

every co-operative, every new hotel. These are our bricks, comrades. The sand and cement is our unity, our commitment, our work, our collective strength, our determination to solve the problems and sit down to plan together, our huge energy and our consistent struggle. If we put all this together there is nothing that can stop us! Look how imperialism tried to take our airport from us, how they tried to sabotage its construction. Imperialism knows only too well what it means to us. But try as they could, we did not falter. For nothing can stop us, the people organised, the builders, the constructors. For while imperialism spends all its money on more and more weapons of savagery and destruction, on neutron bombs and missiles, we do the opposite. We build, we construct, we are the makers of the future. For imperialism, 1982 will be one of Economic Disaster. Our 1982, comrades, and let us proclaim it proudly, is one of *Economic Construction*.

LIVING STANDARDS AND 'THE SOCIAL WAGE'

Comrades, when we turn to consider our living standards and the rise in the quality of life since the Revolution, there is one point in particular that we must make very clearly. When we talk about our *wages*, most of us, quite naturally, would think of dollar bills in our wage packets or coins clinking in our pockets. This is what 'wages' have traditionally meant to us: *money* or our money wage. And then with that money we go out and buy not only food, or clothes or furniture and the necessities of life but also education, health and everything we require for security for ourselves and for our families. *Everything, absolutely everything* had to come out of that wage in the pay packet. We had to pay school fees, doctor's fees, dentist's fees, high interest rates just to borrow money to repair our houses, books and uniforms for our children at school: everything cost dollars; and everything came straight from our wages.

Since the Revolution, you would have noticed that this system of wages is being changed, and this a fundamental point, comrades. The wages in your pay packet have risen during 1981. We all know that. But in addition, we now have another type of wage. We call this the *SOCIAL WAGE*, and this is one of the most basic and concrete gains of the Revolution. So what is this social wage? Simply, the social wage consists of those benefits which you don't pay for out of your wage packets, but which you get anyway. And when we add up the cost of these benefits and compare that to what our brothers and sisters in other islands actually pay for, out of their own pay packets, and what we used to pay for also before

the Revolution, we can see how much our social wage is adding to the buying power of our own dollars. Take something we take for granted in Grenada, like filling a tooth. In other islands it costs between thirty and forty dollars to fill a tooth. In Grenada, it costs nothing — so that thirty or forty dollars becomes a part of our social wage and stays in our pockets. A visit to the doctor might cost twenty dollars in St. Lucia or Dominica. Here it costs nothing, so there is another twenty dollars for the social wage. And similarly, when we have an eye operation or bone surgery here in Grenada, we do not have to pay the hundreds or thousands of dollars which such surgery costs in different countries. And when you begin to add up what you save by free secondary education, over two hundred university scholarships, free uniforms and school books, no interest loans on house repair, the savings by direct sale of fruit and vegetables through our Marketing Board, and the money we *don't spend* through all our concrete social benefits which come free to our people, then you begin to see the size of the *social wage* for each of us. It means comrades, that because of the social wage, the money in our pay packets has so much more meaning and power. And it also means that here in Grenada, we are the first English-speaking country in the Caribbean to actually begin to set about *changing the wage system itself*, so that what we earn becomes far more valuable than what it has been in the past. It means, moreover, that as a workers' society we are laying the foundation of a social system for the benefit of all our people. And yet, while all this has been going on, and our social wage has been increasing, our pay packets have been getting fatter too. So let's compare them over the last year to our prices. Let us turn to Table 8 and here we

Table 8

PRICE INCREASES (%) FOR SELECTED ITEMS

	1980 (Jan.—Dec.)	1981 (Jan.—Dec.)
OVERALL	23.0%	14.5%
Food	32.0	19.0
Alcohol and Tobacco	31.7	15.6
Clothing and Footwear	40.3	9.5
Housing	11.0	-2.2
Fuel and Light	36.7	6.3
Furniture and Appliances	150.2	6.1
Household Supplies	5.1	9.3
Transport	36.6	21.1
Other	32.2	31.4

see that prices increased overall by 23% in 1980. In 1981 however, as the table shows, overall prices increased by less. These prices went up by 14½%. So that the price increases for 1981 were less than 1980. It's true that prices are rising, that we have inflation. But prices are not increasing as fast as before. And there are price increases we cannot avoid. Of course, we can't avoid increases in import prices. For when we import foods, from chicken wings to transistor radios, we also import their price increases. As our Comrade Leader says, when they out there in the capitalist world sneeze, we catch the cold, and they are in such a mess, they have got double pneumonia at the moment. So we can only avoid *their* price increases by producing *our own* goods. But even with this imported price problem, we did well to keep our prices down to 14½% increase in 1981.

Table 9

WAGE INCREASES 1981

	% Increase in Wages
<i>CENTRAL GOVERNMENT</i> (average)	17.3
Teachers	14-24.5
Nurses	17-25.0
Civil Servants	12-17.0
<i>Port Workers</i>	15.0
<i>Utilities Workers</i>	5-20.0
<i>PRIVATE SECTOR</i>	
Agriculture	11.5
Manufacturing	12.5-17.5
Motor Repairs	15.0
Banking	15-22.0
Commerce	7.5-32.0

If we look at Table 9, we have presented information on wage increases received during 1981. Our Government employees, including workers, teachers and nurses had 17.3% average increase, our port workers a 15% increase and our factory workers between 12.5% to 17.5%. And if we add these increases to the social wage, we can see that generally we have certainly been better off this year.

So that when we compare the price increase for 1981 — an

average 14½% — and our money wage increase — an average 17.3 percent — what do we find? We find that we are reducing the gap between increases in prices and increases in wages. We find that although prices continue to rise, our *money wages* in 1981 rose faster than prices. And the gap between the two is narrowing. Of course this is only our money wage, not our social wage. When we add our money wage to our social wage, we realise that the gap is getting smaller. We must eliminate this gap. To achieve that we have to get more production, more productivity and more efficiency. And surely we will achieve our aim.

So our *two forms of wages* have both been steadily improving. 1981 was the year of Free Secondary Education for all and free uniforms and school books for the lowest income families. It was the year of the completion of the first phase of our CPE literacy programme. Those two facts alone are remarkable, for they both contribute to raising the cultural, and hence productive level of our people, to create the momentum to keep the social wage rising. It was the year when we completed the first year of our National In-Service Teacher Education Programme, which is professionalising and making more competent 400 of our teachers from all over the country. All this educational activity is contributing to making our people more scientific and capable in their ability to solve the real concrete problems which harass us every day — which is really what Education should be all about. And it will make us all the more capable of building, of constructing that new, liberated economy. And as builders, we need to be strong and healthy, and that is the responsibility of the Revolution too.

We have seen health advances of the basic, preventative kind in the setting up of our First Primary Health Care Programme in St. David's and also of the most complicated and sophisticated kind with our *eye surgery*, and the work of our brilliant sister Dr. Annette Alexis, along with the Cuban internationalist comrade working in that area. And while this has been happening we have kept our 37 doctors, our 6 dentists, 7 dental clinics, and 704 hospital beds. We have introduced our 24-hour Casualty Service at the Hospital, with 2 doctors living in on the premises and always on call. We have a modern X-ray Department with machines which are working and produce X-ray photos. And now, we even have our own neurologist — the only one in seven OECS states. So you can see clearly the size of our social wage here.

Our water supply situation has greatly improved for many thousands of Grenadians. In fact, our water supply has risen from 4 million to 6 million gallons a day. The decision to acquire majority shares in GRENLEC has put us on the road to a better quality of

electricity service, and the three new additional generators arriving towards the end of this year will increase our output of electricity.

Just last week, comrades, you would have heard that the telephones in Grenada, the entire system, now belongs to the people, and we shall be installing a completely new telephone system dur-



ing the course of this year. Then our new Public Transport system is also on the way, and by next month you will see our new buses, the 'revo buses', proudly moving along our roads.



The people demanded them through their organ of popular democracy, the Parish Council, and the Revolution delivered them — buses, a fleet of 26, comprising the nucleus of Grenada's first national transport service.

1981 showed us the opening of a new asphalt plant and quarry and our roads have been undergoing continuous improvements, not only in the construction of feeder roads to open up more land for agriculture, but also in the \$10 million Eastern Main Road Project, linking our most productive areas of agriculture with the new airport and the St. George's port. And in Carriacou, where the people used to prefer to drive through pastures and *avoid* the roads because they were so bad, the re-surfacing and reconstruction of our roads has been continuing with efficiency and real commitment and has made the buses of our first public transport system a joy to travel on!

Our Marketing and National Importing Board has given us a cheaper system of distributing supplies of fruits, vegetables and Spice Island products by cutting out the middle man, and bringing the products of the people *directly* back to the hands and stomachs of the people. Brothers and sisters who shop regularly at the branches of our Marketing Board throughout the nation — in Petit Martinique too, where we opened a branch last year — have saved themselves literally hundreds of dollars over the year, for this institution too, and its benefits, also form a part of the social wage. 'Grencraft' too has meant that our craftsmen have found a direct outlet to the public and the tourists and have had a very unusual success in finding many satisfied customers amongst our *own* people.

In Housing, we have witnessed the opening of the two new housing schemes in True Blue and Telescope, and an intensification of one of our most popular and commonly-used programmes — the Housing Repair Programme. Do you know the staggering rate of interest you would pay in most countries in our region to borrow the money to buy house repair materials? In Grenada, the interest-free loans are yet another dimension of the *social wage*. Every new enterprise or firm we have created whether it is the Agro-Industrial Plant, Grencraft, the Saltfish Plant or the National Fishing Company, has also made more work and jobs for our people. Of course, we experienced our tragedies too, like the Holiday Inn fire, which have *deprived* people of work. But with the impetus, in particular, of NACDA with 23 co-operatives, of which 12 are in agriculture, we have a remarkable growth of co-operatives which have seen our people taking their *own* initiatives and creating their *own* work. This of course, has had a significant impact upon our agriculture, and the co-operative ventures which apart from successfully putting 'idle hands to idle lands', have also given our young people a different model of agricultural production to being a worker in a private estate. NACDA is changing the idea that the

old colonial-type estate is the only model for agriculture, and showing our people how they can produce *together*, sit down, organise, plant and reap their *own* harvests. In doing this, it has brought the *youth* back to the land in a significant way, sending down the average age of our agricultural worker from 62 to 51 years. If we go on like this, after next year it will be 40, and the year after, 29! *Comrades, our agriculture is becoming young again!* And all that young muscle and brain power, working together, is what will cause real and solid *Economic Construction*.

ECONOMIC GOALS FOR 1982

Comrades, we have always said that our Revolution was made to provide for the general well-being of our people, to give them bread, peace and justice, and at long last create a society which puts our working people into power. Our Revolution is a patriotic Revolution, seeking to build love for our country and its people, in order to make our nation strong and determined to withstand any imperialist threat.

We have never seen democracy as a camouflage for inactivity among the people. We know that the active participation of our people at all levels in the political, social and economic life of our country, is a *guarantee* of the continued health and growth of the Revolution, and the development of our country. This principle is one from which we have never strayed, for we know that by involving all our people in the process of deciding upon the directions of our national construction, will also make them more committed to actually carrying out the decisions they make, and thus become more productive.

For years in our country there was no serious planning. Our people had experienced corrupt and inefficient leaders making haphazard decisions which had left our country and its people underdeveloped and poor. We are now reversing that process, building and scientifically planning on the great productive strengths of our people, to make our country self-sufficient, so we can provide for ourselves from the prosperity that lies in our Agriculture, Agro-Industries, Fishing and Tourism, in particular.

Let us now turn to a brief review of the 1981 Budget before turning to the 1982 Budget.

BRIEF REVIEW OF 1981 BUDGET

1981 was a mixed year as far as Budget performance is concerned. In an accounting sense, the Recurrent part of the Budget was in deficit. The Recurrent section of the budget is made up of *Recurrent Expenditure* which is the kind of expenditure necessary

on an ongoing basis, daily, monthly, etc., to service Government's administration. This kind of expenditure occurs over and over and does not, in itself, directly generate income and employment for the people. The other part of the Budget is *Recurrent Revenue* which is collected on a regular basis, every month and every year, and is used essentially for Recurrent Expenditure. It also includes collections from taxes, import duties, consumption duties, port office receipts, and so on.

The original plan was to balance the Recurrent part of the Budget, i.e. to collect \$70 million in Recurrent Revenue, and to spend approximately \$70 million (\$69.9 million) in Recurrent Expenditure. However, because of the recession caused by economic crises in the most industrialised capitalist countries, the prices of all our main agricultural exports — cocoa, nutmeg, bananas — were depressed on world markets and that was *when* we needed to sell our output. Millions of pounds of nutmeg accumulated in warehouses around the country in 1981, because they could not be sold. But how did those adverse conditions affect the Budget?

Well, the answer is that since our economy depends upon the production and export of agricultural crops, low prices and insufficient markets affect all revenues either directly (e.g. through lower export duties), or indirectly, by causing other revenue collections to be lower. Low (or no) prices for our exports mean reduced incomes for farmers, which affect purchasing power in the economy, employment, and economic activity in general. Income taxes, duties, consumption duties, etc. were therefore less than originally projected.

This is precisely what happened in 1981. Recurrent Revenue was lower than originally budgeted, by 14% or \$9.90 million. What was worse, however, was that the steepest decline came in the second half of the year, by which time it was not possible to adjust fully to the situation of lower revenue collections. Recurrent Expenditure was cut down from \$70 million to an actual expenditure figure of \$66.86 million. We cut over three million dollars from the recurrent budget. However, it was not possible or practical to cut expenditure by as much as the \$9.90 million revenue shortfall. Therefore, instead of balance on the Recurrent side, we had a deficit of \$6.76 million. The table on Recurrent Expenditure gives details by vote (i.e. Ministry and Department), and figures may be compared with previous years on the current year requests.

Capital Expenditure in 1981 can be considered to be a success story, despite the fact that financing for the Capital programme was received from the IMF long after it was expected, so that work on projects was held up. When it did come, it was insufficient.

These political pressures, combined with natural disasters, set back capital works in a number of areas, particularly roads and other infrastructures. Despite all this, however, we were able to realise 75% or \$67.83 million of the original amount budgeted for Capital Expenditure (\$90.0 million). Approximately, \$38.7 million were spent on the International Airport, with the difference being spent on projects in the fields of Agriculture (\$8.749 million), Communications and Works (\$11.293 million), Public Enterprises (\$5.3 million), Industrial Development and Fisheries (\$.5 million), and Health (\$.4 million) among others.

With respect to debt payments in 1981, approximately \$2.9 million were spent on the payment of principal and \$1.9 million on interest.

The role of the Government in economic and social life has been increasing in a positive way since the Revolution. In 1981, the P.R.G. continued its programmes aimed at bringing material benefits to the people. These programmes continued to reduce the cost of living for the working people in 1981 because an increasing number of services were provided either free or at greatly reduced cost. In addition, existing programmes were intensified. This means that the real income or social wage of the worker, the amount of money he has to spend on other things, i.e. his real purchasing power, is higher because he has to pay less (or nothing at all) for some services which are essential to the growth and welfare of his family.

Free secondary school education was introduced for the first time in September 1981, prior to which it cost \$12.50 per term per child. But, Comrades, let me recall that even this \$12.50 per term represented a \$25.00 reduction from \$37.50 per term. In short, school fees were reduced from \$37.50 in 1979-80, to \$12.50 in 1980-81, to free education from September 1981.

In addition, the P.R.G. continued its policy of training Grenadians in specialised fields of higher education, without any personal cost to the students. Before the Revolution one needed to have a small fortune to send your child to University. Of course, the scholarships granted for University and higher technical education were granted by the P.R.G. with the assistance of fraternal countries.

1981 also witnessed the continuation of free basic physical and mental health care, and a growth in the availability of health personnel and health facilities. The school feeding programme was intensified during 1981, although there were one or two problems related to the late arrival of milk and also storage problems.

Considerable strides were made in bringing additional hous-

ing facilities to the people. In 1980, 593 loans for house repair were disbursed, totalling \$532,288. In 1981, 973 loans were disbursed, representing a 64.1% increase over 1980. The total amount of money loaned out in 1981 was \$781,682, which represents a 46.9% increase over 1980. All the loans disbursed in 1981 mean that 973 more families were able to repair their homes at a very low cost, since the loans will be paid back over a long period of time at no interest. Given that there are an average of five (5) people in each family, this really means that not 973, but about 4,865 (i.e. 973×5) more people now have a decent roof over their heads.

In addition to all the economic benefits I have mentioned above, 302 of the lowest paid workers did not pay any income tax in 1981.

This is just a very brief overview of some of the main points about Budget performance in 1981.

MASS ORGANISATION AND THE ECONOMY

Comrades, you remember that 1981 was not only the Year of Agriculture and Agro-Industries, it was also, truly, the Year of National Mobilisation, the Year when more than ever before, we became an *organised* people. It was a year when we realised that organisation is, in fact, our greatest weapon.

We know, of course, that our mass organisations are not little social clubs or talk-shops. They bring us closer together and bind us in unity as a people, and give special stress to certain sections of our population, like our women and youths, but they do far more. They have become our infrastructure, they are acting both as our *skeleton* to hold all our power and muscle together and give us the support we need as a young, vibrant society, but they are also, at the same time, our blood supply, giving us a system of communication and social action to make our new ideas and programmes real and concrete throughout the country.

Let's take some examples. How many people in our country would have been hit by dengue fever if we hadn't had our mass organisations to call upon to come out for the epic clean-ups we had when the epidemic threatened us? It was the work of the mass organisations that saved many lives there. How would Birchgrove get its magnificent Community Centre without the support and disciplined work of its community brigades, organised through the mass organisations? How would our free milk have been distributed through our villages, how would the books and uniforms reached our poorer families without the mass strength and organisation of

our National Women's Organisation? How would the Primary Health Care Project in St. David's continue without similar support? All these are concrete benefits and advances. You know we can't afford dozens of Social Workers to take on these jobs, we haven't got the money to pay them. The only way this work can be done is through our mass organisations — they are directly a part of our social wage *and* our social security. They are necessary for the *health* of our society, they are our insurance, except, unlike an insurance company, they make no profit from our misfortunes.

What we have to do this year, in the Year of Economic Construction, is to make sure that our mass organisations have the strength and effect in adding to and bolstering our economy, as they did in supporting and striking forward in our *social services* during 1981. All that determination and organisation must now be directed towards our economy, while at the same time, still consolidating the social energies. For we know that we cannot have a healthy society without a healthy economy. It's no good us planning all kinds of progressive programmes in Education, Health and Housing if we haven't got the money in the economy to pay for them. The mass organisations, the N.W.O., the N.Y.O., the Trade Unions, the Militia, the P.F.U. and the Community Work Brigades must now take on the vanguard role as the *leaders of construction*.

How do they do this? They must, first and foremost be organised enough to *cause production to grow* at their work places. They must intervene in the process of production and form special production committees to make sure that our output at work, *at any type of work*, increases and goes on increasing this year. It is our attitude and success in *work* that is going to change our country and drag it out of underdevelopment, and *work* is something that we can't afford to run away from.

When we talk about mass organisations at the work place, we are chiefly talking about our trade unions. Now, historically in our country, we have had a series of anti-worker governments. A quick look at the law books, full of anti-worker laws, which we have repealed and thrown out, would tell you that. *Our government is a worker's government*, which has exactly the same wishes and goals as all militant and progressive trade unionists: to create absolute security, democracy and social health for our working people. So there can be no difference between us, trade unions and government, because we know these things are not picked like breadfruit from the trees. We have to work and struggle for them. We have to construct and produce for them.

So it is the task of our trade unionists, in collaboration with management, to form these production committees and launch their

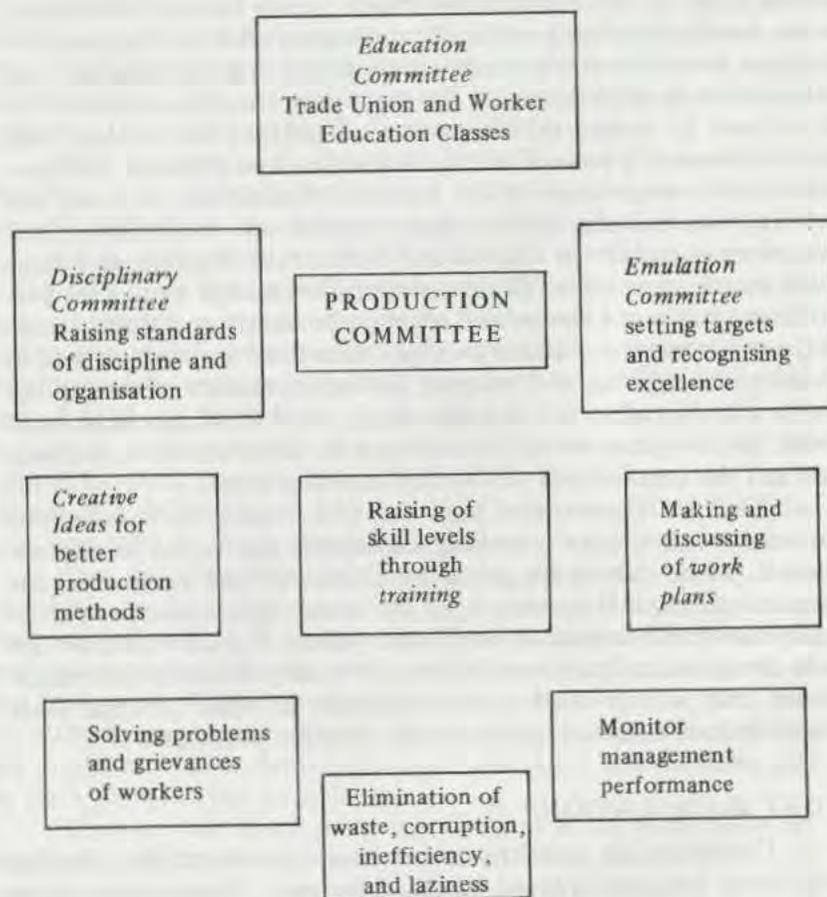
organisational power into their work places. Alongside production committees we would like to see each work place with Disciplinary, Education and Emulation Committees, so that every aspect of work becomes better organised. With such structures at work we would begin to see a systematic attack on any form of corruption, waste, inefficiency, unpunctuality or laziness which is dragging production levels down. The committee would draft, discuss and put into action its work plans. At the same time management would be monitored to ensure that it performed skilfully and without any kind of abuse of power. The same apparatus would enable the ideas and creative suggestions of the workers themselves to be heard and acted upon, and also set in motion continuous in-service training programmes to lift the abilities and skills of the workers, and make them more productive. The Emulation Committee would set production targets and devise and organise brotherly and sisterly competition among the workers to make sure they are met, as well as publicly recognising and saluting the achievements of exemplary workers and producers. And as a result of all this happening, comrades, the economy would be continuously lifted up and expanded, through the organisation of the workers themselves.

We have always said that the best worker is a conscious worker, a worker who is seeking knowledge and trying to educate himself, so he can do his job more efficiently and understand his part in building the economy. So our mass organisations — particularly the trade unions at their work places — must continue the tasks in educating their membership by weekly Workers' Education classes and regular trade union seminars, in order to raise their scientific level and thus become more efficient producers.

WHAT IS EMULATION?

Comrades, as you know, we have introduced the idea of *Emulation* into our way of life in a big way. Some people may think that Emulation is just another word for giving out prizes, but let me say, comrades, there is a lot more to it than that! Certainly it is a way of recognising our outstanding comrades, and showing how much we value their hard work and production. But Emulation is really just as importantly about how we *plan* and carry out our work — and this is why those Emulation Committees that we must start at our work places are vital. For in them, our workers must sit down and plan together, decide upon targets, on how many tins of nectar we're going to produce this month and through the year, how many tonnes of sugar. And then, having made our target, our entire work effort is to take aim and launch our work

Diagram No. 1:
THE PRODUCTION COMMITTEE



towards it, by starting friendly, group competition between sets of workers, to try to out-do, out-work and out-produce each other. In this way, the final results of all our work will become greater and greater, because we shall drive each other on, continually being influenced and goaded on by the hard work of our comrades.

In this way we produce more, and thus we create more wealth for our country, our people and ourselves. For the more we produce through shared planning and carrying out our tasks, the more will be left at the end in the form of profits, which can also

be shared among our workers. We have seen profit-sharing last year in Grenada, but as we have said so many times, *we can only take out what we put in*, and Emulation is a new and very useful way of putting in more of our effort and commitment to the economy. So our trade unions have a particular function there in *understanding Emulation* practices, and this is yet another reason why we need Workers' Education Seminars. For we want our country to grow massively in both organisation and production this year, and Emulation at the work place is one of the ways we are going to make sure that this happens. You remember what our Comrade Leader said, 'Emulation is the seed that brings the fruit of Excellence!'

All this activity at the work place means one thing in particular. If the workers of Grenada are to play their part in rapidly increasing production and giving their sweat and blood to making our country grow, they *must* know all the details and information about their work. There should be no secrecy about the work or any of its aspects. The management of all enterprises must be *absolutely open* with the workers; there must be no hiding of information. This is why the democratic practice of regular staff meetings and consultation sessions is a must! Just as we, in the Government sector, open up *all* our books to our workers, so at the time of wage negotiations we can truthfully say: 'Look comrades, see for yourselves what we can afford!'; we are saying that this kind of honesty at the work place is the example we would like to see copied, for it will create a genuine working and productive relationship all round.

In order to achieve this relationship we must streamline our administration. We have got to organise our ministers and departments and public enterprises more efficiently.

SUGGESTED ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

When we say that we need to eliminate disguised unemployment, this may sound like big words! But let me tell you a story. Last year, when we were investigating the state of agriculture in Carriacou, we came across a worker who was listed as a stockman on a cattle farm. He had a cottage that went with the job, as well as his salary. What we discovered was that this farm had seen its last cattle ten years before. And here was the stockman of a herd of cattle that no longer existed, still drawing his salary and living free in the cottage. And as soon as we found out about this, and suggested he should work somewhere else where there were in fact, some cows, he applied for his holiday leave. That's what we mean by 'disguised unemployment'. How many workers do you *know* that are simply filling a post, clock-watching or doing no work? These people need

to be re-deployed, or put into other posts where they can be useful, so that our money is not wasted. We can find work, *real work*, *not joke-work*, in our capital projects that are underway.

Also, when we contract work out we must begin to insist that whoever does that work is paid by *task* and not by time. In other words, if we say to carpenter, 'Make a desk for such-and-such office,' we'll also tell him that we'll pay him for the desk itself, and not the time he spends making it. That will encourage him to be more productive and finish the job quickly in order to start another, rather than spin out the work endlessly to be paid by the hour or by the day. If he does that, then, one: we never get the desk, and two: we have to keep paying our public money, *your* money, to him while he makes it.

Another area where we need to move much faster is in the area of *supplies*. We need a brother or sister in each Ministry to keep a record of supplies — to know the stock requirements, to understand *what* is regularly needed and who needs it. This will make someone responsible, and therefore accountable for all supplies in a particular department. It will also mean that we will be vigilant to see that we finish with *waste*, that everything we have and use is *valued* and *accounted for* — because we *have to* pay for it all, and so much of these items — from paper, to staples, to typewriters, to cutlasses and chalk — *all* have to be paid for out of our hard-hit foreign exchange reserves. Comrades, this year we mustn't waste a single paper-clip or envelope. Treat them as precious jewels, value our public property, for it is working with us and for us too. We must know exactly what our needs are. Suppose an office needs repairs or an extension, and 100 feet of board is estimated. Check it carefully. Measure your exact needs — and you may find that you could get by with fifty feet, and you could save half the cost.

'WORK HARDER, PRODUCE MORE, BUILD GRENADA!'

So Comrades, this is the beginning of the national discussions on the country's Budget and Plan for 1982. This is genuine People's Democracy at work. This is, as our Comrade Leader says, 'the mass participation of the people in all the major decisions that affect their lives, from budget to bananas, from planning to pest control'. We are carrying that process another step further.

And so, over the next four weeks, comrade delegates from the various mass organisations, you are expected to report back to your organisations on today's conference, the issues discussed, the problems raised, the solutions proposed. It is expected that along with your membership, you will study the information you have



Delegates at Budget Conference follow Cde. Coard's address.

received and you will have your own group discussions. We will also have over the next few weeks a series of Parish and Zonal Council meetings on the Budget and Plan for 1982.

After we have received all the proposals, suggestions and criticisms from all the Grenadian people, we will bring all these proposals together and utilise as many of them as possible in deciding on the final shape of the 1982 Budget and Plan. The Budget and Plan for 1982 will then be presented on the 9th March, 1982. It will be our third Budget during our third anniversary.

Comrades, for the remainder of today, we will take this opportunity first — to discuss the issues and problems which we have just presented. These discussions will take place in workshops, 25 workshops, which will be located in and around the conference site. In these workshops, we will be discussing the details of the 1982 Budget and Plan, and all the ideas, criticisms, suggestions and proposals which you the delegates of the mass organisations wish to make. You must select a recording secretary for each workshop so that your ideas will be recorded and submitted promptly for the Government's attention.

