

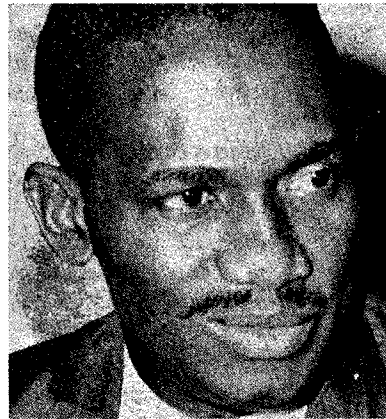
FJM-18 Grenada  
Tales of Uncle Gairy

St. George's  
Grenada, W.I.  
November 10, 1969

Mr. Richard H. Nolte,  
Executive Director,  
Institute of Current World Affairs,  
535 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, N.Y. 10017.

Dear Mr. Nolte:

Once upon a time, it was summer in Grenada... an unusually eventful season. A strike, lockouts, arson, crop mutilation, animal maiming, resignations from the island's Senate and even a plea for United Nations intervention marked a series of troubles which have been developing throughout 1969 (See FJM-12). And of course, at the center of this maelstrom was the Premier of Grenada, Mr. Eric Matthew Gairy, affectionately known to his supporters as "Uncle".



Grenada's turmoil began the third week of May when, on the 13th, Eric Gairy travelled to the Parish of St. Patrick. There, as the Union President of the only recognized union on the island, Gairy called workers from two estates out on strike. Explaining his abrupt action, Gairy announced over the Government controlled radio that the strike was a result of the estate owners neglect to pay his union, the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers' Union, outstanding dues.

In protesting the Premier's action, the Grenada Farmer's Union -- organized by an articulate, ex-school teacher, Wellington Friday -- explained the situation from their point of view in a release (Friday cannot have access to the island's radio station) issued the 14th of May: they were

"shocked at this new move by the Premier to further aggravate farmers, to cripple Estates which refuse to bend to his Trade Union demand and to rock the economy of Grenada in pursuit of an insatiable desire to force farmers to make compulsory deduction for Union dues.

"From September 1968 his Union has consistently refused to meet with the Farmers' Union to work out a new wages agreement to replace the 1966 Agreement which terminated on 31st December 1968. By so acting, his Union -- the G.M.M.W.U. -- has virtually killed the practice of free and voluntary collective

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bargaining in the agricultural industry, a practice which Mr. Gairy himself has so often claimed to have initiated in Grenada. . . . Then he himself, as Premier, proceeded to fix wages by Legislation - first at \$2.41 and \$2.10 and then (in 1969) at \$3.00 and \$2.50. Farmers accepted the Legislation and decided to pay the full minimum wage to the worker. The Premier then embarked on a programme designed to compel farmers to make certain deductions amounting to 30 cents (to the G.M.M.W.U.). First he gave two very threatening radio broadcasts, on 15th and 29th April 1969, telling farmers that deductions were "obligatory" (when he knows that they are not!), . . . threatening to take away their firearms and warning that police protection will not be made available."

By the first week of June, however, it was clear to both sides that the damage done to the island's economy and increasing hostility between the workers and farmers necessitated an end to the strike. A meeting was arranged between Government, Union and Farmer representatives, arbitration was agreed upon and the strike-lockout ended.

"These radio threats were followed up by revocation of farmers' firearms licences and unprovoked seizure of farmers' firearms by the police. Then a labour officer, with a plain-clothes police sergeant, began making the rounds of estates, pressurizing farmers to obey the Premier's demands and make deductions.

"And now, the Premier, in the Government's official car, went all the way to Mt. Rich and Mt. Reuil and personally superintended the strike operation which is not only unprovoked but also illegal.

"The Laws of Grenada have made provision for settling industrial disputes and have laid down procedures for doing so. To call a strike without following the correct legal procedures in an industry as vital as agriculture, and for this to be done by the Premier himself who is head of the Government, is an act not only highly illegal but grossly lacking in responsibility and totally regardless of the wider economic interests of the State.

"Really, the Farmers' Union is at a loss to understand why the Premier should be so adamant in needling farmers and ruining the economy of the country at a time like this. It may well be that some attempt is being deliberately made to throw Grenada into confusion so as to divert attention from the chaotic financial situation facing the country today. It may well be a deliberate attempt to create the kind of situation in Grenada in which it might be considered relatively easy to arrest the leaders of the Farmers' Union and to put an end to the Farmers' Union."



Cocoa trees cut down during the night. Mother of Senator Ben Jones points them out. Ben Jones is in opposition to Gairy's Government

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Then, in a personal letter from Friday to Gairy, the head of the Farmer's Union warned the Premier that if by the 16th of May there was not an end to the strike, the farmers would have to respond in some way to protect their interests. The conclusions of the letter follow:

"You are aware that the efforts and statements you have been making are intended to misguide farmers into believing that those deductions are obligatory when you must be aware that they are not. Of course, it is the privilege of your Union to take this matter to Court and have the Court make a declaration in your interest.

