

THE THINKER

Volume 9

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ANALYZING THE SITUATION IN HAITI

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1823 DEMERARA SLAVE REBELLION

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THE ORIGINS AND CHALLENGES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA

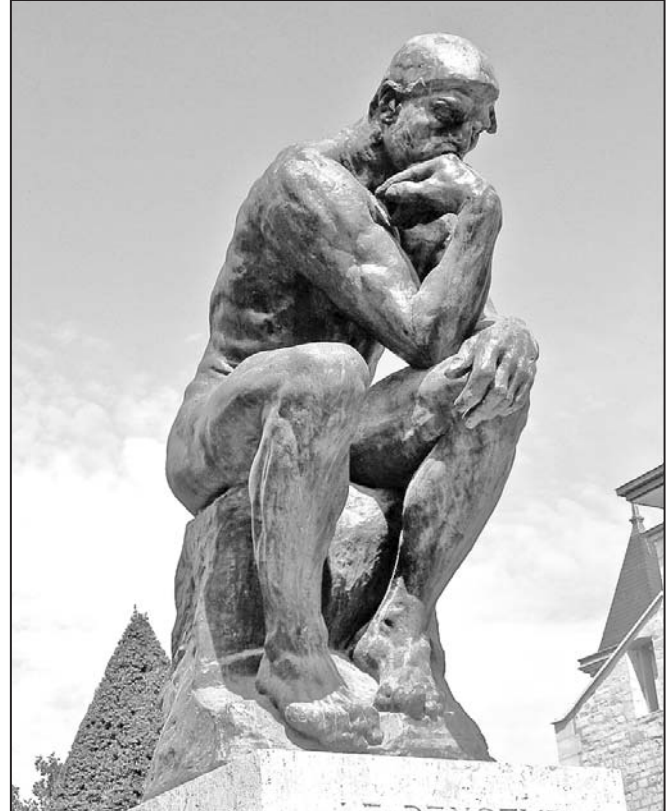
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70 YEARS AFTER THE POEMS OF RESISTANCE

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The Thinker (French: Le Penseur) is a bronze sculpture by Auguste Rodin.

EDITORIAL

This edition of the Thinker Magazine coincided with a number of historic milestones. Among these are the 75th anniversary of the suspension of the British Guiana Constitution in 1953 by the British Government after a mere six months in office by the PPP government. The PPP under the leadership of the charismatic Cheddi Jagan had won a landslide victory winning eighteen out of the twenty-four seats.

This edition also coincided with 200th anniversary of the Demerara Rebellion, one of the largest in terms of the number of slaves that participated in a slave rebellion in the colony.

This year also marks sixty years since the establishment of the University of Guyana, the first university to be established by the PPP government under colonial rule.

At the international level, the situation in Haiti remains a matter of grave concern with no immediate solution to the political chaos and violence which has engulfed the nation. This year also coincided with 175 years since the publication of the Communist Manifesto which continues until this day to influence millions around the globe who clamour for a better and more humane society.

The debate surrounding Artificial Intelligence (AI) is now gaining momentum and an attempt will be made to explain and hopefully demystify this apparently intriguing phenomenon.

Regrettably, this edition also coincided with the passing of Ashton Chase, a founder member of the Political Affairs Committee (PAC) and someone who had the distinction of serving as a member of the short-lived PPP Cabinet. The Editorial Committee of The Thinker takes this opportunity to express its deepest condolences on the passing of the late Ashton Chase.

We once again take the opportunity to express thanks to our contributors and our readers.

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The Thinker

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The Communist Manifesto



The Communist Manifesto, written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, is a landmark publication that has shaped the course of history and influenced political thought since its release in February 1848, just over 175 years ago. It has inspired countless intellectuals, activists, and political leaders who sought to challenge the capitalist status quo and create a more equitable society. This seminal work provides a comprehensive analysis of capitalist society, pointing out its inherent contradictions, and proposes a vision for their resolution. It was commissioned as The Manifesto of the Communist Party by the League of the Communists which had requested Marx and Engels, then 30 and 28 respectively, to draft a manifesto expounding its objectives.

They were members. The end product is believed to have been due substantially to the efforts of Marx. The objectives of the League of Communists had been earlier described as “the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the ending of the old society which rests on class contradiction and the establishment of a new society without classes or private property.” The League had its origin in the 1830s in France, under different names, established by German workers. The communism of the 1830s and 1840s was derived from the left wing of the French Revolution although communism in various forms as an idea, not necessarily related to its version of the 1840s, or later, had existed as ideas since the previous century.

Many European countries during this period were ruled by autocratic monarchies or conservative governments that suppressed civil liberties and denied political participation to most of the population. The desire for political reform and increased democracy fueled the revolutionary sentiment originally inspired by the French Revolution in 1789. However, it did not succeed in liberating Europe from the clutches of autocracy so as to release the energies of the growing capitalist class that had begun to attain economic power as a result of the industrial revolution earlier in the 18th century. The 19th century was marked by rapid industrialization, as well as economic crises, including widespread poverty, unemployment, and food shortages. These economic hardships exacerbated social tensions and created a sense of discontent among the working class. Nationalist aspirations also played a significant role in the mid-19th century revolutions. People across Europe sought self-determination and the establishment of independent nation-states based on shared ethnicity, culture, or language. Nationalist sentiment contributed to demands for political and social change. Enlightenment ideals resulted in the spread of liberal ideas advocating for individual rights, constitutionalism, and representative government, influencing many intellectuals and the middle class. These ideas inspired demands for greater political and social freedoms.

There are many reasons for the Manifesto’s survival, not

least the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

But long before, within weeks of its publication in February, 1848, the most consequential series of revolutions engulfed Europe. The Communist Manifesto spread like wildfire among the 'socialist,' 'communist' and 'radical' workers and their organisations which, though small, were active in the 1848 events. The Manifesto went through many reprints and was published in several European countries. However, while the revolutions of 1848 initially showed promise, they were eventually crushed by conservative forces and ruling powers. But these events marked an important turning point in European history, fueling future struggles for democracy, nationalism, and social reform. Editions of the Communist Manifesto were continuously published in the 1860s and 1870s. A German edition was published in 1872, 1883 and 1890. A Russian edition was published in 1882, a French translation in 1885, an English edition in 1888, a Polish edition in 1892 and an Italian edition in 1893.

The Franco-Prussian War took place in 1870-1871. France was defeated and soldiers of the National Guard seized power in March 1871 and established an independent government, the Paris Commune. Although the government was suppressed at the end of May at the cost of thousands of lives, it had established revolutionary policies including the separation of church and state, abolition of child labour and the right of workers to take over enterprises where the employers had abandoned them. Socialist, communist and anarchist groups rallied to the Communards and the ideas propounded by them had a profound influence on the policies and events. A summary of these ideas were captured in the 'Declaration to the French People.' It was not a programme for socialism, revolution or the working class, but merely a programme in the name of Paris. While its programme today appears modest, at that time it was revolutionary, demanding that local bodies be given authority over administration, education, economics and security. Out of the Paris Commune came one of Marx's most famous works, 'The Civil War in France.' It was the official statement of the General Council of the International and Marx's analysis of this event as the only seizure of political power by the working class during his lifetime provides the only opportunity of witnessing his application of the principles in the Communist Manifesto as living reality. Up to that time Marx had struggled by writing and activism in poverty and obscurity. 'The Civil War in France' made him an internationally famous revolutionary.

The Communist Manifesto as a document did not have an ascendant visibility after the 1870s, although editions were published thereafter, but the continuing

industrialisation of the UK and Europe resulted in an expansion of the size of the working class and the enlargement of cities in which factories, mines, docks and other manufacturing facilities were located. At the same time social and economic conditions for the working class were appalling. Wages were low for men and even lower for women, child labour was rampant, housing and health conditions were extremely poor. The ideas promoted by the Communist Manifesto and the Paris Commune continued to inspire militancy and groups dedicated to struggles for the upliftment of the conditions of those oppressed by capitalism continued to grow. In the UK the Chartist Movement, which was active in the 1830s and 1840s laid the groundwork for the future labour activism by advocating for universal suffrage, the rights of the working class and better living conditions. The First International (International Working Men's Association) established in 1864 in London enabled Marx to play a significant role in promoting workers' rights and better living conditions in an organized manner. The Trade Union Act of 1871 recognised trade unions and opened the opportunity for negotiating better wages and working conditions. The Labour Representation Committee was established in 1900 and led to the formation of the Labour Party.

In Germany similar conditions were experienced by workers. As industrialization progressed, so did the organization and mobilization of the German working class. Socialism gained popularity among the workers and the ideas of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and other socialist writers and thinkers resonated with workers. All of these led to the formation of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) which played an important democratic role in developing a progressive outlook in Germany until it was suppressed by Hitlerite fascism in the 1930s. To one degree or another these developments were reflected in most of Europe which have social democratic parties at least officially committed to labour rights. These developments would not have been possible without the early efforts of the pioneers of modern socialism and the enduring influence of the Communist Manifesto, if not in its complete perspective, at least in its identification of the interests of the working class as separate and apart from those of the owners of capital. The existence of trade unions, and the recognition of the need for them, is a recognition of the separate interests of the working class, first promoted by the Communist Manifesto.

In the case of the Bolshevik Revolution, The Communist Manifesto served as an important reference point and source of inspiration for the leaders of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP), which later split into the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions. Lenin adapted and applied Marxist theory to the specific conditions of

Russia, particularly the role of the proletariat in leading the revolution. He and the Bolsheviks believed that in Russia a revolutionary situation had arisen because of the contradictions that had developed due to the social and economic turmoil exacerbated by World War I and the autocratic rule of the Tsar. While The Communist Manifesto itself did not provide a blueprint for the Bolshevik Revolution, its influence on the development of Marxist theory and its widespread circulation among socialist, communist and revolutionary groups in Europe and Russia helped to shape the ideological landscape of the time.

It provided a theoretical foundation and rallying cry for those who sought radical change and played a role in inspiring and mobilizing the revolutionary forces that eventually led to the revolutionary taking of power by the Bolsheviks in 1917. The victory of the revolution in Russia gave a substantial impetus to the popularity of The Communist Manifesto and to Marxist theory from that time. When socialism became a world system after the Second World War and the national liberation movement spread to much of the oppressed part of the world in Africa, Asia and Latin America, The Communist Manifesto provided the basic and essential theoretical and inspirational foundation for the revolutionary advances. The abolition of colonialism and the liberation of countries from imperialism owe much, directly or indirectly, to the Communist Manifesto.

The Communist Manifesto commences with the challenging phrase, designed to drive fear in the minds of the bourgeoisie while at the same time sending a message of strength and confidence to the workers it addresses: "A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of communism." The "holy alliance" of Pope and Tsar, Metternich and Guizot, French radical and German police spies to exorcise the spectre suggests that communism had already gripped Europe. In fact, it concludes that "communism is already acknowledged by all European powers to be itself a power." The confidence of young Marx and Engels in the power of their movement may have been youthful exuberance but it was certainly inspirational to a sympathetic reader.