Comrades, we have said many times in this speech that you are the builders, the constructors. Our working people have been the makers of history, and they will be the makers of the future. We all know the kind of future we want in Grenada, a future that will build our country into a place where the beauty and strength of the way of life will equal the beauty and strength of our forests, our beaches and our hills. To build a vibrant and firm economy in our island will not be easy, it will take exceptional workers to do it. But you have already shown yourselves to be exceptional, comrades, and you have nearly three years of revolutionary work

behind you. We have now to go on leaping, from strength to strength, from victory to victory. This is why we are saying: *Work Harder! Produce More! Build Grenada!* and this is why we are making these words the slogan and watchwords of our 1982 Festival of the Revolution, and asking you to take them inside you and breathe them out again and again in every minute, every second of your work and organisation. **WORK HARDER, PRODUCE MORE, BUILD GRENADA!!!**

**LONG LIVE THE WORKERS OF FREE GRENADA!
LONG LIVE THE FARMERS, YOUTH, WOMEN AND
ALL PRODUCTIVE GRENADIANS!
LONG LIVE THE MASS ORGANISATIONS!
LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION!
WORK HARDER! PRODUCE MORE! BUILD GRENADA!
FORWARD EVER, BACKWARD NEVER!**



The people of St. Paul's voluntarily working on a Sunday morning to erect their own community centre.

2. TO THE PARISH AND ZONAL COUNCILS

The National Delegates' Conference had demonstrated the people's representatives coming to the capital. From the beginning of February onwards, the Budget was taken out to the people in their thousands, through the meetings of the mass organisations and the new structures of mass participation and direct democracy that had been set up the previous year. These structures, the Workers' Parish Councils and the Zonal Councils, became the next dimension of popular consultation and suggestion. Twenty-five such assemblies were held throughout the country during the following four weeks, each one led by a group of ministry technicians and economists.

Extracts from Comrade Coard's report were re-read, explained and clarified, with economic concepts and terminology carefully de-mystified. The Councils were divided into three groups: one composed of members of the National Women's Organisation, one for youth — led by members of the National Youth Organisation, and the third for the balance of trade unionists and other workers. Thus items of particular interest to these three sectors were given specific consideration by the respective group.

At the Zonal Council of South-East St. George's, for example, on Monday February 15th when 250 people attended, the workers' group was particularly concerned about tackling the abuse of government vehicles. As one worker pointed out, 'It time to put a brakes on this thing!' Another prominent issue was that of praedial larceny and thefts from gardens — not only by persons, but as one elderly woman angrily protested, by cows too, that were eating everything she planted. Two workers from the sugar factory located in the zone were particularly adamant that their industry should put its emphasis totally on the production of sugar itself, rather than rum. This point was followed by a road worker making a strong protest about leaving sand, hardcore or other road-mending materials by the side of the road to waste and spoil. Other participants raised the question of the building of re-cycling plants in Grenada to cut down wastage of paper, tin and glass — and in relation to the national agro-industrial thrust, a public worker suggested that callaloo would be a nutritious and practical product to put in cans. The group session ended with discussion of the question of why 1982 was called the Year of Economic Construction rather than the Year of Economic *Re*-construction. A sugar factory work-

er gave a clear answer which set all the groups' heads nodding in assent: 'It mean we have to construct from morning!'

When the four groups returned to the final plenary session (the Women's group had divided itself into two as there were so many participants), the assembly heard reports from all four groups. The first group of women recommended cheaper medicines through bulk buying abroad, and condemned the hoarding of goods in shops and warehouses, saying that a mechanism to control this must be devised. They were also emphatic that the unevenness of shop prices must also be closely monitored and 'brought under manners'. The second group of women recommended that even more families should receive house repair materials through the National House Repair Programme, that the local cigarette factory and its products be improved to encourage smokers to 'smoke local', that golden apples were another possibility for agro-industrial processing and breadfruit and green bananas should be used much more as a wheat substitute. Finally, they declared, all shops and business places must be compelled to use bills and proper accounts so that they could be correctly taxed. The fourth group, led by the N.Y.O., emphasised the need to resolutely fight unemployment by developing manufacturing enterprises, particularly of spare parts, and by insisting on a much more serious approach to Agricultural Science in schools. They also underlined the need for more Workers' Education classes, particularly on the private estates, and advised a cut in the allowance of the Governor General.

**SUMMARY REPORT
OF SPECIAL ZONAL COUNCIL MEETING
FEBRUARY 12, 1982
AT BIRCHGROVE R.C. SCHOOL: ZONE I**

The Meeting began at 7.20 p.m. with one hundred (100) Comrades present. There were four (4) Workshops where Comrades reported on different aspects coming out from the Workshop. The Meeting was chaired by Cde. Francis Gill, Chairman of the St. Andrew's Parish Co-ordinating Board. In the Workshops, Comrades who chaired gave a review regarding the performance of the economy during 1980/81. After analysing the entire structure during that period, Comrades gave feedback on the Budget and Plan for 1982. Comrades viewed the following:

- (1) Higher fines on ganja smoking.
- (2) That Government should cut down on the imports of *So/lo* drinks, etc., and use more local drinks.
- (3) Higher taxes on cigarettes and alcohol.
- (4) Waste lands should be used to produce more citrus and food.
- (5) Promote local Breadfruit Chips for hotels and restaurants and import less Irish potatoes.
- (6) Produce Irish potatoes here if economical.
- (7) Cut out on waste and corruption.
- (8) Make use of local herbs.
- (9) Use emulation to boost production.
- (10) Re-deployment of workers in productive areas.
- (11) Strict supervision should be given re: Government Vehicles.
- (12) Spot checks in all workplaces to check on workers' performance.
- (13) Greater supervision of road workers.
- (14) Business places to seek to give stamps.
- (15) Tighter control of Customs (airport, seaports).
- (16) Charges on drinking while driving.
- (17) Owners of vehicles parking in any odd spots should be charged a sum of \$40-\$50.
- (18) Establishment of a National Insurance Service to keep some foreign currency in the country.
- (19) Cut back on Governor General's expenses.
- (20) That the Government cutback on the amount of money that they are spending, so that more revenue would be able to come to the country.
- (21) Cut back on food for the prisoners/detainees, and magistracy, and place the money in Health.
- (22) Company Tax should be increased and that strict supervision and control should be maintained.
- (23) Under Project Description, comrades felt that Morne Longue Bridge, Birchgrove, should be included and repaving of the St. James Road.
- (24) There should be seminars for the road workers.
- (25) Pensions should be given to the people who are working on the road, and mechanical equipment should be used.

- (26) The Road Officers should be on spot with the road workers.
- (27) The Government should place tighter control re: Comrades going on Government Scholarship and not remaining to serve the country when they return.
- (28) Look at the question of the Churches paying taxes.
- (29) Bonding for Scholarship winners.

QUESTIONS ASKED

- (1) Would farmers be able to purchase when they want now? e.g. fertiliser.
- (2) Is the Marketing Board able to accept the produce farmers have?
- (3) Can anything be done for the rejection of the bananas?

All questions were answered by Comrade Chase.



N.Y.O. Leader Cde. Leon Cornwall, now Grenada's ambassador to Cuba, leading a workshop on the economy at Grand Roy Zonal Council.

SUMMARY REPORT OF SPECIAL ZONAL COUNCIL MEETING FEBRUARY 12, 1982 OF CONCORD, ST. JOHN'S.

The Meeting began at 7.10 p.m.

There were a total of 175 persons present, representing the broadest section of the communities of Marigot and Concord.

The Workshop lasted two (2) hours and the following points were noted from the discussions:

WORKSHOP (1)

- (1) More co-operatives get off the ground with firm assistance by NACDA, thus making use of the land and the human resources, assisting in the unemployment situation.
- (2) Growing more of the foods we eat and importing less foodstuffs — putting more lands under cultivation.
- (3) The dropping of the Governor General who 'we see' as a figurehead.
- (4) Invest more in Fisheries and the same time cut back on the importation of fish products in tins.
- (5) Cut back on the importation of beverages that are not nutritious, e.g. *Solo*, and increase the production of nectars, and produce others.
- (6) Training of people for key sectors of the economy, especially the farmers.
- (7) Government to spend more on the farmers, e.g. more and modern equipment for farming.
- (8) The Army to grow food on lands around the camp sites or elsewhere.
- (9) Cutting back on Ministry staffs and more firm supervision on those who remain.
- (10) Mass organisation personnel should not be paid — they should strictly do voluntary work.

WORKSHOP (2)

- (1) Greater involvement of the people in agriculture is necessary in 1982 to boost local production and cut back on imports of food.

- (2) Look into the possibility of setting up a poultry farm to produce more local chicken, to import less of that commodity and save some foreign exchange.
- (3) We must grow more for the local industry and cut back on imports of items that are not necessary.
- (4) Praedial larceny must be tackled in order to give farmers the incentive to produce.
- (5) Look into the possibility of using spoilt local foods for production of animal feed.
- (6) The Education System needs standardising: books change too frequently and, as such, burden the parents economically.
- (7) The frequent parties and fetes could be responsible for the high imports of products like cigarettes — these should be cut.
- (8) Foreign insurance companies should be checked as that is another source of drainage of our resources.
- (9) The craft industry should be stepped up to attract more tourists into the island.
- (10) Price of farming implements are too high and should be lowered.

WORKSHOP (3)

- (1) The insurance company, First Federation Life, is closed down and the Comrades wants to know if this is true and what would become of their money?
- (2) Since the Marketing Board does not make a profit, where does the money come from to pay the workers?
- (3) It is understood that Colombia has excessive cement, and suggested that if trade links are set up and adequate storage is prepared, Government could explore the possibility of importing cement from Colombia in bulk.
- (4) It is suggested that there should be firm measures to deal with corruption and inefficiency at the work place, especially on the roads.
- (5) Government should look into a canning industry to take in the goods that farmers produce and are not suitable to be sold in the regular market.
- (6) It is suggested that Government should give Farmers more technical assistance so that they can produce and avoid problems with the Marketing Board. It was also suggested that farmers should be encouraged to rear

animals, so that some of the goods unfit for marketing can be used up.

- (7) One comrade complained that the grading system in the Marketing Board is not fair and causes problems to the farmers.

WORKSHOP (4)

- (1) To ensure that the buses serve the community, e.g. Zonal Councils, for late workers.
- (2) That the MNIB can move to the importation of essential drugs, agricultural tools, etc., initially in bulk for sales to drug stores.
- (3) To lessen the food bill we should engage in livestock rearing/poultry, not only in Carriacou but also in Grenada.
Increase production of milk, eggs, meat, etc.
- (4) That postages should be increased — our stamp duty.
- (5) That the Government deal rigidly to ensure that nobody in the society withholds any taxes.
- (6) That task work be made a rule for workers and not (day's) work as being carried out now.
- (7) Charges for overspeeding and breaking state driving laws.
- (8) Government should not subsidise state farms, so if a farm makes very little revenue it means they might just have to cut down on workers.
- (9) Clock-in system for workers so that they will be punctual.



Cde. La Corbinere leads a workshop at Victoria Zonal Council 16/2/82.

**SUMMARY REPORT
OF
ST. PATRICK'S WORKERS COUNCIL MEETING, 18-02-82.**

WORKSHOP 1

SUGGESTIONS:

1. More community work should be done on week-ends on the roads of the country. Materials and technical manpower should be provided by PRG.
2. More local foods should be grown, e.g. peas, vegetables, etc. so as to cut down on importation of canned vegetables, etc., as too much of these are now being imported.
3. The production of coconuts should be increased. New plantations can be established, as well as 1-2 acres of idle lands on large estates can be used for that purpose.
4. The cutting down of fruit trees for the burning of coals, etc., should be stopped, as the agro-industrial plant is a ready market for many of our local fruits.
5. The preparation of a softer-textured saltfish should be looked at. More sales can be achieved if this is done.
6. The fish wastes from the fish processing plant should be utilised to make animal feed so as to uplift our livestock development.
7. There should be displays of products from the agro-industrial plant in every parish. The PRG should ask certain shops in each parish to have such displays within their premises.
8. The agro-industrial plant should undertake a serious promotion drive for the education of the masses through the parish councils, etc., as well as more advertising. This should aid local consumption on a large scale.
9. Products from agro-industrial plant should be placed in plastic bags, so as to lower cost to the consumer.
10. Look at suitable chemical to control millipede in an attempt to reduce mace losses.
11. More use should be made of compost so as to cut back on the use of artificial fertilisers, thereby saving foreign exchange.

12. Projects to be given priority in 1982:
 - a. Cocoa rehabilitation project
 - b. Fertiliser mixing plant
 - c. Farm machinery pool
 - d. Seedling centre

WORKSHOP 2

The facts that hinder production are:

1. Inadequate pest control
2. Adverse control
3. Praedial larceny
4. Shortage of labour

A suggestion was also made to look into the question of aerial spraying and its effects on other sections of the agricultural sector.

Ways to improve production:

1. Organise a combined depot in every parish to buy goods for MNIB and Agro-Industries.
2. Organise better road conditions.
3. Better control of diseases — e.g., the drop in the sugar cane and the sugar industry was due to diseases.
4. Place a heavier tax on carbonated drinks and educate the people as to the nutritious value of nectars.
5. Agro-Industries should look into the possibility of using cheaper containers, e.g. plastic bags.
6. Ban the trafficking of livestock: This causes high prices due to competition and heavier stealing.
7. The social wage is agreed to be very beneficial. Government should organise checkers to look out for slackers because taxpayers' money is wasting and Government vehicles are not properly cared for.
8. The buses and other Government vehicles should be efficiently cared for. Comrades who damage them should fix them.
9. Place heavier tax on alcohol, cigarettes and other luxury items.

WORKSHOP 3

1. Serious road drivers to manners slack road workers.
2. Water problem in Davi/Prospect area, therefore pipe-

borne water is needed. This will increase production and improve the living standard.

3. Suitable lands should be used to grow more sugar cane, so that we can consume our sugar and thus create more employment.
4. All workers to make a financial contribution towards the International Airport since this is the year of Economic Construction.
5. Produce more food — Eat more local.
6. Cut down on the importation on beverages, e.g. *Solo*, and the Government should ask the factories to produce more local beverages, and if they fail the Government should take control.
7. Find new markets for our products.
8. Increase taxes on foreign cigarettes.
9. Improve the nature of the local 'Phoenix' brand cigarettes.
10. Educating the masses on how to be more nutritive, economical (by eating and buying more local) through the mass organisations, and media: e.g., through TV, cinema, radio and newspaper.
11. Cut down on the wastage of paper so that we can save more (particularly Ministries and Government places).
12. Improve the method of the collection of taxes, especially for the self-employed persons, who most likely would get away with taxes.
13. Strengthen the mass organisations to raise the people's consciousness.
14. Firmer steps on Government transport, e.g., logging, Government garage.



Health Minister, Chris de Riggs, leads workshop on the Economy at a Zonal Council held in a Victoria School.

PARISH COUNCIL AT ST. DAVID'S R.C. SCHOOL
FEBRUARY 15, 1982

WORKSHOP 1

19 Present

1. Cut back imports of tobacco, alcohol, soft drinks, *Solo*, etc.
2. The nectars are too thick. They want a lighter drink, e.g. sorrel.
3. Opening up of a shoe factory because of the price and durability of shoes.
4. Too many brands of products. A commission must be set up to look at the import product to set a standard of better quality and lower prices.
5. Increase in production by more co-operatives and back-yard gardening.
6. Marketing board to release products at different periods, because they have a ready market.
7. Establishing livestock farms.
8. Repair of the Old Westerhall road because it opens to a lot of agricultural lands and cane, instead of the Westerhall/Red Gate Road.

WORKSHOP 2: NATIONAL YOUTH ORGANISATION

30 Present

1. Because sugar is very important it was felt that roads should be opened up so that oil fields could once again be put under sugar cane production.
2. There should be more co-operative development to produce sugar.
3. Some more emphasis should be placed on producing sugar, by getting more equipment to produce more sugar than rum.
4. The funds lying idle in banks should be touched in some way so that they could be used for national development.
5. We should seek to get other markets to sell our crops, so that we can get better prices for our products.
6. More emphasis should be placed on non-traditional items

to back up our traditional items of cocoa, nutmeg and bananas on the markets.

7. Heavier tax should be placed on luxurious items like cigarettes, rum, etc.
8. There should be a cut in the importation of *Solo* and other drinks and more advertisement of our nectars which are much more tasty.
9. Milk, which is important, should be imported from the cheapest source, saving foreign exchange and the price should be controlled. It was felt that it should be imported by the Marketing Board.
10. People working in the ministries and using Government transport should be given travelling allowance, providing they use their own transport.
11. There should be guards to protect Government property.
12. To avoid wastage, e.g. when crops are not sold to the usual markets, they should be sold to the masses at a cheap rate.
13. They should be monitoring of agricultural officers.

WORKSHOP 3 : FARMERS

11 Present

1. What was responsible for decrease in manufacture, wholesale and retail hotel and restaurant?
2. In order to determine if there is a growth or decline, where do they get the first figure?
3. How did consumption manage to fall in 1981?

Suggestions

- a. Build cement factory
 - b. Instead of subsidising saltfish, subsidise water rates, since cost of saltfish is so high and the ordinary man can't buy it.
 - c. Strict supervision and control on the use of Government transport, because it is affecting the farmer in terms of tax.
 - d. Subsidies to farmers.
 - e. Farmers are paying too much in taxes. (Export duties)
4. Do we make money on the sale of stamps?
 5. Is the revenue of the Central Water Commission included in the revenue of the Central Government?

Suggestions

Cut down on wastage of funds by:

- a. Valuation procedure of new Government charge tax — people must be educated along these lines.
 - b. Recommendation — visits to be done by people from the evaluation department.
 - c. Hotels must be encouraged by Government to provide more local dishes. Whiskey and cigarettes must be taxed higher.
6. For what purpose did the Governor General make the request for such a sum in the budget?

Suggestions

- a. Fire the present Governor General and employ a Governor General that would take less money.
- b. Increase inheritance tax (in excess of a certain sum).



A comrade makes a point: St. George's Zonal Council.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND PROPOSALS MADE BY
THE MASS ORGANISATIONS AND THE PEOPLE AT
THE SOUTH-EAST ST. GEORGE'S ZONAL COUNCIL,
ST. PAUL'S MODEL SCHOOL
FEBRUARY 15, 1982

1. Increase taxation on alcohol and tobacco, so as to cut down on consumption of these items.
2. Ban items like *Milo* and *Ovaltine* and encourage the use of local cocoa products.
3. Educational programmes encouraging the use of, and showing people how to use local food in various ways.
4. Cut down on the vast number of different brands of toilet and other items entering the country: e.g. tooth-paste, soap powder, hair creams, etc.
5. Cut down on the importation of various liquors, wines, etc., and encourage local production of these items.
6. Cut back on the importation of canned peas, corn, mixed vegetables, etc. and stimulate local production.
7. Local production of livestock, poultry, milk and dairy products so as to gradually cut back on the importation of these items.
8. Agro-Industrial production of juices, e.g. orange, grape-fruit, pineapple, seville orange, etc., so as to gradually ban the importation of *Juice Bowl*, *Solo*, *Cold-Cold*, etc.
9. Additional items which should be handled by the MNIB — chicken, milk, cheese, butter.
10. Need to ensure that a number of stores which do not give bills and stamped bills begin to do so: ie. public must begin to demand stamped bills.
11. Governor General not making any contribution.
12. The Grenada Technical and Vocational Institute or NACDA should seriously look into skills training in shoe-making and shoe repair so as to bring down the present high prices of shoes.
13. Serious implementation of fines for overspeeding by busdrivers and other drivers so as to obtain revenue.
14. Need for the mass organisations to increase their involvement in community work.
15. Pushing the development of backyard gardens so as to cut consumption expenditure.
16. Anti-consumerism education drive through the mass media.
17. Articles in the mass media on the performance of the economy so that the masses can understand exactly what is happening in the economy.
18. Greater advertisement on our local agro-industry products, so as to encourage their use.
19. Standardisation of state vehicles for ease of maintenance and buying of spare parts.
20. Ordering of materials for the various Ministries to be made directly from the manufacturers, so as to cut down on expenditure.
21. Centralisation of the control of stationery in the various ministries — a senior civil servant should be made responsible for all stationery in each ministry.
22. Before a job is begun by workmen, ensure that all the material needed is available, so as to cut down on time wasted looking for these materials while the workmen are being paid for doing nothing. Furthermore, the proper skills and expertise should be present to ensure that proper use is made of the materials.
23. Wastage of electricity in ministries should be cut.
24. Cut back on size of ministries where they are overstaffed.
25. A better system of paying daily-paid workers, etc. so as to cut down on the number of man-hours wasted by individuals spending half their time at the Treasury.
26. A tax system to be established for independent skilled workmen.
27. Seek to find productive employment for the idle hands or those retrenched.
28. Greater monitoring by the mass organisations; and tighten supervision and control on all Government vehicles so as to cut back on wasting of fuel, etc.
29. Members of mass organisations working in the various ministries must make it their duty to ensure that corruption, inefficiency, wastage of material in Government departments are cut out.
30. Local production of animal feed, fertiliser, etc. should be looked into and implemented where feasible.



31. Increasing the production of sugar cane on idle lands where possible so as to produce more local sugar.
32. Greater extension work from agriculture and farmer education programmes so as to increase production and productivity.
33. Introduction of the Praedial Larceny Law.
34. Establishment of emulation, production committees through the Trade Unions in various work places.
35. Increase the production of minor spices to cut out the importation of these products.
36. Possibility of the Governor General assisting the Community School Day Programme, since he was formerly a teacher.
37. Mr. Simpson in Public Health uses Government vehicle as his own personal transport and this should be investigated.
38. Stamping out of travelling officers using Government vehicles but still collecting travelling.
39. More money should be spent on Radio Free Grenada and Television Free Grenada so as to step up revolutionary propaganda and to educate people regionally about the revolution.
40. Increase company and business taxes where possible.



Zonal council meeting – workshop at the Model School – St. Paul's, 15th Feb. 1982.

Summary

Attendance at the South-East Zonal Council was approximately 200, and the vast majority of the people thought that the workshop session was too short.

Also people suggested that whenever such an exercise is to be carried out, that such information be disseminated to the various mass organisations before broad zonal council discussions.

Ian A. Lambert,
Zone Chairman



Fish being dried at the Fish processing plant: Trueblue.

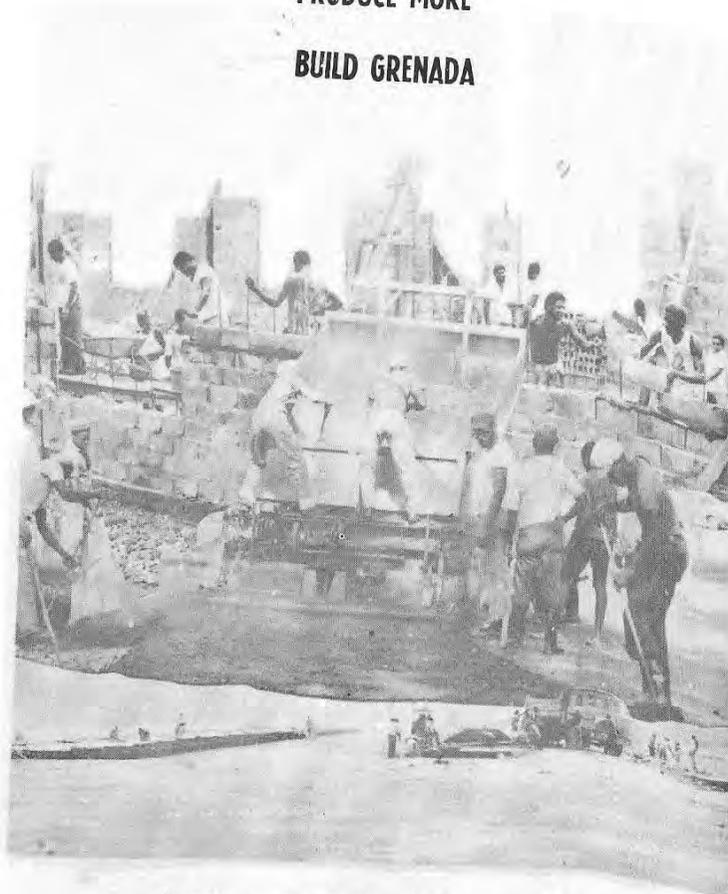
3. THE TECHNICIANS AND THE PEOPLE: Interviews

1982: YEAR OF ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

WORK HARDER

PRODUCE MORE

BUILD GRENADA



Report on the National Economy for
1981 and the Prospects for 1982

A Wide-open Way



AGATHA FRANCIS was born in 1918 at Lower La Tante, St. David's. She was an agricultural labourer for fifty years and still has her own garden, where she grows tannia, dasheen and banana. She is a mother of eighteen children.

Sister Francis still lives in Lower La Tante and is an active member of the National Women's Organisation and the local Party Support Group.

'Before this Budget happen we never know a government in Grenada that call the masses to hear anything about Budget. Gairy just call the people he know, the aristocrats and opportunists that stand with him — these were his people. He never call the masses

to the Budget. The next thing we just hearing numbers on the radio and no-one understand what happening. You just hear the people say, 'They reading Budget today!' We had no part and we wasn't educated in what was happening in the Economy. It was like a mystery. You hearing about money but you not seeing any work to talk about, money was just going down the drain.

The Dome Conference was a major part of education for the masses involved. Everything was explain to we, and then we go back and spread the good news in a broad way. Like I go back to La Tante and tell the people there what happen and how they must get involved more in mass organisations. What Comrade Coard did was let the masses know what going on, what taking place, how their money spend and what projects coming out. So there is nothing hidden and the people couldn't say, 'I don't know, I didn't hear'. Nobody could say that now, like it happen with Gairy.

In the workshop we suggested how we could solve unemployment and what is to be done and how it is to be done to make economic construction. We call for more co-operatives on the idle lands to break down unemployment, and all we women decide to make back garden and get as much women involved in back garden as we could. And that is the main point we achieving now.

From the thirties to 1979 I never enjoy anything as a working woman as I have from 1979 to 1982! In those old days was real slavery for we, we wasn't free. Women was working for twenty cents a day back then and you would have to cutlass a big square of field just to get that! If you get sick they don't look at you. We fought a revolution in 1951 and then Gairy sell we over. He sell we over to the big bourgeois, even though we struggle hard. I remember when shell was blowing and men with cocoa knife and women with cutlass and basket all going to the estate in Marlmount to pick cocoa for weself. We didn't frighten even though the estate owner call for a bus of police, and they shoot at we and later they kill three of we. But Gairy forget we and things get worse. His union never help we, they just taking all we money and we not getting anything back. All that go on until the vanguard come out, the New Jewel Movement, and they make the Revolution in March 1979. All that lead to the situation we have here in Grenada where we could have something like the Budget we have this year. It only come because we struggle all we life and we keep holding on.

You see there is a lot of uneducated people in Grenada still, but if you educate them with what you know and have confidence in them they change. Is the *confidence* you have in the people that

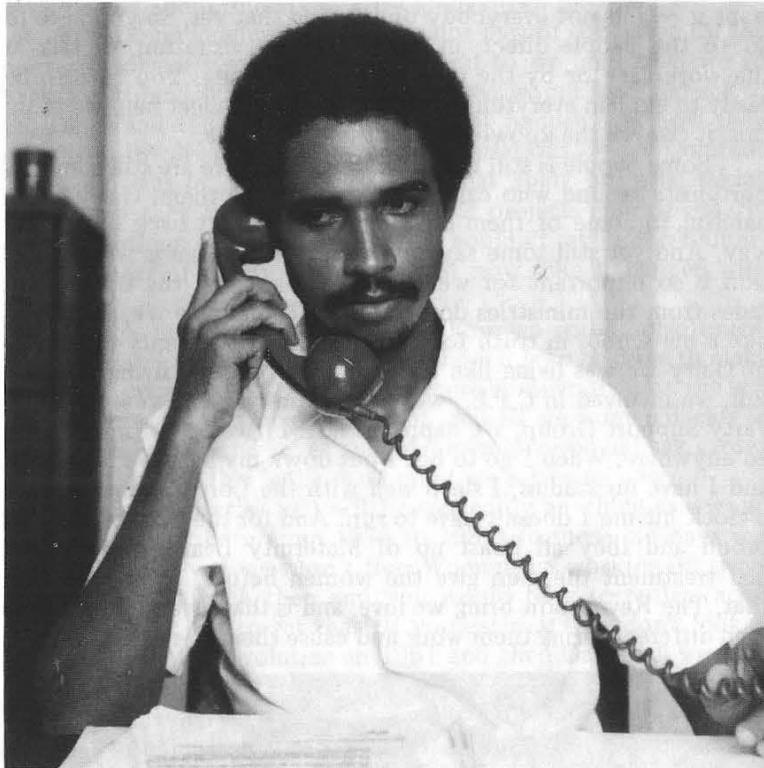
cause them to stand with you. The government explain it all raw to the people, whether it is good or bad they telling you the truth, they not deceiving you. They treating the masses in a wide-open way, they not pretending or hiding. We couldn't get everything now, we know that, we couldn't get it all at once as we would want it — and not everybody understand that yet. So you have to go to the people direct, in house-to-house visitation, or talk at the workplace or by the road when they liming. You have to be ready to explain everything to them, and the Budget help we to do this, it give we the knowledge and the confidence.