"What is very strange though is the fact that you were prepared to call workers out on strike even before discussing those matters either with Mt. Rich and Mt. Reuil or with their Union. We consider your action not only illegal but highly irresponsible and designed to create strife and bring about chaos in agriculture and Grenada generally."

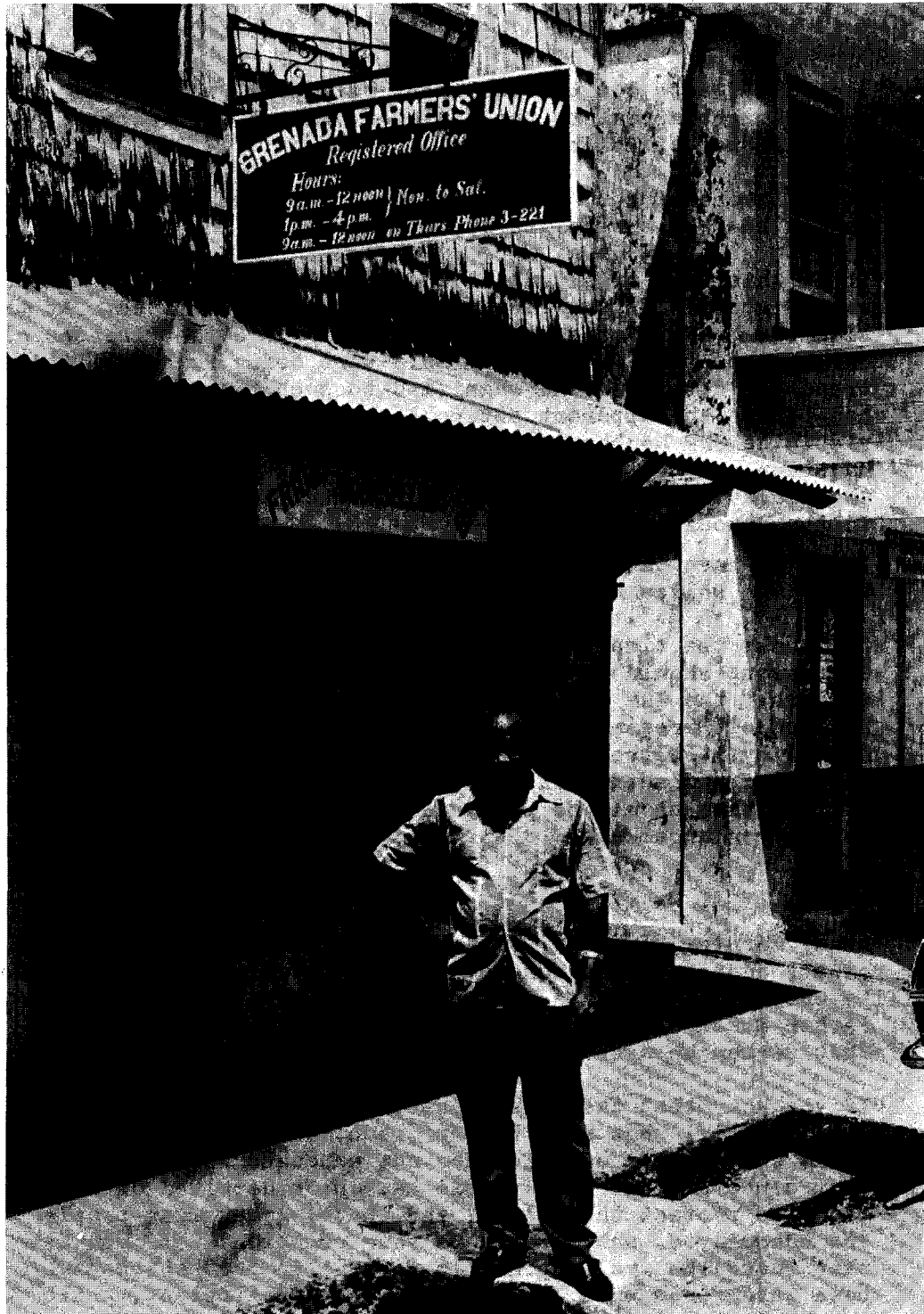
May 16 came and there was no further action on the part of the Premier. Consequently, the Farmer's Union issued a call for an island-wide lockout. Then, for two weeks, Grenada's agricultural industry was at a stand-still, tensions built quickly and nightfall began to precipitate violence. Guns became prominent as unidentified gangs quietly filtered into Farmer support areas. Crops were cut down (a usual response) animals maimed and some houses stoned (a West Indian version of intimidation). The Farmer's Union attributed these activities to a rejuvenated "Mongoose gang" (See FJM-12), but no proof of this could be presented. Finally, after some delay, an arbitration meeting was held and the overt tensions calmed.

