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FJM-12

Grenada: Eric Mathew Gairy and the Politics of Extravagance

St. George's Grenada, W.I. May 25, 1969

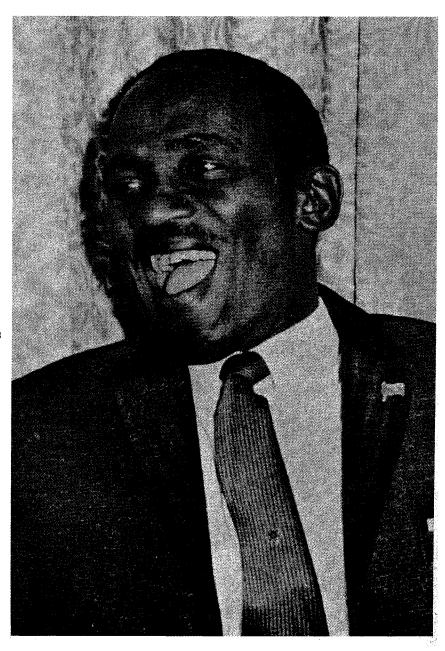
Mr. Richard Nolte
Executive Director
Institution of Current World
Affairs
535 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Nolte:

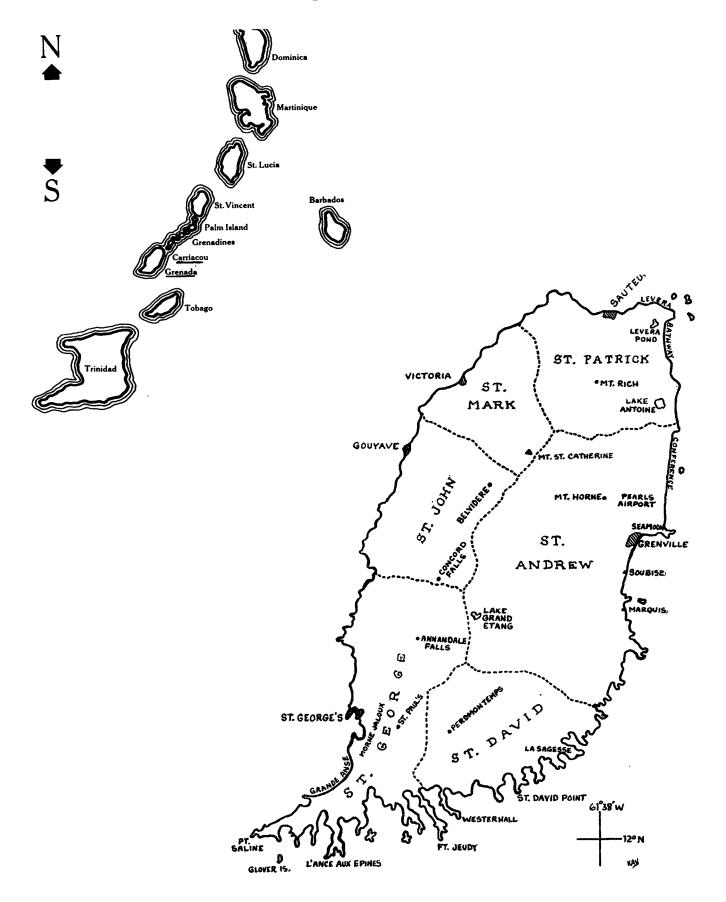
Grenada will likely be the next serious crisis spot erupting in the Caribbean. For beneath the surface appearance of fast-paced tourist development and in spite of Grenada's image as a mini-state going places, the island is actually in a high state of tension which should be watched during the next six months.

Once a British Colony, Grenada is the most southern of the four Windward Islands, roughly 120 miles north of Trinidad. It is 21 miles long and 12 miles wide with a total area size of 120 square miles and a population topping the 90,000 mark.

The island is one of those "Associated States" internally self-governing but dependent upon Great Britain for its defense and foreign affairs. However, dissatisfaction with "independent dependency" has set Grenada's Premier Eric Gairy looking at ways and conditions in which Grenada might become completely independent.