Some people is still not conscious, and there are still some opportunists around who can bramble and bribe them. Gairy give a handful to some of them but he take it straight back in another way. And yet still some say, 'Uncle love me!' This is why education is so important for we. Brother Coard and the other comrades from the ministries do everything to educate we, and it was like a big school in truth for all of we here. For twenty-nine years of Gairy we was living like we was dead. Now we living free and full, we involved in C.P.E., we involved in N.W.O., we involved in Party Support Group. We happy at last! I have rest of mind, I can go anywhere. When I go to bed I put down my head on the pillow and I have no studies, I sleep well with the Lord! Then when six o'clock hit me I doesn't have to run! And for the women, they all proud and they all boast up of Maternity Leave. The kind of bad treatment the men give the women before, they done with that. The Revolution bring we love, and is that love that teach the men different, bring them work and cause them to respect we.'



N.W.O. workshop in preparation for its 1982 Congress in December. This was at a women's Parish Council at Butler House in St. George's.

Educating the Masses and Educating Ourselves



ANGUS SMITH was born in St. George's in 1956. After becoming the Island Scholar in 1975, he left for England where he studied for three years at the London School of Accountancy.

He returned to Grenada in October 1979, and was appointed Accountant General in the Ministry of Finance, at the age of 23.

'Like many others, I was surprised at the level of consciousness of the people throughout the Budget process, at their knowledge of general affairs and their eagerness for involvement — which have all been growing more and more alive since the Re-

volution. But there were also the numerous practical and useful ideas that were constantly coming out, things that the technicians like ourselves would never have thought about, things which gave us a much wider perspective of the issues and ideas in the minds of the people around the country.

I was involved in giving explanations and answering questions, and generally giving technical inputs in the parish and zonal councils at Sauteurs, Birchgrove, Paradise and Grenville. The sessions were all broken down into small workshops. This was an excellent idea because then anyone who spoke was not intimidated by the idea of speaking in front of a vast gathering, and the people talked just as if they were speaking normally to each other. They were certainly willing to talk more in a smaller group, and that situation made it much easier for us to deal with any problems or points of clarification. It created an informality, even an intimacy between ourselves and the people.

Then the book we produced was also useful. It provided something in writing which the people could refer to. We had to rush it out slightly on the night before the Dome conference, and there were some mistakes in some of the figures. But what we found was that the people themselves not only questioned the data, but they pointed towards some mistakes we had made, and we had to admit error and criticise ourselves, as well as correct some of the figures. So the people were clearly alert, and that was also a message to us to take greater time and pains with producing the data next year.

When we explain points to the people the language we used was very simple. We used examples from the people's daily lives to express economic ideas, like the planting and reaping of corn. If we were meeting in a banana area like Birchgrove we would refer specifically to bananas, but if we're in the southern sugar belt, we'd refer to sugar production. We tried to explain Gross Domestic Product, for example, by saying that when a farmer adds up the value of everything that he produces, that would be his personal Gross Domestic Product. Then we would extend that idea to the whole country.

In my first council meeting I did feel a little hesitant, I must admit. But as the second and then the third came along I was much better able to deal with the points that the people raised. Perhaps because of my age, being so young, I was able to relate to them and them to me. Certainly, despite my position, they didn't see me as a senior bureaucrat who couldn't be approached. I was more concerned at how the people would relate to the non-Grenadian technicians, particularly at the problems of communi-

cation that might arise. But I had no reason to fear, because the people treated them like Caribbean brothers and sisters and accepted them just as any Grenadians, which again showed a very high level of consciousness among them.

The experience brought home to us the need for our technicians to have a much wider view of things, to look at the country from the widest possible angle, and not just from behind a desk. Everybody in our society has a viewpoint and we must pool all these together. For us it was genuinely exciting to be able to translate these budget figures that pass across our desks everyday into the living reality of the people's lives, and in doing so learn more and more about how our people live.

The exercise created enormous good will all over the country, among the people, the technicians and the comrades of the mass organisations — and also *between* members of these sections. We met a huge number of people for the first time, and now I find that hundreds more people recognise me, know who I am and what I do and come up to me in the street or come in to me here to air their problems. The people are not bottling up their problems now, like they did in the old days. They know they can get a hearing and they have the confidence to come forward and speak. The process certainly loosened up the people nationally to talk and express their ideas, and they actually saw their ideas reflected in what Comrade Coard read out on Budget Day. So they knew that the government was listening hard to them.

Nothing like this had ever happened in previous years. We had seen some of the unions involved in the 1981 Budget process, but the 1982 Budget was really something else and a real example to the other islands in the region. The people really felt and *knew* they were a part of what was decided. We have made a unique and very important step here in Grenada, there is no doubt about that, and one which the other islands would do well to closely observe and study. For ultimately, the most important part of the process is its *usefulness* to the country. It was not democracy for democracy's sake or democracy like an ornament. We were educating the masses *and* educating ourselves, with the people educating us too. And as for all the terms of Economics we were dealing with, after a few years when the people will be hearing, using and practising these terms regularly, they will eventually become a part of the normal words and ideas they use and understand everyday of their lives.'

Masters of a New Knowledge



ADRIAN ST. JOHN is aged 21 and a Youth Worker. He is from Sauteurs in St. Patrick's Parish and a member of the National Youth Organisation.

'The Conference of Delegates of the Mass Organisations on the Economy was an extremely important event for the youth of our country. For the first time in our history and in the history of the Eastern Caribbean the mass of the people were mobilised to discuss and give ideas and suggestions on their *own* Budget. They had a chance to go and give their views, and by the end of the Budget process every single Grenadian, both organised *and* unorganised had been given the opportunity to be involved.

I myself was a workshop leader at the conference and at our local parish council, and I was also involved in the mobilisation of the youths for the various stages of the process. But first of all we had to mobilise and prepare *ourselves*, and we had a series of orientation workshops to make sure that we knew how to undertake our tasks.

It was crucial for us to involve the youth in these activities around the Budget. They are the future leaders of the country, and they have a central responsibility in building the Revolution. They are the most energetic section of the population, they have the widest variety of ideas, they read a lot and many of them have a grasp of modern and scientific learning. And the Budget affects them directly in terms of employment, education and recreation — and in all the other vital aspects of the development of the country.

The response of the youth throughout the country to the democratic call of the Budget process was generally good. In the National Conference and the parish and zonal councils, the youth were clearly in the majority. They were able to make important contributions, particularly on how to economise and cut down upon wastage. This was a significant point, because often young people have a tendency to take things for granted and think that they are always there — so it was good to see our youth so economy-conscious. Then there was the question of unemployment. We have over six thousand young people unemployed, and many of them are our sisters. But they don't just want work, they want *productive* work, and we found that many of our young people were not afraid to expose disguised unemployment, for they are clear that whatever work has to be created *has* to be useful and productive. Then also the youth were particularly strong on the point of restricting the imports of products like *Solo* and canned sardines or any products we could make and process ourselves.

But most importantly, the Budget process was a form of education. People had a chance to really see in practice what the Budget was, and what all those words we were hearing actually *meant*. I found that the idea the youth were interested in most was the Social Wage. They'd never looked at earnings or money in that way before. In a way, the young people, alongside all the masses who took part, were becoming masters of a new kind of knowledge they hadn't ever learned before. I heard them using terms like 'recurrent' and 'capital expenditure' and they still use them up to now!

This grasp of basic economics is helping the youth to understand the need for *planning* and its importance not only in the life

of the country, but in their personal lives too. We have also realised that since the Budget process the youth is more equipped in knowledge, confidence and positive attitudes to begin to tackle and resolve the *unemployment* problem. This is our main task now, and will be over the coming months, and the activities around the Budget have helped them towards finding democratic solutions to unemployment, through direct production. This is our great challenge now, as organised youth.

We also found that the young sisters were particularly forward and vibrant in their participation, moreso, in fact than the brothers. More of them turned out, and they were very interested, in particular, in the 'go local' emphasis in food and production, particularly in backyard gardening.

Our Budget formulation this year was very important for the whole region. The people on the other islands saw that this was only possible because of the victory of March 13th, and other Caribbean people have already begun to feel cheated, that they don't have the same rights as the people of Free Grenada in organising and framing their own economy. For this process was one of the most outstanding examples of *mass* democratic activity that has ever happened in the Caribbean. I already see it as making history in our country and in the region, the beginning of a historic process which goes directly into the future for all our people.'



The Dynamo of Democracy



BERNARD LA CORBINIERE was born in 1955 in Castries, St. Lucia. He received a bachelor's degree in Economics at the University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, Barbados in 1977, and was halfway through his master's course when he came to work for the Grenada Revolution in 1979.

He is Budget Officer in the Ministry of Finance, and was emulated on March 13th, 1982 as one of the three Internationalist Workers of the Year for his tireless work in spearheading the organisation of the 1982 Budget-plan process.

"The process of building and consolidating the new democracy in Grenada is really a new approach both for Grenada itself and for the English-speaking Caribbean. It is a new approach first

of all if by democracy we mean setting up the structures which allow the people of the country — the women, the youth, the farmers, roadworkers, technicians, bureaucrats and so on — to articulate their problems, to suggest solutions to those problems, to have dialogue with officials who are responsible for different areas of work — for example, for providing the people with water for construction, for health facilities, for health programmes, for educational facilities — to have dialogue with these officials to take them to task for not performing or to commend them for performing, to discuss the problems with them and to find solutions with them. If democracy is the process of building those structures so that the masses of the people can participate in decision-making, can be integrally involved in scrutinising the economy, in analysing, examining information which is supplied on the economy, in suggesting solutions and so on; if democracy is a genuine system for the expression of views not just by a few but by everyone, particularly those who in the past were not able to express those views because of the political system or because of the structure of society before; if all of those points referred to are part and parcel of the whole concept of democracy, then it is clear that Grenada is building a genuine people's democracy. The process, of course, is a dynamic one, but even at this early period of the Revolution it is evident that a genuine democracy is being built in Grenada.

The Budget-plan process which was started for the first time in 1982, really began at the end of 1981 but for the first time in 1982 it truly materialised. Of course, it involved a series of workshop sessions, of seminars with the people in parish and zonal councils right around the country. It involved preparation work by the Ministries of Planning, Finance and all other ministries. In fact it involved work by technicians who went out into the field presenting the Budget and Plan for 1982 to the people, and then holding discussions on its actual composition.

First of all, the requests from all the different ministries and departments of Government were submitted and received by the Ministries of Finance and Planning. They were then consolidated, classified and summarised by Finance and Planning, sent to the Minister of Finance and Planning and then to Cabinet for a preliminary view of all the requests and of the total revenue picture. Then this data went to the people in all the parish and zonal councils, and at those meetings the main points about the Budget and the Plan were highlighted. The positive and negative points were all raised, all the problems involved — not just in the preparation but in the Budget itself — what kind of budget it was, whether it was tight or not and what was the financing gap that

was perceived up to that point in time. So the process of going to the people was a very important stage in the preparation of the Budget-plan for 1982.

Recommendations came from the people about the solutions to many of the problems raised in the presentation of the Budget-plan. What is highly significant is that suggestions came also about finding longer-term solutions by reorganising the economy and by producing more, by reducing imports of certain commodities that we can produce ourselves. A lot of these suggestions came from the people right around the country and they were put together by the technicians and support staff and sent to Cabinet.

Therefore the final Budget-plan which was decided upon by Cabinet can in a very real sense be said to be a people's budget and plan. Because it was discussed by the people, their input was tremendous, suggestions were incorporated, adjustments were made based upon suggestions which came out and recommendations coming from the people and based upon their own perceptions of how the problems should be solved — not all of their problems, but those which were capable of being solved in a Budget-plan.

So all of these seminars and workshops were held and the Budget was finally presented in March. Now if I were to outline the achievements of this unprecedented process which is really part of the overall process of democracy taking place in Grenada, I would say first of all that it provided the people for the first time with a chance to participate in airing their problems and making suggestions about solving particular budgetary problems. It was a forum for airing all of those views by the people.

Secondly, it had the effect of increasing the consciousness of the entire population about the Economy and its importance, and how it hangs together.

Thirdly, it also had the effect of increasing the consciousness of the technicians. I believe very firmly that a great majority of those of them who were involved in the process of bringing the Budget-plan to the people were not the same people as they were before the process began. They were definitely *changed* people. For the first time they established in a concrete way a genuine rapport with the people, therefore deriving a much closer and more meaningful understanding of their day-to-day problems. You see, it's one thing to sit in an office and deal with paper, figures, memos and so on, but it's quite another to be put out there and be told directly what the problems are and to have a much greater feel for the real problems of the people, and then having the opportunity to visit the people in their workplace, in

their homes and thus get a much closer feel for the economic problems they suffer. Of course, all could not be solved and cannot be solved in one year, nor can all be solved through the Budget process, but in general the effect was to raise the consciousness of technicians and their understanding in practical terms of the problems of the people.

Fourthly, the impact of this process has been felt in the wider Caribbean. Indeed, many areas outside of the Caribbean are aware that the process has taken place, and many ordinary workers of the region as well as government officials are also conscious of the genuine nature of the democratic process here in Grenada.

The question arises, where to from here? The truth is that the process of democracy and democratisation of society is a dynamic one and we have learned many lessons, many mistakes have been made — both in timing and of an organisational nature. There were some personnel problems too, but we have to learn from these mistakes and the plan is to step up this process and make it a regular feature of the social and economic life of the people. Its form may change, its contents may change, but in essence the whole approach has been started now in Grenada and the English-speaking Caribbean.

What this really means in the long term is that whatever the difficulties now, whatever problems that we are experiencing now, then ultimately in the long run — and I'm certainly talking about much sooner than next century — the people would have built and created structures which would be able to respond to their problems. These would also be structures which would guarantee the free expression of the ordinary people in the running of their affairs, and jobs that are obtained and also held onto on the basis of merit and hard work and performance. It also means that the people would have participated in solving the problems of unemployment, of guaranteeing jobs and incomes and a high standard of living for everyone. This may sound idealistic, but poverty, underdevelopment and unemployment are conditions which can be solved. They have not been solved so far in the Western World, but they can be solved, and this process of creating a new democracy is part and parcel of the approach to genuinely solving these problems.'

Side by side with the people



STEPHEN KINGSTON is aged 23 and comes from Pomme Rose, St. David's. He is a sergeant in the People's Revolutionary Army, and is responsible for youth work in the armed forces.

He has been a member of the P.R.A. since March 13th, 1979.

'I was a delegate for the People's Revolutionary Army at the National Conference on the Economy, and a workshop leader at our local zonal council in St. David's.

At the conference the overall participation of the people was real good, with a lot of important contributions. The soldier delegates too came up with a lot of suggestions and concrete proposals as to how the Economy could be developed to really meet the

needs of the working people. We questioned ourselves hard on how we could cut down waste in the armed forces. For example, in our use of military vehicles and gasoline — and also the reckless driving which some young soldiers had been guilty of, resulting in a number of accidents and mashed-up vehicles. We became far more conscious of the cost of all this to the country and the people, and we were very self-critical. We also criticised ourselves for not being productive enough, and we came up with proposals to start up farms and really set about feeding ourselves seriously.

Since the Budget process we have made sure that our accident rate has gone right down, and a log-book system has been implemented to keep a tight rein on the gasoline. If a driver takes unnecessary or longer routes than he should, he is now disciplined. Then in terms of the productive side we have developed plots next to our camps to grow corn, peas and cabbages, and we now have our own farm at Hopevale, near Calivigny, with sheep, goats, pigs, cows and fowl. Then at Camp Fedon we have as many as sixty beautiful pigs, and our target for the end of the year is two hundred. So the suggestions that were raised at the National Conference were taken very seriously by the P.R.A., and we now have a system where *all* the soldiers go on a once-weekly basis to work at the Hopevale farm.

Quite a number of our soldiers became leaders of parish workshops, and this helped very much to increase their confidence and ability to mix directly with the people. At St. David's Zonal Council I led the workshop with the local farmers. They didn't see it as strange that a soldier should be leading their discussion, as I know most of them and we often help local farmers in community activities and road repairs. Their main concern was with prices — not only the low prices they were getting for their nutmeg, banana and cocoa, but the high prices they were paying for their implements and fertilisers. They were also interested in finding markets for non-traditional crops like egg-plant, tomatoes and cabbages. Since March, they have certainly seen the price of fertilisers drop, so they know the government was listening to them.

In the Gairy days you would never find soldiers in activities like this, so close with people. He would never have brought the Budget to the people anyway, and his soldiers were only good for robbing and brutalising the masses and squandering their money, never working alongside them. We are trained to work with and consult the people all the time. Our army is *of the people* and our first duty is *to the people*. This is our sacred duty. So it is a natural process for us to be involved in the Budget consultation, side by side with the people.

We had our own meetings too in the armed forces, and we discussed the issues of the Budget and the Economy ourselves. Each unit had its own council and we all agreed on the need to cut our food bill and eat local. What Grenada produces, we must eat! We should stop importing tinned foods when we could get the fresh thing here. It would make us more healthy too to fight Imperialism!

Since the Budget process we have definitely seen a real change in our soldiers' consciousness and attitudes. They have begun to really understand what the Economy is all about and how we must both cut back *and* produce. They now understand that they have to be actively involved in building the Economy. Every now and again you would hear a comrade say, if we were doing some wastage or cooking too much food, 'You all want us to be parasites for the rest of we days?' Or you would see posters made by the soldiers saying that we must not forever live like parasites on the backs of the working people! The comrades are definitely much more economy-conscious now.

The Budget process also helped us to improve the cultural and educational level of the armed forces, and there is no doubts about that! This aspect is key for our development, and you would see its results in more of our posters in our camps, like: 'The political, cultural and combative preparation is vital for defence!' Grenada has had enough of ignorant, brutal soldiers like Gairy's Green Beasts. We are a new type of soldier and our army is an army that *respects* as well as defends the people. One of our criteria is fraternal co-operation — how well you co-operate with your comrades and how well you relate to the people.

But looked at overall, the whole Budget process clearly lifted the morale of the people. It has encouraged them to *really* work harder, produce more and build a people's Grenada. It did bring home the fact too that in Grenada we *do* have true democracy, and that our people are definitely running the country. They are the true managers of the Economy.

It also had regional and wider international effects. It was certainly a booster to the other Caribbean countries to struggle harder to have a people's government and build socialism in their own islands.

For me personally, it has made me a lot more conscious — even in terms of taking greater care of my uniform and boots, because they come from the people's money too! It has caused me to work harder in my community work and to struggle harder with the youth, so that we could be much more effective in building the new society.'

Coming into the light



WICKHAM MORAIN was born in 1926 in Bellevue, St. David's. He was an agricultural worker for over forty years. At present he works on the Petit Etang Estate. He is an active member of the Agricultural and General Workers' Union.

'Really Budget is how you live. You has a responsibility to work and save what you could and care for your wife and family with the money you earning. But now in Grenada Budget also mean you getting together in your different parishes and at a conference, so that the whole country knows about the country's money and how it going to be spent. Now it is not just someone making announcement about this and that money. Everybody tak-

ing part, even me! We all feel we have a piece in making the Budget. I spend a lot of time talking to people at the workplace and mobilising them so they could work harder and get a bigger slice of the cake.

I was a delegate at the Dome with plenty other agricultural workers. We had workshops there and I find it was a very good procedure, not like the old government doing it own thing and not consulting the people. We discussed about what could be done for the betterment of the people. We talk about problems with roads, with water, with housing. We people here in St. David's concerned about water. We need a more regular supply and more dams is needed. We also bring up ideas for more feeder roads to carry we bananas. Generally the people had very good points. They talk about men driving government truck all about at they own convenience, and many people support that the government must act on this. Or them Treasury officials who don't care for the people and just please themself; we decide they must respect the people and be more steady at their job, and government should intercede here too.

The old government was lacking and ignorant of consulting the people. So this kind of thing with the Budget never happen then. Gairy would have segregation and just invite the people he want to any meeting he have. But now everybody included and everybody have a say, and is what the people say goes!

For the agricultural workers, it opened the knowledge for we. Plenty people used to say that the smaller agricultural people didn't know anything. But according to how we speaking after the session at the Dome, they were saying they got plenty knowledge from it and no other government give them that. They who have intelligence to know, now they know! What Comrade Coard say in his speech was explain over and over and discussed at the workshops, and then Comrade Bain, the President of we union, had meetings for we in St. David's R.C. School, and we carry on giving we view on what we would like to see happen.

Right now the country need a lot of things in agriculture, but we need better roads and water supply more than anything. We need to grow more and more and put we best foot in front. Here we grows a lot of orange and grapefruit and we could have a citrus factory to produce juice, because we still importing it now. Pineapples too, we could grow them here and make the juice from them. And different vegetables — right here in Grenada we could grow all these things and all this will bring more jobs to the people, and we wouldn't have to import so much a thing. The agricultural workers always need more encouragement to express

these ideas and do new things, and the Budget helped we to start encouraging weself to do more. By getting the people together, all these suggestions could be made and heard. It give the people the confidence to talk, and all over people coming out with these ideas now. Like the suggestions of the boning and fileting of flying fish that was suggested at the conference. I seeing it happen already now in truth.

Next year, God's willing, we going to see this happen again and I hoping it going to reach further to find the people who wasn't at the conference and the councils this year. More people find the knowledge and come into the light through this Budget and more would want to come next year, so the thing going to grow bigger and bigger every year. Because the people seeing and are more impressed that the government keeping its word. When they say they giving you this bucket, it coming on foot already! So the people could have confidence because they know the Budget is not just talk — things happening too! I see they building Eastern Main Road, new school at Corinth, agricultural school at La Sagesse, free milk — I does get that too — and House Repair! These is *real* things.

In the early days when I went to work in agriculture at the La Sagesse Estate, sometimes I seeing my old school mates passing in their car, with good job, nice clothes and thing. When I see them so I does feel shame in them days, sometimes I feel to hide. But nowadays the agricultural worker doesn't bow he head, he proud! Then it was like agriculture wasn't there at all and we was seen as nobody. Now they saying that without agricultural worker you all can't live! That we is the builders of this country. And we seeing thousands of new youth going into agriculture. In Grenada now with the Revolution we have more respect and encouragement. They asking for we ideas and suggestions, and they emulating the best workers. So all this is encouraging we to put in more, to take things more serious and work so we can really improve and build up the country.'

Living the Budget



EDDIE NEWMAN was born in Manchester, Jamaica in 1957. He gained a B.Sc. in Economics at the Mona campus of the University of the West Indies in 1979, and an M.A. in Economics at York University, Toronto, in 1981. He now works as an economist in the Ministry of Planning, St. George's.

“Through this Budget process, the invisible barrier between the masses and the technical elite has been broken down, and the masses have begun to see the technicians as ordinary people like themselves. Also the technicians felt that we were at last working *with* the people. The people were giving their ideas and making serious suggestions to be used in the Budget-plan process, and they *were* used! The fallacy that the people have got to accept what is handed down to them has been discarded for the first time in the English-speaking Caribbean. Each and every individual became a budget officer and planner in their own way.

Certainly the technicians learned from the people, because the people are facing the realities of everyday life and *living* the *budget* even more than the technicians. The people are involved in constructing the Economy and they spill the sweat that builds the country. They have been the builders ever since! But only now have they been integrated into the formal planning and budgeting process of the Economy.

When the people of other Caribbean societies read and understand the realities here, they will begin to understand the reality of democracy and wonder why something similar hasn't been instituted in their own countries. They will also question their own present economic systems, and begin also to question their government's definition of 'democracy'. Is it just to accept what is handed down as 'our budget' when you had no form of input into it?

The process is a part of the economic revolution in Grenada, which was preceded by the political revolution of March 13th, 1979. They come together as a part of the dialectic of change and you could not have one without the other. For the economic changes are also a part of the political revolution itself, getting all the people involved in the decision-making process of the Economy. The other Caribbean countries will have to learn from their own experiences and compare them to what is happening here in Grenada, rather than what they *hear* is happening through the Imperialist press and media.

Through the process, the people began to understand the nature and functioning of the capitalist system in the world and how it affects and tries to dominate them, and they clearly began to reject some of the old myths that capitalism fosters in the Third World — that everything good comes from outside. Right through the process they were showing us the true resources and potential of Grenada and thus the economic strengths of the entire Caribbean, from bluggo chips to cement and fishing industries, from agro-industries to local shampoo.

They began to understand about *revenue*, and how it is used to build roads, schools and factories, and also *expenditure*. But the concept that they really grasped for the first time was that of the Social Wage. And that understanding is key, because before when people paid taxes, they never saw what they were getting or where the money was going. But now they have the concrete experience of free schooling, House Repair, free medical care and all the other social benefits. They are *living* the social wage, and understanding the concept in actual practice, and so they are seeing first hand what is happening to their taxes.

Everybody Brave-up!



DOREEN LEWIS is aged 40, and from St. Paul's. She has been a machinist for fifteen years, and now works in a garment factory in Tempé. She is a shop steward there for the Bank and General Workers' Union.

'I was a delegate for our union at the National Conference, and all the other unions sent their delegates too. Before we went, the union organised a seminar for us on the Economy, with Comrade Burke from the Ministry of Trade. We discussed a lot of things and began to understand how Imperialism works and takes away our cocoa and other products, and leaves us with almost nothing. So, seeing we had the seminar first, I could really understand what was said to us at The Dome.

In our workshop there was very strong participation of all the people there and the big thing was unemployment. We discussed the forming of co-operatives and how we would need more government lands for them. Then one fellow spoke about making a shoe factory here, and we all agreed that would be a good idea and make our shoes much cheaper, because they all very expensive now. A lot of us were concerned about people idling on the job and we tried to thrash out the reasons for it, particularly in the government offices. Then we discussed about the government vehicles and how they *must not* be used at weekends and after working hours. I myself offered a point that more money should be spent upon tractors and graders to build feeder roads for the farmers. And the government really listened to what we all said, because in all sort of areas we find that the same thing is really happening.

So the conference was very important for the people. They learned about the Budget, what money was spent on all the projects, and the reasons for prices — and it generally helped people to understand about the country's money and production. They began to look upon things in a different way. When I brought the conference book back here to the factory, I showed it to the workers and many of them took it home and read it. It went around a lot of the workers and they were very interested when I reported to them about the conference. And for me, the book educate me too! I always read it and keep it by me so it's fresh in my mind.

This kind of thing had never happened before in Grenada. Before the Revolution, all I used to hear about the Budget was something on the radio and I never used to understand any of it. Now I know a lot more, plenty more, and the conference tell me that! Before, with Gairy, nobody knew what was going on with the country's money. You had to take it whether you satisfied or not, but now you invited to say your piece. None of this could have happened before, and all we got with Gairy was victimisation. He never listened to the workers, he never was interested in what the poor people have to say, he was only for the rich. He never asked the workers for their opinions. If we spoke out, that was that! I was working in Kirpalani's in those days and a few of us workers were speaking out about the state of things in the country. So as the business change hands, Gairy call all the workers to a meeting at Progress House. One of the workers that was for him had brought the news to him. So he told us, the ones that had spoken out, that we would not be employed in the company again. He put us right out of work, even though the management knew we were good workers and wanted us to work there still! It was only after he was

overthrown that I found a job again, for he would never let me work again in Grenada while he was still the government.

Now I know people are not nervous to talk in these Revolution days. Everybody brave-up! They are much freer about talking, and I believe the Budget process encourage that even more. They listening to the truth and they seeing things happen like better roads, or the way our soldiers help the people — so different from the Gairy Green Beasts where everybody was frightened and at six o'clock they used to be in bed. Now I can actually see the freedom in the people, and I seeing more production too! The workers really working harder and producing more, and they doing a much better job.'



Avid listening: Conference of Delegates of Mass Organisations on the Economy.

No more Closed Doors



DENNIS DEWAR was born in Georgetown, Guyana in 1951. He took a B.Sc. in Economics at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica in 1974. Then worked for several years as a secondary school teacher in Jamaica before joining the Ministry of Planning in Grenada in 1981.

'The mere fact of going out into the parishes and seeing how the people live, the kind of conditions that frame their everyday lives and the level of education they have been accustomed to — these aspects of going into the field have given a new sense of direction to the technicians. All this has really brought home the fact that making the Budget-plan here is not simply a theoretical process,

but a process that *must* be integrated practically with the participation of the people.

The zonal councils, like the one I attended in La Digue for example, had very large and impressive turn-outs, even though the actual venue was some distance away from any large village. The consciousness of the people, in terms of their knowledge of the Economy, was very high. On the ground they knew exactly what was happening in terms of unemployment, the dangerous dependence on traditional crops like cocoa, bananas and nutmeg, and they were also very aware of the People's Revolutionary Government's policy to integrate them into the decision-making process and to improve their social and economic standard.