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Then a police notice made its appearance. Islanders with gun permits were told that their licences were revoked and that before a re-issue could be provided, every gun owner would have to fill out the proper forms and re-submit them to the Ministry of Police. Few farmers were inclined to cooperate, however, since Mr. Gairy is also the Minister of Police. The order was disputed by the Opposition:

"The Grenada National Party has considered the increasingly alarming situation in which several prominent citizens who have held licences for good and sufficient reasons for many years have been deprived of their Firearms Users Licences and their Firearms without any justification whatever.

"The letter of demand from the Police Authorities infer that from reports received the victims are no longer considered fit and proper persons to continue to hold Firearms Users Licences.



Mr. Wellington Friday

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"Section 37 sets out the machinery on appeal, whereby any aggrieved person might appeal to the Minister against any decision of the Commissioner of Police.

"It is interesting to note that the Premier is the Minister who is the head of the Police Department.

"It is this kind of situation that the GNP Members in Parliament warned about when the Firearms Act was being debated. At that time the Members referred to instances where the Licences of GNP Members and Sympathisers only were being revoked. This trend has developed and magnified to such proportions that it has become the apparent set policy of the present Government to victimise GNP Members and Sympathisers. Indeed this position had been set out in no uncertain terms by the Premier himself in the Budget Speech of March 1969 in which he stated in reference to the Opposition -

"We have taken your guns. We would take more; and where the Police have failed, the Defence Force will take over."

"Obviously the time has come when such arbitrary actions of the Government should be tested in the Court. It is with this in mind that the GNP in Opposition now advises all Licensed Holders of Firearms to refuse to deliver them on a simple demand by a Police Officer. If the Police consider that they have good and sufficient grounds for requiring the surrender of any gun they should be prepared to take the matter to the Court for a pronouncement."

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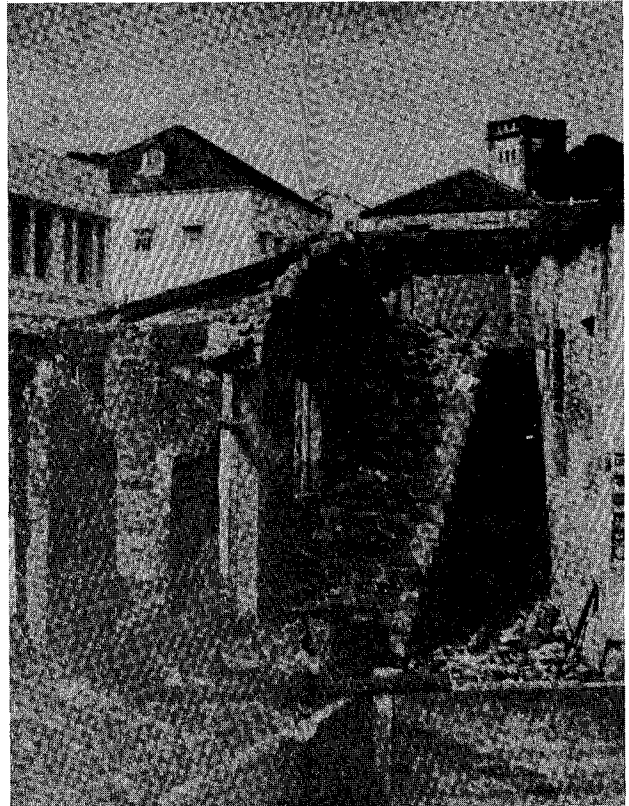
On Sunday morning, June 16, Father Trevor Emmanuel, a young Roman Catholic priest, addressed his congregation. In a sermon based on Pope John XXIII's encyclical on Peace and Pope Paul's entitled "Progress of Peoples", Father Emmanuel spoke to his people about human rights. In the course of that sermon he asked his listeners several rhetorical questions:

"If you hear that there is an attempt to obtain taxes fraudulently, what will be your reaction? If the institutions of care for our sick are not adequate what will be your concern? If good people have been deprived of the means to protect themselves, and that a great many people are unemployed, what should be your reaction? If you hear that those who are responsible for public protection have been interfered with as to render them inefficient, while the hooligan element grows bolder in our society, what will be your reaction?"



Father Trevor Emmanuel

Ruins of Fr. Emmanuel's  
small church. Arson  
was suspected though no  
proof could be provided.