The Communist Manifesto introduces the origin of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the two antagonistic classes that have emerged under capitalism in the now incisive and famous sentence: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." Marx and Engels explained that in all societies in the past there was the oppressor and the oppressed who stood in constant opposition to one another, engaged in an uninterrupted struggle that ended in a "revolutionary reconstitution" of society or the "ruin of the contending classes." Feudal society was transformed by the

expansion of capitalism facilitated by the discovery and colonization of America, and other countries, the expansion of industrialization and trade, the imposition of slavery, colonialism and imperialism, giving rise to the modern bourgeoisie which "sprouted from the ruins of feudal society." Thus, the bourgeoisie was the product of a long course of development in the production and exchange process. It played a revolutionary role in eliminating feudalism and the feudal class. Even though Marx and Engels concluded that "the bourgeoisie has played a most revolutionary part," they were guilty of "naked, shameless, brutal exploitation." In this epoch of the bourgeoisie two great classes emerged facing each other, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The development of capital and the bourgeoisie leads to the growth of the proletariat. As capitalist society grows, so does the proletariat, the modern working class, which is forced to sell its labour as a means of subsistence that is required for its maintenance. The proletariat are exploited by the bourgeois class, the bourgeois state, the individual bourgeois employer and, when that is over, by the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker and others. The proletariat goes through various stages of development as capitalism and exploitation develops. They begin to organize, at first in small groups and then in unions. As the means of communication grow, so do the size of unions and their victories against the bourgeois class. This leads to the organisation of the proletarians as a class which in turn leads to their organization as a political party. In The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels said that "of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class." The Communist Manifesto stated that for the first time in history, the proletarian movement is the "selfconscious, independent, movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." Because the power of the bourgeoisie depends on the development of capital, which relies on wage labour, which in turn promotes the growth of the proletariat and their organization, it means that the bourgeoisie produces its own grave diggers – the proletariat.

The Communist Manifesto sets out the position of the communists in relation to the proletariat. It proclaims that the communists have no interests that are separate and apart from the proletariat.

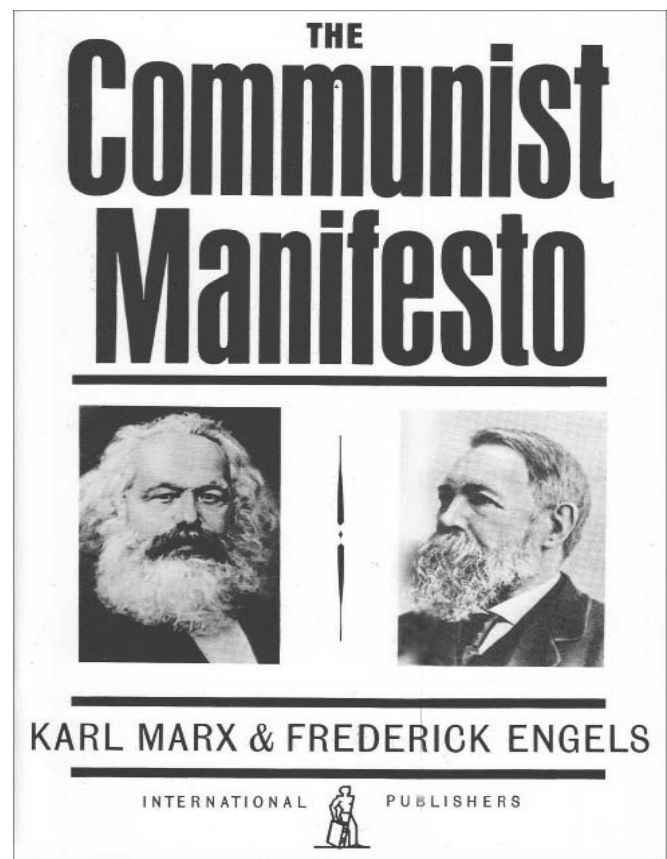
They do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. They do not advocate sectarian principles of their own by which to shape the proletarian movement. But they are distinguished from other working-class parties by pointing out the common interests of the proletariat of all countries and bring to the fore these common interests and, in the various

stages of the struggle, they represent the interests of the movement as a whole. They are, therefore, the most advanced sections of the working-class, whose immediate aim is the formation of the proletariat into a class, the overthrow of bourgeois supremacy and the conquest of political

power by the proletariat. Among its objectives are: abolition of property in land with rents applied for public purposes; progressive income tax; abolition of the right of inheritance; confiscation of the property of emigrants and rebels; centralization of credit in a national bank; establishment of state owned factories; cultivating waste lands; equal liability to work; combination of agriculture with manufacturing; abolition of distinction between town and country; here education; abolition of child labour. While some of these would not be acceptable even today, others have been implemented in developed capitalist societies and in many less developed countries. The Communist Manifesto was a document for its age. It reflected the early ideas of socialism and communism as they developed during the Enlightenment, aided by the writings and views of many early socialist writers with widely differing approaches. It also showed that the basic ideas of the manner of capitalism's development, spawning a bourgeois and a proletariat class in conflict, with the latter designated as the revolutionary class destined to bring about the end of capitalism, had already developed by that time. Marx's deeper studies of capitalism and further development of his theories lay in the future. So did his recognition as a leading thinker, activist and revolutionary despite decades of study, writing and activism while mired in poverty in London. The deeply inspirational and visionary language of The Communist Manifesto, infused with ideological depth and revolutionary fervour, motivated generations down the ages to take up the cause of revolution.

The valuable work of millions all over the world to create a more just society, with a fair distribution of wealth, to deliver adequate social services, to eliminate poverty around the world by reducing military spending and taxing the rich, to reduce carbon emissions and protect the environment, to protect the rights of women and girls, to end racism and ethnic conflict, has as its foundation the understanding that capitalist society serves the

interests of the owners of capital and not society at large. The origin of this work is the understanding, brilliantly articulated in The Communist Manifesto, of the inherently exploitative nature of capitalism and the necessity to organize in trade unions and political parties for better conditions. The heirs of the militants inspired by The Communist Manifesto are those who today dedicate themselves for the achievement of progressive objectives, whether or not they accept the fundamental premises of The Communist Manifesto. Even if some progressives do not accept their ideals in early socialism, many still recognise that the struggle for a better life was inspired by The Communist Manifesto, with its analysis of the fundamental nature of capitalist society and its call to action by its ringing declaration at the end: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working Men of All Countries, Unite!"



Mr. Ralph Ramkarran SC served as Speaker of the National Assembly of Guyana from 2001 to 2011. He became a Senior Counsel of Guyana's judiciary in 1996.

Analyzing the situation in Haiti

Historical context

1492, more than half a millennium ago, a new chapter in the evolution of our planet opened on the shores of Hispaniola (Quisqueya or Ayiti for the natives). Some 300 years later, at the twilight of the "Siècle des lumières" and the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, a handful of determined black slaves shook the world. They defeated Napoleon Bonaparte's army, the most powerful in the world, at the time. How? With one motivation "Freedom or death" and as motto "Unity is Strength".

On January 1, 1804, a new nation was born, second in the new world after the United States of America.

The foundations of Haiti's independence forever changed the entire colonial economic structure of the time. This emerging nation paid an unprecedented price for its audacity: A 20-year embargo, lifted only by agreeing to pay an astronomical ransom to the vanquished. Compensation imposed after having supported and financed Simon BOLIVAR in his struggle for the liberation of South America, with the sole consideration of the promise to free all the slaves of the conquered countries.

Independent but isolated, suffering from a scandalous debt toward France that strangles its economy, Haiti crossed the 19th century by taunting the great Western powers, while perpetrating fratricidal internal struggles, moving away day after day from its founding motto.

Under the pretext of the Monroe Doctrine but also as a result of an explosive political climate, the country experienced the first affront of foreign occupation from 1915 to 1935. Haiti paid dearly and in advance for this American interference. The entire gold reserve of the country was, as soon as the Yankee troops landed, transferred to the vaults of Citibank in New York, never to return. However, it must be underlined that the occupants set up a public administration which functioned for almost half a century. On the other hand, the unrecognized apartheid that plagued American society at the time (segregation that some say, persists even today) sneakily polluted the system and governance. It revived old struggles, exacerbating color prejudices between a large black majority and a mixed-race minority.

The system put in place by the occupiers clearly favored mulattoes. They control the economic levers and occupy, in disproportionate numbers, key positions in



public administration. This inevitably led to the black movement which asserted itself in the 1940s with the election of President Dumarsais ESTIME, then in 1957, that of François DUVALIER. Taking advantage of the ideological rivalries between the Soviet bloc and the Western world, DUVALIER, Father, and Son, gradually transformed the democratic system into a dictatorial power that would last nearly thirty years.

Haitians failed to take advantage of the promises and opportunities arising from the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship on February 7, 1986. Provisional governments, failed elections, coups, multiple UN interventions and, to crown the curse, the assassination of President Jovenel Moïse, in his residence on July 7, 2021. All these drifts lead to the current chaotic situation.

Haitian contribution to the heritage of humanity

Nevertheless, after 220 years, Haitians can be proud of at least three undeniable facts that will seal Haiti's place in world history:

First and foremost, the legacy of the only successful slave revolt that also led to a redefinition of humanity. Freedom has finally become a reality on its soil and a possible dream for all the oppressed, black, or not, on the continent and throughout the universe.

Also it should be remembered that Haiti is one of the first 47 countries at the San Francisco conference and the final 50 states that created the United Nations in 1945.

Finally we can also acknowledge that, from Toussaint

LOUVERTURE to Anténor FIRMIN and Yanick LAHENS, among many others in different fields, Haitians have achieved excellence in surprising numbers. They make Haiti a country whose brains, its gray matter, are the best and most important export product.

Haiti at an impasse

Yet today, Haiti remains in the spotlight for too many shameful reasons: collapsed state, total absence of elected officials, sterile and endless transitions, insecurity and gang rule, endemic poverty, etc... This must stop. Can Haiti get out of this endless spiral?

Looking Ahead (Taken from the Ottawa Flag Day celebration on May 18, 2023)

Rising from the ashes, the emblem of King Henri Christophe, has haunted Haiti since its independence. The following is taken from a video conference on the theme: "PERSPECTIVE FOR THE FUTURE OF HAITI". Three eminent personalities - Marlène THELUSMA, teacher at Boréal College in Ontario, Eddy CAVÉ, writer and historian, and Me. Marcel CHERILUS, Professor at the State University of Haiti - presented encouraging points of view and answers which could be summarized as follows:

Learn positive lessons from the past. Division has been the root of all failures. The Haitian epic succeeded, thanks to the oath of unity sworn by all at the Bois Caiman ceremony in August 1791: slaves, freedmen, maroons, began their march toward liberty. If Haitians can agree on this lowest common denominator, they can decide together on the way forward and the steps to follow.