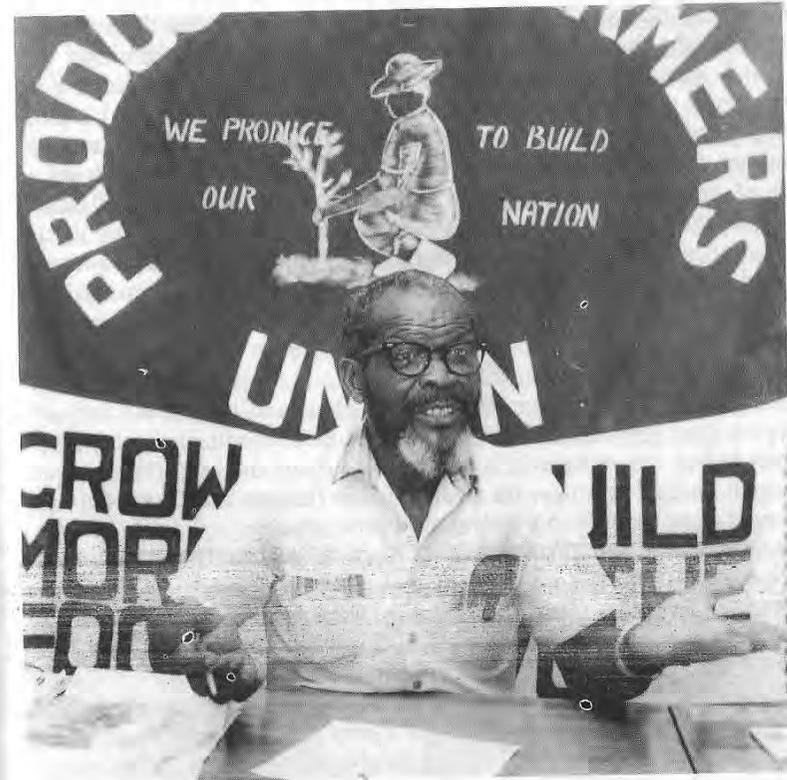
The democratic nature of the process will definitely show the rest of the English-speaking Caribbean that it is not necessary to prepare a Budget behind closed doors for delivery in Parliament. In terms of the Plan, people are beginning to realise, in view of both the scarcity of local resources and foreign exchange, that it is necessary to *plan* for their development in order to get maximum benefits from them for the masses. In the other islands now, people are beginning to realise that the Westminster system is not the only way, and certainly not the most applicable way for us to prepare our Budget. It isolates the Budget from the masses, and in doing so isolates the technicians from them too.

Using the document we prepared on the Economy, the people were actually assisted in a detailed way, in understanding the so-called 'complex areas' of the trading situation like Balance of Trade, Balance of Payments and so on. Before this process all this was certainly a blank area to them, and there had never been any systematic attempt made at all to explain to the masses *how* the economic system worked.

But this is only the *start* of an ongoing process that has to be continued regularly, given both the complexity of the material dealt with and the fact that the council meetings were held at night, after a hard day at work or in the field. This meant that often the people weren't fresh and they couldn't have been expected to grasp everything all at one time.

So Grenada has shown that democratisation of the Budget-plan process lies in a synthesis of the explanation of the Economy and its working through the technicians going to the people, and the feedback received from the masses. And from the new interpretations of this, the Budget is born, from the knowledge and insights of both.'

A new Inspiration



JOHNSON CHASE was born in 1929 at Victoria, St. Mark's, and now lives and farms at Byelands, St. Andrew's. He has twelve acres, on which he grows banana, cocoa and nutmeg.

He is General Secretary of the Productive Farmers' Union, which was formed in 1980 to organise the small farmers. He is also Chairman of the Grenada Nutmeg Association and a member of both the Grenada Banana Co-operative Society and the Land Development and Utilisation Commission.

'Under the old regime we hardly heard anything at all about the Budget; we were only told about it over the air, nothing else. There was never any people's participation and only a few hand-

picked people were ever involved. The people never understood what is meant by a 'Budget'. They heard the word and they feel the money's there, but they never realised they had to *work* to *create* the Budget, they thought it was just provided. They were never taught that what they *produced* led to make that money.

I was there at the Dome. The conference was definitely a very good exercise and there had been nothing like it in the history of Grenada. According to what I noticed, all the workshops were making the same kinds of observations, which showed we have a lot of common problems of waste, skylarking at work, and abuse of government transport. But for us farmers the biggest problems were with feeder roads, fertilisers and transport, and we weren't afraid to speak out about them. Through the Budget process the Productive Farmers' Union definitely moved forward. We got to realise that to build our earnings we *have* to do better, both in the practice of farming and the quality of our crop. It spurred us to assist each other more and help our brothers and sisters. We had set targets and projections for the year where production was concerned, but the recession had made us drop behind. The Budget process helped to make us aware of this danger, and helped us to diversify our crops and build up our productivity.

It made the farmers more alert. Many of them were not aware that they were a part of statutory associations we have in Grenada like the Grenada Nutmeg Association or the Grenada Banana Co-operative Association. Before the Revolution Gairy just placed his people in these bodies and the farmers had no free way to elect their own officers. That, of course, affected their freedom to speak up and organise. Many of Gairy's people he put in there were not even farmers and didn't know the plight of the farmers. So what you get you have to take! Now if I meet a man out in the bush he would feel free to ask questions and discuss the problems openly, so he could begin to understand *why* things are not so bright in the prices. Before, there was no way of discussing things. But now this Budget process opened the door to give the farmers a real sense of reasoning. Now the average farmer listens and understands the causes of his problems; he is beginning to understand what this thing 'recession' really is. So when we have our regular area meetings with the nutmeg producers, we explain why today we are being offered 1,800 U.S. dollars or as low as 1,500 per ton of nutmegs, whereas five years ago we received two thousand, five hundred. And everything we import which we have to buy we paying more for. It is not easy for them to understand and accept and it takes real patience, for to really understand you also have to understand a little about world economics. But the Budget this

year was a good boost to make our farmers understand that our problem is not production, because our production is higher now — particularly in nutmegs — than it has ever been. Our farmers had to understand that our main problem was with finding markets.

So the Budget gave us an inspiration to educate ourselves, and develop and produce from the new consciousness that we are gaining. Never before did such a cross-section sit down and talk out problems which affect the rich and the poor, from the smallest to the biggest man. Byelands is an area that never went through bright things, life was always hard there. The area was always ignored by previous governments. So the people were very surprised when the technicians from the Ministries of Finance and Planning came to the village to speak to the zonal council, and to try to enlighten the people. We had never known this before. In my fifty-odd years we never knew of Ministry people coming down on the ground so and educating the people. And the people liked it too, and asked some very intelligent questions about the Budget and the Economy. So that was a good beginning, and we really need to carry on so.

But for me the main achievement of this Budget exercise is that it shows the direction and the better way that we need to travel on. Now the people know clearly that 'budget' does not simply mean 'money on a plate' that is already there. Now we know we have to *make our own wealth* and create employment for others in order to really build this country.'



Listening to the Budget Presentation.

A People's Process



JUNE HENRY was born in Concord, St. John's Parish, in 1950. She was a primary school teacher for seven years before entering the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados, to study Economics in 1976. She is now an Agricultural Planner in the Ministry of Planning.

'What we have seen this year with the Budget process is that for the very first time, the people have come into a genuinely close contact with the planners and technicians, and have been given a real opportunity to discuss the economic conditions in the country as they actually are and to plan for the future. For the first time the people were actually made a part of the budget-planning process, because traditionally the Budget was presented at York House in Parliament where only a limited number of people could have attended, and even then they just had to listen.

When the people used to hear 'Budget time coming', their

attitudes was only one of speculation, to guess whether it would bring any slight benefits to them or to dread the kind of new oppressive measures that might come. They never understood where funds came from; they thought it was the *government* that produced the money! They didn't understand about *production* and how *production* comes. They were also sunk in a concept of *aid*, that the country's economy came about through aid, not production.

So the main objective of the parish and zonal council discussions was to make the people aware that the planning process was a *people's* process, and that it is only by increased production and cutting out wastage that the economy could move forward. The people certainly grasped this. It was clear that the discussions — by the comments that were made, the questions that were asked and the suggestions that were put forward by the people — that they definitely became aware of the need to free the Economy from its dependence upon traditional exports which only lock our economy tighter into the Imperialist system. At the Grand Roy and Victoria zonal councils many farmers made this point very forcibly.

The people weren't really surprised to see the Ministry technicians at the local councils, as there had been a lot of preparation and news about what was going to happen in the formation of the Budget. And they have grown accustomed to voicing their honest opinions forthrightly in the councils. They weren't shy or nervous to talk because they'd had previous experience at previous parish and zonal councils of questioning and grilling ministry officials like those from the sanitary services, the Central Water Commission and the Electric Company. So when they met the economists and planners they were not intimidated. They welcomed them and were very happy to participate — and they expressed this openly. So the groundwork for the consultation and real participation had already been done.

At Grand Roy in particular the plenary session was very successful, when the Budget Officer, Comrade La Corbiniere, explained certain concepts to all the people that were in the book we compiled especially for the Dome conference. He explained the importance of budgeting, drawing upon the similarity between budgeting at home and on a national level.

The process clearly surprised many of the technicians though, and made some of them realise that the people are not so daft as they thought they were! After the councils in the villages, many of them were saying, 'Boy! But the people really understand this thing! They really grasp that document! They really want to see the country go forward! They really know about this Economy!' It really opened up the eyes of many of the technicians and comments like

these really revealed how much some of them had been cut off from the people, for before the meetings they were saying things like, 'Boy! Do you really think we should really try to explain Gross National Product or Real and Social Wage? You think these people going to understand that?' But this new consciousness of the people's ability and power to understand was a very marked feature of the process for the technicians. For they discovered that the people were genuinely able to relate to the texts that were put in front of them *and* grasp them and make sense of them.

For weeks after I heard people at different levels — construction workers, roadworkers, agricultural workers, farmers — all talking about *Social Wage*. It was a concept that was very much understood and accepted. The people were seeing that a higher weekly or monthly wage and more dollars in their wage packet does not necessarily lead to a higher standard of living, because as they read in the book and as was clarified to them at the councils, they were able to see how wage increases are related to price increases, but how an increase in the Social Wage and the provision of social services means genuine living security and therefore is a real wage increase with enormous long-term benefits.

I think that generally the technicians were very pleased to get out from behind their desks, leave their offices and reach out to the people. They have begun to see that as the people are involved in this planning stage and they are understanding their lives and ideas, then when they come to document all the data on the Economy for the people, then the people themselves will be able to understand what the documentation is telling them — which would be about their *own* lives and futures. So in this way the Budget process was definitely an attack upon bureaucratic attitudes, and this is something that all progressive technicians welcome.

A continuation of this system of consultation is vital, so as to be a constant guarantee against bureaucracy developing amongst the technicians. For in the dialogue between the people and the technicians at the councils, the people, having had all the data, information and proposals put before them, put their own real concerns in their *own* way about economic measures that they thought would increase benefits to the masses and build up the Economy of the country. The technicians put these into a coherent formulation which was then put to the Cabinet, and they were finally implemented through the Budget. So the Budget did not come from the Cabinet, but *from* the people *through* the technicians and the government as servants of the masses. For this really was a people's budget.'

4. CONFERENCE ON THE ECONOMY FOR MANAGERS/HEADS OF STATE ENTERPRISES

OPENING ADDRESS BY PRIME MINISTER
MAURICE BISHOP

25TH FEBRUARY, 1982



Comrade Chairperson, Sister Gloria Payne,
Comrade Ministers,
Members of the Political Bureau and Central Committee,
Comrades of the People's Revolutionary Government,
Comrade Managers, Accountants, Chairpersons of Boards,
Comrades from the Trade Union Movement,
Comrades All.

It is my responsibility in a very few brief remarks, to say something about why we are all gathered here this morning and what we are hoping to achieve.

As you all know, the purpose of this all-day seminar is to have a close, hard look at the different state and para-statal enterprises in which comrades are involved; to examine the situation over the past years, particularly 1981, to see where we have been going wrong and to examine and evaluate what the potential is for 1982 in particular, but also beyond 1982.

IN 1982: MORE PRIORITY ON OUR JOBS

Comrades would also know that this is the 'Year of Economic Construction' and therefore this year, in particular, we are spending so much time focusing on the economy, and we are trying to get all of our people involved in discussions around the economy. Those of us who are placed in positions of leadership in economic enterprises have a particular responsibility to ensure that this year, especially, we give the maximum attention to our jobs.

We must ensure that this year we find every possible way of increasing production, of raising productivity and along the way towards achieving this, of ensuring workers' participation, workers' democracy at the workplace so that at the end of this year we can begin to see a turnaround in so many of these enterprises.

The report on the economy given at the end of January by Comrade Coard made the point that in 1981 well over 90% of all new investment in our country was undertaken by the State. That means we have arrived at the point in our country, today, where the State is rapidly becoming — in fact, has already become dominant — in several different areas of the economy.

This is undoubtedly necessary, certainly for a country like our own — a poor developing country — but equally, it places a very heavy responsibility on the comrades who are involved in running those enterprises. A very heavy responsibility, because traditionally when governments have got involved in economic enterprises many of the workers in those enterprises continue to approach their job with a very civil service-type mentality, viewing their work in terms

of drawing a monthly salary as usual, having the Government always as a back-up system, as a buffer, and therefore in the final analysis continuing to shift the responsibility for efficiency and productivity onto the backs of already over-burdened taxpayers.

CRUSH THE OLD ATTITUDES

That psychology it seems is very, very deep in comrades who are involved in state and para-statal enterprises. And that psychology is one of the things that in 1982 we *must crush* completely.

Comrades are going to have to develop a new approach, a new attitude to running these enterprises that lays predominant emphasis on the fact that these are independent economic enterprises that must stand on their own feet, that must survive as a result of production going up, of worker productivity increasing, of efficiencies being introduced, of proper management, of serious planning.

That new attitude *must* be instilled in a very serious way. If we are not able to achieve that we would not have got past first base. There is no question about that.

Equally, as part of recognising this very heavy responsibility on us, is a realisation that we are increasingly assuming a larger part of the responsibility of running the economy in a real and concrete way. We also have to develop a state of mind that says that the benefits and the services which we have traditionally provided over these past three years for our people have been provided largely on the basis of taxation, and of course through assistance in different forms. But not very much of this was achieved on the basis of production and there again we have to achieve a major shift in that area. We have to move away from a psychology which says that in order to provide services for our people that the taxes alone will do that.

PROFITS PROVIDING SERVICES TO THE PEOPLE

More and more now we must begin to lay concrete plans for the realisation of that objective. We are going to have to move to the stage of ensuring that the continuation of services to our people is provided not on the basis of taxation, but on the basis of profits coming from these enterprises.

In other words, the enterprises are really going to have to become profitable, are going to have to become productive. This in turn means, comrades, that the new psychology we are talking about at the level of management, in particular, will involve us in beginning to develop an approach to the particular enterprise we

are engaged in. We must handle that enterprise as if we are conducting our own personal affairs.

We are going to have to develop a new standard of discipline, a new standard of efficiency, a new standard of attention to detail, a new standard of planning. The same kind of standard that we would adopt if we were conducting our own personal affairs, if we were trying to achieve a balance in our own home budgets or if we were trying to run our own businesses. It has to be that kind of standard we are going to have to adopt. Nothing short of that, comrades, is going to achieve what we are trying to do this year.

BOTH MORAL AND MATERIAL INCENTIVES

So, today when we look in the various workshops and at the three main objectives that we hope to achieve, the questions of how do we increase productivity, of how we realise a profit or surplus, of how we bring about worker participation in the particular enterprise must be seen as broad guidelines that comrades must bear very seriously in mind.

This whole question of productivity, for example, of worker productivity, is really one of the most critical areas of all and yet it is one of the most difficult areas to achieve, particularly because in order to raise the productivity of workers we are going to have to be able to motivate the workers, and this motivation cannot come purely from moral exhortation but will also have to come as a result of material incentives which the workers receive.

And, that, it seems to me, is the link — the primary link — between raising worker productivity and bringing about the participation of the worker in the particular enterprise. That link is a very critical link which we are going to have to achieve this year also.

In bringing about increased worker productivity, in each enterprise a number of obvious steps are therefore required. First and foremost, production must be raised because if production is not raised then the question of a profit will not arise. Equally, if the question of a profit does not arise then one of the two ways of achieving worker productivity will not be open to us, because without the profit motivation and the possibility therefore of sharing in that profit we are going to certainly find that many workers will not receive the necessary amount of motivation.

RAISING PRODUCTION: A CRITICAL QUESTION

The question therefore of raising production at each workplace, in each enterprise is certainly one of the most critical questions for this year 1982. Linked to that, comrades, is the question of providing training in the jobs for workers over whom we have

responsibility. That too is a very critical question. It is linked not just to the question of increasing production but obviously it is linked to the question of worker productivity and is also linked to the question of ensuring that the new emulation system which we are trying to implement nationally during 1982 is really effective.

Because, without the necessary amount of training there is still going to be some problem with motivation and certainly there is going to continue to be difficulties in the way of achieving the full productivity that we are speaking about.

DISCIPLINE FOR ALL

Raising worker productivity too, comrades, certainly involves raising the discipline level at the workplace, and on this question of discipline many of us take the view, sometimes, that it applies to everybody else except to ourselves.

Many of the managers take the view that discipline is something for the workers but not something for themselves. Many comrades when discussing this question often come up with all kinds of creative solutions that they wish to apply to the workers, whether it is introducing a system of registering in a book or whatever else the form is at the time when the worker gets to the job.

Managers, we have noticed, would adopt the approach that this is for the worker but it does not apply to themselves. That obviously is wrong because any example in this area we set would have to come from the top, and again, therefore, this question of raising discipline has to start with the top and middle management, has to start with those comrades who have the responsibility of leading, of setting the example, so therefore workers will be able to see that the necessary amount of seriousness that is required to get this discipline going in a real way is being applied from the top.

MORE OUTPUT FROM LESS INPUT

Comrades, the question of worker productivity is also linked to the question of examining very carefully the organisation and the method of work at each workplace; examining this very carefully by trying to identify ways of achieving the same amount of work but in a shorter period of time.

In other words, trying to ensure that using a lesser amount of inputs nonetheless achieves the same or a greater output, or through achieving greater output on the part of the workers, and of course management, we are likewise able to raise production. That is also an important aspect of what we are trying to do.

I do not want, comrades, at this point to go into details on the question of worker participation or on the question of achieving a surplus. But what I do want to say is that in the area of worker participation, even the most basic rules of all are not being obeyed. We have found over the last year that many comrades absolutely refuse to implement even the most basic requirement: meeting with workers on a regular basis. And if workers have not been able to get past first base in this respect, obviously then moving to the very critical needs of establishing production committees, discipline committees and emulation committees is not going to be something that will come very easily.

NEED MORE CONSISTENCY IN 1982

The managers will have to develop in 1982 a more consistent and serious approach to this question. If the workers are not involved in the workplace then we are not going to be able to get the most out of the workers. We are not going to be able to raise productivity of the workers and therefore we are not going to be able to increase production, and thus this question of workers' participation, of achieving economic democracy at the workplace, is definitely one of the most critical questions in 1982.

The question of establishing these production committees, discipline committees and emulation committees must be one of the primary tasks that each of our State and para-State enterprises will have to get into in 1982. It is only through these committees that we are going to get the workers to sit down and examine in a real way what the problems are at the workplace: why it is we have not been able to achieve profits, why it is that we have been running a deficit in our operations, why it is we have not been able to find wider markets.

All of these critical questions will not be resolved unless we involve the workers in discussions around them. And having discussed these problems then comes the question of trying to find creative ways of moving forward.

WORKERS' INPUTS ARE ESSENTIAL

And here again, of course, the input of the workers is going to be critical. Here again, we are certainly going to need the ideas of the workers, because they are the ones who are involved on a daily basis in producing whatever it is they are producing and their inputs must be essential.

And, in any event, outside of the question of their own ideas of what can be done to lift production there is also the very critical question that whatever decisions are taken, based on whatever

ideas emerge, the people who are going to have to implement these decisions are the workers.

So it must make sense for the worker to be involved from the beginning and that, again, is another very, very obvious reason why worker participation is so key.

IN SPITE OF PROPAGANDA WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS

Comrades, there is an economic crisis in the world, particularly an economic recession in the advanced capitalist world. Yet we were able to increase our exports overall last year and notwithstanding our heavy dependence of the advanced capitalist world for exports and imports, we were, nonetheless, able to move forward in 1981 and to achieve a 2% growth in the economy overall.

This shows that it can be done, that not only can we hold the line but even in times of recession and the greatest difficulty we can nonetheless continue to move forward. The tremendous negative propaganda against the Revolution aimed, in the first place, at destroying tourism in our country continued apace throughout 1981. Nonetheless, we were able to see more tourists overall coming to our country in 1981 than ever before.

In the months of August and November especially, we were able to have a lot of people coming to Grenada. That too shows that if we are creative, if we are willing to fight back, if we are willing to put out our strokes in advance, that not only can we hold the line, I repeat, but in fact we can make progress and move forward in spite of adverse propaganda.

When we analyse those figures (the August and November figures) in the area of tourism our feeling is that for August one primary reason for the greater number of visitors was the Carnival celebrations in that month.

Likewise, for November there is absolutely no doubt that the major factor was the two big conferences that were held in Grenada in that month: the Third Caribbean Trade Union Conference attracting well over 40 delegates, and even more significantly, the first International Solidarity Conference with Grenada attracting well over 107 delegates. Particularly significant and worthy of note in this regard is that most of those visitors were staying in State hotels and that too had relevance to today's seminar.

NEED MORE BIG CONFERENCES

And it tells us that if we examine very carefully in a systematic and a scientific way what happened month by month and week by week throughout the year, not only 1981 but past years, what in fact were the best months for us, *why* were those the best

months, that too can give us some indication of a way forward.

Because in the area of tourism one obvious answer must be to get more conferences to be held in the country, to find more big occasions that can attract people (like Carnival), to get people to come to the country, to maintain links with the various friendship societies and solidarity committees with the Grenada Revolution worldwide, to maintain those links and to organise through those committees and societies different tours to our country.

Tours, perhaps, based on professional interests. Comrades who are in teaching, for example, may wish to come and see what is happening in the C.P.E. programme, or in the NISTEP programme or may want to come and see how we are approaching the question of the Work Study programme or may want to see how the Community School Day Programme (CSDP) is operating in practice.

And, perhaps, if we arrange with the Ministry of Education that a seminar be organised for those people who are interested in coming to our country on that basis, organised by the Friendship Societies, then comrades would probably find that over a period of time any number of seminars of that type can be organised in 1982: work-study seminars and seminars where at the same time there will be a built-in input for the enjoyment, leisure and recreation of the participants. And that in turn is going to help in ensuring that the Grenada Resorts Corporation makes a profit this year and the economy overall is helped.

SEE THEM AS INDEPENDENT ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES

Comrades, notwithstanding the difficulties we have at central Government level with finding sufficient money to keep the recurrent budget going, and outside of the recurrent, finding on a day-to-day basis our cash flow requirements — notwithstanding that, we have seen in practice that where we are tight in our accounting and budgeting, where we are tight in our supervision and control the line can be held and we can, in fact, keep to what we are budgeted for, what we have planned for at the beginning.

And again there must be a lesson in that for the State enterprises. And the lesson is: the need for accounting systems, the need for tight and rigorous accounting, the need for tight and rigorous methods of supervision and control, the need for ensuring that whatever the plan is that we agree upon that we stick to it, and we do so ruthlessly, bearing in mind that what we are working in is not just another *Government* enterprise, but we do have to see it as being an independent economic enterprise that is aimed at making profits.

Because without the profits the benefits, the services which our people have been receiving and which obviously you will expect to continue to receive, will not be able to continue.

Comrades, with these few remarks I want to wish you a very successful day's work and we certainly look forward very eagerly to your Plenary reports in a few hours' time.

FORWARD EVER! BACKWARD NEVER!



5. BUDGET DAY:

- i) Presentation of 1982 National Plan and National Budget;
Comrade Bernard Coard, Deputy Prime Minister
and Minister of Finance, Trade and Planning.

Comrade Prime Minister, Comrade members of the Leadership of our Party and Government, Distinguished Members of the Diplomatic Corps, Distinguished Visitors and Guests from various parts of the world to the Third Festival of our Revolution, Comrade Sisters and Brothers of Revolutionary and Free Grenada, good morning to you all.

Comrades, one of the most exciting things about the last few months is the fact that it has taken tens of thousands of people to put this Budget and Plan together. It is not possible to present the totality of the Budget Plan here. In the coming weeks, the totality of the documentation which has emerged from all of the discussions which have taken place will be printed with sufficient copies for all of our people to have, so that we can in fact proceed to study the final draft and at the same time that we study it, seek to implement it.

When we think, Comrades, of the discussions which have taken place, I have here a list of some of the meetings that took place:

- The Workers' Parish Council in St. David's Roman Catholic School on February 26th;
- The Zonal Council Meeting in Beaulieu at the same time;
- The Paradise Zonal Council meeting;
- The Zonal Council Meeting in the Cocoa Grove Community Centre in Gouyave Estate;
- The Zonal Council Meeting at Butler House;
- The Zonal Council Meeting in Pomme Rose R.C. School in St. David's;
- The Parish Council Meeting in Chantimelle, St. Patrick's;
- The Zonal Council Meeting in River Sallee;
- The Zonal Council Meeting which took place in St. Giles' School, Mt. Carmel, St. Andrew's;
- The Zonal Council Meeting in St. Dominic's R.C. School in St. David's;
- The Zonal Council Meeting in St. Andrew's East;

The Workers' Parish Council Meeting in Victoria, St. Mark's;
and

The South East St. George's Zonal Council, and on and on.

This is a list of Zonal Council Meetings which we had over the past couple of months.

We have had to put a team of typists together to record all of the views, all of the opinions, all of the criticisms, all of the proposals of the people in all of the workshops, the hundreds of workshops, in all of these Zonal Council Meetings throughout the country, in order to compile in several hundred pages of data the views of everyone and then to study them. And I can tell you that every single member of the Cabinet and the P.R.G. spent the last three weeks, for more than fourteen hours a day in each of the last three weeks, going through every one of the suggestions, the ideas, the criticisms and the proposals, of the people, in order to arrive at the final draft of the Budget and Plan for 1982. It is this, Comrades, that distinguishes what we have attempted to do this year from what has been done before in the history of Grenada and indeed the Eastern Caribbean.

REAL GROWTH AND INFLATION

Comrades, in the report which was presented on the 29th of January, as you will all remember, the report which was circulated throughout our country, in every Zonal Council, in every Parish Council, in every Workshop throughout the country, which contained the draft Budget data, and which was the subject of detailed discussions over many hours by our people, a number of critical conclusions emerged about our economy's performance in 1981. I want to list, in summary form, some of the main conclusions that arose out of that mutual discussion and analysis:

First of all, in 1979, the first year of our Revolution, we experienced according to data compiled by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) a 2% real growth in the size of our economy; in 1980, we grew by a further 3.1%, and in 1981 we grew by a further 2%. In all cases, this refers to real growth after inflation has been removed from the data.

This growth therefore, Comrades, comes at a time when the vast majority of the countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, not to mention the most advanced industrialised countries, have been experiencing stagnation, or even growing backwards. This, in the context of a very poor and underdeveloped country, tied and linked to the international economic crisis in the Western industrialised countries, as our economy is, and facing eco-

conomic strangulation by the most powerful country in the world, is a tremendous record of positive growth for each of the three years of our Revolution.

At the time of the National Conference, we had two sets of data only to rely on in terms of assessing the rate of inflation in our country in 1981. We had the data of the IMF which, as I pointed out, said that our inflation rate was 10.3% in 1981.

Without having all of the data to analyse in the way we would have liked to, we put it initially at 14.5%. However the Central Statistical Office, in examining the data by checking in shops and stores every single month and compiling that data on the basis of a basket of goods, have come to the conclusion that the rate of inflation in 1981 was 10.5%, making their figure much closer to that of the IMF figure. A rate of 10% inflation is more than we would like. Every country would like a 0% inflation rate but after years and years and years of 20%, 25% and 30% inflation rate, 10% is not bad at all. And I hope that we will be able, especially if our people are actively involved in the process of price control, to keep the figure down to that level or even below in 1982. That, Comrades is the question of the growth in the size of our economy and the question of inflation in our economy.

DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION, INVESTMENT AND EXPENDITURE

The third issue was the fact that in 1981, our internal consumption — our expenditure and consumption as a people as compared with the amount that we spend on domestic investment — was a very healthy and encouraging development, in that, unlike 1980 when our consumption pattern rose by some 30% compared with '79, our internal consumption remained stable and instead we put most of our additional resources into investment. We as a people understand, Comrades, how important that is. We understand very well the example often used of the farmers in our country who if he eats all the 100 pounds of corn that he grows, has nothing to eat the next year. We know that if he eats 90 pounds of the 100 pounds that he reaps then he can in fact have corn to eat the following year, and if he is able to eat 80 pounds instead of 90 then he has twice as much corn to plant as if he had only saved 10 pounds. And so for us, Comrades, the secret for our development and our growth must be to hold the line on consumption as much as possible, to avoid unnecessary waste, to avoid corruption, to avoid all kinds of expenditure that are not absolutely necessary and to channel the maximum amount of our scarce resources into putting up more factories, into expanding existing factories, into

building hotels, into opening up new lands, into bringing idle lands under cultivation; in other words, into expanding the productive capacity and the productive base of our country. And in that respect, Comrades, in 1981 we held the line on consumption and rose considerably in the area of investment. In 1980 over 1979, we increased domestic investment in our economy by 34.2% and in 1981 over 1980 we increased it by a further 68.3%, which in fact is a tremendous achievement.