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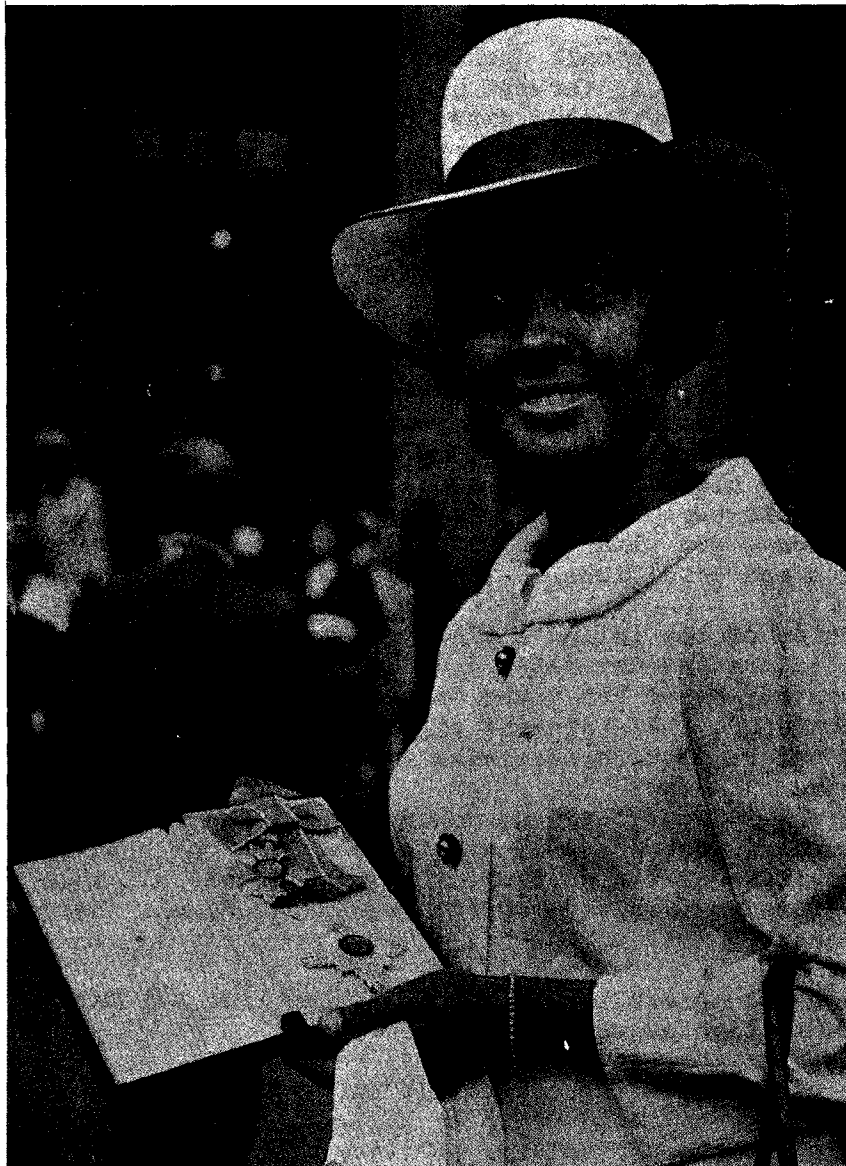
"These were" he said, "examples of human freedoms". Father Emmanuel said that these freedoms could be demonstrated by man's reason as well as in Scripture. Everyone had a right to such freedoms. "No one" he said, "has the power to intimidate or pressure another to join this group or that, or to force another to pay dues or face punishment."

Seated in the congregation that morning, however, was the Gairy appointed Governor of the island, Dame Hilda Bynoe. Apparently upset by the young priest's sermon, Dame Bynoe invited Father Emmanuel to a meeting at Government House the next day. There, Her Excellency voiced displeasure of Father Emmanuel's talk and suggested that it might be necessary to offer an apology to the Premier. Father Emmanuel declined and decided to consult with other religious leaders in St. George's. At the same time, Premier Gairy once again addressed the people of Grenada over island radio:

"I would like now to call on our new nation to go with me into fervent prayer as an antidote against the effects of subversive and malicious people, who spent most of their time trying to smear both within the state and abroad the good name of our government and of our people. I am expressing complete confidence in prayer as I know that prayer changes things, men and conditions. There has been a considered effort here by a few people to damage the image of our isle of spice now aspiring for independence . . . Their malice stems from their intense jealousy of (my) brain and proven achievements. Recently these enemies have chosen to summon the voice of the pulpit through young Father Emmanuel to spoil the good name of the most capable government Grenada has ever known. We are clean, we are honest, straightforward and progressive. An old church-goer recently said: 'Grenada is really going places. Uncle Gairy has a lot of enemies and though everyone knows what progress we are making, all the papers only look for the worst things to print about this God-sent man. If I want to read any brango about Uncle Gairy and his Government, I just have to buy a local paper. When I go to church, I go to hear about some things about God. I never realized that the pulpit, once regarded as a sacred place by christians could be used for brango about Uncle Gairy'.

"I understand that the local press has put the address by Father Emmanuel on a pinnacle. Of course, birds of one feather flock together. Father Emmanuel, by his unwarranted and baseless attack . . . has brought into disrepute both himself and the Vicar-General, his immediate superior who must bear the responsibility for Father Emmanuel's conduct or mis-conduct . . . If this pattern continues, a reverse order of things is likely to ensue. I am here reminded of a quotation from the bible: 'He that is without sin, let him cast the first stone.'