Roadmap for the future

Whatever the ideological option chosen, it has to be the fruit of a national reflection, a form of general assembly with representatives appointed by the whole of society. They will have the task of defining the following four steps:

1. Urgency to find a transitional government formula with a time-limited mandate, a minimum number of ministries, with the mission of managing current affairs and implementing the next three stages.
2. Adopt a social project. In the aftermath of the earthquake of January 12, 2010, at the initiative of Professor Samuel Pierre of Polytechnique Montréal, a worldwide movement called GRAHN-MONDE was born. In the space of a few months, more than 600 people from different backgrounds, Haitian government authorities, political party leaders, ordinary citizens and students, researchers from academia, to name but a few, took part in the

development of a collective work. It was intended as a proposal, from the civil society, with a view to the reconstruction of Haiti. This reflection is followed by a set of 175 concrete proposals for actions to be undertaken over a twenty-year horizon. The challenge is, to quote GRAHN, "to make the country attractive enough to curb the brain drain which irreversibly deprives the regions of the country of their sons and daughters, and unilaterally takes away from the country the best technicians and executives it has formed".

3. New Constitution – Examples of unusual governance situations abound. We have seen Belgium go more than a year without a government, but the case of Haiti seems much more complicated. The 1987 constitution, amended and violated over and over again, has become totally inoperative. The institutions it provided for and which offered the mechanisms for resolving crises have disappeared. Some have never been implemented after three decades. As in 1986, we must be inventive to get out of this new crisis and ensure that there will be no more. While bringing politicians together around the table is a challenge, the one point on which the vast majority of players agree is that Haiti needs a new constitution.

Let us hope that the constituents will have the wisdom to limit the number of parties entitled to stand for election to no more than four or five. They shall offer a national charter that will secure a reasonable balance between the three powers, regulate their operation by insisting on accountability, seek gender equality, provide basic services to the people with absolute priority to education. All this while providing a framework for strong institutions, not the least, those responsible for national security and the police.

4. Elections – This final step is, ultimately, the unavoidable objective. Particular attention, based on the experiences of the last forty years, must be given to the formation of an Electoral Council bringing together men and women of experience, integrity and, above all suspicion. The People will then choose elected officials from a selection of credible and honest candidates.

The light at the end of the tunnel

Responding to the following question from the moderator on May 18, 2023: Can you each identify two positive points from the Haitian situation, from January 2023 to May 18, 2023? The three panelists surprised the audience with different findings. The two main ones are, on the one hand, the awakening of the people who have come out of their indolence and, on the other hand, the

reconciliation of the Haitian National Police (PNH) with its population.

If we manage to channel this movement well, we can hope for a sufficiently rapid re-establishment of a climate of security, a sine qua non condition for the initiation and completion of the previous stages. It is in this context that Haiti would, without delay, need well-thought-out international assistance, in logistical terms but also and, above all, in modern equipment which is sorely lacking in the PNH. (Haitian National Police). Then and only then, can Haiti envision a robust economic recovery.

The international community and Haiti?

Haitians must be trusted and left to propose an endogenous solution to the end of the crisis, without foreign interference. They will have to overcome internal conflicts, prejudices, the spirit of Maroons which are all dangerous blocking elements that seem insurmountable today.

The reactions of the international community since 1986, without going into subjective considerations on its motivations, have been resounding failures. The experience of boots on the ground has an exorbitant cost and has never given the expected results.

Today, we must salute the initiative of CARICOM which seems to advocate a different approach. It strives to bring Haitians into dialogue through persuasion rather than force. Engaging former heads of government from the region as mediators is the approach we believe will be the most effective and least costly. Of course, the first steps are frustrating. One can only be grateful to CARICOM for initiating the recent meeting in Jamaica. The region's eminent former heads of government, who have offered to continue their good and loyal offices through CARICOM, will ultimately play a crucial role in the emergence of the new Haiti.



SAMUEL PIERRE, a full professor in the Department of Computer and Software Engineering at Polytechnique Montréal, is an internationally renowned expert who has worked in the field of information and communication technologies for more than 30 years.



FRANTZ LIAUTAUD – Retired civil engineer and diplomat, has been: Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Haiti to Canada and 3 times president of the “Chambre de Commerce et d’Industrie Haitiano Canadienne” (CCIHC).

Huist D' Ieren: An Experiment In East Indian Land Settlement Scheme in 19th Century Colonial British Guiana



A more effective system is for the government to foster Spontaneous settlement by rendering available for it The abandoned estates... no artificial means are required to stimulate the settlement of the East Indian population¹

INTRODUCTION

East Indian indentured labourers were imported from the sub- continent on India to the West Indian colonies ostensibly to fill the void created as a result of the mass exodus of ex- slaves from the plantation labor following the abolition of the despicable system of slavery and more so the premature termination of the apprenticeship scheme in 1838. This influx into the Caribbean in the post- emancipation period was only one segment of a wider movement of Indian Labourers; to other parts of the world including Mauritius, Ceylon, Fiji, the Strait Settlements, Natal and other parts of the African continent.

Following the abolition of slavery and the termination of the apprenticeship system a state of fear, uncertainty and gloom was uppermost in the minds of the then British Guianese planters. The exodus from the plantations during this crucial period of 'crisis and change' merely serve to confirm planters' fear and uneasiness this movement was not entirely surprising as several

decades of slavery had resulted in the plantation being seen as the symbol of dehumanization. The victims quite naturally wanted to rid themselves of white planter class social, cultural and political domination and to assert their economic independence. With great enthusiasm and in the face of tremendous odds they started the village movement and peasantry.

The importation of indentured Labourers from the Indian sub- continent was part of the continuing search for a reliable labor force to meet the needs of the powerful plantocracy. In the case of Guyana East Indian immigration had its origin in the "Gladstone Experiment" and the first batch of immigrants arrived on board the steamships 'Whitby and Hesperus' in May 1838. This immigration scheme involving East Indian immigrants was temporarily halted from July 1839 to 1845 after which it continued virtually uninterrupted to 1971 during which time 239, 909² immigrants landed in Guyana. Of this figure 75, 547³ returned to the land of their birth while those who survived the system chose to remain here and make this country their homeland.

BACKGROUND TO HUIST D' IEREN

The system of indentureship as experienced by East Indian immigrants in colonial Guyana could be characterized

as one of 'struggle, sacrifice and resistance'. On the estates, the indentured labourers faced the harshness of the labor laws and it was obvious that the powerful plantocracy had effective control of the immigrant labor force. Labor laws were easily varied and very often abused to suit their 'whims and fancies'⁴.

Immigrants were faced with meagre wage rates and unrealistic tasks, there was a persistent problem of being penalized in relation to the muster roll which was held every morning, court trials were, sometimes farcical, fines and imprisonment were rife and vagrancy laws imposed a serious restriction on their movements. It was not surprising therefore that, from the late 1860s onwards the myth of Indian docility was to be seriously challenged. Indentured Labourers began to openly defy the system and there was a steady deterioration of industrial relations, increasing working class protests and imperial investigation.

In 1870, a Royal Commission of Inquiry was appointed to examine alleged abuses of the immigration system.⁵ It subsequently made a number of recommendations and as a result certain changes were made in the immigration laws.⁶ Among these changes were wider powers of the Immigration Agent-General, the formation of immigration districts, each with a resident agent, district medical officers to be paid by government instead of estate authorities, the right of immigrants to give evidence on their own behalf and the Immigration Agent-General becoming an ex-officio member of the Court of Policy.

Thereafter, the reindenture scheme which emerged in the 1850s began to decline and at the same time encouragement was given to immigrants to take up small plots of land in lieu of return passages. Such an initiative came from both the government of the colony and the plantocracy in general and according to Bisnauth "to discourage repatriation was in effect encouraging East Indians to settle in the colony."⁷

It was Potter's contention that time-expired immigrants increasingly chose to move off the estates.⁸ Obviously, it was the high cost of repatriation for those who had completed their periods of industrial residence and were entitled to a free return passage which led the government and planters to give serious consideration to the establishment of East Indian settlements. By 1869 an estimated 30,000 immigrants were entitled to a free return passage to India at a total cost of \$250,000.⁹

It was against the foregoing that some East Indian immigrants moved from the plantations and settled along the public roads in areas adjoining the sugar estates. Their movement was averaging 3,000 yearly between 1871 and 186¹⁰ and they were mostly found in "straggling, unorganized settlements"¹¹ along the coastland.

A definite attempt was made in 1871 to settle immigrants when the government purchased Plantation Nooten Zuil,¹² an abandoned 578-acre cattle and provision farm

on the East Coast of Demerara. The proposal was to settle time-expired immigrants in lieu of their return passages by offering them half an acre to build a house, one and a half acres for farming and half an acre for common pasturage. This scheme failed largely because of poor drainage and excessive flooding and immigrants felt the site itself was badly chosen. In the end, the government was forced to abandon the project.

It was not until 1880 that another attempt was made towards the establishment of an immigrant village settlement. This time around, government purchased Plantation Huist D'Ieren¹³, a partially abandoned estate on the Essequibo Coast.

THE SETTLEMENT (EXPERIMENT): HUIST D'IEREN

Following the purchase of Plantation Huist D'Ieren by government, the land was divided into two-acre cultivation plots along with a quarter acre residential lots and then distributed to immigrants in lieu of their return passages. Initially seventy-three immigrants took up the offer. In the beginning the settlement of Huist D'Ieren was placed under the direct supervision of Veeraswamy Mudaliar¹⁴, Chief Interpreter in the Immigration Department. But by 1882 so serious were problems experienced by residents that the settlement had made virtually no progress. Maintenance of sea defences and public roads became too burdensome and backdams kokers and main drainage trenches were all in deplorable conditions.

Henry Turner Irving¹⁵ assumed duty as Governor of the colony of British Guiana in May, 1882. Within a few weeks after his arrival, he acquainted himself with several aspects of immigration. He was obviously conscious that East Indian immigration was by then firmly established and it had become the mainstay of the sugar industry. Hence, he promptly made an innovation to the land settlement scheme. In this regard, he must have been influenced by both the difficulties confronting the settlement of Huist D'Ieren and the rising cost of repatriation, and his earlier experience as Governor of Trinidad where a significant Indian immigrant population was already in existence.

As early as May 1882, the Governor suggested that instead of issuing grants of land to immigrants and confining them to land settlement schemes it would be more satisfactory to provide them with the opportunity to purchase land in localities best suited by their individual tastes.¹⁶ He was of the view that a more effective system was for government to "foster spontaneous settlement by rendering available for it the abandoned estates"¹⁷ as no artificial means are required to stimulate the settlement of the Indian population.¹⁸ According to him, settlements brought about in this manner would be more likely to succeed than those established through grants of land in lieu of return passages. Moreover, it was his view that someone establishing himself and his

family on a homestead of his own would hardly attempt to claim his right to a return passage.¹⁹

The administrator very realistically argued that the government should embark on effecting crucial infrastructural works, including roads, dams, bridges and sea defences before offering lots for sale and he was confident costs incurred would be recovered.²⁰ It would seem that governor Irving had made a careful study of the immigrant psyche at that point in time

Consequently, grants of land in communication of return passages ceased and in its place came the sale of lots.