But, Comrades, we note that given the state of roads and feeder roads, that we inherited the state of water supply, of electricity, of the telephone system, of the health care system, the hospital and clinics, given the state of the schools, given the state of housing, given the total collapse of the infrastructure of our country, we anticipated and we estimated as early as the first week of the Revolution that it would take as much as 600 million EC dollars in order to re-establish our infrastructure as well as to build an infrastructure capable of sustaining a productive capacity on which we could build our factories, get our fishing fleet going, get our hotels going, get our land under modern conditions of farming and so on, so that we could rapidly expand the size of our economic cake. In this respect, Comrades, history has proven that estimate correct. So far, all of the work we have been able to do in the three years shows that the figure of 600 million is an accurate figure. It is proving to be accurate in terms of our calculation of the amounts that are required in each area of development of our economic and social infrastructure. And we have been able to achieve this in the space of the first three years of the Revolution, an expenditure on the infrastructure of our country of 145.8 million dollars, or one-fourth of the full target, already spent in improving the infrastructure of the country. Later on, Comrades, we will deal with what we will be able to spend in 1982 to further develop that infrastructure.

We must also note, Comrades, the phenomenal growth in the investment of the Government in infrastructure from the dark days of the Gairy Dictatorship. In 1978, the last year of the Dictatorship, the country spent through its Government on Capital Investment, on the infrastructure, only 8 million dollars, only 8 million dollars EC.

In the first year of our Revolution, Comrades, we were able in the space of only nine months and a half, from March 13, 1979 to the end of December 1979, we were able to invest in our economy not the 8 million of 1979 but 16 million. We were able to double our investment in the first year of the Revolution.

But we moved beyond that, comrades and in 1980, the second year of our Revolution, we moved from that 16 million spent on improving the infrastructure of the country to 35 million, more than doubling the amount we spent in 1979. And in 1981, comrades, we moved from the 35 million of 1980 to 76 million in 1981, more than doubling investment in the development of the infrastructure of the country. Later, we will deal with what we are able to allocate in 1982 to the further development of the infrastructure of our country, to our roads, our feeder roads, the improvement of electricity, of telephone services, of port expansion, of the development of the international airport, of housing construction, of improvements in the health services and in education.

So our record so far is one of moving from the 8 million inherited to 16 million, to 35 million, to 76 million. And comrades, we can record that in 1981 a very important landmark was achieved in the history of our people, for in 1981, in September of that year, our people for the first time in history achieved full and free secondary education in our country. And in addition to that, comrades, we must not forget that in just the years 1980 and 1981 combined, a period of only 24 months, over 1,500 families involving men, women and children numbering 11,000 Grenadians, received improved housing through the House Repair Programme.

In a country of a little over 100,000 people, 11,000 people getting better housing in 24 months must be amongst the best in the world.



FOREIGN TRADE

Comrades, moving to another area of our economy in 1981, to the positive and the negative of our foreign trade picture in 1981: We are able to observe a very important pattern in 1981, a historic pattern, and we hope we can maintain that trend and develop it further. I refer to the fact that we were able to develop in a significant way the diversification of our export trade. One of the main objectives of our Revolution from the very beginning was to pursue the extent to which we can move from being dependent on only three crops, cocoa, nutmeg and banana, to reliance on many more commodities for our export trade. To the extent of that change do we become more genuinely independent, to that extent do we become more free of catching pneumonia when others catch a cold, to that extent do we become much more immunised to the economic crises sweeping around us. The more we depend on just a few crops, the worse it is for us. The more we can diversify the number of items that we sell abroad to earn our foreign exchange the better for us.

Therefore, comrades, it is significant that in the years immediately leading up to the Revolution, cocoa, nutmeg and banana jointly accounted for between 94 and 97% of total visible export earnings of our country. By 1980 they accounted for 88.3%, a drop from the 94 to 97 down to 88 but still high, very high. But in just the space of one year, during the course of '81 we were able to bring down our dependence on cocoa, nutmegs and bananas in terms of their percentage of our total export earnings, from the 88.3% down to 81.4% which means that our non-traditional exports rose from only 11.7% of our total exports in 1980 to 18.9% of our total exports in 1981, a very important development in terms of its structural transformation of our economy. Comrades, this did not happen as a result of a fall in our overall export earnings, nor did it come about as a result of an overall fall in our traditional export crops because the reality is that our overall exports of traditional crops rose slightly. They did not stagnate, they did not fall, they rose, and our overall export picture increased by some 15%, so that at a time of economic crisis in the world, we, in 1981, had an increase in our export trade of 15%, another significant achievement in the context of our development goals. Therefore comrades, in that context, the diversification of our exports takes on more meaning and more significance.

However, we also noted that our food import bill did not go down, and while our bill for luxury and semi-luxury items fell dramatically, with people buying more things locally, that was not

done in the area of food and drinks and we therefore had a bad situation, a negative situation in the area of the purchase of food and drink imports. This was analysed in some detail in many of our workshops and seminars and council meetings, and that is why so many suggestions came out of these meetings from the people with respect to what we must do about that.

MARKETING AND NATIONAL IMPORTING BOARD

Another significant thing that came out of our discussions about 1981 was the growing importance of the Marketing and National Importing Board (MNIB) which was set up by the Revolution in the first six months in order to achieve a number of objectives. And we have been able to see that, for example, a bag of cement in our country is several dollars cheaper than a bag of cement in most of the other small islands of the English-speaking Caribbean, and we have been able to maintain much cheaper prices generally. We have been able to keep the price of sugar at the same level for well over one year now without any change, and the price of sugar will not rise by one cent for the whole of 1982 as well. There are some territories in which it is twice the price that we have here in Grenada.

We have seen that the price of rice has also stayed the same for over one year and this too is a tribute to the work of the Marketing and National Importing Board, and only in the last two or so weeks, the Marketing and National Importing Board, at the request of thousands of farmers, brought in a shipment of fertiliser which I understand is being sold at a price somewhere between seven and ten dollars per bag cheaper than the normal price for fertiliser of this type.

In the course of the entire year, 1980, some 15,000 pounds of eggplant were purchased from farmers by the Marketing Board. But in just the last four months of 1981 and the first two months of 1982, the Marketing Board has been able to export somewhere in the vicinity of 100,000 pounds of eggplant. This is apart from what they have been doing in the area of the export of mangoes, pumpkin and other crops. The role of the Marketing and National Importing Board in providing an export outlet for a wide range of agricultural crops puts more income in the farmers' pockets, provides more jobs on the land and earns more foreign exchange for the country. The Marketing and National Importing Board in 1981 was able to serve the housewives and families inside our country better than they did the year before, because in terms of the amount of fruit and vegetables that they purchased from the far-

mers and resold to the consuming public in St. George's, in Hillsborough, Carriacou, and in Petit Martinique where they also have branches, they were able to increase the volume of their sales in the three islands of our country by over 85% in 1981, compared to 1980. That too is a significant act which benefits the farmers and the consumers of our country.

SOCIAL WAGE

When we analyse our report for 1981 we also noted the importance of the concept of the social wage. We have moved from a situation where before the Revolution you had to pay anything between 10 and 20 dollars to see a doctor and you had to pay anything between six and eight dollars bus fare to get there, a fantastic sum of money in relationship to the income of our people. And that is why, comrades, it is crucial to have more doctors in our country. The latest data I have as of the last week or so is that in a country of 100,000 people we have 47 doctors of different kinds and different specialities. That, in fact, is a very good showing for a very poor and underdeveloped country, though we want to do better and we have a very long way to go in improving that area.

Meanwhile, comrades, there has been the development of health centres in St. Davids', in Sauteurs and other areas. Again there remains a lot to be done but undoubtedly a start has been made in that process. One of the things that has given me great pleasure and joy today, and which has come as a complete surprise to me, is the fact that there are so many nurses present here in this



The Social Wage in action

Dome today, and I want you to recognise their presence. The fact that we are discussing the economy of the country and that so many nurses make it their duty to come and attend the presentation of the Budget shows that our health services are moving forward, because you are dealing with a level of consciousness about the role of the economy in the area of health. This, comrades, is something that gives me great pride and pleasure.

THE ECONOMY AND THE MASSES

Comrades, we also discussed in our different groups the development of the National Plan for the country; in particular focusing on the question of how we can develop, and rationalise the utilisation of our labour force, how we can deal with the question of raising production and productivity in our country; how we can deal with the question of planning in an organised way our investments for the future and finally how we can plan and rationalise the use of the technical and material supplies and resources, the machinery and equipment and the raw materials which are required in the process of production. Our people have had many stimulating and positive ideas on how we could in fact develop our plan.

Comrades, what has been the nature of our mass process of democratising the National Budget? You will remember that the process really began on a mass scale with our Conference of Delegates of Mass Organisations on the Economy right here at the Dome on January 29th of this year. This included 1,000 delegates from the National Women's Organisation, the National Youth Organisation, the eight different Trade Unions and the Productive Farmers Union. This was swiftly followed by a series of Zonal Council meetings and Workers Parish Council meetings throughout our country. Comrades, our people came out in their thousands. For example, on February 15th we had five councils proceeding simultaneously in different parts of our country with our Economists, Planners and Engineers — some were at Butler House, St. George's; some were at St. Paul's in southeast St. George's; some were at Grand Roy in St. John's on the west coast, all at the same time. Then on the night of February 18th, six councils were in process simultaneously: at Paradise in St. Andrew's on the east coast; in St. George's northwest; in Tivoli, St. Andrew's; in St. Patrick's; in Pomme Rose, St. David's and in Gouyave, St. John's.

Our people's voices were echoing right across our island. We heard them tackling terminology like Gross National Product, Social Wage, Recurrent Expenditure, Domestic Investment; con-

cepts which have since become a natural part of the vocabulary of our people.

Meetings were also organised with the representatives and organisations of the private sector and in particular, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Employers Federation, and the Grenada Hotels Association.



The chairperson of the Militia Workshop delivers his report: Zonal Council, Victoria, 16/2/82.

Then on March 1st, we held another Conference on the Economy at the Dome here in Grand Anse, giving a special invitation to anyone who thought they had not yet aired their views or suggestions, all those Grenadians who are not yet members of any mass organisation nor of any private sector organisation. They included our senior citizens, the self-employed and those working for small enterprises.

This was followed by a three-day session, which eventually became a six-day session at the Dome and other locations with the representatives and managers of the state enterprises.

So, comrades, you can see how we organised the People's Budget. We have tried to deliberately scoop up the ideas and opinions of every section of our nation, leaving nothing to chance or guesswork. What we found as a result of all these sessions was an amazing commonality of opinion being expressed in all the villages of our country. It was incredible. People in our remotest villages, out of touch with each other, living many miles away, but all making the same proposals and the same criticisms about what was taking place in our country. This is a truly remarkable development. People in Tivoli were making the same basic point as those in St. George's. Gouyave was echoing St. David's. This told us much about the central underlying unity of our people and their aspirations, but it also told us quite clearly that there were certain fundamental problems that had to be resolved. For example, there were certain examples of corruption and waste to be eliminated.

For example, seventy-eight different workshops in different zonal councils made the point about the need to cut down on our import bill and to expand our domestic production of food, using money spent on imports of luxury and semi-luxury items to build more factories instead. They didn't use the terminology, but throughout the participation sessions this point was made openly by the different workshops in the different zonal councils throughout the country.

Time and time again we heard that we must produce more local drinks similar to *So/o*. Local factories, such as the Red Spot Drinks Factory, should be re-opened and if they are not, the Government should seek ways and means of recapitalising and re-investing to ensure that they open.

The people called for a ban on imported canned fruit and vegetables and for their substitution by local products. Bread-fruit and yams could replace macaroni and Irish potatoes according to some suggestions. Pigeon peas could replace split peas.

The councils continually called for the increase of our fishing industry and locally processed fish to replace imports. They told us that the distribution of our local salt fish was poor and that areas in St. Andrew's and St. David's had not yet seen it. They also suggested that locally caught sprats could replace imported sardines.

Continuous notice was drawn to the absurdity of their being such a huge variety of brands of certain imported items, particularly, cigarettes and alcohol. Who really benefits from twenty different brands of Scotch or Gin? Twenty different brands of toothpaste, powdered milk, or shampoo?

People also had some keen insights about the large import

bill we pay for packaging our locally produced goods, particularly the tins and bottles for agro-industrial products. We must seek to make our own cartons and plastic bags and set up a recycling plant to cut down on waste on glass, tin and paper.

Bulk importation of such necessary imports as spare parts, paper and medicine should also be implemented, according to the views of the people.

Another common cry from the councils was for much greater physical planning in our country so that we do not have houses being put up helter-skelter all over, on the best agricultural land, so that in a matter of years we find ourselves with no land for agriculture, but concrete everywhere. This is something we have acted upon very quickly by already engaging the services of a physical planner on an eighteen-month contract to help us and to train Grenadians in the drawing up of a National Physical Plan for the country. When the initial first draft is prepared, that will be the subject of intensive and elaborate discussions by our people in every village and parish of our country.

But the people were particularly concerned about the cutting down of fruit trees and the trafficking of livestock. They have also urged putting prisoners to work on the land to make them productive too. Connected to this was the call to develop a training programme and a special school to put unemployed youths to work in agriculture to develop their agricultural skills.

Our people called for the stimulation of backyard gardening, something we have already begun to tackle with the establishing of contracts between backyard gardeners and the Marketing and National Importing Board. The Board informs the gardener which products they can market and which products there is little demand for, and they give you a signed contract to accept whatever quantity of the particular item you produce at a guaranteed minimum price. The role of the MNIB was seen as crucial in reducing costs to farmers and in setting up rural reception depots to receive, right out there in the countryside, the produce of our farmers.

Feeder roads were seen as the real physical force for opening up our agriculture, a view already shared by the People's Revolutionary Government, which has begun the construction of some 67 miles of road in 1982.

Praedial larceny was universally condemned throughout the country, and it was seen for what it is — a massive discouragement and form of disincentive for our farmers. Much firmer preventive measures were urged by nearly all zonal councils.

The overwhelming call for the expansion in production and employment found its strategy in the offensive of organising in



Pouring out hot sauce at the Agro-Industrial plant.

local agro-industries, not only in our nectars, but also sorrel, calaloo, banana, ginger beer, breadfruit chips, ketchup and peas. These would whet the appetite of Grenadians and other Caribbean brothers and sisters, all over the world. Grenadian cashew, damsel and bird cherries and golden apple could be made into wine, for local and export consumption. We should not only seek to feed ourselves with our own products, but also feed our animals with them too, and thus cut down on the imported animal feed. Fish waste from the Fish Processing Plant mixed with rejected bananas makes a nutritious mix for livestock, our people pointed out.

Our people were clear in their demands for training of our farmers in the most scientific methods of production. This should be combined with more incentives, like more storage facilities and cheaper fertiliser for the farmers.

Training was urged for co-operative organisation of those of our youth and young people generally, and our women who are interested in forming co-operatives, particularly in areas of the country with high unemployment. NACDA was also urged to diversify and create new forms of co-operative production, such as furniture making.

Our Comrade Leader's call that 'education is production too!'

was echoed in the people's suggestions that school students must take handicraft and agricultural production much more seriously so as to raise more and more school funds to improve education.

The problems encountered by our banana farmers, particularly with Moko Disease, prompted our people to suggest that our Banana Co-operative Society must consider the advisability of planting other species of banana more resistant to disease. They suggested 'Saba' and 'Pelipeto' varieties.

The Minor Spices Co-operative should also consider new varieties, and the coconut industry should be re-vitalised in order to produce soap locally, again, on a significant scale.

Many zonal councils felt that we should investigate the possibility of our having the right kind of rock formation to provide the raw materials for setting up a cement industry.

Organisationally, the people underlined the vital role to be played by emulation and production committees at every workplace and the necessity for workers' participation to evaluate and increase production.

An Agricultural Planning Unit could be set up within the Ministry of Agriculture or in the Grenada Farms Corporation, and the unemployed should be mobilised for a Conference on Unemployment as a starting point for organising them into co-operatives. Indeed, a central body should be set up as an agency to confront the problem of unemployment.

Finally, dissatisfaction was aired with the quality of extension services in our Ministry of Agriculture, and recommendations were made for their expansion and improvement.

Comrades, all these points are really making clear the message that was spelled out time and time again to our people and by our people at these council meetings. 'Produce local, Buy local.' Over fifty times this call was raised at the assemblies throughout the nation. That we must educate the masses through seminars, local campaigns and displays and exhibitions for the Third Festival of the Revolution which takes place this Friday afternoon in Tanteen, demonstrating our local potential to feed ourselves with the most delicious and nutritious food that our fertile nation can produce.

This point came forcefully with the suggestions our people made for the development of one of our most significant structures in stimulating the economy, the Marketing and National Importing Board. It was recommended that the MNIB should import milk to control its price and also undertake survey of various brands. It should also locate wheat, which could be used to make cheaper flour. It was stressed that the Marketing and National Importing

Board must try to increase the export of foods, local fruits and vegetables, and anthurium lilies, which can be interplanted with cocoa.

Comrades, one point certainly united our people at these councils and we accepted it many times and had to criticise ourselves for it. Our people were appalled at the misuse and abuse of Government vehicles which they saw around them. This shout of protest reverberated around all our meetings. They were angry that these vehicles were used as family cars, or for weekend jaunts. They recommended that the cars, jeeps, and trucks should only be used for community work at weekends, otherwise they should remain in their garages. People who damage vehicles should fix them and pay for them out of their pockets. And travelling allowance should only be given to persons using their own transport, not to drivers of Government vehicles. The people insisted that there should be a strict logging system to monitor the use of each vehicle, including the times of leaving and returning, with the destinations and the driver's name always being recorded. A card system for any other work apart from the regular job should be introduced. Spare parts should be bulk-bought and a Central Garage in each parish should be instituted.

In particular, GRENLEC, our Electricity Company, our Telephone Company and the Central Water Commission, the National Transport Service and the Port Authority were mentioned as particularly needing close monitoring and control, to ensure that our valuable property as a people are carefully maintained and protected to serve us for as many years into the future as possible.

Comrades, our people know and respect the value of our public property and we are quite clear what our response must be to their call. Government vehicles are for Government use, not for private pleasure and we recognise the rightness and justice of our people's concern here. We are looking very closely at these points and studying the best ways to implement a systematic and professional code for the use of Government vehicles and the kind of penalties we would have to impose upon Government workers who break it. The Army and the Ministry of Communications and Works have already instituted measures for dealing with this matter which we will now have to monitor closely and just as the best Price Control Inspectors are the people themselves, so too, the best monitors, supervisors and controllers of the public property of the people are the people themselves.

Comrades, one remarkable fact was the number of times you called for increased taxation on luxury items, particularly, cosmetics, alcoholic drinks and cigarettes. You know, last year for two

weeks after the Budget, people were harassing me in the streets asking why I hadn't increased the tax on cigarettes and liquor. I say it is remarkable, for in the old days and in the European countries, too, many people amongst the masses were interested in a Budget presentation only to see whether the dreadest news of all had taken place, namely a few cents put on a bottle of rum and a packet of cigarettes.

Now, in Revolutionary Grenada, we find our people are so patriotic and economy conscious, they are actually telling us to put more tax on drink and cigarettes. We are proud that our people should recommend this for it shows their spirit of selflessness and the kind of sacrifices we are prepared to make to build our economy. However, we must be cautious here for too much tax on these items could well increase smuggling, blackmarketism and the kind of profiteering we do not want to spread in our country. Previous Governments have had the experience of increasing the tax on alcohol and cigarettes and collecting less money than before.

Other measures were suggested in relation to taxation. Many comrades insisted that the taxes on the self-employed sector, especially for independent skilled workmen must be checked.

You were firm in your calls that we should root out slackness on the job, that we should be much stricter with clockwatchers, knitters and novel readers on the job. That we should investigate all our Ministries for overstaffing, and suggestions were made that the productive sector, particularly the State Farms, the Construction Industry, Agro-Industry and Fishing Industry and those sectors engaged in direct production could accommodate those who are presently in jobs where they have nothing to do really, people who are the disguised unemployed.

There was a clear call for clear job descriptions for every worker in the Public Service so that tasks are well defined.

A better system for paying daily-paid workers must be formulated so as to eliminate their wasting precious man-hours, waiting in lines at the Treasury every fortnight.

Our people suggested that the hours of shops and particularly of banks should be so organised, especially in terms of lunch hour, as to permit workers in other enterprises to be able to use these establishments. Many felt that this would help to raise production and productivity by preventing people from walking on and off their jobs at random times during the day in order to catch a bank or shop open.

You asked us to investigate the Customs and Government garages, to look carefully at ways of eliminating waste in those areas. We must try to get equipment at a cheaper price, along with

technical advice and more efficient ordering of supplies at the workplace. Some comrades were appalled at the wastage of paper and envelopes in Government Departments and Ministries. There was even one report of a Government worker — this came out in one of the workshops — using large Government envelopes to carry fish home from the market. As a result there were never any in the Department to do the work! It was suggested that such wastage can be controlled by the centralisation and control of stationery and supplies in various Ministries.

Telephone workers complained that there are many public officers utilising 'Government' — which is another way of saying taxpayers' phones — to make overseas calls on personal business, and that must stop right away.

The Grenada Resorts Corporation, it was noted, had also wasted much food through insufficient freezing facilities at their disposal, and unplanned servings of food to hotel guests because of various problems in the scheduling of the arrival of guests.

Some comrades considered that we were still seeing examples of favouritism in the selection of workers. Some Government drivers were using their vehicles for sexploitation. And waste and inefficiency existed to such an extent on some farms, like Perseverance and Carriere, that some zonal councils recommended that those farms should be closed down.

Comrades, infrastructural improvement was seen as a massive must for our country. Certainly first and foremost is the area of feeder roads, to increase production, bring more lands under cultivation and improve the condition in which fruits and vegetables arrive at the market. Other road repairs were seen as essential, too, with a strong recommendation that the People's Revolutionary Government supply the labour power in order to put this massive problem right. There were suggestions that more people could be trained in road construction drainage, and sea-defence in order to improve the capacity of our people to do voluntary work so as to push the pace of infrastructural development forward.

The Central Water Commission, it was declared, should identify and service old pipes before they burst and more care should be taken by ordinary citizens of drains in their neighbourhoods. Some of our bridges, it was said, clearly need serious attention. There was a clear call from several comrades that all workers should make a financial contribution to the construction of the International Airport since it is going to benefit the mass of the people.

Our people proved to us throughout these council sessions that they are becoming more and more alert to dangers and social

hazards. Clearly community mobilisation and in particular the mass cleanup to prevent dengue fever, and the primary health care programme, which have both been mass campaigns of our last six or so months, have had a profound effect on our country.

There were calls for the covering of all dustbins, for more visits of sanitary inspectors to schools, and for stand-by doctors always to be on duty. Doctors should also do regular sessions of visiting patients and there should be resident nurses at all medical stations. Dental clinics should be available for the masses twice every week, and medicines should be imported from cheaper sources as the dispensaries often cannot provide them and often when they can their price is too high.

Many of our sisters made the vital point that there must be more day care centres where mothers can leave their children so they too can go out to work and help to build the economy. Others wanted buses running until 8.00 p.m., as well as for more buses to be provided for our school children travelling to and from school.

Finally, in this sector, the comrades called clearly for the organisation of community projects to erect such things as large water tanks and thus save much money on labour.

The central task in educating people as a whole, many people declared, was persuading them to change their ideas about local produce. It was seen as an urgent task of the mass organisations, the Food and Nutrition Council and the media, generally, to urge people to think local, produce local and eat local.

Many zonal councils recommended that the political education and socialism classes must also be strengthened and introduced at all workplaces, and they must never stray from an emphasis on the economy and our imperative need to build it. There should be more articles and programmes stressing the ways in which we can forge ahead to true economic construction.

Education was seen as a must for everyone. Vendors must be taught Grenada's history and small farmers must be taught more direct scientific methods of production. This must be the role of the extension officers who have the responsibility to introduce to our farmers more appropriate and a wider variety of crops. All personnel using machinery and equipment belonging to the people should also be trained in its proper maintenance and repair.

Many comrades declared that consciousness must be raised, in relation to planning in the avoidance of waste and in the value of our scarce resources. Such information and general education about the nation's economy can be taught at workplaces and in villages. Particular attention must be given to careful explanations of

the social wage.

In the ministries, training should be given through seminars for accountants and clerks. In particular, it was suggested that a Small Management Accounting Unit should be set up in the Ministry of Finance to train State company managers and accountants in accounting procedures. This would greatly enhance management skills in the State corporations. Similarly, training in agricultural techniques and farm management should be instituted for personnel of the Grenada Farms Corporation.

All departments, it was suggested, should be made aware of available scholarships and more local training should be organised at the Institute for Further Education. In all these instances our people proved that their massive appetite for training, self-improvement and education has been provoked by the reality that our process is beginning to offer to our people, as our Comrade Leader says, 'Education from the cradle to the grave'.

Our people were unanimous that if our economy was to grow then so must our exports. New markets had to be found for our traditional crops, our nutmegs, as well as our new products, like our agro-industrial products, our fruits and vegetables. The proposed shipping department of the Marketing and National Importing Board must step up its work to assist in this process. We had to strive to find new exports particularly in the face of our difficulties with our bananas and nutmegs, and this was linked with the necessity to ensure that the quality of our product was also raised.

Comrades, we have always said that the best watchman of prices, the best price controllers are the people themselves, organised in their mass organisations and trade unions. They are the consumers; they have the most to lose from profiteering; they must be in the vanguard of identifying and 'mannersing' it. But in addition to our people, the councils suggested that our professional price control inspectors should also be much stricter, particularly in relation to the hoarding of goods. Prices at boutiques in particular should be watched closely, it was suggested, as some shop owners definitely had a tendency to keep prices high by this under-hand practice. We are in control of producing local foods; we do not import price problems here, said several comrades; therefore we should be able to control its prices.

As for imported goods, price controllers and the masses themselves should monitor closely the serial numbers and stamps of every shipment of goods so as to keep a firm check on any price rises. It was stressed by our people that our State enterprises should quickly become independent of State funds, NACDA in particular could

lend to co-operatives at a 2% interest rate and the Grenada Development Bank can also do the same in order to make themselves totally self-financing in their efforts at expanding agricultural production and co-operative development.

The best advertisement for our tourism, it was declared, was the personal advertisement of letters from home on a mass basis, co-ordinated through the mass organisations. This would be a huge force for counteracting adverse propaganda.

We must take more pride in our historic sites and they must be marked and developed. Similarly, national tourist guides should be trained and this would discourage the little boys calling themselves 'walking taxis' from embarrassing tourists, and more importantly, prevent them from demeaning their own dignity.

Our people saw the connection between our International Airport and the consequent need for more hotels and guest houses. But we also need to pay more attention to improving sanitary conditions in our hotels and restaurants and to training our taxi drivers, vendors and hotel workers in more professional ways of dealing with tourists.

Comrades, I have gone into such length and detail recalling and summarising and pointing out the most important suggestions, criticisms and proposals that have come up repeatedly in every nook and cranny of our country, because I think it is very necessary that we understand how working people will respond when we say to them, 'Look, this is your country, these are your resources, what should we do to improve them, to reorganise them? What changes should we make so that they serve our people better?' Well you have now heard our people's reply. You have had, itemised, many of their points, the most common and shared ideas that were expressed. If you want to read more of these comments, this information would be available in the final document where we hope to print the entire appendix of all the views and opinions and criticisms of the people. What I have given is a boiled down version of our people's genius for suggestions, for insight and for innovation.

We in the Ministry of Planning and Finance are merely conductors through which our people's ideas and originality pass. But our task is also to respond to our people's suggestions, particularly when it comes to their recognising things that are wrong or wasteful around us. We have to tighten up financially; there is absolutely no doubt about that, and as a people we have to devise new methods of ensuring greater efficiency and greater production.

EMULATION

Comrades, last night on the Carenage, we had our first historic National Emulation Ceremony, and this event was profoundly important for us. We saw working people, men and women from our farms, our fishing boats, our agro-industrial plants and our roads coming forward and being recognised and applauded and appreciated for their work. For work is what would transform our country, work done in an exemplary and conscious way. As proved in the daily lives of these comrades, many of whom have been working thirty or forty years, the example set by these Grenadians, the leaders, of production, the real constructors, must be followed by all of us. And after yesterday's event, the emulation procedures are now on the way to being firmly established as a part of our way of life.

On March 13th, this Saturday, we shall emulate three workers of the year; the Agricultural Worker of the Year, the Worker of the Year in Industry, and the Worker of the Year in the Service and Public Works Industry. We shall also reveal who is the Farmer of the Year, all selected by the relevant mass organisations. We will



"Emulation: The seed of excellence". A jubilant Leroy Neckles, Manager of the year in the public sector, holds his emulation certificate aloft and is warmly applauded by the massive crowd at the Queens' Park - March 13th, 1982

also announce who is the Manager of the Year in the State Sector and we have asked the Chamber of Commerce and Industry to select the Manager of the Year in the Private Sector too.