Governor Dame Hilda Bynoe  
She asked for an apology

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"Again I must here call upon men, women and children in all walks of life to join in fervent prayer with priests, abbots, superiors and religious directors of churches and shrines in all parts of the world who are constantly praying for me, for my government and this land of ours."

In ending his speech that night, the Premier warned of future trouble for those who criticized the nation, thus giving it a bad name.

"In conclusion I particularly want to call upon younger people in the state . . . to also join in fervent prayer against these diversive elements in our society, because a bad name for Grenada could result in your losing chances for free scholarships, unemployment and other opportunities abroad; and I now close by saying that those who throw stones should first make sure that they do not live in glass houses. And so I leave you with the firm belief that prayer changes men, events and conditions. Thank you and good evening."

The reaction of the island's clergy to Gairy's address came in a statement sent to the Premier dated 7 July 1969. Signed by ten of the leading representatives of the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches, the statement explicitly defended Father Emmanuel's right to speak out on matters involving even political issues:

"A sermon in St. George's, Grenada, by a Minister of Religion on Sunday, June 15, 1969 was the occasion for rebuke by the authorities of the country. Because of the religious and moral issues involved, we, the undersigned, make the following statement:-

Freedom of speech is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (C.F. Article 19)

This right becomes the explicit duty of those called to give Christian moral leadership to the community, when they must speak on matters involving political issues.

It is a regrettable consequence of the above that on such occasions offence is taken by political leaders, or words of Ministers are interpreted as political criticism.

For the greater and final destiny of the people committed to its pastoral care the church has the appointed right to specify particular moral principles in temporal affairs.

We therefore are morally obliged to denounce and now do so Renounce the attempts of civic authorities to restrain freedom of speech in the fulfillment of pastoral duties."

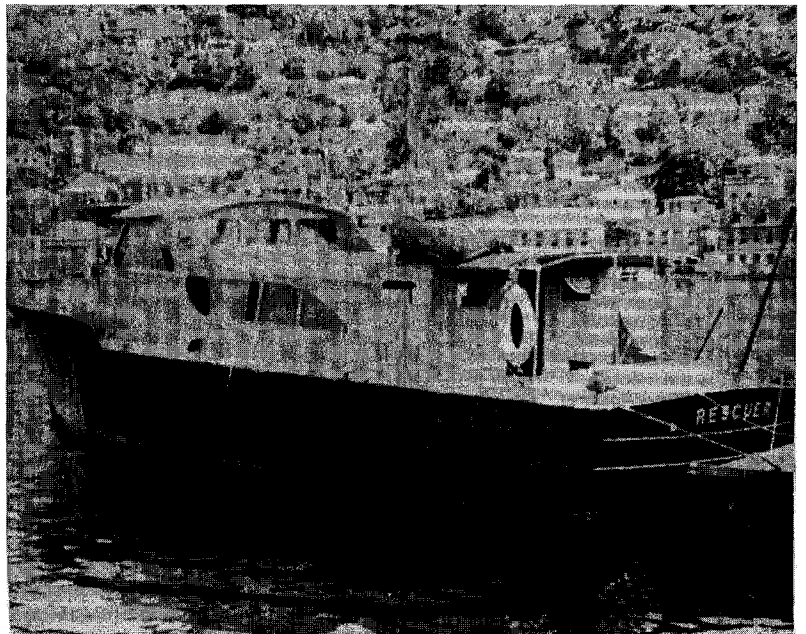


Uncle Gairy at work



Below: Grenada's Coast Guard vessel, part of Gairy's Defence Force

Above: The home of Senator Jacobs



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But circumstances in contemporary Grenada make opposition to Government's policies a dangerous business. As in the conflict between farmers and Gairy's union, the churches suffered for suggesting that there was something wrong in Grenada. The same week that the clergy met and sent Premier Gairy their reaction to his broadcast, Father Emmanuel's school was burned down and there was an attempted arson of two other buildings attached to the Methodist Church in St. George's. The Methodist owned property would have burned down as well but for the fact that the small fire which was ablaze behind the Church was discovered by a late-comer to a meeting held inside. One other small fire, set with an old flag and some rubbish went out by itself: a poor job! A report that some thugs had entered the Anglican Deanery and roughed up the Dean was reported in the daily newspaper, West Indian, but there was no foundation to the story. To this day, police action has produced no suspects. Nor has the Premier used the island radio to call upon Grenadians to come forward with information leading to an arrest. In fact, he has made no reference to the arsons at all.

Father Trevor Emmanuel, a Grenadian who has served in his St. George's parish for three years, seemed unshaken by the circumstances in which he found himself. He intends to continue to preach about social justice, which is what he explains he has always done.