Premier Eric Gairy



This was hinted at last month at the opening of EXPO '09 (The first exposition of the Caribbean Free Trade Association to which Grenada was host country) when Gairy categorized Associated Statehood as "Quite meaningless . . . a farce and a mockery." "I suppose we are being laughed at by the other nationals in the area who have some form of association with the United States, France and Holland . . . Great Britain herself if probably laughing at us."

Outfitted in white shoes, white trousers and matching jacket for his opening address, Gairy's reputation as a flashy dresser was enhanced and his speech provoked the usual amount of comment.

Gairy has made other statements regarding independence, the most specific made through the Grenada Government Information Service on February 21. The Premier announced that negotiations had already begun with the United Nations for permanent observer status and that such negotiations will be a forerunner to independence for Grenada. He also said he intends to establish a consul in the United States. Other comments Gairy has recently made indicate that "associated statehood" will terminate soon.

Eric Mathew Gairy was born in Grenada and attended primary school there. He then Left home for the Dutch island of Aruba to work in the oil fields; but at the age of 27 he returned to Grenada and began organizing strikes against the sugar estates. That was eighteen years ago.

Gairy himself described his struggle for the Premiership of Grenada when he officiated at the opening of EXPO.

"Eighteen years ago I had a dream, as it were, eighteen years ago I had a vision that I could build Grenada and make Grenada a place of global repute and recognition; eighteen years ago I had a vision that I could help build a West Indian Nation; eighteen years ago I started establishing the principle that the worker was a necessary, vital and integral part of any industry or enterprise, knowing full well that I was incurring the wrath of a traditionally complexed and sophisticated society of false pride and sham, and so, eighteen years ago the British Government sent their battleships to me and my people; eighteen years ago I was confined behind barbed wires, eighteen years ago I was given fifty-two police cases within a few months."

Though the pretension and lack of eloquence of the speech do come through, Gairy's statement, for the most part, does represent the truth. In the early fifties, Gairy organized the Grenada Mental and Manual Workers Union, initiated a series of bitter strike actions against the big sugar estates, out of which he formed his political base, the Grenada Labour Union Party. Like many other union leaders who came to power in the late fifties, Gairy used his union and its political arm to gain political power.

Those days during the sugar strikes of 1951-52 were known as the days of "sky-red". Grenadians today describe the tensions and tell of the mights when farms were burned, terror was used against strike breakers and intimidation grew to be commonplace. In those days, people say, Gairy formed the "mangoose gang," a collection of toughs who meted out punishment to the opposition or defectors from the union. Grenada was then a colony, under British administration, and the island called for more than its fair share of British marines. Gairy was finally arrested and as he said "was given fifty-two police cases in a few months".

Nevertheless, Gairy became a hero, and his popularity with the mass of Grenadians gave him and his party a large mandate in the elections held in 1951. Those were the first elections to be held in Grenada under universal suffrage. Gairy remained in power until 1957, when he was bumped by the newly organized Grenada National Party started by a dentist from St. George's, Dr. John Watts.

Three years later, however, Gairy was returned, only to be ousted from office as a result of a public scandal in 1962. Then it was the British again who, following a full inquiry into Gairy's administration, found that he had "disregarded and contravened the laws and regulations governing the control of expenditure, spent public funds wastefully and unnecessarily and destroyed the morale of the Civil Service through use of threats against the security of office." In other words, Gairy's crime was called "squandermania."

There was no doubt in anyone's mind at the time that Gairy's regime was a corrupt one. For starters, the first thing he did in 1960 was to replace or redecorate every bit of furniture in Government House. Among one of his purchases was a grand piano which cost the Grenada taxpayers \$3000. Numerous cases of mis-appropriation of public funds and unusually lax control of finances were uncovered by the Commission of Inquiry which was set up to examine Gairy's methods.

As a result the Constitution was suspended by the British Administrator, Gairy was sacked, new elections were held and the Grenada National Party was returned to office under the leadership of Herbert Blaize. It was during Blaize's tenure as Chief Minister that Grenada became an Associated State.