So emulation, comrades, is now a prominent feature of our process, and will be an aid to greater and greater efficiency and production.

INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

You remember our comrades' call for more and more infrastructural development. Only a few days ago we opened our Quarry, Stone Crusher and Asphalt Plant, at Mt. Hartman, a gigantic industrial undertaking which was a donation from the Revolutionary Government and People of Cuba, for our International Airport construction. And because of the tragic and accidental death of a Cuban comrade, who on his day off along with other comrades was providing voluntary service, we have honoured and symbolised that quality of international assistance of one people to another people, even to the point of giving up one's life, and our Prime Minister and our Government formally declared open that Quarry, Stone Crusher and Asphalt Plant Complex, giving it the name of *Ramón Quintana*, in honour of the comrade.



Ramón Quintana stone crusher and asphalt plant: Mt. Hartman

In the next few weeks a Sandino Plant for the production of pre-fabricated units will be arriving. It will have a capacity to construct 500 houses every year. The plant will also have attached to it another small unit for the production of blocks, and another unit for the production of floor tiles, so as to develop a serious construction industry and provide housing for our people on a much more massive scale. Again, we have to thank the Government and People of Cuba for that assistance.



The Sandino Pre-fabrication unit being unloaded at the docks in St. George's

Comrades, we have also seen, just in the last week or so, four new fishing boats handed over to our Government and People from the Government and People of Cuba, to expand our fishing fleet and our capacity to catch more fish.

And we will witness this Thursday afternoon, at Beausejour, the inauguration of our brand new transmitter, so that all our people in Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique and those beyond who chose to listen to the truth will be able to hear the sounds of Radio Free Grenada.

Within the next few weeks we will start the construction of a new telephone exchange building in Morne Rouge, St. George's, as well as a completely new telephone exchange building in St. David's, and an expansion of the telephone exchange in St. George's and a brand new telephone system for the people of Carriacou and Petite Martinique, as well. When this process of construction is completed over the next eighteen-month period we will have moved from our present 3,000 telephone lines to 6,800 telephone lines available. This is a massive project which is going to cost us in terms of machinery, equipment, labour, construction materials etc., somewhere in the vicinity of 10 million EC dollars, and we are fortunate that the majority of that equipment has been obtained in the form of a line of credit from the German Democratic Republic. To make a phone call from Carriacou to Grenada is an adventure. When you go into the Telephone Exchange, the operator has to get that little thing and start to wind the 'ice-cream can'. And you have one line only and only one call can be made at a time. With the new telephone system we will have direct dialing from Carriacou to Grenada and throughout the world.

And while we are on the subject of Carriacou, let me also say that in the next two days the Electricity Expansion Programme will have been completed, bringing electricity for the first time in history to four more villages in Carriacou. And within the next few months, we will have in fact completed the remaining villages so as to have brought electricity to every nook and cranny throughout the island of Carriacou. The days when Carriacou was a forgotten island were forgotten with March 13th, 1979. The installation for the first time in history of electricity services for the people of Petite Martinique as well, will be achieved before the end of this year.

The massive 67½ miles of feeder roads that I have already mentioned, paid for by money jointly supplied by the Caribbean Development Bank and the People's Revolutionary Government, the Eastern Main Road Project financed with the generous assistance and fraternal support of the European Economic Community jointly with the People's Revolutionary Government — these projects hold the greatest significance for the development of our country, and I wish you to recognise the contribution of the European Economic Community and the Caribbean Development Bank.

We in Grenada have found our relations with the European Economic Community and with the Government and People of Canada genuinely fraternal and principled. We have never been pushed around or bullied by either of these sets of countries and we want to recognise them for that.

This year, thanks to the assistance of the European Development Fund of the European Economic Community, 2.2 million



Work in progress on the Eastern Main Road

dollars' worth of additional road construction will be taking place on our Eastern Main Road. The objective by October of this year is to reach as far as La Tante in St. David's, well on the way to St. Andrew's. I don't have to persuade you of the fact that by the normal historical standards of road construction in Grenada, you see a road of real quality and speed being built before your eyes for those of you who know that road along the Eastern Main Road. And I want you to congratulate the engineers and the workers who are engaged in that project.

Comrades, when we come to consider our new International Airport, we are proudly reflecting upon our greatest construction and capital project so far in our three years of Revolution. We have had a long and tough diplomatic struggle, facing all the wiles and wickedness of imperialist lies and calumny, but we have come through and found the will in sixteen different countries to help us build that International Airport. Imperialism couldn't beat us back. Sixteen countries have helped us and we think now that we should really help ourselves more to complete that project. And for this purpose, comrades, for the next three years, the years of continuation of the construction which is only about one year and four months advanced, during this first period of its realisation when finances are required, the Government will in fact be charging a 2% levy on all imports to facilitate, and be used for the construction of the International Airport Project in our country.

Comrades, we must contribute to our own greatest project and join with our internationalist comrades in saying, 'We pay for this giant benefit alongside the workers of so many different countries', sixteen different countries in the world that came to our assistance. We shall stand with them and put in our investment too. We may be small but we are a proud and independent people and we shall play our part too in building that International Airport.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

Agriculture, that foundation for anything we shall achieve in the future, is set for greater and greater expansion this year. So let us respond to our people's concern for greater local production, greater local consumption of what we produce and greater exports too, by saying that it is the massive feeder road expansion that will give us the real impetus in our agricultural development this year. In addition, one million dollars will go towards the Farmers Crop Diversification Project. And another 1½ million dollars towards our Mirabeau Agricultural Farm School for training the many agricultural scientists who will assist in the development of a scientific

approach to agriculture throughout our country.

The Land Reform Programme will act as an important catalyst for finding more idle land for the unemployed youths to develop co-operatives, and by doing this we hope to bring down again the average age of our farmers, continuing to rejuvenate our agriculture and give it young, bulging muscles again.

Another aspect of our agricultural programme is that whereas in the past most of the money has been spent upon recurrent expenditure, now we are keeping recurrent expenditure in agriculture to a minimum of only 2 million dollars, and instead we are releasing a massive 28 million dollars for capital projects in agriculture. In other words, our strategy is to cut down and down on recurrent expenditure, spending money that just spins over to do nothing and instead to massively increase the budget on the capital side, the investment side, in agriculture. In other words, cutting down on the amount of the hundred pounds of corn we eat today and planting more corn to reap more next year. So, comrades, we will be spending on the capital side 28 million dollars in agriculture in 1982. This is the economic truth behind the words of our Comrade Minister of Agriculture, Comrade George Louison, when he says 'Every dollar spent in 1982 must be a dollar towards producing more'.

We shall also see significant expansion in our port facilities this year with the help of the Canadian Industrial Development Agency and the Caribbean Development Bank.

And our agro-industries will also steam forward with the expansion of the True Blue Complex and the establishment of a Spice Grinding Plant and the Mt. Hartman Livestock and Genetic Farm which we envisage producing dairy feed, and also hams and bacon for export.

We must also note the tremendous importance of the Cocoa Propagation Scheme which will start this year, the preliminary work for which has already begun. This is a project of enormous significance to the development of the Cocoa Industry and to agriculture generally, and for this massive project spending some 20 plus million dollars over a period of eight years, we must thank the Government and people of Canada for their assistance to the Government and people of Grenada.

TOURISM

Tourism, of course, will take a literal lift-off with the 60 million dollars to be spent on the International Airport this year. And the beginning of the construction of the terminal building for our

International Airport will start in the same month of April, next month.



Laying the runway for the International Airport at Point Salines, September, 1982.

The Grenada Resorts Corporation will be extending the *Hibiscus Hotel* so as to be able to accommodate more guests, and will also be acquiring some new cottages in the Grand Anse area for the same purpose.

MARKETING AND NATIONAL IMPORTING BOARD

The profound interest shown by our people in the Marketing and National Importing Board will be justified again this year, for the Marketing and National Importing Board, which had a turnover in sales of 6.2 million dollars last year, will in fact have sales this year to the public of 25 million dollars in 1982, a staggering 400% increase. This will have an important effect both in stabilising prices to the public and providing markets for farmers, both locally and for export. Fertilisers will be imported and sold by the MNIB at significantly less than the going price and our farmers will benefit from much cheaper boots, overalls and farm tools

as a result of the expansion of the activities of the Marketing and National Importing Board in 1982.

HOUSING

Housing for our workers will be another major priority for us in this year, 1982, the Year of Economic Construction, with 8.6 million dollars' worth of new housing construction by the Ministry of Housing taking place. Included in this year's investment plan will be the Sandino Pre-fabricated Block-making and Tile-making Plant from Cuba, to which I referred.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

But the two great giants of our Budget, comrades, are the two things which our People are clearly most concerned about, Education and Health.

The Ministry of Education is now building three new schools which will be completed in 1982, and eleven new community centres, so that in a Recurrent Budget which is only slightly different from the Draft Budget presented to all the people of Grenada over the past two months — the new figure is 67.9 million, only fractionally more than the Draft Budget with a few items added as a result of suggestions from the People — of that 67.9 million dollars in Recurrent Expenditure, the Ministry of Education alone will be spending 15½ million or 23% or one-quarter of the entire National Recurrent Budget of the country. The importance we attach to education shows in the fact that nearly one-quarter of the entire National Recurrent Budget goes to the Ministry of Education to educate our people.

And Health is the next ministry that gets the next largest slice of the cake, getting 14% of the entire National Recurrent Budget of the country. Education and Health together, therefore, just those two ministries, will get 37% of the total National Recurrent Budget of our country. So between them, these two Ministries comrades — vital for our education, our training, our health and our strength — will, in fact, be critical in ensuring the efficiency and success of our endeavour in the area of economic construction.

THE ECONOMIC PLAN OBJECTIVES

In terms of the targets for growth overall, as we have mentioned at the beginning, we had in '79 a 2% growth, in '80 a 3.1% and in '81 a 2%. We estimated that if we work hard, if we in fact seriously implement our emulation and production committees in the workplaces, if we take seriously the task of economic construction, if we improve our methods of organisation and planning,

then, but only then, will we be able to achieve the target set in our first plan, the National Plan of 1982, which is a growth rate of 3%, a real growth rate of 3% in 1982. While others grow backwards we hope to continue growing forwards, and we hope to put an extra 3% real growth on top of what we have achieved in the previous three years. But to achieve that, believe me comrades, when most other countries are growing backwards or standing still, given the fact that we are starting with tremendous weakness in terms of organisation and human resources and so on, means a tremendous sacrifice and effort on our part.

The final details of this Plan will be printed and will be available for you to study, for circulation and for discussion throughout the country, in the coming weeks, as we seek to discuss it in detail, and as we seek to implement that Plan in detail. The Plan also envisages increasing employment for our People as a result of the different economic measures which the Government is undertaking in the Plan. Apart from the economy growing by 3% in real terms, we also envisage that 1,200 additional Grenadians who are presently unemployed will get productive employment in 1982 as a result of the Plan. The Plan, therefore, does not only mean that the economic cake from which we all take a slice will grow by 3% but that more comrades will be able to take a slice because more comrades will be helping to produce the slices of the cake. And if we achieve our Plan objectives, 1,200 additional Grenadians will receive jobs just in the year 1982 in addition to those who already have jobs.

THE BUDGET

(1) *Recurrent Revenue*

Comrades, in terms of some of the detailed figures for the Budget, let me start by first of all giving you the figure for the Recurrent Revenue and Expenditure for the Central Government, then I will add the Recurrent and Capital Budget for the State Enterprises in order to get the State Sector Budget.

First of all, if you remember in the document which was circulated and discussed throughout the country, we expected to raise \$67 million in revenue. The adjusted figure is \$68 million, one million more. Our expenditure we expect to be 67.9 million, and we expect to raise in revenue, exactly 68 million. In other words, we plan to balance our Recurrent Budget.

We expect that Customs and Excise will in fact earn \$32.52 million, Import Duty—12.9 million, Export Duty—5.1 million, Consumption Duty—3.77 million, Stamp Duty—9.60 million, other Customs Duties—1.15 million making 32.52 million in all.

Inland Revenue is expected to raise in all 22.2 million: Income Tax on Companies 8.4 million, Income Tax on Individuals 8.27 million, Motor Vehicles Tax 1.1 million, Hotel Occupancy Tax 0.07 million, Land and House Tax .50 million, Withholding Tax 1.16 million and other items under Inland Revenue 2.07 million, making a total of \$22.20 million under Inland Revenue.

Post Office earnings are projected to be 2.02 million; and under Finance, the Foreign Exchange Tax is expected to raise 5.2 million. Profits from the Eastern Caribbean Currency Authority for Grenada 2.22 million, Interest to Government .40 million, Other items .24 million, the total under Finance being 8.06 million, other small items .69 of a million, make up the total Recurrent Revenue of \$68 million. Of almost 68 million in Recurrent Expenditure most of that goes to Education first and foremost and then secondly to Health. Then we also expect to raise approximately the same amount, \$68 million Revenue, in order to cover the Recurrent Expenditure of the different Ministries and Departments.

(ii) *Capital Expenditure*

We have already seen the Caribbean Development Bank Feeder Roads Project in agriculture moving on to the Capital Budget. The Feeder Roads Project with the CDB will hope to build in all 15½ miles of road. They expect to complete about 11 to 12 miles of that road this year and also 52 miles of road built under another feeder roads scheme by the Ministry of Agriculture.

In addition to that we have the Land Reform Programme in the Ministry of Agriculture, where \$4 million have been put aside for the development of idle land and for the provision of funds to be able to mobilise and to provide jobs in farms and co-operatives for some 1,000 unemployed young people during 1982. Altogether we will spend some \$28 million in agriculture.

In Education three new schools will be completed as mentioned before.

In the area of Fisheries, we will be spending nearly some \$2 million in order to develop jetties, freezers, marketing facilities, credit for fishermen, for boats and engines and equipment and so on throughout the country in order to considerably improve the conditions of work and hence of income of our fishermen.

Our Forestry Corporation expects to spend about half a million dollars on equipment so as to be able to effectively harvest our forest and put it to good use in order to make money for our country.

The Grenada Farms Corporation expects to bring the idle land it has under cultivation and to increase its employment of



New Jetty: Harvey Vale, Carriacou

young people by some 200 as a result of its investment programme.

A Cocoa Project Management Board, a special institution set up with the assistance of the Canadian Government to the PRG will be spending some 2½ million, we estimate, during 1982 getting the Cocoa Rehabilitation Project off the ground and kicking.

The Grenada Electricity Services expects to spend some \$1½ million this year, part of it in spare parts, the rest of it in purchasing between two to three new generating engines, which we hope will come either at the end of this year or early part of next year, in order to increase the electricity generating capacity of the plant in Queen's Park, and make it possible to abolish blackouts and load-shedding so as to step up production and provide a more reliable electricity service.

Agro-Industries Limited, our plant that makes all those lovely nectars — and they have been selling a lot abroad as well as locally — will be investing half a million dollars in expanding considerably their production. They hope to raise their production to several times that of '81.

The Grenada Housing Authority under the Ministry of Housing hopes to be able to get into housing construction valued at around 8.6 million in 1982.

The Fisheries Development Corporation hopes to spend \$1.2 million in 1982 in different forms of capital investment, to increase the productive capacity and therefore the amount of fish that we are able to catch, apart from the 2 million that I have already mentioned to help the small fishermen throughout our country.

The Grenada Resorts Corporation expects to spend over half a million dollars in capital expansion work in order to make itself more ready to deal with the coming on stream of our International Airport Project in the middle of next year.

The Central Water Commission plans to spend nearly \$3 million, \$2.8 million in developing increased water supplies, including the massive Mamma Cannes Scheme, so as to be able to bring tens of millions of gallons of additional water per year to the people of St. David's and other parts of the country.

The Grenada Ports Authority hopes to spend somewhere near \$400,000 in improving and upgrading its equipment and installations.

And the Grenada Sugar Corporation hopes to expand its operations, investing at least ¼ of a million dollars in 1982 in order to increase its production and the profits which it can make.

When we add it all up together, comrades, and when we look at the Capital Budget for the Central Government and the State Enterprises, then we can see the pattern, the incredible pattern of growth that we have been able to maintain. Because we will have moved, as I mentioned earlier, from the 8 million of '78 to the 16 million of '79, to the 35 million of '80, to the 76 million of '81 to 134 million in 1982. These funds are not being spent on Recurrent Expenditure, not being spent to patch roads but to build roads and reconstruct roads, to build factories and expand factories, to help to expand hotel capacity, to increase the fishing fleet, to expand our telephone system, to increase our electricity generating capacity, to expand the amount of land under cultivation and the amount of goods that we can produce locally for our people and for export. That is what that \$134 million is all about and therefore in that money lies the future development of our economy and society. It is of fundamental importance.

(iii) *The Total Budget*

Comrades, when we put to that the Recurrent Expenditure of the Central Government and the Recurrent Administrative Ex-

penditures of the Public Enterprises and Statutory Economic Enterprises, we get altogether a Budget for 1982 of 218 million, seven hundred and eighty-one thousand, 741 dollars (\$218,781,741), the largest Budget in the history of Grenada, a Budget, in other words, of nearly \$219 million, and you will observe that the overwhelming majority, by far more than half of that, goes to Capital Investment. It is as if of the 100 pounds of corn that the farmer reaps, well over 50 pounds was used to plant for the next season's reaping.

That is what that Budget means, comrades. Therefore that is the secret for increasing enormously, significantly, in the years ahead, when that investment begins to bite and take full effect; it lays the foundations and the basis for real and serious and sustained economic growth for our country and for our people. That is the significance.

TAXATION

Comrades, now I come to the unpleasant part, the revenue measures, the taxation measures, the part that nobody likes to hear. There are those who believe that manna falls from the sky every day of every week. There are those who believe that money machines are possible, and there are those who understand that whatever we do has a price and we must be able to make a sacrifice.

(i) Consumption Duty

First of all, comrades, we are imposing some increases in consumption duty on items which fall into one of two categories: items that we can produce here and should not be importing — and all the people all over the country are saying that, or items which we need but which we can either produce or we can buy from a CARICOM partner country. Therefore the measures I am about to announce under consumption duty will fall into one or other of those two categories. Either it is an item we could produce here, or an item we will tax only if it comes from outside CARICOM. The taxes are the following:

- A 10% increase in consumption duty on aerated beverages imported into Grenada;
- A 20% increase in consumption duty on tins and bottles of fruit and vegetables, and jams and jellies imported into Grenada;
- A 15% increase in consumption duty on two different types of garments that are imported from outside of

CARICOM into Grenada: men's outer garments and women's outer garments;

- Right now there is absolutely no consumption duty on used tyres. There will be a 5% consumption duty on used tyres;
- And in order to meet the wishes of the people, but at the same time not encourage smuggling only a 5% increase on liquor consumption duty will be imposed. There will be none on cigarettes. The smuggling of cigarettes is too much of a racket. Even a 1% will cause even less to come into Grenada legally;
- Luxury and semi-luxury items, in other words, items not in the category that if you don't eat them every week 'you go dead':
 - Cameras—10%
 - Video Cassette Recorders—10%
 - Cosmetics, excluding toothpaste, (we want people to brush their teeth)—10%
 - Carpets—25%
 - Refrigerators and deep freezers over 12 cubic feet in size (most households have fridges of 8 or 10 cubic feet size)—
 - Speakers and Amplifiers—15%
 - Television sets and television cameras — 15%. Let me explain that in addition to that we are also imposing and we expect our people in a patriotic way to pay it, a \$25 annual T.V. Licence. I want to tell you, comrades, it costs \$400,000 in the '82 Budget to run the television station to give you programmes and it also will cost ½ a million to buy the equipment to bring television to Grenville, and Gouyave and Victoria and Sauteurs and all the different parts of the country. \$25 annual licence is intended to go some way towards helping to pay the cost of providing the service, it will not cover the full cost;
 - Gold and silver will attract 25% more consumption duty. I don't think that they are as important as flour and sugar.
 - Mixers—10%
 - Air conditioners—10%

All of these measures come to a total increase in revenue of only \$650,000.

(ii) Package Tax

- Package Tax will go up by 25¢ to 50¢ per unit; not the

end of the world, and that too is part of the \$650,000.

(iii) *Stamp Duty*

- Stamp Duty on internal transactions will in fact raise a small sum of ¼ million dollars, \$250,000, making a total for all these items of \$1 million in revenue.

(iv) *Airport Levy*

- The International Airport Levy of 2% of all imports mentioned before will raise only \$2 million, but it will be \$2 million contribution by all of the people of our country to our International Airport Project.

(v) *Airport Bonds*

In order to undertake the most vital capital projects to provide our people with the necessary electricity services, telephone, roads, feeder roads, water and economic activity generally, we will also be insisting that all insurance companies operating in our country will buy International Airport Bonds, with 10% of their total premium income. They will be paid 6% interest per annum, tax free. I have been advised that that works out like about 9% in practice.

(vi) *Special Deposits*

Secondly, in the bigger territories, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Guyana, banks are normally required to deposit between 30 and 40% of deposits in the form of special deposits or special reserves or reserve requirements with the Central Bank of these respective countries. It is called different things, under different names. We will require 10% additional special deposits of the banks with the Treasury at a rate of interest to be determined by the Treasury after consultation with the banks. I want to stress that that would make our rate 20% whereas in the bigger territories it is between 30 and 40% and I want to also stress that as you can see, these funds will be utilised entirely and exclusively for the purpose of capital projects directly related to developing our economy in the interest of all our people. An interest rate to the banks on all of that money will be determined through negotiations with them.

(vii) *Company Tax*

The final measure is a special type of measure aimed at the business community. To put it crudely, it is a carrot and stick de-

vice for ensuring greater investment in our economy by the Private Sector. It will take the following form:

Company Tax this year, instead of being 50%, will be 55%, 5% more, but, any and every company that engages in expanding their existing activities or sets up new business activities, if that activity is in the area of hotel expansion or building a new hotel, or in the area of expanding an existing factory or building a new one engaged in direct physical production of goods, will receive a rebate such that they will have ended up paying only a 40% rate of Company Tax instead of the 55%. Those engaged in other kinds of business expansion, companies I am talking about now, other than direct physical production in a factory, or hotel expansion or hotel construction but, for example, expanding an existing outlet that is engaged in turnover activity or whatever, such businesses will also receive a rebate, not as great as the first category, so that they will end up paying for the year, instead of the 55%, a 45% rate of Company Tax. In other words, for those who sit on their behinds and do nothing about reinvestment, the tax has gone up by 5%. But for those who are interested in getting into investments either in their existing undertakings or in some new undertaking, then they will find themselves paying in reality either only 45% Company Tax instead of the old time 50% or 40% instead of the old time 50% and the present time 55%.

The precise details, the rules and procedures by which the rebate will be obtained by those who get into expansion and investment activity will in fact be published within the next day or two so that it can be examined closely.

DEMOCRACY AND THE BUDGET

Comrades, democracy is often not the speediest way of getting things done. Our first People's Budget has been a long and exhausting process. We could have done what most governments do, hold all the information and data in secrecy, behind barred and protected walls and minds, and could have spoken out our decisions, taken in isolation from the strength and brain-power of our people. But that is not the way of genuinely democratic governments. That is not the way of revolutionaries. The Budget must serve the people so the people must make the Budget. It is simple truth that we have tried to put democracy into real throbbing and dynamic effect. Every one of you has a voice, has ideas. We have tried to listen and hearken to them. If we have not done well enough,

then of course we shall do better next year, and better the year after. We hope that through this process our people have discovered many things about the country, their massive potential and the ways in which they can transform their economy and in doing so transform themselves, for that is a crucial issue. We want to move forward with the consensus and unity of our people, and then understanding that it is only a greater national cake that can create a greater slice for any one of us, and that the increase in our Social Wage, all those concrete benefits that we don't have to search in our pockets to find the money for, like free health and free education and so on, can only come if our people have a mature and responsible attitude to paying their taxes and thus contributing, like the next citizen, to the greater and greater social security and health of all of us.

FARMER PARTICIPATION

So comrades, let me end this presentation of our People's Budget by praising one particular set of working people, in this case our farmers. Over the last few months we had two schemes: the Caribbean Development Bank Feeder Roads Scheme, mentioned earlier, and the other, a scheme whose idea came from the Productive Farmers Union. They took it to the Ministry of Agriculture, and Brother George Louison sat down with the Union and together they worked out a strategy to build 52 miles of feeder roads. When that scheme started the farmers came out in their large numbers in the different parts of the country where that 52 miles Feeder Road Scheme was taking place. While that was happening in a different part of the country, the Caribbean Development Bank Feeder Road Scheme also started with a qualified engineer running the project, with assistant engineer, with operators and other management personnel and technical personnel. But the difference was that the CDB Scheme has been done by us in the traditional way. We had done the feasibility study and the design study and we had the engineer and the assistant engineer and the operators and the equipment and so the team of comrades started the work. Then after a day or two, Brother George Louison began to receive dozens of complaints from the farmers in the area who said to him: 'Of course we are happy, we are delighted to see that you have started work in our area and that you are fixing and reconstructing and even building new roads in our area; this means a lot to us. But if as you have said on the radio you only have 5 million dollars from the CDB for this project to build 15½ miles of road, why were we not consulted, why were we not involved in this scheme? Because we are prepared to provide our voluntary labour to make that 5 million

dollars build 30 miles of road instead of 15 miles of road.'

And comrades, do you know that within one week, the masses in this case, the farmer masses, putting Brother Louison and all his team of experts and technicians under their manners and the comrades in true democratic spirit, responding to that criticism, accepting it and correcting the mistake, that the farmers came out in their hundreds and in less than one week cleared over one mile of road in their area.

Comrades, that was a noble act, a patriotic act, and one that should goad us all to greater levels of service and production for our country. For the building of feeder roads itself is a magnificent symbol of our development and for our development. In throwing themselves into that voluntary work, our farmers were demonstrating to us the kind of relentless energy and commitment that will create a new pioneering spirit amongst our farmers and agriculturalists. We shall be opening up new land, blazing our roads through virgin forests and creating new trails of progress for our people. Always understanding with every minute and second's work that every dollar spent in 1982 must be a dollar towards producing more!

LONG LIVE THE FARMERS OF GRENADA!

LONG LIVE THE WORKERS OF GRENADA!

LONG LIVE THE YOUTH AND WOMEN OF OUR COUNTRY!

LONG LIVE THE WORKING PEOPLE OF GRENADA!

LONG LIVE THE GRENADA REVOLUTION!

FORWARD EVER!

FORWARD EVER!

THANK YOU SISTERS AND BROTHERS.



1982 Budget Presentation: Work harder! Produce more! Build Grenada!

ii) BUDGET DAY ADDRESS: Prime Minister Comrade Maurice Bishop

Comrades, following upon Comrade Coard's really outstanding contribution and presentation this morning I think it would be unnecessary for me to try to add anything of particular substance, but what I do want to say comrades is that it is our very honest, sincere and firm conviction that this Budget and National Plan which was presented today is for us in Grenada a history-making budget and therefore a history-making occasion; an occasion, therefore, that is worthy of having the major reasons why history was made today re-emphasised, and what I hope to do therefore is to give you six brief reasons why today's Budget and Plan was in fact a history-making presentation and a history-making occasion.



Prime Minister Comrade Maurice Bishop

THE PEOPLE'S EXTRAORDINARY INVOLVEMENT

The first reason, comrades, without any doubt to its correct order of priority was the tremendous and extraordinary involvement and participation of our people in this budget, which justifies this budget being characterised as a People's Budget, the first of its kind in the history of our country.

One can see this involvement in several ways in recent times and in a big way at the National Conference on the Economy, when over 1,000 of our people in this very Dome formed themselves into 25 workshops, coming from all of the recognised mass organisations in our country — from the trade unions of workers, from the Productive Farmers Union, from the National Women's Organisation, from the National Youth Organisation, from our Revolutionary Armed Forces — all of the mass organisations came together in this Dome and had a very long hard look at the report of the economy which was so brilliantly presented on that day by Comrade Coard.

Following on this National Conference and going right through the month of February 25, Workers' Parish Councils and Zonal Councils in every part of the island, involving thousands of our people, were held and on those occasions ordinary members of the individual communities around the country came out and struggled to come to grips with the report on the economy, and to come to grips with difficult economic terms which, for them, they had not been in the habit of trying to understand. That, in itself, was history in the making.

And following on that, comrades, on February 25th and again on March 2nd, a conference on the economy for all State enterprises was held in this building, and at that conference the managers, the accountants, senior managers and senior officers, leading technicians, and technocrats from 24 of our public enterprises and the leading technicians and technocrats from the Ministry of Planning and Finance, the Budget Division and the Accountant General's department all got together for those three days with the entire Cabinet of our country.

On that occasion five workshops grouped the different enterprises, and over that period of time all of the then existing data and statistics were re-analysed, re-evaluated, subjected to microscopic examination and at the end of the process an entirely new recurrent budget, capital budget, cash flow requirements, workplans and work schedules, work targets, etc., were re-organised and re-arranged. Coming out of that exercise, therefore, were the real flesh and bones of the Budget which you heard presented this morning.