In the case of Huist D'ieren the original system was scrapped and infrastructural works were affected. The land was then divided into two-acre cultivation lots and ¼ acre residential or house lots that were advertised for sale. Immigrants were afforded the opportunity of purchasing by way of a system similar to that of hire purchase today. The initial payment was \$10.00 and this was followed by five annual installments of \$10.00 each.²¹

The immediate response was satisfactory as sixty-two immigrants took up lots. Governor Irving was hailed for his vision and innovation.

Even so the Huist D'ieren experiment was far from being a success story in the short term. A number of problems continued to beset the settlement. Among them were encroachments from the sea, flooding from backland water and periodic failure of crops especially rice. This is borne out in the fact that a mere 116 residential and 136 cultivation lots were sold during the 1883-1887 period under the new system.²² Similar steps were also taken for sale of lands at an abandoned estate at Cotton Tree, West Coast Berbice and elsewhere during the remainder of Irving's tenure in the colony.

CONCLUSION

In any event a seemingly rewarding feature of this experiment at Huist D'ieren was its long term impact at inducing immigrants to remain in the colony. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries free immigrants were gradually beginning to buy, rent or

even squat on lands along the coastal belt and of great significance was their interest in the emerging rice industry, cash crop cultivation, cattle rearing, milk selling and other economic avenues.

Indeed, in the years that followed the Huist D'ieren experiment a number of predominantly East Indian Settlements were to surface throughout the country although under slightly different conditions.

These settlements included Helena in the Mahaica district, Whim and Bush Lot on the Corentyne Coast, Marias Pleasure on the Island of Wakenaam in the Essequibo River and Anna Regina on the Essequibo Coast. By 1891 approximately 32,000²³ East Indian immigrants had settled outside of the sugar estates.

Today, Huist D'ieren is a densely populated and well-established rural community in the country. It is a pioneer in the field of East Indian land settlement scheme. It paved the way for further diversification of Guyana's economy in the late nineteenth century. Its free immigrants and their descendants continue to contribute in all facets of society today be it economic, religions, cultural, social or political life.

As part of the Regional Local Government Structure, it finds itself within the Good Hope-Pomona Neighborhood Democratic Council (NDC) in Region 2. It boasts Primary and Nursery schools, a Health Centre, a Presbyterian church, a Mandir and a Mosque, hardware stores and shops. Its prominent residents include the late Dr. Mohamed Shahabuddeen, former Attorney General and Distinguished International jurist; Mr. Harripersaud Nokta, former Minister and Former First Lady Mrs. Deolatchmee Ramotar.

¹ Governor Henry Irving to Secretary of State Kimberly, no. 238. 24 July, 1882. N.A.G

² Keith Lawrence, Immigration into the West Indies in the Nineteenth Century (St. Laurence: Caribbean University Press, 1971), pg26

³ Long collection, U.G.L

⁴ James Rose "The Repatriation Controversy and The Beginning of an East Indian Village System in Guyana" in Guyana Historical Journal Vol. I, 1989, p.3

⁵ The Commission was appointed to examine alleged abuses of the Immigration system following charges by George Des Vocus, a Stipendiary Magistrate in the colony. For his complaints to Secretary of state. Lord Stanly see William Des VOEUX, Experience of a Demerara Magistrate. 1865-1870. Edited by Vincent Roth (Georgetown: Daily Chronicle Ltd. 1948) pp.113-148

⁶ The amendments were made through Ordinance No. 7 of 1873

⁷ Dale A Bisnauth, "East Indians Immigrant society in British Guiana" 1891-1930; (Unpublished PhD Thesis), pg. 89. U.G.L

⁸ Leslie M. potter, "East Indians and the Afro-Guyanese Village Settlement Patterns and Inter Group Relations, 171-1921. Unpublished, p3 U.G.L

⁹ Basdeo Mangru, Indians in Guyana. A Concise History from their arrival to the present (Chicago: Adams Press, 2000) p49

¹⁰ Governor Charles Kortright to Secretary of State, Lord Carnarvon, no. 1., 2 January, 1978. N.A.G

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Nooten Zuil is some 14 miles east of Georgetown. The purchase price was \$12,000.00

¹³ Huist D'ieren is today a relatively densely populated village on the Essequibo Coast, three miles South of the Adventure Ferry Stelling. The name It is Dutch in origin meaning manor of Dieren. (Dieren – a Village in Holland)

¹⁴ He was Superintendent or Zamindar' of the village

¹⁵ Henry Turner Irving rose from the position of clerk in the Colonial Office to become Under-Secretary of State in 1862. He was appointed Colonial Secretary of Jamaica in 1866 and subsequently of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in 1869. He was promoted to Governor of the Leeward Islands in 1873 and in the following year he was transferred as administrator of Trinidad. Irving served as Governor of British Guiana from 4th May 1882 to 24 December 1887

¹⁶ M.C.C Tuesday 30 May, 1882. N.A.G.

¹⁷ Irving to Kimberley, no. 238, 24 July 1882 N.A.G.

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Ibid. For details of East Indian repatriation scheme see David Chanderbali "the Indian Indenture System. Evolution and Structure" (Paper presented at Seminar in Guyanese History) (Unpublished. 1989. U.G.L. pp20-21.)

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ the cost of residential lot was \$10.00 while the 2 acre cultivation lot was \$50.00

²² Derived from Annual Reports of Immigration Agent-General, 1883-1887 N.A.G.

²³ Potter, p. 18



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1823 Demerara Slave Rebellion



The Demerara Rebellion of 1823 was an uprising involving more than ten thousand enslaved people in the Crown colony of Demerara-Essequibo (now part of Guyana) on the coast of South America. The rebellion took place on August 18, 1823, and lasted two days. No particular incident sparked the rebellion; the enslaved simply grew tired of their servitude and sought to resist in the most direct way they could.

Planning for the rebellion began on August 17, 1823, at Plantation Success, one of the largest estates in the area. Two leaders emerged during the planning period: Jack Gladstone, a cooper on Plantation Success, and his father, Quamina, a senior deacon at a church led by English Protestant missionary, John Smith. Gladstone and others planned the uprising, but Quamina objected to any bloodshed and suggested instead that the enslaved should go on strike. Quamina and other leaders visited John Smith, informing him of his son's plans. Smith urged the enslaved to remain peaceful, exercise patience, and wait for new laws that would reduce their suffering. Quamina carried Smith's message back to the plantations.

Quamina's call to remain peaceful fell on deaf ears. The enslaved on Plantation Success rebelled the next evening, August 18, 1823, and attempted to seize all firearms on the plantation. They locked up the whites during the night, planning to release them when their demands were met. They did not see their rebellion as a challenge to slavery itself but demanded better treatment for enslaved people in Demerara-Essequibo. Most of the enslaved remained loyal to their masters. An enslaved house servant, Joseph Packwood, told his owner, John Simpson, about the planned revolt before it

began. Simpson, in turn, informed Governor John Murray, who rode out to confront the rebels with the militia. The enslaved demanded their rights, but Governor Murray ordered them to return to their plantations. When they refused, he declared martial law. Some returned to the plantations while others participated in the rebellion.

Only a handful of whites were killed during the Demerara Rebellion. The rebels locked up owners, managers, and overseers on thirty-seven plantations, who did not flee to Georgetown, the colonial capital, when the rebellion began. Large numbers of Christian slaves refused to rebel and helped suppress those who rose up.

Other enslaved people confronted their owners and the military forces sent against them. On Bachelor's Adventure Plantation, approximately two thousand enslaved people confronted Lieutenant Colonel John Leahy and his militia. When the enslaved refused Leahy's order to disperse, he commanded his troops to fire into the crowd. Approximately two hundred people were killed.

Although the rebellion ended on Tuesday, August 19, the punishment that came afterward was severe. Hundreds of rebels were hunted down and killed, including two hundred who were beheaded as a warning to other enslaved people. Fourteen rebels were hastily tried and sentenced to be hanged. Governor Murray commuted their sentences and had them deported elsewhere in Caribbean. Jack Gladstone was deported to St. Lucia. His father, Quamina, who had argued against the revolt, was tracked down by dogs and Indians and killed in September 1823.

Contributed by Samuel Momodu

Editor's Note:

The following is a speech delivered by former President, Mr. Donald Ramotar at the Turkeyen campus on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the University of Guyana.

The Origins and Challenges of the University of Guyana



Introduction: Salutation

The establishment of the University of Guyana is indeed one of the most important achievements of the Guyanese people. It was truly an historic event, one that was much admired by progressive and democratic peoples the world over. More particularly by people that, at the time, were still living under colonial domination or had only recently freed themselves from colonialist exploitation.

At that time Guyana, then British Guiana was at the forefront of anti-colonial resistance. It had occupied a significant portion of the international media.

The University of Guyana was the first and possibly the only such institution to have been established by a people still in the clutches of colonialism. I don't know of any other.

Some Background

The story of U.G cannot be separated from the main struggles that were occurring at the time. The main issue then was the right of every nation to self-determination. Independence and Freedom were the battle songs of the oppressed.

The idea and the desire of establishing a university did not appear from the clear blue sky, it evolved over the period of the independence struggle. I would date this period to the 1940s.

During the Second World War political consciousness was aroused throughout the world, more particularly

in the colonial world. By the end of the war the anti-colonial struggles became widespread. This was due to several factors. Among these was the fact that the colonial peoples were recruited to fight against fascism and were exposed to life in Europe. Even before the war ended the urge to be free began to make itself felt.

This was manifested in all aspects of life including in Education. Dr. Harold Drayton in an article entitled "Genesis and Early Year 1963-72 recalled that in 1944 the "Queen's College Old Boys' Association in British Guiana had submitted a memorandum to the Irvine Committee' (This was a committee sent to the West Indies in 1944 to investigate and report on the Education situation in the region.)

It (the committee) recommended a small simple-campus residential university to be in Jamaica – thus the beginning of UWI) ...

In part the proposal was to "... start local students with higher studies and partly feed the new University college of the West Indies..."

This period coincided and was reflected in the growing awareness of the Guyanese people. By then Dr. Jagan, who had returned from studies in the USA, had begun to write regularly in the press on many subjects and also to hold public lectures. This gave rise to the formation of the Political Affairs Committee which published its first bulletin on November 6, 1946. That eventually led to the formation of the People's Progressive Party on January 1, 1950.

It set as its immediate task to fight for Independence. Those early struggles led to a greater democratization, the biggest victory being the winning of Universal Adult Suffrage for the 1953 General Elections.

Education Programme

The manifesto of the PPP for the 1953 elections had more to do with primary and secondary education. On tertiary education the following was promised "... technical schools will be established in order to train our worker to run our industries. We would train our technicians and stop importing them..." On the issue of university education it stated "... By means of scholarships and bursaries we will open to all who are suited, by ability and aptitude, in the field of higher education of the West Indian University and other institutions of higher learning..."