Not to be beaten, however, in 1967 Gairy was surprisingly returned to office once again when his Labour Party won seven of the ten seats in the Legislature. The popular vote tally was very close however, with Gairy's count running about 15,000 total to the opposition's GNP's 13,000. The fact that Labour was victorious in seven constituencies gave rise to speculation that somehow the polls had been fixed that way. No proof ever came of these charges and today Gairy's hold on Government House is stronger than ever before.

The opposition GNP meanwhile has become disorganized and its leadership apathetic. Herbert Blaize, still leader of the opposition and a member of the Legislature from Carriacou, has been thinking about handing his post as Party Leader to someone else since he too recognizes that the GNP requires new directives. Three months ago Mr. Blaize offered to step down in place of the popular Wellington Friday M.P., from Sautiers, which lies in the northern Parish of Grenada. Friday declined, explaining that the "time was not quite right" for him to make his move against Gairy.

Meanwhile, Gairy has been building a reputation as a leading political figure in the Caribbean. He has also become very popular with American businessmen who are flocking to Grenada hopefull of buying land or building hotels. How many of these deals Gairy has initiated is hard to say; but it is commonly known that the Premier himself is a silent partner in several businesses and is part owner of one or two of Grenada's recently built hotels. Businessmen who come to the island assume money must be passed "under the table" if they want to get Government approval for their proposals. If this is not the case, most Grenadians, Gairy supporters included, accept it as the truth.

EXPO '69 was another example of Gairy's ability to gather Laurels for himself. He convinced the other heads of Caribbean states that an exposition could be held to publicize CARIFTA (The Caribbean Free Trade Association) and that such an exposition should be located in Grenada. This of course afforded Gairy himself with some world-wide publicity and lent credence to his reputation as a "man who gets things done." It was also astute of him to have the other Governments in the Caribbean pick up the tab for CARIFTA's EXPO '69 since, he pointed out, it was a regional undertaking.

In the end the only one who really benefitted from EXPO '69 was Eric Gairy himself. The other participants, Jamaica aside, set up their booths with Little enthusiasm, and other politicians in the region regretted paying for "Uncle Eric's" reputation. As for the financing of the Exposition which cost the Grenada tax payers three million dollars, one Civil Servant remarked that Gairy had not hoped to break even financially, but that "Losses were more than made up in publicizing the island."

The sight on which EXPO '69 is located is a stretch of partially developed land which Gairy hopes to "flog" to a group of American businessmen. For this purpose, the Premier was in Birmingham, Michigan last week working out the arrangements for its sale or lease. Apparently, the Premier has formed a real estate company around himself through which the sale of some Government lands has been negotiated. In the case of the EXPO sight, called True Blue, no one, in or out of Government, is quite certain how the deal will be made. What is known is that the True Blue sight was originally bought by the Grenada Government for \$320,000, that it is now up for sale and that one offer has been made. One official said that Gairy intends to lease the sight and wants the entire sum of the lease paid in full, in advance to his Government. The consequences of this are obvious.

This sort of thing is one of the main criticisms levelled at the Premier. Not only the opposition but most informed businessmen in Grenada accept the fact that Gairy's operations are anything but honest. Gairy himself is quoted as having said that "once white men used to thieve so why not Uncle now?" The fact that now there is no British Administrator to initiate inquiries into Gairy's projects has apparently given the Premier confidence to go on to bigger and better things. The sad fact, too, is that he is "thieving" from his own people. Nevertheless, with five automobiles (the last a gift from some generous American), a wardrobe which includes hand-tailored shirts from New York, several homes on the island and even more romances, Eric Gairy must figure that he has come a long way, that at last he has "arrived."

There is no doubt that "Uncle" enjoys his present position. Last week, late for some appointment, the Premier stopped his driver before the island's Fire Station, ordered the engines out and had them whisk him, sirens blaring, down the island to his rendezvous. There was also the day a few weeks ago when a Canadian working on the island failed to pull his car off of the road as the Premier's motorcade was passing by. Calling the Canadian to his car, Gairy asked why the fellow had not pulled over and stopped, to which the Canadian's response was an "I don't know." Gairy then quietly explained that he and his family would be together on drenada that day, but that the next day they would not. The following day the Canadians were on the early plane for Barbados.