"The unity of existence has become one of my fundamental themes. I think that for a priest to be relevant today in the Caribbean he must preach about social conditions. Here, poverty is a great hindrance to the full development of the human person. In this respect, Gairy knows why he should take up the challenge I made. His priorities are rather topsy-turvy. He would rather avoid the real problems, such as housing, and concentrate on the glamorous aspects of tourism."

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Next there was Senator Andronicus G. Jacobs. Senator Jacobs is from Carriacou, the small island dependency which lies off of Grenada's northern coast. He was the Parliamentary Secretary for Carriacou Affairs and a very respected man of the Senate -- until he tendered his resignation to Mr. Gairy.

Attacking the indiscriminate policy the Grenada Government has for its land dealings and foreign speculators, Senator Jacobs decided that he could no longer associate himself with the Gairy regime.

"Speculation in land has jeopardised our chance of creating a Caribbean society. Fiscal incentives which are too generous can only have the effect of denying to the coming generation the heritage which is theirs. In many instances foreign investors have bought land in Grenada, made quick profits by parcelling it into lots and then selling them to other foreigners. These speculators were allowed to leave the country without proper fiscal adjustments being made by the

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Government. How can you have a state without land?"

Then making a comparison of Carriacou and Anguilla, Senator Jacobs said that he hoped that his constituents would not be pushed to secession, but "should we not take our stand as men, regardless of party, we shall find one morning, that one man has exalted himself as lord and master".

Senator Jacobs' resignation came in a letter to the Speaker of the Senate. He outlined his reasons for leaving the Senate and then sums up his view of the nation as a whole:

"Throughout the period prior to the General Elections, we took at face value the statements of the Political Leader of the Party, Mr. Eric Matthew Gairy that, should his party come into power, the district of Carriacou would benefit. Mr. Gairy promised great improvements to my community and the candidate of my district campaigned on that basis.

"Shortly after the elections, at which Mr. Gairy's party was elected, I was nominated a Senator . . . responsible for Carriacou affairs . . . Immediately upon assuming my duties, I forwarded a report dated September 18, 1967 to the Honorable Premier outlining the various problems facing the people of my district . . . To date nothing has been done to tackle these problems. If anything, these problems have been aggravated by the continuous and deliberate neglect of the Carriacou vote from the current estimates, and the refusal of the Premier to delegate any responsibility in these matters.

"I have, on numerous occasions, indicated to the Honorable Premier my total disagreement with Government policy in connection with the wide-spread sale and distribution of land to non-natives . . . Mr. President, I should be remiss in my office if I did not mention the problems of the nation as a whole. There is the matter of widespread victimization of persons, who for one reason or another, are not supporters of the policies of the regime, and the complete erosion of confidence in the Government by the civil servants. Recently, the attempt has been made to muzzle free expression even from the pulpit of a church. In my view, the independent status Mr. Gairy anticipates for the State of Grenada is one based on force (witness his preoccupation with defence forces, the beginning of a Navy, volunteer reserve and secret police) and of course, can only in the end, lead to civil strife and blood-shed in Grenada."

In the face of these conditions, Mr. Wellington Friday finally left Grenada and made his way to New York to petition the United Nations. In spite of the objections of the British Government who are responsible for Grenada's foreign affairs, Friday was granted a hearing before the

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Committee of Twenty Four (the special committee on de-colonisation). He requested that the Committee send a representative to the island in order to make an 'on-the spot evaluation of the plight of farmers and other citizens'. (Ironically at the same time, Eric Gairy was being feted in New York by the borough of Manhattan which was celebrating "Grenada Day"). Mr. Friday, who represented both the Grenada Farmer's Union and the Opposition Grenada National Party, told the Committee that the Government was attempting to gain a "stranglehold on the agricultural industry".

"The alarming situation in Grenada ought to concern the Committee of Twenty Four as well as the whole Caribbean area. Since 1967, the Grenada Government has embarked on a deliberate policy to stifle the freedom and rights of the population as guaranteed by the Constitution. Privileges enjoyed by Government Ministers, victimization of the Opposition, legislation to restrict freedoms, land seizures and terrorist persecution are examples of this policy. If you raise any objection at all, the next thing you know, your house is burned, your crops are cut down and your physical person is threatened."

Friday's charges, as demonstrated, have foundation. But one would never know it reading the Caribbean press or from the actions and attitudes of the unique Uncle Gairy. Particularly in the United States, Gairy has found many friends. Just last month, the Premier announced the opening of a Central Bank which would be "organized by two Americans". Capital is inscribed at twelve million dollars (only \$180,000 has thus been funded). And then there is the finalisation of the deal for the True Blue site (see FJM-12) which has been sold to an American from Philadelphia. At the time the deal was completed, Mr. Gairy flew to Philadelphia and on his return (flown back by a jet provided by American friends) he announced happily over the island radio station that he had been warmly received by the people of the city. He had also had the honor to share a platform with the comedian, Red Skelton.