OUR SENIOR CITIZENS PLAYED THEIR PART

And, finally, comrades, on March 1st, a few days ago, there was another such conference again in this building — this time for all senior citizens, for the elderly in our country, for the unattached, for those who are not into the mass organisations, those who perhaps are not as active as they would like to be. These citizens also had the opportunity of coming down here, of hearing a report from the leadership of our country and thereafter breaking up into workshops and themselves examining the Budget, examin-



Senior Citizen

ing the report on the economy and giving their own ideas for what needs to be done and for what has been going wrong, so at the end of this entire process what we have undoubtedly seen is all of the people having the opportunity over these past two and a half

months of being engaged in very serious and intensive discussion around the economy. The private sector through the Chamber of Commerce, the Grenada Hotels' Association and the Grenada Employers' Federation also met in early February with Comrade Coard and that too was a useful and very productive day of discussions. So, comrades, this is the first reason that we say that history was created today: the extent to which our people were involved, the extent to which their ideas and suggestions were examined, the extent to which they had an opportunity before the 'mystical' budget day arrived to discuss in advance what was likely to go into that Budget, and what the economy in 1982 and beyond was likely to be.

The second reason, comrades, is the tremendous variety, range, quantity and quality of ideas and suggestions which have come from the people and the impact which these ideas have had on the final shaping of the Budget. A large part of Comrade Coard's presentation this morning dealt with many of the suggestions which came from the masses. Large sections of the speech were devoted to this aspect.

WE NEED MORE SELF-RELIANCE

We know therefore that the masses in general, the ordinary people of our country, the salt of our earth, have been saying that we need more self-reliance, we need to grow more, we need to cut back on our imports. They have been saying that production must be increased, that there must be more co-operatives, that we must move into new creative ways of finding new crops and new varieties of crops, that more and more of our people must engage in backyard gardening, that the Marketing and National Importing Board must be expanded, that more import items must be brought under the control of that agency so as to lower the cost of living further, that there must be greater supervision, monitoring, and control of Government vehicles, that tax measures which are passed into law must be collected, that tax evasion must not be allowed, that we must wipe out waste and wipe out corruption, that we must engage in more voluntary work, that in fact our people in the community work brigades should be trained, should learn how to construct roads and retaining walls and such like, so they can make an even bigger contribution to the economy on Sunday mornings, that we must supervise and monitor prices as Government and as people.

IDEAS ECHOED ACROSS THE LAND

Ideas like these, comrades, were echoed and re-echoed up and down the length and breadth of our country. What I want to

focus on for a few seconds is not the ideas which came out of the worker's parish councils, not the ideas which came out of the zonal councils, because those ideas were the ones which were analysed and evaluated by Comrade Coard in his presentation. What I want instead to focus on are the ideas which came from our senior citizens, from those citizens in our country who are unattached and do not belong to the mass organisations, from those who came from what is called the middle classes, those who came here on March 1st. In many cases the views of these people were certainly staggering to our party and our Government. Many people would probably anticipate that the ideas that would come out from senior citizens, from housewives, from people who fall within the middle classes might not be as progressive as the ideas which come from the working class itself, from the working people around the country. But what we have discovered in looking at these ideas (and I want to read out six of them for you that have been summarised from the report) is that these ideas are also very, very fundamental and historic ideas.

CUT IMPORTS BY PROCESSING LOCAL

The first one coming from suggestions arising out of the senior citizens conference on the economy says: "Imports must be cut by processing locally-grown products; nectars should be used to replace aerated drinks like Coke coming from outside."

Now, I find that very interesting because one of the continuing myths in our country is that there are large pockets of people who are opposed to what is grown locally, who are not willing to eat what we grow and to grow what we eat and who want to engage in the luxury of continuing to have large varieties of imported products that amount to the same thing. But this first proposal clearly does not indicate that.

The second: "There must be better marketing of our local products, our agro products, and intensive promotional campaigns which can serve to reduce the import bill. For example, salted fish must reach all areas like St. David's or Birchgrove."

A third one: "The agro plant must use less expensive cartons. This would make products more competitive and reduce imports. The retail price must be stamped on all goods."

CONCERNED ABOUT QUALITY

Comrades, hear what these citizens are saying, people who were not concerned about flashiness, about how the product looked, but were concerned about the quality inside and were urging that therefore expensive packaging should be avoided. Another

one: "Only local drinks should be served at national functions." Now again I found that fascinating. (*applause*). Another one coming from these senior citizens. "The import bill can be cut by centralisation of imports in a State Trading Agency."

Now, again I found this really fascinating because what this is clearly calling for is the expansion of the Marketing and National Importing Board, the bringing of more imported products under the umbrella of the Marketing and National Importing Board, and this of course has certain implications. Another point that was made on that day. "The tax on luxury goods, for example alcohol, tobacco, cosmetics, etc., must be increased." Now, again this was an interesting one since many of the people who were present on that day were themselves the wearers and users of cosmetics, but nonetheless because of their recognition of the importance of taking serious measures this point was made.

Finally: "There must be a licence on radio and television sets." Now I don't have to tell you, sisters and brothers, that the television sets in our country up to this point in time are used, in fact, mainly by many of the people who would have been present for that particular conference. Yet that again did not inhibit these people from bringing out this idea because they saw its value to the economy at this time.

GROWING POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Comrades, what this certainly tells us is that the political consciousness of our elderly, the political consciousness of our senior citizens, the political consciousness of our housewives and our middle classes has also grown beyond recognition over these past three years of the Revolution.

What that also tells us, is that the patriotism of our people right across the country, cutting across age line and lines of class has also risen tremendously over the past three years, and I think it is a point that is more than worthy of note.

The other example I want to give under the ideas of the people, is the approach that has been taken by our sisters in the National Women's Organisation. Here, of course, we are dealing now with a highly developed and politically conscious and politically organised leadership, an organisation that not only knows how to mobilise but also how to organise, and coming out of these sisters' discussions in the past seven weeks they have decided, as of the last few days, to rewrite an aspect of their workplan and to spend a lot of time this year focusing in much greater detail on certain specific aspects of the economy, aspects which have come out as

a result of these island-wide discussions and also as a result of internal discussions among the women of the NWO.

I want to read now what the President of the NWO, Comrade Phyllis Coard, said at the International Women's Day Rally on Sunday concerning the role of women in this Year of Economic Construction, the role that the NWO is going to pursue in this Year of Economic Construction: firstly, expand backyard gardens to produce those items that the Marketing and National Importing Board can buy; secondly, step up the formation of co-operatives among the unemployed women in our country; thirdly, produce more craft items for *Grencraft* (our handicraft outlet) especially things that have a large local and export market; fourthly, participate fully in grievance, disciplinary, production and emulation committees at their workplaces; fifthly, *grow local, buy local, eat local*. This slogan and this campaign will be spearheaded by the NWO among all women throughout 1982, and sixthly and finally: monitor, control and eliminate all waste and corruption and boost efficiency, especially on Government projects and with regard to Government vehicles throughout the country.

HUGE IMPACT IN A SHORT TIME

Comrades, I read these six points because it shows the impact and the effect in a very, very short period of time that this discussion on the economy has engendered among all our people. It shows the tremendous extent to which there has been an amazing rise in economy-consciousness throughout the country. It shows the extent to which, the whole process of the economy has begun to be de-mystified, has begun to no longer sound and look like magic but is now beginning to take on the appearance more and more every day and every minute of being something that truly concerns the people, something that the people can understand and do understand more and more, something that the people are consciously and sub-consciously engaged in and involved in every day themselves.

Every time a family sits down to plan a household budget, people are beginning to realise more and more that the planning of a household budget, the planning for survival, the planning for achieving minimum saving, the planning for ensuring that there can be repairs to the house, there can be school books and uniforms for the children, the planning to ensure that there can be money put aside to buy food, the planning which an ordinary family must do every single day, week, and month every year — is much the same process undertaken by a government.

THE BUDGET IS NO MORE A MYSTERY

What these discussions have done, comrades, is to de-mystify this whole process of the Budget, is to make it simpler, to make it more understood, to get the people to understand in a concrete way that the Budget is about them, that the economy is really about what they get every day and what they cannot get at this time and what perhaps they can get in the future; that the Budget and the economy is really about the national cake and whether that cake will shrink or stay the same or expand and if it expands who is going to get the greater share of that expansion.

Our people now have a much deeper and clearer insight into this whole budget business and that too, comrades, we feel is a fundamentally important development in our country.

The third reason we are saying that this Budget today was a history-making one is the deep-going involvement of technocrats, managers and bureaucrats in the presentation of this Budget. In the organisation of the Budget division, the other people involved in the Ministry of Finance, all managers, all technocrats, all the senior bureaucrats, all heads of departments have had to come together over a period of several months and to begin to discuss the Budget for their particular department, ministry or enterprise. And in the process of discussing the Budget they have had to start off from a zero base. They have had to start off assuming that not one single cent would be given to the particular ministry, department or enterprise, that it was not going to be a simple case of saying, 'Last year I got five million dollars, we anticipate ten percent for inflation, therefore this year give me five and a half million dollars'.

Every single cent to be spent had to be justified and in the process of justifying what has to be spent, they could not just rely on their own genius and ideas from above, but they had to involve all of the workers from below. So the discussions centred around calling meetings of the workers in the different enterprises, workplaces, departments and ministries and there raising with the workers themselves the questions of how savings could be effected, how efficiencies could be introduced, how waste and corruption could be eliminated, looking at the possibilities of trying to ensure that with less money the department, ministry or enterprise could achieve the same or even greater output.

BRINGING ECONOMICS TO THE MASSES

That was the way in which this Budget was organised within the ministries, departments and enterprises and that process took several months of discussions in the enterprise and ministry itself,

and thereafter to the process of bringing the Budget and economy to the people through the zonal councils. What we found happening for the first time again in the history of our country is that the technocrats, the bureaucrats, the heads of departments, the managers were the ones who themselves had to spread out around the country and go and sit among the masses and lead and guide the masses in the discussions of the economy.

That was a fundamentally important political development for our people because we must never forget that the history of colonialism in our country has taught us to compartmentalise, has taught us to create artificial divisions of intellectuals on a very high plane, of managers and senior bureaucrats and technicians following thereafter, and then come the ordinary workers. Our culture and our education historically has taught us to separate the intellectuals from the majority of the ordinary people in our country, and this has led to the process of holding back development and the political consciousness of the ordinary workers who found themselves alienated from scholarship, from basic information, from facts. Likewise this has had the effect of retarding the growth and political development of the intellectuals themselves, who continued to see themselves as existing in an ivory tower, separate and apart from the masses, only there to come out and stick some paper behind the Minister, only there to advise the Minister and to treat the masses with the maximum amount of contempt, disdain and reproach that they could find.

What this whole development has done, therefore, by having the managers themselves, the senior technicians, technocrats and heads of departments coming down to the Dome and sitting down with the people in the mass organisations, with the senior citizens in our country, and even more fundamentally having these managers and technicians and accountants and heads of departments going out into the villages night after night for three weeks to sit among the masses, hear their views, to help teach them difficult and complicated terms like Balance of Payments, and Social Wage and Gross Domestic Product and such like; having these intellectuals leave the ivory tower and descend among humanity has had an effect of greatly lifting the quality of intellectuals in Grenada today.

A NEW KIND OF INTELLECTUAL IN GRENADA

So comrades, it has been a two-way process. Our people have benefitted from the expertise, from the training, from the ideas, from the guidance of our intellectuals, but even more fundamentally

our intellectuals and managers and technocrats have benefitted from having grounded with the people and having learnt from them.

Already in these short three years we have seen emerge in Grenada a new kind of intellectual, a new kind of technocrat, a new kind of senior bureaucrat, a new kind of manager. We have seen emerge a new intellectual in our country who has long since forgotten about looking at the clock, who does not even know when it is eight o'clock in the morning or eight o'clock at night. Some of these comrades have been going around the clock, have been pushing themselves and driving themselves. We ourselves wonder sometimes at the extent of the pressure and the peace that these comrades have had to endure; comrades who have returned to Grenada from overseas because of recognising the promise of the Revolution, because of wanting to make for the first time a serious contribution to building their country; comrades who have come from other parts of the Caribbean and from other parts of North America and Europe; comrades who have come to our country as internationalist workers and have been giving of their fullest — these comrades are the unsung heroes behind the Budget presentation that we have had today and we should recognise and emulate these comrades.

ONE PARTICULARLY OUTSTANDING COMRADE

But, I also want to say that it would not have been possible, certainly not in the Ministry of Planning, Finance and Trade to have got this incredible amount of work, to have had these comrades come up with these tremendous amounts of energy, to have had them display all of the creativity and initiative that they have had; none of that would have been possible if they did not have a really first class, a really extraordinary leader, a comrade there to guide them at all times, to help them with their conceptions at all times, to help ensure that they are staying within the broad framework of the policies and guidelines and programmes elaborated by our party and government, a comrade there to ensure that when they were about to collapse that he could himself help to take up the slack because nothing that they were engaged in doing was strange to him. He, himself, was the greatest worker of all of them, a comrade who sleeps regularly two or three hours a night, and for that reason a lot of us in the Party and Government try to put little handcuffs on him to restrain him without success, because of his total obsession with the economy, with the country, with building this country as rapidly as possible; and comrades now again I ask you to recognise the tremendous, outstanding work of Comrade Bernard Coard, our Minister of Finance.

FOR THE FIRST TIME, A NATIONAL PLAN

And the fourth reason, comrades, that this Budget is a history-making budget is because for the first time in the history of our country a national plan has been presented. Many of the details of that national plan were not in fact presented this morning, partly because that information is yet to be printed but it will become available in the next few days. The main outlines and the broad framework of that plan were, in fact, elaborated by Comrade Coard, and as we see this first national plan is a small but important beginning along the road towards the planning of the economy of our country. In this plan there will be three major components: firstly, we would be trying through the national plan to assess the labour force in our country, to examine the salaries and wages that that work force receives and to try to begin assessing the productivity of all workers in our country individually and collectively at their separate workplaces and enterprises, and through assessing the labour force we can determine the numbers, the skills that they have, those who are unemployed, what they are willing to do and what they can do, those who are presently at work, how much they are in fact producing now, and how much more they can produce, what are the wages, and the salaries of these workers.

By making this assessment, we will get a clearer idea as to how we must deploy in the future our very limited and scarce manpower resources. We would get a better idea in the future as to which areas we must concentrate on when we are sending comrades abroad for scholarships and for training in middle-level skills because we would have for the first time the statistical information that tells us where we are strongest, where we are weakest, and what are the areas that we must therefore give the greatest priority and concentration to.

MEASURING PRODUCTIVITY OF WORKERS

That is one aspect of the planning process which we are engaging in this year. We hope to be able to measure the productivity of all of the workers in our country. We hope to be able to measure the productivity of all of the enterprises, particularly public enterprises in our country. This year we hope as a result to be able to set targets for each enterprise, and in fact this has already been done for the 24 public enterprises, and as a result of these projections we are hoping for an overall growth rate of three percent in the economy during 1982.

A second aspect is the question of investment. Of course,

all countries around the world must rely on investment to continue to go forward, to continue to expand the economy, and what we are trying to do this year is to ensure that all of the information about investments which are planned by all of the different individual enterprises, ministries, and departments are collated, centralised and rationalised, and then we take a hard collective decision on which of these investments we can engage in this year. We take a hard decision based on the fact that capital resources are scarce, that managerial expertise is scarce, that equipment and machinery are also scarce.

Therefore, it is not simply a question of having a pre-feasibility and a feasibility study and if as a result of that the investment is o.k. you say, 'go ahead'. It has to go a step further. We still then have to sit down and rationalise, based on the existing amount of scarce resources we have in the country, which ones nonetheless will be most productive in 1982 and beyond.

LEARNING FROM OUR PAST MISTAKES

Now, this question of making that analysis is also fundamental because it ensures that the mistakes of the past are no longer made, that because somebody one night comes up with a brilliant idea which, in fact, could produce a surplus for the country, that the idea is automatically implemented and is not linked into an overall global perspective and is therefore integrated into a true national plan. That mistake we can no longer afford to make because the size of our economy is so small that a mistake of even \$100,000 is a huge mistake for us. The amount of land is so limited that making the wrong choice as to where to put an electrical generator plant, or where to install a new factory, or where to move into the area of livestock or any of a thousand different questions like that of an economic character can prove to be fatal.

The third aspect will deal with the question of technical and material supplies which the country needs: again, getting every enterprise, getting every ministry, getting every department to have a very hard look and to come up with definite concrete answers as to exactly what they are hoping to buy in the area of material supplies in 1982.

And once we get an overall picture that all of the ministries, and departments and enterprises together are going to need 'x' number of crops and 'y' number of tractors and 'z' number of irrigation pumps, that between them they are going to need 'a' number of typewriters, and 'b' amount of stationery, in other words, all of the things which are bought on a day-to-day basis in the past by each ministry and department separately will be pulled

together as one collective whole, so we can then look for the cheapest sources of buying the items in bulk, thus saving a tremendous amount of money for an economy as small as ours.

OUR WORKERS MUST MONITOR THE BUDGET

The fifth reason, comrades, is that this Budget will be the first Budget in the history of our country to be monitored in a scientific and ongoing way by mechanisms of control from the working people. That is a major step forward for us. The evidence of this is the production committees that will be established in each workplace this year within the public sector, and we would expect the trade unions to struggle to ensure that this also happens in the private sector.

These production committees will help to ensure that production is raised, help to ensure that the workers discuss the problems of the workplace, analyse why it is that things are not moving as well as they could. These production committees will ensure that realistic and achievable production targets are set which workers then aim towards achieving. That is going to be a fundamental new mechanism of the working people. Allied to that there will be the discipline and grievance committees which will look at problems of workers and try to solve those problems; committees which will look at the question of worker productivity and discipline and try to solve those problems; committees which will ensure that the workers in fact are making the maximum contribution that they can to production and to increasing their individual and collective productivity. That is also going to be a fundamental mechanism of the working people.

EMULATION HOLDS THE KEY TO HIGHER PRODUCTION

A third such mechanism: the emulation committees, because we believe very genuinely that emulation holds the key to increasing production and productivity in the economy this year. We believe that if the emulation programme, the programme of setting targets, of rewarding and recognising and saluting those who do the best in reaching the target set, the programme of ensuring that at each workplace there is a system of friendly competition, and that more and more training possibilities are organised for each worker; we believe that if these component parts of the emulation system are in fact set up this year then production is going to rise, and rise dramatically. Yesterday's first National Emulation Ceremony only helped to reinforce, confirm and consolidate our view that emulation does have tremendous potential, because the nearly 1,000 workers who gathered in that spot to

witness 78 of their number receive emulation awards, were obviously very, very enthused, were obviously very happy to see their own ordinary fellow workers being recognised, receiving a certificate, receiving a small cash gift, seeing their ordinary fellow workers recognised and praised for the first time in their lives, and therefore seeing that for the first time in the history of our country, workers as the producers and the creators of our wealth were at last receiving the honoured place that was always theirs.

DEVELOPING AN ECONOMY-CONSCIOUS PEOPLE

Outside of these mechanisms, we are confident that the trade unions themselves will ensure that the necessary mechanisms mentioned before are implemented, and established. We feel confident that given the new kind of trade union leadership in our country, that these trade unions will also make sure that as a matter of the internal democratisation and organisation of their individual trade unions that they will create their own internal structures to ensure that their workers become more and more economy-conscious every single day.

Beyond that the National Women's Organisation, the National Youth Organisation, too are going to be involved in helping to monitor the economy, in helping to police and supervise prices, in helping to ensure that vehicle drivers in the Government Service who continue to abuse State property, people's property by bringing vehicles home without permission, by utilising gas for private purposes, etc. — we are confident that our mass organisations will this year help to manners vehicle drivers of that type.

There will also be this year, comrades, implementation of a series of Cabinet directives put together in one Cabinet Conclusion of February 25th (same day as the Suriname Revolution) which has been circulated to the public enterprises and to ministries and departments of the Government. And what these Cabinet directives spread over seven typed pages seek to do is to ensure that in the Year of Economic Construction all managers, senior technocrats, and senior bureaucrats and heads of departments take seriously our attempts at lifting production in our country.

CABINET WILL CLOSELY MONITOR THE ENTERPRISES

The Cabinet's conclusion has three parts: the first deals with the question of accounting procedures and control procedures and ensures that all managers and heads of departments from now on will have to comply with setting up auditing and accounting mechanisms in the particular enterprise or department that they are responsible for. It will also ensure that Cabinet receives a

monthly report as to what is happening in the enterprise and a quarterly audited statement of what is happening with the finances in the enterprise, of ensuring that proper books of accounts are kept, of ensuring that at the drop of a hat they will be able to give full and maximum disclosure of what is happening financially with the particular enterprise that they have responsibility for.

The second thing that this Cabinet Conclusion seeks to do is to ensure that managers and heads of departments and senior people generally help to introduce and to bring in a fuller way worker participation at the workplace, help to institutionalise economic democracy in exactly the same way as we have already institutionalised political democracy.

MONTHLY WORKPLACE MEETINGS

The directives dealing with worker participation will ensure that in every department, ministry and enterprise monthly meetings are in fact held with the workers and that at these monthly meetings a pre-set agenda is carefully followed, that that agenda will include discussion of problems of the workers, discussions of the target which was agreed upon and set by the particular enterprise and the extent to which they have achieved success in reaching that target, and where the target has not been reached, in discussing why it was not reached and in ensuring in the following months that the enterprise catches up and the target is in fact reached.

That pre-set agenda will include discussions around the production committee, around productivity, around emulation. It will ensure that the books of accounts of the particular enterprise are thrown open for the examination of all the workers so the workers at every stage, every single month know how much is being spent, know where the money has gone, know why the money went where it went, know how much money is left in the particular enterprise and know what prospect they have of reaching their production targets and therefore what prospects they have of sharing in profits at the end of the year. The managers and the accountants are going to have to get involved in this exercise.

The other mechanisms, comrades, ensure that the work of the last six weeks where we have held all these different conferences on the economy, where we have brought the people together to discuss the Budget and the economy in general, will be continued this year. Over the next nine months we expect to pull together again two separate conferences for the mass organisations and we intend once again through the zonal councils and the

workers' parish council structures to bring the economy back out among the people for further discussion, for an evaluation of where we have reached in the targets we have set, for criticism and self-criticism, for ideas from the masses on how well the Budget is going at that point in time.

So there will be more discussions of that type, more conferences, more zonal councils on the economy ensuring that before this year is over, on at least two more occasions, the people themselves will have a future opportunity of saying where things reached, where things have begun to go wrong, what we can do to plug the gaps, how we can ensure that the original targets that we have set are nonetheless maintained. Comrades, that is the fifth reason.

EVERY ENTERPRISE MUST FEND FOR ITSELF

The sixth and final reason: this Budget seeks for the first time to separate and to compartmentalise public enterprise from Central Government ministries and departments, thus aiming to make every single tub, every single enterprise sit on its own bottom. What we are trying to do this year is to stop the practice of hidden costs. What we are trying to do this year is to stop the Central Government State Budget being spent in all kinds of surreptitious and delicately hidden ways on public utilities and public enterprises without proper accountability.

We are moving to a system (and this is not institutionalised in this Budget), where the public enterprises' statements of recurrent expenditure are separately listed and the Central Government in turn also has its own separate listings for what it plans to spend by way of recurrent, and what it plans to spend by way of capital. What we hope this will do is that for those enterprises, for example, that used to rely on individual ministries to bale them out from time to time through paying the salaries of their workers in their enterprise — that practice will stop; that those enterprises which move into a government building and never put aside any money for depreciation, never put aside any money for rent or the repayment of the mortgage on the building and then at the end of the year try artificially to disclose a profit — that too we hope to stop.

Now, they are going to have to put down on their budget all the things that anyone running a business in the private sector will have to put down: how much they're spending on wages, how much on the telephone bill, how much on the electricity bill, how much for depreciation, how much for rent, how much for supplies every month, what is the situation with the cash flow and so on.

We feel that has become necessary because very often hidden costs were being absorbed by the Central Government, and therefore it was not possible to accurately and scientifically measure what the real situation was with the particular public enterprise.

CUTTING THE NAVEL STRING

This arrangement now we believe is going to make a difference, is going to make the managers of public enterprises cut the umbilical cord, cut the navel string with the Government, stop seeing the Government as being a big bottomless pit filled with money, stop seeing Comrade Coard as being a magician who can always pull out a five million, but instead begin to deal with the realities of making sure that their own books balance and actively and consciously striving to make a surplus, through increasing production, that we can ensure that the benefits to the people will continue to increase.

So comrades, these were the brief points I wished to make and perhaps I should end, since they were not so brief after all! Let me end, therefore, by saying that the final reason the Budget is significant, obviously, is that it comes within the week of our March 13th celebrations. It comes during a week when we are leading up to another historic celebration of our People's Revolution, another anniversary and that too obviously must be noted particularly as all the signs and indications are that this year's March 13th celebrations, this year's National Rally will truly be the biggest and the best of them all.

When we think of this Budget, comrades, and when we think of it as having been a history-making budget, perhaps we can just think of three 'p's — people, plan, professionalism — that is what this Budget has been all about: the people, about their involvement, about their ideas, about their contribution, about the fact that this year we are having a national plan for the first time, about the fact that this year we are moving to a more professional approach to running the economy, and to making sure that public enterprises account and look to balance their books, look to make profits, and to making sure that more and more people take seriously this business of management and of feasibility studies and of looking for markets.

A TOUCHING THOUGHT

That is what this Budget has been all about and I want to end by reading for you a small quotation. It came from someone who is a good friend of the Grenada Revolution, a well known Caribbean intellectual and author. I wouldn't call his name

because I don't know how he'd react to my reading this part of his letter in public without his permission, but let me just read what he says at the end of this note: 'The Grenada Revolution is a continuing reminder to the entire region, that our material weakness must never deprive us of the world's respect, and this respect begins with our capacity to respect ourselves. The supreme achievement of the Grenada Revolution so far is that it has given to thousands of Grenadians of more than one generation a dignity that they had never known before and no material advancement has any human value whatsoever without this basic ingredient of the people's dignity. Long live the Revolution.'

Comrades, I was so touched by these words coming from this outstanding Caribbean intellectual that I thought I would share them with you this morning, because many of the sentiments expressed there are in fact very relevant to the exercise we have gone through today.

I think with these words we can close by pledging that we will work towards the materialisation of this respect for ourselves and of ourselves, that we would work towards giving our people the full dignity due to them as human beings, that we would work towards ensuring the success of this Year of Economic Construction, that we would work towards ensuring the complete fulfilment of all the targets set by this Budget and National Plan, that we would work towards ensuring that all of us, through working harder and producing more, will in fact build Grenada.

Long live the Grenada Revolution!
Long live the workers of Free Grenada!
Long live the farmers of Free Grenada!
Long live the youth and women of Free Grenada!
Long live the senior citizens of Free Grenada!
Long live the people of Free Grenada!
Long live the Grenada Revolution!
Long live the Year of Economic Construction!
FORWARD EVER, FORWARD EVER, FORWARD EVER!!!

6. THE PEOPLE'S BUDGET:

i) An Interview with Cde. Bernard Coard.

COMRADE COARD, THE GERM OF THE IDEA FOR THE PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE BUDGET PROCESS, AS IN OTHER PROCESSES OF A SIMILAR NATURE IN GRENADA, CAN BE FOUND IN THE NEW JEWEL MOVEMENT'S 1973 MANIFESTO. WOULD YOU SAY THAT THIS IS A FULFILMENT OF A PROMISE TO THE PEOPLE MADE BY THE PARTY AS FAR BACK AS 1973?

One must remember that basically the New Jewel Movement was born in March of 1973 as a reaction to and repudiation of old-style, Westminster-style party politics, rum-and-corned-beef politics, the politics of bribery and electoral corruption, with elections held every five years and thereafter absolutely no consultation, involvement or participation of the people in the process. It was also a process that consciously sought to divide the people into two warring camps — the 'ins' and the 'outs' — whether they be called G.N.P. and G.U.L.P., or P.N.P. and J.L.P. or whatever, depending upon which country in the Caribbean we are talking about, so that all our people are divided into two armed groups, cursing each other and sometimes even shooting each other. The result of this situation is that whenever you try to mobilise people for national development, then any party involved in that process which forms the Government can only mobilise half the people, with the other half being by definition completely opposed to it. Then when the opposition party wins the next election the other half that supports the losing party refuses to be mobilised. So with these kinds of violent divisions, you can't get a small parish or community united, let alone the people nationally.

So it is out of that context of political tribalism, of dividing a working people of a country, a poor country that needs all of its human resources engaged in one direction at a time for national development, that the New Jewel Movement developed. It was a direct response to those divided politics and the total corruption of the electoral process and its non-meaningful nature as an instrument of real democracy. All of this led to the formation of the N.J.M. and to its ideals and principles, including its most fundamental one which is that whatever the task that confronts us, whether it be of a purely political character, an economic character or a defence of the country character — that the

people must be totally involved, that the people must be told the facts, must be consulted about the shaping of the solutions and involved in their implementation. Therefore our Manifesto, the result of years of discussion prior to the formation of the Party and the final writing of it in Summer 1973, and its formal publication and distribution to the people in the initial form of ten thousand copies during the first week of November 1973, contains all of these elements that I have been describing. It demonstrates a contempt for the traditional party political system and for Westminster hypocrisy, plus a rejection of the model of the division of the people rather than the unity of the people in the process of economic and general political development and construction of the country. It is out of all that that we must view all that the Revolution has sought to do over the last few years, and in particular during the process of the formulation of the 1982 Budget and National Plan.