Politically, Gairy would appear to be invulnerable. He is both head of the Government and head of the only recognized union, his union, on the island. All employers are obliged by law to pay to his union 5 cents per day for each worker they employ. Any other attempts at organizing rival unions, either on the part of employers or workers, are aborted and against the law. A recent "gun act" in Parliament has enabled Gairy to begin confiscation of any weapon belonging to anyone the Government deems harmful. Already Dr. John Watts' home has been searched and his guns (those he kept on the shelf) were taken from him. About 15 other GNP members have been given the same treatment.

will be s The Cincinnal March 7, 1969 April 5 AND TIMES D, 243,1 ter of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE "But S.31,500 CARIBBEAN FREE TRADE have t FEB 25 196 ASSOCIATION volved Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, foremost bition Grenada Isle among the great blessings we enjoy as 1969 Americans is the presence on our borders A Plans Own Expo and on frontdoor islands of nations and territories all for the most part close RENADA ST. GEORGE M_{Σ} . friends and well-wishers; among them Gr. NADA (UPI): Gre the rapidly developing West Indian states)RGE'S. Gren By prepared to play ada is prepared whose history and culture are closely thousands of related to that of the United States of W o thousands of visit America. the four-week (A recent West Indian development of ing the four-wee IFTA Expo '69 op 69, opening on t great significance is the coming together of the area's political leadership for the West Indies the island in t formation of an economic union under the heading of "Carifta"—Caribbean Indies on April 5 Free Trade Association. With a combined population of over 4 million peace-loving, GA. ambitious and energetic citizens, these West Indies islands are destined to be-The Miami H come a strategically important ally and factor in our total "good neighbor policy" MIAMI, FLA Science Monitor concept and the policy of the good part-D. 313,456 SUN. 4 ii. MASS The New York Times on Tuesday, February 4, published a full-page adver-MAR 9 1969 tisement of Expo '69 scheduled for opening on April 5 in the island of Grenada. All of the member nations of Carifta will be participating-Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Ja-maica, Montserrat, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, to play St. Vincent, Trinidad, and Tobago among them. Grenada and its Premier, Eric M. Gairy, are to be congratulated for vision Christian Science Monitor Grena and foresight in arranging for and hostknown ing this first international fair in the True Blue, Grenada clove, gi Caribbean. case of Caribbean Progress, an members of the Caribbean Asse Pree Trade Association - Jamaic P plantatic a promi-Grena ada will by air se DEER PARK, N. Y. ; first in-Trinidad, Barbados, Guyana te from the SUFFOLK SUN Antigua, Dominia 1969/ F D, 130,000 JEANNETTE. PA FEB 2 Friday, March NEWS-DISPATCH D. 12,000 ALEXANDRIA, 1.2. THR MIAMI NEWS TOWN TALK D. 25,500 1969 Premier Eric Natthew Galfy of Granada in the Windward participants for Cardy of Granada in the Windward participants participants participants and participants FEB 1 6 1969 12-1 EXPO IN (GEORGE ST. play host to ti. visitors during the CARIFTA Expo '69, the island in the West April 5. Particpating in theme of which is "Show Caribbean Progress," are (87) political car side of the GUYANA GRAPHIC FEB 1 3 1969 GEORGETOWN, BR. GUIANA next: member D. 20.380 neman Expo In Grenada GEORGE'S, DEC 1 0 1968 organ (UPI)—Grenada is prepar play host to thousand wisitors during the four CARIFTA Expo '69, open the island in the West Ind April 5 Particular to thousand the four CARIFTA Expo '69, open the island in the West Ind

The Image

Grenadians cannot take more!

The Reality

OUR PREMIER HAS NOW DECLARED WAR ON ALL FARMERS AND ALL GRENADIANS

As Premier and President-General of his Trade Union he uses his position and W.I.B.S. to frighten people into paying Union Dues.

He Wants No Opposition!

He wants a One-Party, One-Union State

Grenadians are in Fear

Grenadians cannot take more!