It went on to say "... we will remodel our educational system to suit our environment and prevent our children from developing into *displaced snobs*. (My emphasis). Civics would be taught in all schools..." This was very important to the PPP from the very beginning. It was speaking of a new type of intellectual.

Needless to point out that while the PPP won the 1953 elections handsomely it only lasted for 133 days before the warships arrived from the UK and removed the first democratically elected government of our country. This occurred on 9th of October 1953.

The party therefore had no opportunity to make good on its promise. It instead had to fight for survival with a large part of its leadership put behind bars.

Election of 1957

The next opportunity to make an impact on education arose in 1957. The manifesto for those elections reflected more or less what was promised in 1953.

However, this period witnessed a great leap forward in Education and Culture. The Minister of Education then was the young and vibrant Brindley H. Benn. Under his leadership education and culture as a whole experienced great improvement and expansion.

The challenges were great. One of the first major challenge was finding places in schools for a growing population. The election in 1957 was on the 12th of August. Ministers were sworn in on August 24. On September 7, 1957, the headline of the leading article in the "Thunder" was "Hundreds turned away from City's Primary Schools." This was the situation in Georgetown. It was much worse in the countryside.

The article went on to say that apart from the hundreds that were turned away, many who were lucky to have been admitted had to stand up in class.

Those conditions reflected the grave neglect of education by the colonial authorities and their local puppets who were part of the interim government set up by the British authorities from 1953-1957 post suspension of the constitution.

The government was forced to introduce a shift system while it began a massive school building programme. It was not an easy task since the PPP had to overcome a lot of obstacles. The nature of the government of the time was a kind of collusion between the PPP and the Colonial administration. Cheddi Jagan had likened it to a "forced marriage."

Many innovative methods were used including self-help, cooperatives, etc. to build new schools among other important social and physical infrastructure.

This was successfully done and by 1961 we had a real qualitative leap in education. Teacher training increased greatly and overcrowding was drastically reduced.

For the first time Guyanese history was being taught in schools and Adult Education, aimed at abolition of illiteracy, grew by leaps and bounds. The public was educated using radios etc. Cultural groups were established throughout the country and in 1958 the History and Cultural Committee was established to do mass education of our history and the promotion of our culture. The theme of the History and Culture week of 1958 was "One People, One Nation, One Destiny." (Proposed by B.H. Benn)

By 1960 the population with a secondary education had increased many fold. Our human capital was being enhanced at a rapid pace. Another policy that logically led to the creation of UG was "Guianization."

Immediately after the 1957 elections the PPP insisted on "Guianization." At this time almost every top post in government was headed by someone sent from the UK. The PPP with its eyes on independence began to advocate replacing the colonials by Guyanese nationals. In the "Thunder" of February 15, 1958 Dr. Charles Jacob Jr. wrote an article headlined "Guianization of Public Service." Here is what he had to say in part "... What critics of the majority party do not seem to understand is that in territories such as ours, certain lucrative and important posts are specially reserved for importees appointed by the Colonial Office without reference to those running or participating in the colonial governments. This is the traditional pattern of colonial administration, and it has, aided by an educational system not geared to the needs of the colonies, paid handsome dividends by keeping colonial peoples in a state of ignorance and docility so that they are unable to question their lot..." He went on to add "... the majority party is deeply conscious of all the injustices of colonial rule and is pledged to ... institute reforms now and in the future..."

While no word had yet been spoken about the establishment of a university the logic was clearly leading in that direction.

Moreover, imperialism's intentions and actions were becoming clear, remove the PPP at all costs. This was the position of the U.S in particular. By this time the British were rethinking their stance and were having second thoughts about the PPP.

I believe that their (the British) working with the PPP

from August 1957 made them more appreciative of what the PPP was doing. That is why at this point they were resisting US pressure to suspend the constitution once more.

This position was being pushed on the British weeks before the 1961 elections. This has been made public by the documents that were released by the British Foreign Office and the US State Department.

Cheddi Jagan was aware of this as well. He raised American intervention in the 1961 elections during his meeting in the U.S in October 1961 with President John Kennedy.

In 1961 the PPP's Manifesto did not mention the party's intention to establish the University. This is what it said about higher education "... Existing scholarships and exhibitions will be continued. Loans would be made available, in keeping with financial needs, to all students who are eligible for and who desire admission to universities and other centres of higher education overseas. Plans would be worked out in collaboration with the University College of the West Indies (UCWI) for an Extra-Mural Institute which will provide courses leading to the award of an Arts Degree for a start." The manifesto also spoke about teacher training to be done by UCWI.

By the end of September 1961, a mere month after the General Elections, the Cabinet established a working committee chaired by C.V Nunes to examine the possibility of establishing a university.

What had changed?

As I said before, the idea had to have been aroused in the minds of Dr. Jagan and his close associates some time before. They probably shelved the thought on the grounds of costs. However, the political developments up to that point demonstrated to him that he had a bureaucracy that was ideologically tied to the colonial power. It was not supportive of the changes that he believed were necessary for an Independent Guyana. By then they must have realized the enormity of the problem of decolonizing the minds of government functionaries.

The TUC which was expected to support the changes championed by the PPP was captured by the British and had adopted a pro-colonial and pro-imperialist stance following its dissolution in October 1953 and its recreation months after.

In addition, racism began to raise its head and was becoming a real threat to the unity of the country. Dr. Jagan and the PPP believed that education would be important in fighting against racism. A special course was planned for the summer of 1964 but did not materialize due to internal disagreement between the Vice-Chancellor and his Deputy.

Added to this was the increasing cost that the UCWI was charging. It appears that the mass training that the PPP wanted to do would have become too expensive

for the country if it depended only on UCWI and foreign scholarships. At the same time the changes made in Education were producing large amounts of qualified people. Primary schools were converted to all age schools which included secondary education. We became one of the colonies in the region with the highest passes at GCE "O" and "A" levels.

By this time too Dr. Jagan and his closest colleagues became convinced that the UCWI would not produce the human capital needed to build the kind of society they believed the country should be. Recall the observation by Brindley Benn and C.R. Jacobs about snobbery etc. The few persons that were university educated must have been mostly snobbish. That strata of the society were mostly not sympathetic to the workers and farmers of the country and were on the side of the colonial powers. They wanted an intelligencia with strong sympathies for the working people of the country. They wanted an intellectual class that was patriotic and pro-working people.

They were convinced that the UCWI and British Education would perpetuate dependence and a colonial mentality. Moreover, very soon after the August 1961 elections the PPP began to relook at its developmental plans. It had to begin to prepare a new budget. The shortage or may I say the dearth of skills and university educated persons must have hit them like a physical blow.

Most of the people who had been trained abroad, including at UCWI, never returned to the country. In some ways it showed that our educational system was not producing patriots, but black and brown English people. This was a deliberate policy of the British.

In preparing the Budget, Dr. Jagan approached the United Nations decolonization committee for assistance. Note here that he did not ask the British due to their negativisms in the earlier period and his belief that their interests did not coincide with that of our country. He obviously felt that the UN would provide him with people who were not colonial inclined and were progressive in outlook.

It was that body that recommended Dr. Nicolos Kaldor to Dr. Jagan in 1961. He was a distinguished economist and a specialist in taxation issues. That was a big issue here since many of the rich were specialized in evading taxes (still are).

The Nunes Committee which was set up in September 1961 finished its work in less than three month and concluded that a university would be feasible. The cabinet adopted Nunes report on December 6th, 1961. It now had to act on it.

Dr. Jagan, writing in the "Mirror" in 1983 on the 20th anniversary of the U.G. wrote the following, which in a small way reflected his thinking at that time. He said "... As Premier I sought advice from UNESCO. After studying the problem, the specialist had indicated that it would take almost three years to establish the University. That period, we were told was required to get the necessary

buildings and to secure academic staff. We were not happy with the advice and said so bluntly to the advisors. We wanted to make a quick start..."

The cabinet wanted to have classes beginning in September/October 1962. In the article Dr. Jagan continued "... We succeeded in setting up the university within a year on an evening school basis ... This was based on my experience as a student in the USA. While a full-time day student at North Western University Dental School, I did simultaneously a social science degree course at the YMCA College (Now Roosevelt College) in Chicago by attending evening classes..."

Actually, it took the government two years because of the riots of 1962.

Dr. Jagan had to take the leading role at the beginning because he had many contacts internationally and perhaps was the only one in his cabinet to have had experience at day and night universities. An important factor too was that Dr. Jagan was the only leader in the Caribbean that was not contaminated by a colonial education. Thus, he appreciated the importance of freeing the mind from colonial thinking.

While it must have taken the effort of very many persons working together to realize this very important project including every member of the cabinet among others, three names stand out for the roles they played which were all extremely large. These were Cheddi Jagan, C.V. Nunes and Prof. Harold Drayton.

In his book "The West On Trial" Dr. Jagan paid tribute to C.V. Nunes for his outstanding role as Minister of Education between 1961 to 1964.

To move quickly and to keep focus, the cabinet established a special unit inside the Ministry of Education. Dr. Jagan's contact with many Guyanese students at UCWI (Clive Thomas among others) and further afield was important in finding the right persons for the job. He identified Harold Drayton to head this unit. At that time Prof. Drayton was teaching in Ghana. Cheddi Jagan invited him to come home by letter dated January 4th, 1962. Drayton described this in great detail in an article called "Genesis and Early Years, 1963-72", published by the U.G. Guild of Graduates – Toronto in 2003.

While Dr. Jagan and his cabinet decided to begin university classes at Queen's College after three in the afternoon, they began looking for a place where they would build more permanent structures. One of the areas that was considered to be the first campus was the National Park.

The park had been a golf course where the rich played, mainly senior staff from Bookers and Sandbach Parker. It was taken over by the PPP government in 1960 by Janet Jagan as a place where the people of Georgetown would go for relaxation. The golf course was then moved to Lusignan, its present home.

That suggestion of National Park was rejected because it was felt that the university would grow, and the park had insufficient land to cater for the expansion envisaged by

the founders of U.G.

The matter was settled when Bookers Sugar Estate donated one hundred and thirty-five acres of land to be the permanent home of U.G. at Turkeyen.

In the meantime, Dr. Jagan was making contact with persons he knew from major universities abroad to help with the starting up of the university. He wrote frequently to Prof. Paul Baran of Stanford University and a frequent contributor to "Monthly Preview" a progressive magazine in U.S. Dr. David Gran of the London School of Economics; Bernal Paxson; Prof. Horace Davis; Dr. Glass; Prof. Alan Mac Ewan; Prof. Doxy Wilkerson (he had hoped that Doxy would have been principal); Paul Sweeny; Dr. Yussuf Dadoo of South Africa – who became the first Indian South African Executive of ANC and chairman of the Communist Party of South Africa; Neville Dawes of Ghana; Prof. Joan Robinson, considered the foremost female economist.

He also had extensive help from Billy Strachan of the Caribbean Congress of Labor and another good friend Felix Cummings who he had appointed as B.G. representative in New York and to keep in touch with the UN decolonization office among other duties.