THIS UNIQUE EXERCISE HAS NEVER BEEN ORGANISED BEFORE IN GRENADA OR IN THE REST OF THE CARIBBEAN AND THERE ARE NO MODELS AND NO PRECEDENTS. IN A SENSE IT IS A NEW EXPERIMENT RELYING ON THE CREATIVITY OF THE LEADERSHIP. FROM WHAT THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK DID THIS PROCESS MATERIALISE, AND WHAT WERE SOME OF THE INITIAL DIFFICULTIES IN GETTING IT STARTED?

In terms of the broad theoretical and historical context for the involvement of the people in the Budget exercise, I have just answered that part of the question. However, with respect to the economic issues specifically, we were caught up in a situation where individuals among our people went to universities not only to advance themselves intellectually and academically, but also, whether consciously or unconsciously, to acquire an entire mould of thinking, writing and speaking that becomes incomprehensible to the vast majority of the people. The situation is one that is similar to the situation of lawyers, who learn a language that makes communication with the masses virtually impossible — almost as if this was the objective of our people going to university! This situation, of course, is particularly true in relation to economics — which is referred to by many people in many countries as 'the dismal science'. When an economist talks you are supposed to be blinded by science, and the language and terminology is such as to have the population bewildered, bemused, confused and either thinking the whole thing is a waste of time or totally

accepting it all whether it makes sense or not. Therefore, one of our prime objectives of the revolutionary process as a government and party, has been and is to de-mystify economics and to recognise that economics is something which is perfectly capable of being grasped by all of our working people, that indeed to build an economy every Grenadian has to *become* an economist and has to become totally familiar with the fundamental principles in all the different workshops that we organise. For we found that the ideas, the suggestions and the criticisms coming from people in all the different parts of the country, in villages twenty and thirty miles apart, were fundamentally the *same* ideas, the *same* criticisms of corruption and waste in different ministries, on the abuse of government vehicles and stock and so on. In other words, a number of specific things that people were very annoyed about and had deep and strong criticisms about, proposals and ideas that the people had, people's ideas on imports and a policy with respect to the importing of different types of commodities, their positions on exports and a whole range of economic questions — all this coincided to a remarkable degree.

So the people in different parts of the country not previously brought together in this way, not in contact with each other, were nevertheless coming up all over the country with similar ideas, similar proposals and similar criticisms. This too was another fascinating aspect of the exercise, and the process hasn't ended. People's heightened consciousness of the economy continues to sharpen, and we see it in a thousand different ways. We see it in ministries and departments when a secretary or a typist — and I'm not referring to a senior official like a permanent secretary — comes in to see you and they bring a one- or two-page document, and you say to them, 'Look, could you please do a photocopy for me because I need to study this', and they say, 'Yes, but which ministry paying for it, which vote it coming out of?' In other words, you can't get a sheet of paper or an envelope or anything out of any ministry or department now without someone asking you, 'Who paying for that?' They want money up front! So the level of consciousness about every cent now in just about every ministry or department or enterprise is really incredible.

But what has also been significant is the tremendous interest which has been expressed privately, behind the scenes, by ministers in a number of Caribbean governments, by civil servants and by ordinary members of the public too in those same countries who have heard about our Budget process through the radio or newspapers. The mass consultation with the people which we have

in Grenada and which is unique in the English-speaking Caribbean has clearly gained their genuine attention, particularly the workshop sessions we organised with 25-30 people having hard discussion for three or four hours at a time. That has certainly excited a lot of people up and down the region, and they have been asking a lot of questions and seeking detailed information about the organisation of our process here.

COULD YOU COMMENT UPON THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE TECHNICIANS, INTELLECTUALS AND ECONOMISTS IN THE MINISTRIES, AND HOW THEIR CONSCIOUSNESS HAS BEEN RAISED, THEIR COMMITMENT DEEPENED AND THEIR FRATERNAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MASSES STRENGTHENED THROUGH THIS PROCESS?

That too was a remarkable aspect of the entire process. To take economists and planners out of the Ministries of Planning, Finance and Trade and to have the engineers from the Ministries of Housing and Construction and other technically qualified people in different areas, and to put them into different workshops at the National Conference on the Economy, then onto the zonal council meetings around the country during the weeks that followed, and have them jointly chairing discussions with leaders of the mass organisations and being there to answer the questions of the people and record all their criticisms, suggestions and proposals — all this clearly had a profound effect upon them. The vast majority of them had never had this kind of experience before. They were working behind desks, working very hard round the clock Monday to Sunday with real commitment for the three years of the Revolution, but without having that day-to-day contact with the masses. So they didn't know what the people were thinking, and they were shocked to discover that the people themselves had very concrete and specific ideas on a whole range of economic matters.

So we saw our technicians becoming transformed, finishing a hard day's work in their ministries and all the time looking forward to their evening's zonal council with the masses and rushing off to a meeting in Gouyave or Sauteurs or Grenville. This enthusiasm was quite remarkable and came out in a number of sessions that we had together after the final Budget presentation. The quality of the work of our technical people has clearly improved since the process, even though it was of a high standard before. But it's more *grounded*, more related to reality, with a much greater understanding of the problems that the people face, their perspec-

tives, their needs, the urgency of certain matters for them. So that when they do their work now they do it in the context and in the consciousness of weeks of face-to-face discussions with farmers, workers, women and youth from all the villages of Grenada. This was certainly a profound experience for our technocrats and it has been of tremendous benefit to them as individuals, as human beings — but it has also brought an enormous benefit to the Revolution as a whole, given what it has done for the further development of the quality and popular orientation of their work since this national participatory exercise in shaping the economic future of the country.

CONNECTED TO ALL THIS IS THE ROLE THAT THE PARTY PLAYS IN THE WHOLE PROCESS, LEADING AND GUIDING BUT ALSO LEARNING FROM THE MASSES. CAN YOU COMMENT UPON THE ROLE OF THE PARTY?

As you know, fundamentally it was the Party which led the attack upon Trueblue Barracks on March 13th, 1979. It was all Party comrades who did that and then called upon the people to take to the streets and unarmed, to seize the police stations, the 36 police stations with all their weapons. Of course, the people had enough confidence in the Party and its leadership that they would respond to a radio call, put themselves into the streets in their thousands and face unarmed the 1,350 armed forces of the Gairy regime — not counting the Green Beasts who had already been defeated and captured by the Party comrades. So just like the Party led that struggle to bring victory to the people militarily speaking, the Party had led all the people's political struggles under the dictatorship, leading up to that moment of Revolution. Now it is the Party's task to lead the struggle for the defence of the country, lead the struggle to build a People's Militia, lead the struggle through the people and our small People's Revolutionary Army against external aggression — but also to lead the struggle on the *economic front*.

This economic struggle is a thousand times harder than the charging of the Barracks on March 13th, 1979, as difficult and as dangerous as that task was. Therefore, we cannot ask the people to do anything unless we are prepared to lead from up front, to set the example, to show that we are deeply concerned and prepared to work hard in this process. In this respect, therefore, the Party has been critical, has been decisive in building the mass organisations of our people, in building the People's Militia which involves all our people in the defence of the country, in building the Parish

and Zonal Councils in order to bring popular democracy to the people, in supporting the struggle to unionise all the working class and have them fully involved in genuine internal democracy within their unions. But also the Party is leading the struggle to mobilise all our people to build our economy and to reconstruct our country. In that sense the Party has, by its example and hard work, collectively as well as individually provided the lead.

So it is in that context too that we have to see the role of so many of the Party comrades who participated in the process of discussion on the economy, who were knocking on the people's doors to bring them out to come to the National Conference on the Economy and the parish and zonal councils which followed, so that the people's voice could be clearly heard across the nation. It was the Party that had to go and knock on every door of every house, bring pamphlets and leaflets, bring materials and literature, encourage, stimulate, motivate, organise and mobilise the people to come out and fully participate in the process. In that sense the Party acts as a catalyst, as a mobilising instrument for people's democracy and people's participation.

WHAT FOLLOW-UP ACTIONS ARE PLANNED, IN TERMS OF BRINGING DISCUSSIONS OF THE ECONOMY TO THE MASSES IN THE COMING MONTHS THROUGH THE ORGANS OF POPULAR DEMOCRACY ESTABLISHED HERE IN GRENADA? AND WHAT MECHANISMS ARE BEING ESTABLISHED BY WHICH THE WORKING PEOPLE CAN MONITOR THE ECONOMY, AND PARTICULARLY THE COMPONENTS OF THE STATE ENTERPRISES — AND HOW DOES THIS RELATE TO THE UPCOMING PROCESS OF ENDING UNEMPLOYMENT?

During the last three months we have had very detailed and extensive discussions with all the personnel in the ministries, departments and state enterprises at several different levels — particularly with the technical personnel. For in the process of putting together a draft of the Budget-Plan for 1983-85, we are trying to move from a one-year plan in 1982 to a three-year plan, 1983-85, in which the 1983 part of the plan will be more detailed. It is a three-year plan, but each year would be planned in more detail within the three-year period. So we have been doing this work in order to have a draft document with the basic elements and facts and figures to present to our people some time within the coming weeks and months, so that they would be able to study it. Then they can criticise it and say, "This is missing, that is missing, this

should not be here, that should be modified, this should be changed'. We are hoping that this document will be ready in two or three months, and then shortly after, when the necessary mobilisation work has been completed to involve the maximum amount of people, we would have a national conference followed by a series of parish and zonal councils throughout the country, plus discussions also at workplaces. In this way our people would have several opportunities for discussion. They can discuss it at their workplace, at their trade union general meetings and branch meetings, in their zonal councils based upon geography, in their parish councils based on the section of the population they belong to — whether they are in the women's organisation, the youth organisation or whatever mass organisation they are a part of. They'll have several bites at the cake, so to speak, several chances and opportunities and fora in which to discuss the Budget-Plan for 1983-85.

So this document is being prepared in great detail so that the people can have all the data at their disposal — wages, prices, inflation, the entire investment plan and programme that we envisage in every sector, in every department, ministry, State enterprise — in every sector of the economy. It will express broad policy decisions that we want to pursue, import policy, export policy, projections with respect to exports and imports — the whole list, everything. The recurrent revenue and expenditure side of the Budget and so forth would also be included, and this would form the basis for this nationwide series of discussions, again similar to what we have begun with the Budget exercise. But we shall be doing more than that. For not only shall we be planning 1983-85, but at the same time during the same elaborate network of national consultation, we would be reviewing how 1982 has gone up to that particular time when the discussions take place.

So we shall be doing two things, we will have a two-item agenda. Basically, the first item would be where we have reached in 1982 — we said we were going to do this, this is what we have achieved and this is what we have not achieved. Also it would include information on the extent to which we have fallen short and what factors did we fail to consider at the time we drew up our Budget-Plan, what are the problems and difficulties that have arisen which we have not been able to solve. So we would be doing a post-mortem with our people of where our 1982 projections have reached today. By then, eight or nine months of 1982 would have passed and we would then be able to analyse our relative success in achieving what we set out to do in our 1982

Budget-Plan, as discussed with and by the people and approved by them. The second item on the agenda is 'where do we go from here'; what do 1983, 1984 and 1985 look like? So this is what the next six months will be like, between now and September: the final preparation of two documents. Firstly, a document setting out the level and extent of achievement, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the Budget-Plan as outlined for 1982, and secondly the draft Budget-Plan for 1983-1985 as presented by the technical personnel and the workers in each department, ministry and State enterprise. These two documents would be prepared and they should be ready within the next twelve weeks. Then we move into the series of nationwide consultations for the remaining three months of the year.

AS YOU SAID, ECONOMICS HAS ITS OWN SPECIAL LANGUAGE AND JARGON AND THAT WOULD TEND TO INTIMIDATE THE PEOPLE AND PREVENT THEIR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. HOW DO YOU THINK THAT THE BUDGET PROCESS HAS MADE AN OFFENSIVE ON THE CULTURE OF SILENCE OF THE MASSES IN RELATION TO ECONOMICS, AND HOW DO YOU THINK IT HAS HELPED TO LIBERATE THEM FROM THE PASSIVITY AND RETICENCE OF THE COLONIAL PAST?

I think we can see the results of the new confidence amongst our people through examining their participation during the National Conference on the Economy and the parish and zonal councils that followed. I have piles and piles of folders and files with all the criticisms, proposals and suggestions that came up from the people, and nearly half of the budget speech of March 9th was simply listing many of them, so that they could themselves see that this was a real and living process. They could see reflected in the formal Budget presentation all the things they had to say about the economy, and then the second half of that presentation was the response of the Government to what they had to say in the final shape that the Budget-Plan took. So I think that has clearly shown that the people have risen to the challenge to demystify economics, and have accepted the need that they should be the masters of it. I think we have made tremendous headway there, and this has caused the confidence of the people to rise — a very important by-product of the process. For through such a tremendous increase in their confidence, the people are now beginning to realise that they can rap about these issues, that they really have an instinctive grasp of them, for they are the ones that live

and breathe the economy. It is their pocketbooks that are affected by it, their sweat and blood that produce what we produce. Therefore, they are discovering more and more that economics is all about their daily lives and about what they do or fail to do during its process.

COMRADE COARD, CAN YOU COMMENT UPON THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE TO GRENADA AND THE CARIBBEAN, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE RECENT SO-CALLED 'CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE' OF RONALD REAGAN, OF THIS SOCIAL EXPERIMENT OF AN ECONOMIC NATURE THAT WE HAVE JUST CONCLUDED?

The fact is that the first experience of our Caribbean people of involvement in economics in this part of the world was an experience of forced labour. It was an involuntary experience, an experience of one hundred per cent dictatorship and oppression. Our first taste of economics was in the whips of slavery, with no wages and the hardest and most toilsome work in the hot sun, the danger of being beaten to death if you failed to work, the most miserable conditions and the greatest human degradation and humiliation. So the struggle of Caribbean people is in a sense a struggle for liberation firstly from that, and then from the struggle to get some land to work, the struggle of the landless peasantry and the landless agricultural workers, the struggle of the agricultural and urban workers to get a wage that could keep their families alive — the struggle for sheer survival.

This was a struggle not only in the context of economic oppression but also of political oppression from the Gairys and Duvaliers of the Caribbean. That is after the period of colonialism because during that period there was no pretence of democracy, just straight, naked colonial rule. So there is a struggle for political as well as economic liberation taking place side by side with the existence of the reality of political and economic repression. Therefore, what the Revolution in Grenada has meant for the Caribbean is not only political liberation, but also the foundations of economic liberation of our people. So our process of total mass involvement in the Budget-Plan exercise must be seen within that context, as a part of that process of a total liberation of our people in matters both political and economic. This forms a fundamental challenge, therefore, to the rest of the Caribbean. It has placed on the agenda of the Caribbean masses, regardless of who likes it or who doesn't like it, the issue of real freedom and real democracy as opposed to hypocrisy. It has placed on the agenda

the real issue of people's participation and people's involvement. It has placed on the agenda the fundamental policy questions surrounding who should own and control a national economy, and what path of national development is to be followed by extremely poor and exploited developing countries. That is on the agenda of the Caribbean masses now as a result of the Grenadian experience.

It has clearly unleashed certain words from President Reagan. For at the same time that he announces his 'C.B.I.', he announces that Grenada is a virus that might spread to the rest of the Caribbean. We have to determine now how we are going to interpret this concept of the 'virus', if it is a virus of people's democracy, a virus of people's participation, a virus of new organs of popular democracy, a virus of ending the divisions of two warring, armed camps, if it is a virus of the people's involvement in total economic construction of their country. Then, even then, we have no intention of exporting that virus. We leave it for the Caribbean masses to determine whether they would wish to have some creative expression of their own political and economic liberation which may or may not be similar to the Grenadian experience. But what we certainly hope is that they do not catch the virus of Reaganomics, because it would kill them in no time at all. It's even worse than the present generalised, decaying, capitalist, imperialist virus from which they presently suffer and from which they presently experience anaemia, arthritis and pneumonia.

The 'C.B.I.' in that context is an attempt to maintain the structure of domination, exploitation and oppression by totally inadequate bribery. It will not meet the challenge either from succeeding from a purely opportunistic bribery point of view, nor would it, even if the bribe were large enough, succeed in quenching the thirst of the Caribbean people for genuine democracy in matters both political and economic. Reagan's 'C.B.I.' has no chance of succeeding in its imperialist objectives. I want to stress *Reagan's 'C.B.I.'* I am not dealing here now with the perspectives of Canada, Mexico and Venezuela with respect to the C.B.I. That is a totally different kettle of fish, where they are talking about a non-political discriminatory C.B.I., a C.B.I. with no military component that is given to all countries on the basis of their developmental needs and on the basis of developmental objectives which they themselves determine, as opposed to having it imposed by the donor countries. So all my remarks deal with the objectives and motivations and effects of *Reagan's 'C.B.I.'*, and its danger for the Caribbean.

St. George's, June 17th, 1982



*Comrade Bernard Coard
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Trade and Planning.*

ii) Presentation by Cde. Bernard Coard on the **WORLD BANK REPORT**

(Made during a Press Conference at St. George's, 14th October, 1982)

In order to examine generally the development in the economy and analyse what has been achieved over the past three-and-a-half years in terms of economic development of the Revolution, I will read to you some excerpts of the analysis of the World Bank of the Grenada Economy based on the most recent visit of their experts and the official report which they published on August 4th 1982, i. e. the *Economic Memorandum on Grenada*, their most recent report.

The World Bank sent down a team of their leading experts who spent some three weeks virtually covering the whole island — travelling along the roads and feeder roads, they visited factories, interviewed a lot of people, as well as examining all the data in Finance, Planning and Statistics and so on. This was not their first visit, they have been here every year. They also utilised all the data provided by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which has had people based in Grenada full-time over the last several years, which means that data that had been gathered from scratch on our economy by the IMF, was also utilised by the World Bank Mission when they came. In addition to all of that, they received the assistance of our technical staff, the economists in the Ministry of Finance, Trade and Planning, the Statistical Department, and other departments like the Ministry of Agriculture, Tourism and so on. I will now read to you some excerpts to give an idea of the World Bank Report which is in our view highly favourable in terms of its assessment of the performance of the Grenada Economy from the March 13th 1979 Revolution. Here is one extract from the overall analysis:

“The Government which came to power in 1979 inherited a deteriorating economy, and is now addressing the task of rehabilitation and laying the foundation for future growth.”

That is the World Bank assessment.

The World Bank goes on to say on another page—

“The Government objectives [meaning the PRG] are centered on the critical development issues and touch on the country's most promising development areas . . . [First,] In agriculture the Government has moved on several fronts to correct the malaise that have afflicted the sector.”

It continues —

“The Government has also enhanced and upgraded extension

services and technical assistance to individual farmers, and has been providing larger flows of financial assistance for banana and cocoa rehabilitation. The establishment of private cooperatives of small farmers was also undertaken with financial and technical support from the Government. In addition, fertiliser is made available through the Marketing and National Importing Board, which also provides a market for farm products. Furthermore some 100 kilometers of feeder and main roads were built or rehabilitated between 1979 and 1981."

In another paragraph the World Bank says the following:

"The development of agro-industry offers promise. Fruits and vegetables, which were often lost through spoilage, because of the short harvesting period, now can be processed in a new agro-industry plant established by the Government. Agro-industries give incentives for many full-time and part-time farmers to produce more. The agro-industrial plant exported about 50 percent of its 1981 production and offers scope for expansion. Forestry is another promising sector for import-substitution and, possibly, exports. Fisheries offer good growth prospects based on export and domestic market expansion."

In the area of tourism it says the following:

"The Government is trying to revive the sector by way of a public relations campaign. The completion in 1983 or 1984 of the international airport will alter supply conditions. At present, Grenada has no airport capable of accommodating wide-body aircraft, nor can planes land at night."

Altering supply conditions by means of stepping up the number of tourists to our country.

In another section they say:

". . . the export of furniture and processed foods has been increasing rapidly over the last three years. Also, the production and exports of garments have increased impressively."

In the area of construction itself —

"Construction has experienced the highest growth rate in the economy, spurred by public investment programs, particularly the construction of the international airport and the road program. Construction has also been stepped up in education and health."

In the area of private enterprise, the private sector in Grenada,

the report says:

"The Government has sought to encourage private sector confidence in a number of ways. There have been regular consultations between the Government and the private sector. These consultations have involved soliciting private sector responses to proposed Government policies (i.e. Investment Code, National Budget/Plan 1982), clarifying doubts (i.e. import licensing system, Marketing and National Importing Board) and working out cooperative solutions to problems of mutual interest (i.e. marketing of primary product exports, identifying cheaper sources of agricultural inputs). The Government continues to provide a wide range of incentives under the Fiscal Incentive Act geared primarily towards the encouragement of manufacturing activities by providing duty-free concessions, and tax holidays. Additional incentives are made available under the Qualified Enterprise Act and the Hotel Aid Ordinance. More recently, a draft Investment Code has been prepared. This code articulates economic support and other available incentives. The Investment Code also lists areas of economic activity available for private sector involvement and outlines the basic principles governing joint venture operations between the Government and private enterprise."

On another page the World Bank report says —

"Tourism is expected to pick up substantially as a result of the new international airport's completion."

In the area of foreign debt of the country, the national debt of the country, the World Bank in fact provides the data which shows that Grenada has one of the lowest foreign debts in the world in terms of debt service ratio. Debt service ratio simply means the amount of money you have to pay each year to service your debt that has been accumulated by the country over a period of a decade or decades as a percentage of the total export earnings of the country. In other words, how much you have to pay the foreign banks and foreign governments or whoever have lent you money abroad as a percentage of your foreign exchange earning for that year — the percentage that you pay is called the debt service ratio.

Every country has a debt service ratio. When banks, countries and international institutions are thinking of lending money to a government for development purposes one of the first things they look at is your debt service ratio to see whether the country in fact is about to collapse because the amount that it has to pay

out in payments on old debts is so great that it is taking up nearly all of its foreign exchange earnings and there is no money left over to import goods for the people, capital goods for investment and so on.

Grenada's debt service ratio is less than four percent; it is either the lowest or one of the lowest in the world; less than four percent. Most developing countries debt service ratios are considerably higher than those of advanced developed countries. In other words our creditworthiness in the light of the World Bank report is very good. I just want to read you a section the World Bank has on construction.

"Since 1979 the Government has stepped up its programme of infra-structural development. The Ministry of Construction and Public Utilities was established in order to implement and monitor the Government's policy of infra-structural development in the area of construction. The most important of these infra-structural works is the construction of the International Airport at Point Salines at a cost of about EC\$200m. Other ongoing infra-structural projects include extension of utilities. The construction of new roads and the rehabilitation of dilapidated roads are also important aspects of ongoing infra-structural developments and in 1982, some 130 kilometers of roads are expected by the Government to be either constructed or rehabilitated costing about EC\$19m. Construction has been a critical element in the expansion of educational facilities throughout the country. Over EC\$5m has been spent in this area over the last three years in a 5-year programme and EC\$9.6m are earmarked for further expansion as the secondary school population increases as a result of the introduction of free education. A pre-fabricated unit plant for construction of houses with a capacity for production of five hundred pre-fabricated houses per year is expected to become operational before long. The Grenada Housing Authority, attached to the Ministry of Housing, was established to provide housing facilities. In 1980, the Authority constructed 32 houses at a cost of EC\$1 million. In 1982, 50 houses are expected to be constructed by the Authority at a cost of EC\$2.3 million. In 1982, a National Housing Repair Programme was launched in order to assist low-income home owners in house repairs and maintenance. In Health, an ambitious programme is now underway including provision of free health services. The facilities at the General Public Hospital have been upgraded and improved and additional health centres are being built so as to decentralise

the availability of proper health care.

"Construction has experienced the highest rate of growth in the economy. In 1981, expenditure by the Ministry of Construction showed a 15 percent growth from the previous year. In the 1982 Budget and National Plan, construction accounts for 70 percent of the Central Government's investments. Owing to the significant role that construction plays in the infra-structural development of Grenada, special emphasis has been placed on the preparation of planning, evaluation, implementation and monitoring of construction projects through an expanded planning unit at the Ministry of Finance and Planning."

All of those are quotations from the World Bank assessment of our performance in the area of construction. They also gave the data, their estimates of the data for capital expenditure of the government in 1980, '81 and their projections for 1982 — what they think we are likely to spend in '82 — this is capital expenditure now. We are talking about, in other words, what the government spends in increasing the productive capacity of the country as opposed to recurrent expenditure.

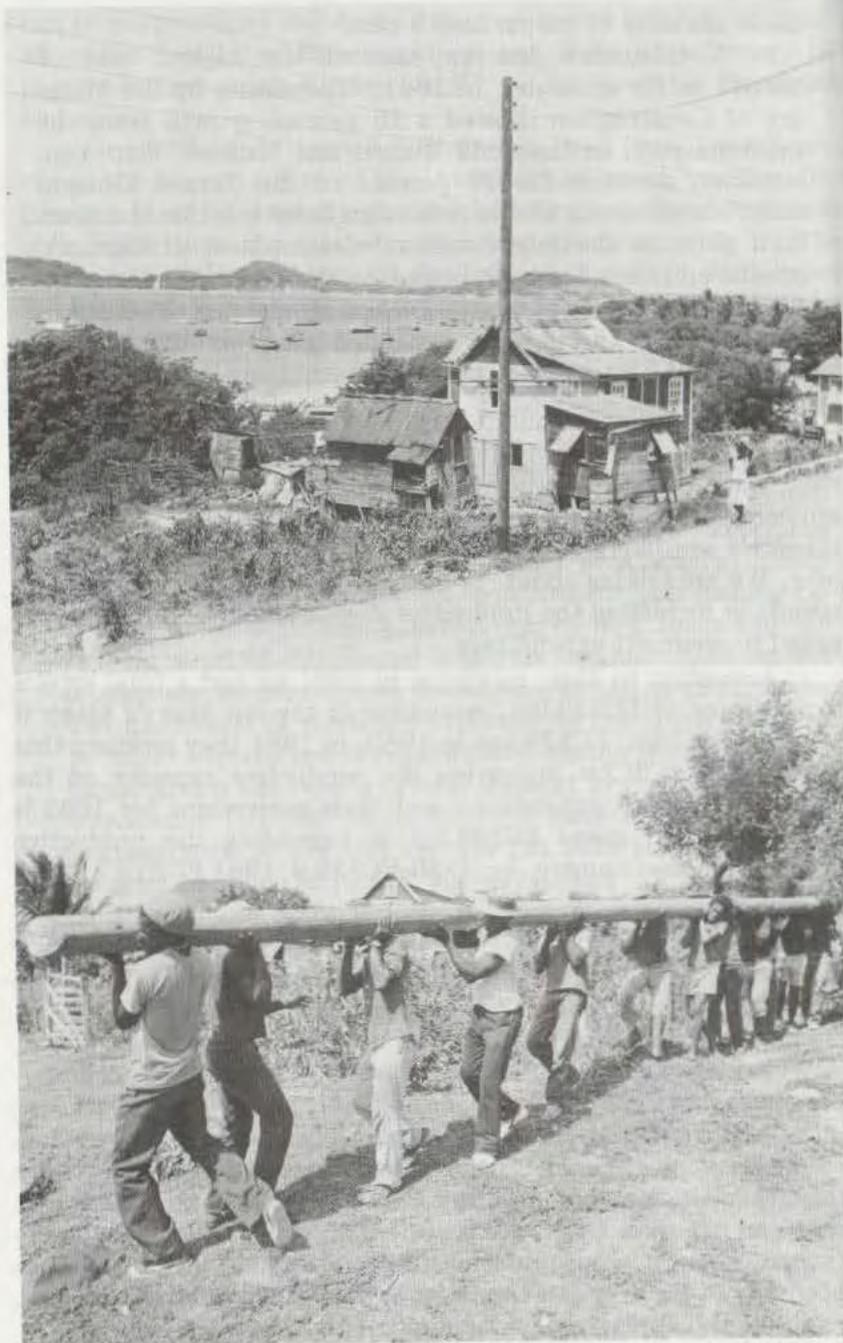
According to their estimates in 1980 we had a total capital expenditure of EC\$39.9m, remember in the last year of Gairy it was only EC\$8m. EC\$39.9m in 1980; in 1981 they estimate that we spent EC\$79.2m improving the productive capacity of the country — capital expenditure and their projections for 1982 is that we would spend EC\$98.2m in expanding the productive capacity of the country. In 1980 EC\$39.9, 1981 EC\$79.2, 1982 EC\$98.2m.

The last sentence I want to read you from the World Bank report says that and I will quote as it is relevant to an overall assessment:

"Grenada has been one of the very few countries in the Western Hemisphere that continued to experience per capita growth during 1981."

I will read it again — "Grenada has been one of the very few countries in the Western Hemisphere"; note it does not say only Caribbean, it does not even say Caribbean and Latin America, it says the Western Hemisphere. In other words, they include the United States, Canada, Britain, France, everybody. "Grenada has been one of the very few countries in the Western Hemisphere that continued to experience per capita growth during 1981."

This then, is what the World Bank report had to say.



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