From Now on "It's An Eye for an Eye
A Tooth for a Tooth"
We cannot take more:

G. P. L.

In reality however, there is growing opposition to Gairy's rule in Grenada. One man, Mr. Pope MacLain, who has tried to organize a separate union for farm Labourers, has been shot at on one occasion and his house searched several times for guns. In spite of this, MacLain has enlisted about 150 workers in his Progressive Labour and General Workers Union; but thus far he has not been able to have it recognized by Gairy. Meanwhile, Gairy's position is that all employers must still pay 5 cents to his union for each day these workers are employed.

Another more serious source of opposition to Gairy comes from Mr. Wellington Friday. A short, energetic and articulate man, Friday has the courage and the ability to become a very real political threat to the Premier. To this time, Friday has been a member of the GNP (its deputy political leader) but it may be that he will organize a third party to contest Gairy in the next elections of 1972 -- if there are any.

The base for this third party may be the Grenada Farmers Union which Friday has organized and which he says has an unofficial membership of about 1800 farmers. Any farmer with at least a half an acre of land is free to join; and it is important to note that Grenada, unlike some of the other Windward Islands, has a great number of small land holders. Consequently, a grass-roots movement of farmers in Grenada would be a real threat to Gairy since farmers in Grenada are more representative of the masses than they are of the old plantocracy.

Gairy understands this and as a result he has announced over the island's radio station (a station he completely controls and one over which no opposition member can be heard) that Friday's union of farmers represents an "irresponsible" group within the community, one which is a direct challenge to himself and the Government. Excerpts from Gairy's address of 15 April deliniate the Government's position on the matter.

"It has been brought to my attention that some agricultural employers are openly defying Government measures with respect to the payment of Wages to the Agricultural workers of the State. Fortunately however legislation passed by Parliament with respect to wages refers only to a minimum wage structure and if any Employer wishes to pay more than the take-home pay of \$2.70 and \$2.20 for men and women respectively, he may so do. But this has absolutely nothing to do with his obligation to pay another 30 cents in Union Dues, Welfare and Pension Scheme and Bonus. As a matter of fact steps will be be taken to have certain estates pay much more than the minimum established.

"I consider any employer who openly and blatantly attempts to defy government's measure to be a most irresponsible person within the community. In the past, employers have displayed such sense of irresponsibility and provoked the workers knowing full well past governments give them police shelter and allowed them to hide behind the license of an Estate gun. Times have changed however and I am responsible for the police.

"And here I must give this warning and I give it free, gratis and for nothing, do not resist the police for the consequences in accordance with the law of the state might be shockingly serious. Government recognizes the Farmers Clubs representing the majority of farmers as non-political but unfortunately I cannot say the same thing about the Farmer's Union. If therefore some farmers wish to stupidly allow themselves to go down the drain under the pretext that they are adhering to the dictates of any political farmers' union they must stand the consequence.

"In conclusion please remember Government has a definite mandate from the people of the state to encourage and support the workers of this country through their trade union. Any employer therefore who feels he can successfully fight organized labour is definitely heading for a mass of trouble for himself and for his family. I hope this short address will serve them in good stead. Thank you very much and good evening."

These remarks by Gairy in April prompted bitter opposition within the ranks of the Farmers' Union. Wellington Friday has since had a difficult time holding the more extremist elements of the Farmers' Union from taking recourse to violence against the Gairy regime. Finally the Farmers' Union produced a small, blue leaflet and distributed it, along with an official statement of rebuttal, throughout the island, the substance of the response by farmers follows:

Farmers' Union Deprecates Premier's Broadcast

Consider It a Threat and a Declaration of War on Farmers

The public in Grenada and the peoples of the other Caribbean Countries were treated to a most unusual and unsavoury broadcast over W.I.B.S. by the Premier of Grenada on 15th, 16th and 17th April -- a broadcast which was a shock to our visitors and cause of shame to all well-meaning Grenadians.