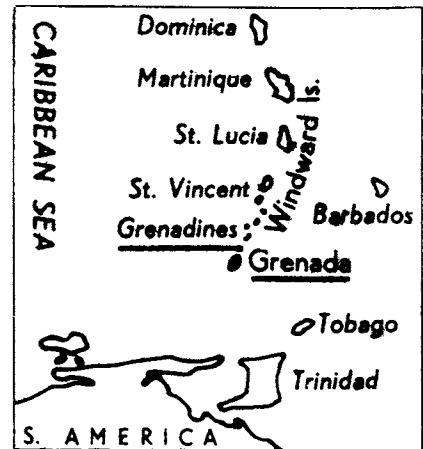
As Premier, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Agriculture, President of the Grenada Mental and Manual Worker's Union and in immediate control of the Ministry of Social Affairs (Gairy's wife is officially named to the post), Uncle Gairy's position in Grenada is nothing short of a "one-man show". However, it is not only through Government agencies that Gairy exercises his power. For example, of the ten large hotels which dominate the island's tourist industry, Gairy has direct control over seven of them either because he has part ownership (silent partnerships) or he is able to exercise leverage in other subtler ways. Thus through power or favor, what Uncle says Grenada does.

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Gairy's Grenada, 133 square miles, is the most southerly of the Windward Islands, about 100 miles southwest of Barbados and 96 miles north of Trinidad. Its density of population (767 per square mile) is the second highest in the Caribbean after Barbados. Latest figures on the island's population show that there is a reproduction rate levelling at 2.5 so that by 1970 the total population will be 120,000. The ethnic breakdown (in percent) is politically significant as a current indicator of party support. Normally it has been the rural negro who has supported Gairy and the mixed, middle classes who have opposed him.

Negro	53%	46,690
Mixed	42%	37,393
Indian	4%	3,767
Carib	0%	3
White	.8%	699
Other	.01%	103



The Grenadian is very religious. Consequently, the importance of religious leaders in the community is politically significant. The Premier's reaction to Father Emmanuel's sermon testifies to that fact. In breaking down the denominational figures, the important factor becomes the numerical majority of the Roman Catholics, a result of the French control of Grenada from 1657 until 1763. It might be of value to measure the degree to which the Roman Church has created a conservative cast to the island's politics; but this would be variable depending on the character and attitudes of the Roman clergy. If Father Emmanuel is any example, it appears that the Church's attitudes have a liberalising effect.

Roman Catholic	63%
Anglican	24%
Seventh Day Adventist	3%
Methodist	1.7%
Presbyterian	4%

In 1967, the Gross Development Product of Grenada was \$38 million E.C. The division of the GDP in terms of per capita income was \$370 E.C.C. or \$185 U.S. Breaking this down into realistic terms, however, demonstrates the very severe strain the island experiences. The average mean wage of the Grenadian is then 16¢ per hour, \$1.28 per day, \$7.00 per 44 hour week and only \$31.00 a month. Sampling of the daily paid worker provides a different way of looking at the plight of the labourer. For example, the farm worker now makes \$2.50 to \$3.00 a day. A labourer working for the Public Works Department earns \$2.50 a day. A grade B apprentice working as a mason will earn as much as \$3.65 a day. Clerical workers are paid monthly wages, the average clerk in the shops earning about \$44 a month. Transport workers earn one of the highest wages on the island: an average of \$60.00 a month.



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The economy of Grenada is dominated by agriculture. For the past ten years cocoa, bananas and nutmeg have accounted for over 90% of all exports. The manufacturing sector of the economy, on the other hand, only adds 3.1% to the GDP. (Thus the measure of damage done to the economy during the summer strikes brought on by Mr. Gairy).

The public sector of the Grenadian economy is very important. It is 50% as large as the Jamaican equivalent and 40% as large as Guyana where there are large expenditures made for sea walls, drainage canals and irrigation systems. The significance of this is that Mr. Gairy is the biggest single employer in the West Indies in proportion to his economy. As a result, he can count as politically dependable all those who work for him. This numbers 20% of total working force in the island.

One of the characteristic features of the Grenadian economy (also typical of most Caribbean economies) is its unfavourable balance of payments with exports only half of what imports have been during the past decade. The obvious result is an externally oriented economy with a high rate of unemployment at home. Grenada's unemployment figure shows that 40% of the labour force is not able to find a job. This is one of the truly amazing features of Grenada life in that there has been so little crime (though it is on the rise) and even less political radicalism (though this too will soon change with the influx of young West Indians returned from the University of the West Indies).

The pattern of land use in the island (aside from Senator Jacobs' plea that where there is no land there is no state), demonstrates first of all the dominance of agriculture. Of the total number of acres (85,015) in Grenada and Carriacou, 67,000 acres are farm lands. The relationship of the population to the farm acreage is about 0.65 acres of crop-land per person. But when one looks at the figures of land distribution, the situation is altered. Only 0.7 of the total population own as much as 46% of the total acreage. Or viewed from another angle, 88% of the land-owners really control only 25% of the land area.