Of course, this is by far not the full extent of the many who worked for the realization of UG, but they were the most prominent.

Opposition To UG

The establishment of UG had other problems as well. It was opposed by forces inside and some outside the country.

Recall that UG'S opening was delayed by a year because of the riots which took place in February 1962. The pretext for those riots was the budget. The real reason was the opposition to Independence under an administration that insisted on full sovereignty. The US wanted not an Independent Guyana but a neo-colonial state. That the PPP leaders of the time could never agree with or make compromise of our sovereignty.

It has now been confirmed that the strikes and riots were financed by the CIA while the colonial authorities allowed it to escalate in order to force the resignation of the PPP administration. Race was used to instigate violence in the country. Race was the pretext – the real reason was the nature of an independent Guyana government by a pro working-class party.

Those same forces turned their attacks on the project to establish the University of Guyana. The media took the lead in denigrating the idea and some even took the anti-communist hysteria to oppose the establishment of the institution. The media even spoke about the role of UG was to "brain wash" Guyanese.

Harold Drayton captured this in his article referred to earlier. He wrote "... my work on planning the university was not without its distractions. Local and regional newspaper and even quite reputable U.S. journals carried regular items critical of "Jagan's Night School" (a

term coined by Burnham in his own derogatory attacks against the establishment of UG. My observation) and the scurrilous allegations that the projected national university would simply be a training school for communist functionaries."

Lancelot Hogben was also attacked by the press and local opposition politicians. He referred to this in a letter he wrote to Premier Jagan in April 1963. He spoke about "... a campaign in the Guiana Graphic and Daily Chronicle, from which I have been under a barrage before arriving in British Guiana..." He went on to inform Dr. Jagan that "... I had half a dozen long distance calls asking whether I knew that the government had changed its intentions of proceeding to create a university... I have little doubt that the intentions of this bombardment was to induce me to say something compromising to the Government..."

The bureaucracy, or more correctly, a part of the Civil Service was pro-colonial in mentality and even tried to sabotage the work of the Ministry of Education towards establishing of UG. Harold Drayton spoke about this in the article I cited earlier, he said "... Much more difficult to cope with were quite a few documents critical of the idea of a University of Guyana, written by some senior Education Officers, but without attribution... Especially noteworthy was Views on the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and the University of Guyana, which questioned the "capacity" of British Guiana to "absorb" 150 general degree graduates every year; and predicted that it would be impossible to ensure the maintenance of high standards for the degree of the proposed college/university..."

Drayton went "To my astonishment, that paper was distributed concurrently with the Ministry's White Paper on Higher Education, to members of the Senate and Legislative Assembly..." No doubt this was wickedness designed to embarrass the Government. Indeed Dr. Drayton continued "This caused no end of confusion, and also elicited the unforgettable quip by the leader of the opposition, Mr. Burnham: If the same person produced both documents, I suggest that the services of our psychiatrist at Canje be retained immediately..."

Opposition came from the Caribbean as well. Two delegations from the region came to meet the government, one was led by Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, himself a distinguished scholar. He was also the Chancellor of the UCWI. The other delegation which visited the government was from Barbados led by its distinguished Prime Minister Mr. Errol Barrow and his Minister of Education Mr. Cameron Trudor. Both tried to dissuade the B.G. government to not proceed with the project.

After long discussions the government stood its ground. The resistance by the Cabinet and the Committee that was headed by Dr. Drayton moved a giant step forward when on March 18, 1963, the University of Guyana Ordinance No. 6 of 1963 was accented to by Governor Sir Ralph Gray on April 18, 1963.

It named the first Vice-Chancellor, Lancelot Hogben, a

highly accomplished academician, and the Chancellor a very distinguished Guyanese Jurist and scholar, Edgar Mortimer Duke.

On the staffing of U.G the Drayton Committee followed up on the contacts that were established by Dr. Jagan and recruited outstanding scholars from the United States, many of whom were victims of the Mc Carthy witch-hunt. Drayton highlighted a few of them as Horace B. Davis (Economics), Morrison Sharp (History), Alan McEwan (Botany) and Joyce Sparer (English).

Local academic staff included Lyttleton Ramsahoye (Geophysics), Clarence Drayton (Physics), Neville Trotz (Chemistry), Rudy Insanally and Audley Morgan (Spanish).

The opening ceremony of the University of Guyana took place on October 1, 1963 at Queen's College. It was an impressive affair. The Vice-Chancellor, Lancelot Hogben made a very highly academic speech befitting the occasion.

Unfortunately, Premier Cheddi Jagan was not in attendance. At that time, he was in London in relation to government business and remained there for the constitutional talks which became very controversial. The Deputy Premier, Mr. Brindley Horatio Benn delivered his speech on behalf of the Government in which he captured the hopes and aspirations of his colleagues.

The University of Guyana began as an institution with the objective of developing the technical skills needed for development of our own country. However, it had a far more important task, that was in the whole process of decolonization to liberate the minds of our people that were polluted by centuries of colonial domination.

In the conclusion of the speech Mr. Benn put it in the following way, "...I have stressed the function of the University of Guyana to provide the skills and higher education necessary for the economic development of this country. I have alluded to its role in developing and defining values in our society. But there are two no less important consequences which we hope will flow from the activities of the University. One of these is that every child born in the remotest settlement in the interior, or in the farthest village or sugar estate should have a real opportunity to reach the highest position in the land. The highest positions in our society must no longer be the preserves of the rich and the well-born. By bringing University education within the reach of everyone, we have laid the foundation for the establishment of democracy in this country. The other result which we hope will flow from the establishment of the University of Guyana is the evolution of a Guyanese consciousness. With its stress on our own area and our own needs and interests, with its accent on Caribbean and local studies, with the study of our Amerindian languages instead of Greek and of Spanish instead of French, I have no doubt that we shall evolve a national consciousness and a national identity. We regard this as of supreme importance, for only with the development of this national consciousness will Guyana become the great

nation we would all like it to be..."

In a speech delivered on Thursday 4th April 1964 to the graduating students of the Government Technical Institute Dr. Jagan, while insisting on academic excellence, said that our education must develop an all-round human being, he said to the students "We cannot afford... to perpetuate snobbery in education...where educational provisions are still made on a class basis." He went on to add "At the same time we must not produce human machines. It is essential that liberal studies be included in all our training programmes."

Cedric Vernon Nunes put it in the following way, "This university ... can play an important part in the movement to set the country free from the chains of colonial ways of thinking and behaving ... and to serve as a defense against the persistent battering from external colonialist and reactionary ideas."

The first board that managed U.G. was an outstanding one with persons of really high caliber and about the best that we had in those times all of whom were Guyanese. They were Mr. Edgar Mortimer Duke, C.B.E., LL.B., Dr. Charles Jacob, Jnr., F.B.O.A., M.R.S.H., OD Honorary Treasurer of the University, Dr. F.H.W. Ramsahoye, B.A., LL.M., Ph.D., Ranji Chandisingh, A.B., Mr. F.W.E. Case, M.A., Dr. C.C. Nicholson, M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., Dr. Harry Paul, B.Sc., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.I.C., F.R.I.C., Mr. M. Shahabudeen, LL.M., B.Sc., (Econ.), Mr. John Carter, B.A., LL.B., Q.C., Mr. J.O.F. Haynes, B.A., LL.B., Q.C., and Mr. H.R. Persaud, B.A.

The first year was outstanding despite the turmoil that the country was still going through. It showed great promise of things to come. This was captured by Harold Drayton in a brief radio address on Radio Demerara on September 11, 1964. He spoke about what one of the external examiners, Professor Barney Childs, Prof. in English at the University of Arizona, had to say of UG "The entire concept of the University is in the highest tradition and impressed me more perhaps than any other single experience here. The students need the University to come to it with dedication and eagerness and a desire for learning, which is intensely impressive and often very moving. A great deal of dedicated hard work has been put in this past year by instructional and administrative staff... It has been an experience which has renewed my faith in the ideals of education, which has cleared away the blasé inertia which settles inescapably on one who has been teaching for years. What is happening here is the well spring of education, uncorrupted by false ideals and diversions."

This was an outstanding recognition to those who worked so hard to make a start and a great complement to the first students who really set the bar very high. Another recognition of the high quality of UG work came from another external examiner in 1967. Professor John Maynard Smith, Dean of the School of Biological Sciences at the University of Sussex and an external examiner of UG wrote after a visit to UG in 1967, "...

These discussions (with students and with H.D.) left me in no doubt that the Social Biology Course is performing an extremely valuable educational function, in leading students to think critically about their society, about their racial prejudices, and about their religious and philosophical views..."

Unfortunately, that trend did not continue as was hoped. With the victory of the colonial/imperialist forces in 1964 the progressive direction of the University was interrupted.

Indeed, at the end of 1964/1965 the very existence of the UG was in doubt. After all the forces that took power were the very forces opposed to its establishment. The fear was that the university would have been closed was real.

That did not occur because by then many had come to the realization that the university was important. Opposition to the closure of UG did not only come from the PPP but even from within the PNC. Here is how Dr. Drayton put it, "...It was most interesting to learn that it was those UG students affiliated with the PNC, who denounced their Party's preliminary plans to "wind up" the University, when the Party came into power in December 1964. They have continued to be through (out) all the years the University of Guyana's stoutest defenders..."

Even though the University was saved from closure after the Government changed the administration moved to change the character of the institution.

The progressive professors recruited were sent packing and UG turned on the path of typical university of the more traditional/ bourgeois inspired type.

Later the hope that the institution would be one where freedom of thought would prevail began to slip.

Mr. Burnham disregarded his own advice he gave at the inaugural meeting of UG on October 1st 1963 when he said "...The university must be independent and free from any governmental control... Staff and undergraduates must be chosen from a wide circle. Let us not have the partnership of the would-be thought controller with some false messianic complex... When freedom of thought dies, all other freedoms die with it..."

The PNC made it an objective to seize control of the Board of Governors – began to purge the University of progressive left-wing professors. Many were pushed out or denied employment. We know of the case of Dr. Rodney and Dr. Mohamed Inshanally. One was removed and the other not allowed to take up appointment.

As the PNC regime became more unpopular it began to hit out at any opposition to its rule. It mattered not whether they were left or right winged. The case of Paul Tennessee demonstrated this forcefully. Tennessee was/is a right wing pro-bourgeois in outlook but he too was crudely pushed out of UG in 1982. Stabroek News in an editorial of June 6th 1994 recalled that "... On March 3rd 1982, the University of Guyana council voted unanimously to terminate the services of Paul Tennessee, a freshly-appointed Research Fellow at the

Institute of Development Studies.

These were the circumstances according to the Minutes of that meeting. Under the agenda item "Any other business", a council member told the board that he wished to raise a matter of grave importance. He continued that since "Cde Tennessee's assumption of duty in January 1982, information had come to hand which led to the conclusion that he was not a fit and proper person to continue in the employment of the University".