The Premier was attempting to interpret the Minimum wages order, by telling farmers that they were "obligated" to make deductions amounting to 30¢ from the worker's daily wage, part of this deduction (5 cents per person per day) to be paid as dues to his (Mr. Gairy's) union. He implied that farmers were not acting in accordance with the law if they paid the entire wage of \$3.00 and \$2.50 to the worker.

To say that the Premier's statement is a gross misinterpretation of the law, and calamitous misguidance to employers is an understatement of the greatest magnitude. The Premier's broadcast is considered a threat to farmers who do not wish to submit to his will, and who have the guts to stand up and fight through their own Union, his "bossism."

The Premier's statement constitutes a travesty of all morality in industrial relations and a direct attack at the roots of the principle of free and voluntary trade union bargaining. The Premier's statement constitutes an attempt by a man in high political office, to use his political position to ride roughshod over the feelings and wishes of the most important sector of the community - indeed of the entire community - in pursuit of an insatiable desire to squeeze out part of the worker's daily wage and channel it into the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers' Union without the consent of the workers.

The Premier's statement is considered all part of his effort to crush opposition in Grenada and by a calculated programme of threat injection of fear and "divide and rule", to subject all Grenada into a one-part, one-union state.

Reference to the Farmers' Union as a "political" body is both farcical and comical, since in the same breath the Premier urged farmers to seek advice from officers of his own Union - G.M.M.W.U. most of whom (including himself) are members of his own political party - the G.U.L.P. - and hold high political as well as Governmental positions!!

"Finally, the Premier's broadcast, coming at a time like this with Carifta visitors to EXPO among us, is considered the brain child of some madman (certainly not the Premier's) who is determined to make Grenada the continuing laughing stock of our Carifta friends, and to send Grenada into open revolt at a time when Grenada could least afford this disastrous course."

Then, on Tuesday evening, April 29, an enraged Eric Gairy returned to the island radio and issued a final warning to this opposition.

"Good evening. Two weeks ago I made national broadcast particularly directed to employers in the agricultural industry. Last week, a handbill was distributed by a handful of farmers who are behaving like cornered rats. In the handbill there was an attempted threat to the Government in the words "from now on an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." In some countries it is felt that the most illiterate people are found among unskilled workers. It is my firm conviction that the most illiterate people in Grenada are among a handful of estate owners. Disgruntled from the fact that they lost the General Elections a year and a half ago; disgruntled because there is no hope of unseating the Labour Government in the next twenty-five years, disgruntled because the workers can today wear good clean clothes like his employer and eat a good meal like his employer and the workers' children are holding jobs which, in days gone by, could only be held by people of a certain selected class.

And now, I say to the few employers who are ridden, blindfolded and led by an unsuccessful teacher, hoping and praying to place his foot in my shoe or even in the shoe of his leader, Honourable Herbert Blaize, for the time being.

Over the last 18 years there has been harmonious relationships in the agricultural industry in spite of intermittent disagreement. The introduction of politics in agriculture must necessarily lead to incalculable difficulties and problems and, in this instance, the losses must inevitably be the few stupid, ignorant die-hard employers who close their eyes against reason and good judgment in defiance of a personality, a union and a duly elected Government.

Some employers are definitely heading into financial embarrassment as well as Her Majesty's Royal Jail. In days gone by it was felt that the jail was built for the poor. Today, the public must know that the law knows no side and, therefore, the stubborn and ignorant well-to-do can also and will very well find accomposition within the walls of the prison. In days gone by, employers sheltered behind their firearms and police. Today, employers who are openly defying the only elected government of the day must be considered irresponsible and unfit to have in their possession any firearms or other such dangerous weapons. The new firearms act provides for heavy penalties including imprisonment for offenders under the law. "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" say the few disgruntled farmers. Indeed, the challenge has been accepted.

I have never been known to be a coward even when I started my Union 18 years ago without the backing of any fair number of intelligent supporters, without the experience I now have, without any help from the Government of the day, and by God's grace and guidance I have always won even when employers, who today have seen the light, were all vehemently against the trade union movement. My Government is dedicated to support all workers of the State, artisans, stevedores, electricians, domestics, monthly or daily-paid Government workers - the whole lot. The Government has a definite mandate from the electors. The Grenada Manual and Mental workers' Union, the Union in question, is much stronger than ever before. The Government of the State is the strongest Government ever in the history of this country and every day hundreds of new admirers are lining up in support of our action and progress.