Grenada is fortunate, however, in some respects. There are no very large corporations which control vast tracts of land. While the immediate result of this is lack of technological innovation, in the long run, development will benefit since land use will be guided by local necessities. Nevertheless, the economy is still "satellite" with low levels of capitalization, wasteful use of the land, poor technology and a type of crop over which there is no local control.

The role of tourism is important though Janus-like: land prices have sky-rocketed, the basic external control of the economy has only been reinforced, the psychological effects have been damaging and as a result tourism only has delayed the day the Grenadian must take stock of his own abilities and evolve his own skills. In the meantime, Uncle Gairy has not shown any sign of altering this pattern, and in fact has only made this type of development worse.

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Eric Matthew Gairy has been in power for two years. In 1967, he won a surprising victory in the island's national elections (his Grenada United Labour Party secured seven of the ten seats in the Legislative House). The electoral victory was a surprising one because Gairy's last period in office (he was Chief Minister in the late fifties and early sixties) was marred by a series of scandals and charges of corruption. Finally, the island's constitution was suspended and Gairy was ousted from office. To this, Gairy's reaction was typically shrouded in his self-projected image as a Robin Hood figure, stealing from the rich and giving to the poor:

"If the colonial government could have tea parties, Uncle can have a few drinks with his friends. The Opposition is upset now because a poor black boy can afford to buy a piano - not just for himself but for the prestige of the government."

There were other commentators, however, and perhaps none better than a Trinidadian calypsonian, Mighty Zebra. Zebra's calypso Squandermania captures Gairy as few descriptions of the man have:

"The Chief Minister of Grenada  
 Spending money like fire  
 He got a piano for three thousand five  
 And some Grenadians can't make enough to stay alive  
 He run the country into bankruptcy  
 Spending all tax payers' money

Oh, Oh Uncle Gairy  
 What you doing to we  
 You fooling the Grenadians one by one  
 And killing them with starvation

When I read the Trinidadian Guardian  
 Is said this man must be a mad man  
 In such a poor and undeveloped island  
 This man looking like the Queen of England  
 Big time house, big time limousine

And I hear the Chief Minister love Wabine  
 And when he drinking his grog  
 He does jump up and bawl  
 'Man I paying anything at all'.

Jiminez run away with half of Venezuela  
 Farouch living nice now on the Riviera  
 Juan Peron had to leave Argentina  
 And the Tsars had the same experience in Russia

General Baptista had to run with his family from Cuba  
 So Uncle just look at that history  
 And leave the people money."

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But Gairy came back to win in 1967. He was vindicated by the masses of Grenadian voters. This was because the Grenada voter does not respond to issues or ideologies but rather to leaders and personalities who are able to articulate the dissatisfactions the islander feels. It is Gairy's ability to do this, to appeal directly to the masses, which provides him with the power he has. (Gairy's political organization reflects this direct approach to the masses: there is no policy study group, no party commissions, nothing comparable to Eric Williams' Peoples National Movement in Trinidad). Gairy attributes his own return to power in a different way. He reflects on his relationship to God:

"The praises are not due to me but are due the Divine Maker, the Divine Architect, who in the divine scheme of things, saw fit to have me come back. I am also reminded of the divine and equitable law - a law which lends itself to the maxim that 'cream will always float'."

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One of the characteristics of the small island politician is his "It's my turn now" attitude. After either coming through the ranks or operating within the Colonial context, the first crop of post-independent politicians view themselves as nationals taking over and running things much in the way the Colonial governor did. Government is therefore often a one man affair dominated by an authoritarian figure who is really taking his cue from the Colonial regime. In Eric Gairy's case, this is certainly true, only with the additional relationships he seems to have cultivated with Divinity.

Gairyism represents one of the serious difficulties facing the younger politicians of the region. He symbolises the idea that the leader can solve all of the problems, that once elected his special powers will bring the panacea the people want. But the problem is that Gairy and politicians like him do not really want to bring about drastic changes, for once there is a political "socialization" of the masses, the relationship between the leader and his followers would be changed. It is much easier and safer not to risk, rather to merely propagandize and depend upon personal issues to maintain the power relationship.

There is however a major flaw in Gairy's approach. His fall is assured the day the people become aware of the fact that he is doing nothing to solve the causes of their dissatisfaction, that he has only been able to articulate a temporary desire they feel for the autonomy of their West Indian island. The day will come when they realise that he has been unable to find solutions to their problems and only made them worse.

Yours,

*Frank Mc Donald*

Frank McDonald.

Received in New York on November 12, 1969.

Photos on page 3 and page 5 compliments of a co-investigator, Mr. David Nott of the London Times with whom the writer shares