The council member then proceeded to propose that Tennessee's appointment be terminated under clause three of his contract ...

The Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences asked for reasons for such a proposal and said the termination of an appointment should not be taken lightly. The Dean said there appeared to be no academic reason for abrogating the appointment.

The response, in part, of some members was that the less said, the better. The one person who voted against the motion, K Juman-Yassin expressed disapproval and pointed out that a decision of this sort could affect Tennessee's future prospects.

According to the Minutes, "he advanced the argument that Council as body being asked to make the decision

was entitled to hear the reasons for the proposal so that it could be satisfied about the objectivity of the decision". No reasons were given, and the Minutes said there seemed to be a general demand for the motion to be put to a vote. Twenty-six members supported the motion, one voted against it, there was one abstention, and one member did not vote..."

In conclusion let me say that despite its sometime turbulent history the University of Guyana has achieved a lot. Emerging from a time when the colonial chains were still not broken, the very fact that we celebrate its 60th Anniversary is itself an important achievement.

The main objective of UG was not to just produce highly skilled Guyanese in all important fields of human endeavors, but at the same time a human being that could be unselfish, compassionate and share the hopes and aspirations of our working people.

To accomplish these, we must guard academic freedom and encourage debates and discussions on issues that affect our people and country.

I am staunch in my convictions that the best years of this university are still ahead of us and I am sure that all the lofty goals would be achieved.

Thank you for your attention.



Donald Ramotar is the former President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana. He also served as General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party. Mr. Ramotar is a graduate from the University of Guyana in the field of Economics. He is an avid writer, and contributes regularly to the Mirror newspaper and other publications.

1823 Demerara Slave Rebellion: Distinctive Features



The 1823 Demerara uprising has several distinguishing features. Firstly, it is one of only two major slave rebellions in Guyanese history, occurring sixty years after the better-known Berbice slave insurrection of 1763, led initially by Kofi. Slave revolts, in fact, were a relatively rare feature in the history of most slave societies in the Americas. This rarity was due largely to the fact that slaves were influenced by three considerations. They were aware not only that it was extremely difficult to plan and organise a rebellion without detection, but also that revolts were likely to fail and the participants would incur severe punishment. In 1823 some slaves in Demerara knew that there had only been one slave uprising that had succeeded in overthrowing slavery and White rule, namely, the revolt which had broken out in the French colony of Saint Domingue in 1791 and resulted by 1804 in the creation of Haiti, the first

black state in the Americas. Furthermore, fear of failure, prompted partly by the memory of an unsuccessful slave uprising in Barbados in 1816, caused some slaves on the East Coast of Demerara in 1823 to refuse to participate in the rebellion.

A second distinctive feature of this Demerara uprising is that it is one of the most massive slave rebellions in the entire history of slavery in the Americas. It is estimated that 11,000 to 12,000 slaves from about 55 plantations between Liliendaal and Mahaica participated in the revolt. Massive uprisings involving thousands of slaves were extremely rare in the Americas. This was because of the immense difficulty encountered in organising a revolt secretly over a wide area without detection by the pervasive mechanisms of surveillance and control employed by the slave-owning class. Thus the largest slave uprisings in Brazil, arguably the country in the

Americas which witnessed the most slave rebellions, involved only 600-700 slaves. In fact, the only slave revolts in the Americas which definitely had more participants than the 1823 Demerara uprising were the successful rebellion in Saint Domingue between 1791 and 1804 and a rebellion at Christmas in Jamaica in 1831. The 11,000 -12,000 slave rebels on the East Coast of Demerara in 1823 constituted about 1/6 or 1/7 of the entire slave population of about 75,000 of what was then called the United Colony of Essequibo and Demerara. Though the number of rebels in 1823 was greater than those who participated in the famous rebellion in Berbice sixty years before, the proportion of slave rebels in Berbice in 1763 was larger. In 1763 the colony of Berbice had an estimated slave population of about 3,800, of whom at least 75 per cent are believed to have been involved in the rebellion. In short, in 1763 Berbice experienced what can be described as a colonial or almost total revolt.

In striking contrast, in 1823 the uprising was restricted to only one area of the colony of Demerara-Essequibo, namely, the East Coast of Demerara. Slaves in the other parts of the colony did not participate, although the leaders of the rebellion hoped to obtain support from slaves at least on the West Coast of Demerara.

The rebellion was also distinguished by the fact that Christianised slaves played a prominent role. Among its leaders and other participants were deacons, class teachers, and other members of Bethel Chapel, a church established on Plantation Le Resouvenir in 1808 by White missionaries sent by the London Missionary Society in England to inaugurate the Christianisation of slaves in Demerara.

One of the main grievances of these slaves was the imposition of restrictions on the practice of their religion by their masters, who refused give them permission to attend church or hold religious meetings on their plantations night. They were also prompted to rebel by the effect of certain Christian teaching, especial the doctrines of the equality of man in the sight of God and Christian brotherhood.

These doctrines gave the slaves an enhanced value of their self-worth, which seemed to be no longer compatible with the subordination, injustice and cruelty of slavery. This view was reflected in the remarks made by a group of them to Governor Murray at the beginning of the revolt that they wanted "their right ... God had made all men of the same flesh and blood. They were tired of being slaves." This was the first occasion in the history of the Caribbean that Christianised slaves played a leading role in a rebellion.

Another striking feature of the Demerara rebellion was

the remarkable degree of restraint, self-control and humaneness demonstrated by the rebels. Although they had ample opportunity, particularly during the first two days of the revolt, to kill most of the Whites proprietors, attorneys, managers, overseers and book-keepers on the East Coast, the slaves for the most part merely seized them and placed them in the stocks without harming them. They hardly offered personal violence against any White, especially where they met no resistance. On a few plantations where Whites opposed them with firearms, they returned fire. These rare clashes resulted in the death of two and the injury of four White estate personnel defending their plantations.

This virtual absence of the shedding of the blood of Whites during the rebellion was attributed by the slaves to the effect on them of religious instruction which they had received at Bethel Chapel. They explained: "We will take no life for our pastors have taught us not to take that which we cannot give." In striking contrast, however, the White troops, especially those led by Colonel Leahy, ruthlessly suppressed the rebellion with a savagery which horrified the White civilian volunteers who served with them.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the uprising was that many slave-owners on the East Coast of Demerara believed that the main instigator of the rebellion was a White man, John Smith, the minister at Bethel Chapel (on the third day Smith was arrested and charged with several offences, including inciting the slaves to rebel. He was tried, declared guilty and sentenced to death by hanging. The sentence was referred to the British government for confirmation. In February, 1824, however, Smith died from illness in prison in Georgetown, while a response was on the way from England granting him a reprieve, but ordering his deportation there.

No previous slave uprising in the Caribbean had had such a calamitous end for a respectable White man at the hands of his fellow Whites. However, Smith's death eventually had considerable significance. The memory of the 1823 uprising, particularly the death of a White minister of religion, helped to attract attention in England inside and outside of Parliament to the necessity of eliminating the terrible evil of slavery. This played a part in influencing the momentous decision made in 1833 to abolish slavery in the British Empire with effect from 1st August 1834.

Some Important Dates in History



This year, 2023 marks several important anniversaries in our country's history. Many of which have influenced the political direction of Guyana. As with historical events many were positive and makes us proud while some were negative and set back our struggles. Indeed, we continue to wrestle with the negative impacts which some of those events created. However, all were very significant.

1. Berbice Slave Rebellion

This year marks two hundred and sixty years since the Berbice slave uprising occurred on February 23, 1763. This is not just one of the most important dates in Guyana's history, but it certainly was very important for the Western Hemisphere.

This was the first major slave uprising, it defeated the Dutch military forces and freed many slaves from their captivity. This movement was led by Cuffy.

This anti-slave revolution occurred some twenty years before the Haitian Revolution which created the first Black Republic in the world.

The Berbice uprising of 1763 was the impetus of the anti-slave movement in this part of the world. It was the beginning of the end of slavery in the west of the world. This event deserves much more recognition as one of the most significant events in the fight to end slavery.

2. First election under Universal Adult Suffrage in Guyana

On April 27, 2023, we observed seventy years since the

Guyanese people won the rights for one person one vote. The first election with the system of Universal Adult Suffrage was held on that date.

This was the beginning of a big and long struggle of our people for freedom. It went through various stages via the fight to end bound labor, for independence and for democracy.

The latter struggles gained great momentum with the return of Cheddi Jagan to Guyana from his studies in the United States in 1943 (eighty years ago), more particularly when, together with his wife Janet Jagan, Ashton Chase, and Joslyn Hubbard, he formed the Political Affairs Committee which evolved into the People's Progressive Party (PPP).

These were early battles by our national liberation movement for freedom and social progress. April 27th, 1953, is indeed one of the most important dates in Guyana's modern history.

It is appropriate to recall that the first time the Guyanese working people won that option they voted overwhelmingly for the P.P.P.

The elections victory was such a blow to the colonial masters that they invaded British Guiana and removed the first government formed by free and fair elections on October 9, 1953.

3. Enmore Martyrs

On June 16, 1948, the sugar workers of Guyana were brutally shot down. Five young workers were killed by the colonial police while having a peaceful picketing

exercise outside of the Enmore sugar factory. The workers were on strike for four months to protect their conditions of work. The sugar lords were changing the conditions of work to the disadvantage of workers. That struggle evolved into a fight for industrial democracy as workers demanded the right to elect a union of their choice to represent them. The union which represented them became compromised soon after its recognition in 1939. The MPCA became a company union. The shooting of the Enmore workers evoked high emotions in the country. The advocacy for independence of the country led by the Political Affairs Committee became strong. The struggle had entered a new stage. This date is now recognized as the first major blow struck for Independence. Eventually workers won the right to be represented by the Guyana Agricultural and General Workers Union in 1976 twenty-eight years since they died for that right. Independence was attained eighteen years after the Enmore Martyrs, on May 26, 1966.

4. May Day

This year (2023) marks sixty-five years since May Day (May 1st) became a public holiday in Guyana. It became a day when workers celebrate their achievements and take a pause to contemplate future struggles. This was made into a Public holiday on May 1, 1958, by the then newly elected government of the People's Progressive Party. The Minister of Labor, Health and Housing, Mrs. Janet Jagan successfully piloted the bill which recognized the workers' struggles. Long Live May Day! Long Live Janet Jagan!

5. Death of Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow

On a sad note, this year also marked the 65th death anniversary of Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow regarded as the father of Trade Unionism in Guyana. Critchlow formed the first Trade Union in Guyana and indeed the Caribbean. He served in the Legislature Assembly for a short while. In recognition of his contribution, a statue of him was placed on the lawns of the Parliament Building in Georgetown. This was unveiled by Dr. Cheddi Jagan, then Premier in 1964. At that time the British Colonialist and American Imperialist had captured the British Guiana Trade Union Conference (BGTUC) and turned it into a racial anti-working people's organization. The TUC opposed independence under the PPP. As a result, they and the PNC boycotted the unveiling ceremony.