Get it straight from the horse's mouth now. There is one and only one parliament building in Grenada and that is at Church Street and when laws are passed, regardless of your station in life, your colour or creed, I can only advise you seriously and solemnly - keep the law of the land or you are heading for a lot of trouble, not only for yourself but also for your family. Some people have been saying that if the police cancel their license to keep firearms they would not turn in such firearms. This, indeed, is very silly, for the law is quite clear on this.

Already Mr. Pilton Hosten of Victoria, St. Mark's and Mr. Ned Jeremiah of Providence, St. David's have been charged by the police for refusal to turn in their firearms. It would do the handful of troublemakers in the agricultural industry a great deal of good if they read the law of the land and keep in touch with a lawyer and I don't mean the two penny-ha' penny lawyers who have been advising them. I mean good lawyers. In closing, I again advise you strongly to keep within the law of the State. Thank you, and good evening."

There the lines have been drawn on Grenada. One well-informed Grenadian, a journalist who himself has been squeezed by Gairy, is convinced that Gairy is not the type of man to take kindly to opposition of any form. "I have no gun, I have never used one", he said; "but there may soon come a time when I shall be forced to buy and use one."

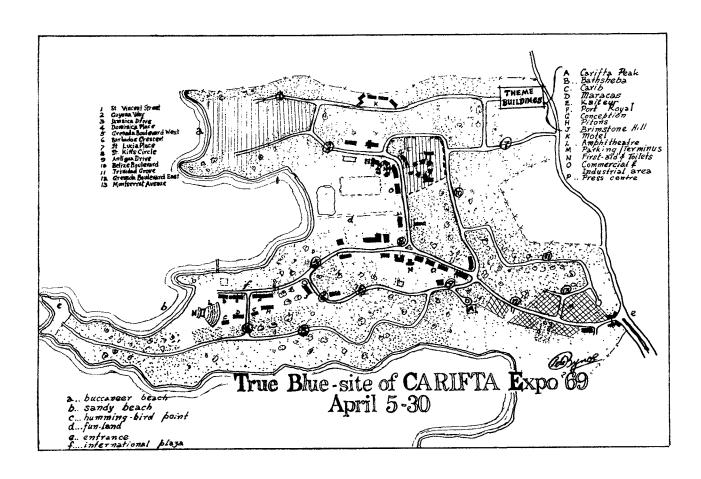
Surprisingly, there seems to be no awareness of Gairy's methods or the condition of Grenada outside of Grenada itself. Newspapers of the region have made no mention of the new laws passed through the Legislature, and boly once have I seen even the slightest criticism of Gairy in the Trinidad newspaper, The Express. The man who wrote the story lives on Grenada, and the following day the editor of The Express received a telephone call from Gairy himself. The Premier made it clear that the man would have to be fired by the newspaper or else Grenada's Government would withdraw from a large advertising contract it had signed with The Express. Pressure such as this may perhaps account for the lack of commentary.

Gairy is, however, extremely vulnerable on the island. His popularity with large numbers of his own union members could wither very quickly if the opposition effectively mobilizes itself. Certainly the opposition can demonstrate that the present Government on Grenada is not working in the best interests of the people, particularly the poorer classes. Gairy's policies are short term and self-interested ones through which the people will only suffer the consequences in the long run.

FJM-12 -12-



Mr. Wellington Friday, M.P. Grenada Farmers Union



The way Gairy's government is rapidly selling off Grenada to the highest bidders (aside from the fact that Gairy himself is making his own share) will eventually leave Grenada in the hands of developers who will be making the decisions for Grenada from then on. As one American businessman said: "Pretty soon those poor people will be driven back into the hills." I call it expatriate expropriation.

Not only that; once the land and resources of Grenada are owned by American promoters, economic as well as political power will be theirs. Instead of the colonial relationship once maintained with Great Britain, when decisions effecting the island were made in London, the colonial relationship will be re-established with the United States and decisions will be made in New York or Miami.

Worse than this however will be the loss of any hope for the West Indian, in this instance, the Grenadian, to structure an identity for himself. As St. Lucian novelist, Garth St. Omer narrates: "The all important 'image' of oneself needs to be generated within these people. Their relationship to the white man has always been as servant to master." Gairy's policies on Grenada are only re-inforcing this relationship.

In a more immediate way, Grenada's farmers could call for a "lock-out" and cut into the precarious economy of the island. As in the other Windward Island group, bananas are the all-important agricultural commodity. One third of all Grenada's exports are through the banana industry. Coconuts and nutmeg make up the other two thirds of total exports. Thus, if Grenada's farms shut down for even a month or two, the economy would suffer severe setbacks.

Nor are the farm owners alone in their dislike for Gairy. Wellington Friday and Pope Maclain have no formal working agreement, but they are sympathetic to the other's opposition to Government and they would very likely support each other in a conflict with Gairy.

Still, Friday, who holds a B.A. in History from London University and who had been a teacher before entering politics, is a moderate who would rather avoid violence if he could: "We must fight this thing in the courts, in industrial actions, through the media before we resort to the use of force, at which time all Grenadians will lose out in the end."

Already, however, there is serious talk of armed resistance on the island. One well known Grenadian who is a former high-ranking civil servant and who knows Gairy well declared that "if Gairy stays in power for another six months this will be another Haiti . . . I know what Gairy is doing . . . We must forcibly overthrow this Government." Other persons at the same meeting echoed these sentiments. By that time, I expected the police to arrive at any moment.

In fact, it is clear that Gairy is gearing up for any eventuality such as armed resistance. His 1969 Budget of \$21,319540 is a 50% jump over the budget of 1967 and includes a substantial expenditure earmarked for the proposed establishment of a Grenada defense force. The figure given for this project is \$250,000, but many civil servants think this too small an estimate. Other big sums will be devoted to the state's legislative chambers (\$12,000) and for a seminar on parliamentary practice to be held in Grenada later this year (\$7,300). The last is ironic but true.

All sorts of island pleasures.

Expo '69 is the kind of a fair, in fact, that could only happen in the islands. And possibly, only in Grenada.

Ours is one of the most beautiful of all the islands. From glorious St. George's harbour in the South to lovely Levera Beach near Sauteurs in the North.

But why don't you come and see?
And if you need an excuse to get away,
we've got a great new one. Starting
April 5th.

It's Expo '69...a splendid international fair...with island flair.

Sauteurs



Expo'69 April 5th—May 31st

Other indications that the Premier has decided to stop talking and begin using a bit of muscle came Last Sunday evening. Four farms were "cut down" by unknown hoodLums in the middle of the night. I visited each of the farms the next day and spoke with two of the owners, both of whom were supporters of the opposition party and members of the Farmers' Union. One of the farmers, Senator Ben Jones has a few acres in the northern agricultural district of St. Patrick. Jones' cocoa trees, which take years to grow were hacked down - forty in all. He figured his damage amounted to \$190 after he had looked it over carefully. Jones, a lawyer of high standing in his community and president of the opposition party, the G.N.P., thought that the attacks on his farm and the others nearby was the beginning of another sky-red. "It was just like this in the first stages back in 1951 when Gairy began to intimidate the estate owners and the British; but now the shoe is on the other foot and now he is against the people."

Meanwhile, 23 miles north of Grenada, the 8,000 people of Carriacou are unaware that they may soon become embroiled in the conflict that is smouldering in Grenada. Carriacou, largest of the Grenadines and bout the size of Anguilla could be used by those who want to demonstrate to the world that Gairy's regime is akin to the one in St. Kitts. Certainly an attempted secessionist movement from Carriacou would be the perfect way to hit at Gairy where he isn't looking. After all, that was how the Anguilla story began in the first place - with one or two Kittitians who thought that Bradshaw needed to be cut down to size at home.

Yours,

Frank McDonald

Received in New York on June 23, 1969.