6. Indian Arrival

May 5th, 2023, marks 185 years since the arrival of Indians in Guyana and the Caribbean. The Indians came

to work on the sugar plantation on the eve of the end of slavery.

From that date Indian working people played a critical role in the struggles of our people. Apart from ending the semi-slave system of Indentureship they played a leading role in the fight for Universal Adult Suffrage, Independence, for democracy and social progress.

Indian workers led the fight for industrial democracy and contributed greatly to Trade Unionism in Guyana. Ayube Edun was a staunch Trade Unionist and a champion of the cause of sugar workers. Other notable labor leaders were Cheddi Jagan, Ramkarran, Harry Lall, Maccie Hamid and Komal Chand, among a long list of others.

The contribution of Indians in agriculture, the professions and business have been great indeed.

Together with all the people living here they have made our country one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse in the Caribbean. We are all fortunate to live in such a diverse country.

International

1. 175TH Anniversary of the 'Communist Manifesto'

On February 21, 1848, one hundred and seventy-five years ago the 'Communist Manifesto', authored by the fathers of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels made its appearance.

It was the first programmatic exposition of the communist. This publication became one of the most influential books of our time. It inspired revolutions in all parts of the world. It has been published in almost all the written languages.

This booklet summed up the history of nations' states and identified the main forces for change. The proletariat/working class was identified as being the most important revolutionary class in the modern world.

Today the manifesto continues to inspire those working for a better world. The methodology used by Marx and Engels continues to be used to analyze modern society. Many of the Manifesto's predictions have come to pass. However many others remain to be fulfilled.

It will remain relevant as long as exploitation and oppression continue to exist in our world.

2. Birth Anniversary of Karl Marx

This year on May 5th, progressive mankind celebrated the 205th birth anniversary of Karl Marx. He, along with his bosom buddy Engels exposed the inner workings of Capitalism and the inevitability of that system being replaced by a more human, socialist system. His name has been prefixed on the theory of scientific socialism.

3. Death of Karl Marx

On March 14th, 1883, Karl Marx passed away in London. Very few people throughout history have made the impact that Marx did. He was without doubt one of the greatest thinkers of all times.

He examined many aspects of social life and made lasting contributions to all, indeed he has made many independent discoveries.

This year, 2023, marks one hundred and forty years since his passing. The exciting thing about Marx is that he remains relevant to this day. He has left us with a methodology that helps us to investigate many fields in natural and social sciences.

Marx was entombed on March 17th, 1883. At his grave site his friend and closest comrade, Frederick Engels made the following speech:

“On the 14th of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back, we found him in his armchair, peacefully gone to sleep -- but for ever.

“An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the departure of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

“Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means, of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated -- and he investigated very many fields,

none of them superficially -- in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

Such was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general. For example, he followed closely the development of the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity, and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the *Paris Vorwärts* (1844), the *Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung* (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), the *New York Tribune* (1852-61), and, in addition to these, a host of militant pamphlets, work in organisations in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the great International Working Men's Association -- this was indeed an achievement of which its founder might well have been proud even if he had done nothing else.

And, consequently, Marx was the most hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow workers -- from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America -- and I make bold to say that, though he may have had many opponents, he had hardly one personal enemy.

His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work.

4. Martin Luther King Jr.

Fifty-five years ago on April 4th, 1968, Martin Luther King, the famed internationally-recognized fighter against segregation and racism in the United States was assassinated. His death created a great grief among

peoples all over the world as well as anger.

Martin Luther King Jr. views became one of the most influential in the United States. At the time of his murder his following included not just African Americans but people of all races throughout the world.

He became a strong anti-imperialist and was openly opposed to this country's action in Vietnam and other places, where the US imperialist were crushing dissent and oppressing peoples.

King had become strongly pro-working class and was evolving into the greatest unifying figure in the United States. One of his last actions was to go physically in solidarity with garbage workers in the US who were on strike.

His assassination has not yet been fully explained. However, many believe it was the work of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). His ideas were becoming 'dangerous' to the ruling class in the U.S.A and his appeal for unity of the people of the US, urging them to support each other struggles was probably considered by the deep state to be too dangerous.

5. Revolution in Paris

On February 22nd, 1848, a revolution took place in Paris that wiped away the monarchy in France. This was the most successful revolution in Europe up to that time.

Most important was the fact that the working people actually led that struggle which resulted in France becoming a republic.

In this period, Europe was in turmoil. People were rising up against the kings. The upsurge in France was the most successful and brought far reaching changes in France and Europe. It also reflected the growing strength of the working class. This revolution occurred immediately after the publication of the communist manifesto. Marx's views were becoming very influential.

6. Publication of Marx's "Thesis on Feuerbach" and Marx and Engels "German Ideology".

This year marks the 135th anniversary of the publication of Marx's thesis on Feuerbach. This thesis was written by Marx in 1845. He did not intend that they be published. They were written in his notebooks.

Engels published them along with another very

important historical documents "The German Ideology" written by Marx and Engels in 1888. By that time Marx had already passed away. Engels found it necessary to publish these works at that time due to the debates that were going on within the left movement.

Many trends had emerged contending for support of the working class. These included Proudhon, Duhring, La Salle among others. These trends were proving to be injurious to the working class.

According to Engels, Marx's thesis was "the first document in which is deposited the brilliant germ of a new world outlook". It also revealed the deep revolutionary character of Marxism. This is summed up in the eleventh thesis which states "the philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point, however, is to change it".

In the German Ideology Marx and Engels applied materialism consistently to history and to social relations in society.

These works form some of the foundations of Marxism which methodology continues to guide us in analyzing modern society from the standpoint of the new proletariat!



Donald Ramotar is the former President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana. He also served as General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party. Mr. Ramotar is a graduate from the University of Guyana in the field of Economics. He is an avid writer, and contributes regularly to the Mirror newspaper and other publications.

Is Artificial Intelligence going to overthrow humanity?

Introduction

"AI drone 'kills' human operator in simulation" – Sky News

"AI poses 'Risk of Extinction', Industry Leaders Warn" – The New York Times

"Runaway AI is an extinction risk, experts warn" – Wired

"The only way to deal with the threat from AI? Shut it down" – Time Magazine

Artificial Intelligence (AI) is all the rage now and apparently a doomsday point is rapidly approaching where AI will destroy its creators. "Mitigating the risk of extinction from AI should be a global priority" says the Center for AI Safety.

How real are all these warnings? That's what we'll help you decide.

Whether you are a technology professional, enthusiast, hobbyist or even layperson the hype about AI is pervasive. In this article we will attempt to give as simple an explanation as possible about AI with the aim of demystifying much of the technology, the jargon and media frenzy. While we have an opinion on the abilities of AI we will not be promoting our views. Instead after reading this, and the veil of mystery has been lifted, the reader will be able to decide for themselves.

You'll be able to say whether AI is really similar to human or non-human animal intelligence. Whether humanity should be afraid that AI will gain sentience and send out Terminators to mass murder humanity; or be benevolent like Data from Star Trek a sentient AI dedicated to helping their crew members while simultaneously pursuing egotistical goals; or be a tool like J.A.R.V.I.S in Iron Man, used to enhance Tony Stark's own intelligence. We hope that on completion of this article the reader will be able to draw their own conclusions.

What is Intelligence?

Before we start we should define the term intelligence. While most of us use this word or one of its many synonyms we believe we have a general understanding of what it is, but we may very well differ on its specifics. Some people may think that intelligence can be measured by the ability of a person to do well in standardized exams; we often see articles in the local newspapers praising the meritorious dedication of young people who do well at NGSA or CXC/CSEC. Others may think that intelligence is the ability perform further academic research requiring inventiveness and deep understanding of an academic field that is usual in PhD

programs. We can ask whether chess grand masters, speedcubers (people who solve Rubik's cubes very quickly), or math savants who can solve complicated equations without a calculator are all intelligent? What about polyglots, is the ability to learn multiple languages fluently a function of intelligence? Can the intelligence of a person be assigned with a number as is attempted in IQ tests? Is someone's personal wealth a function of their intelligence?

The fact is that many people who are considered to be intelligent are of average intelligence, or even nincompoops, in areas that are not their specialties. A funny, yet illuminating illustration of this is the case of when Werner Heisenberg (a Nobel prize winner in physics and early pioneer of Quantum Mechanics) while he was doing his PhD dissertation. His area of specialty, Quantum mechanics, requires a ton of mathematical knowledge and in his dissertation he aced this part of the interview. However, in questions about astronomy he was not particularly brilliant and in fact did poorly. Finally on experimental physics he was just awful. He did not know how to use some of the equipment normally used by experimentalists at that time, nor did he know how to measure the sensitivities of some of the others, he couldn't even explain the principles of how a battery works. Would anyone dare call Heisenberg unintelligent? Definitely not, but there were areas even within physics itself where his knowledge was average if not completely absent.

The above anecdote illustrates that even within a single person, a genius nonetheless, their knowledge and intelligence varies based on different aspects of the environment in which they live. What does this have to do with Artificial Intelligence? While many of the proponents of a possible AI apocalypse work in the field their ability to predict the future should not be overstated.

Finally there is also an additional issue. Much of the fear in the headlines are also generated by people who have a vested interest in AI. Is it not strange that many of the people who endorse the halting of AI development; OpenAI, Microsoft, Elon Musk etc. are simultaneously increasing their investment in development of AI? One has to question their motivations.

Demystifying AI

It is important that before one can judge whether the headlines are prophetic or ludicrous one should have

a relatively decent understanding of the topic. While what is to follow provides a bird's eye view of the topic, it is sufficiently detailed that the reader should be able to draw their own conclusions, based on facts and not ignorance.

To look at the state of AI we will give the reader a brief, but descriptive, explanation of two of the most lauded algorithm currently available. Specifically we will be looking at the following:

ChatGPT – OpenAI/Microsoft

AlphaZero – DeepMind/Alphabet (Google)

Another major player in the AI sector is IBM with their Watson products. However, these products work as assistants to the user and does not purport to one day become a General Intelligence AI. Instead Watson looks to simply assist the user by speeding up processes that may otherwise take additional hours to complete. It aims to automate much of the routine tasks a user faces in their day to day jobs. Now let's move on.

ChatGPT

ChatGPT 4.0 was released in March 2023. The GPT stands for Generative Pre-Trained Transformer. Thankfully Computer Scientists, usually, use naming conventions that gives a good indication of the algorithm used in development. The free version that is currently publicly available (<https://chat.openai.com/>) is based on GPT3.5-architecture. While the difference between the two are not within the scope of this article we will give some of the highlights:

1. GPT4 is trained on a larger dataset than GPT3.5. Simply it has access to more information than GPT3.5. Remember this, the dataset and how it is obtained and the fact that OpenAI (an oxymoron of a name) and Microsoft want to profit from it is a major issue. Especially given how Microsoft gets uptight about pirated software.
2. The parameters used to train GPT3.5 are in the range of 175 billion or more. While for GPT4 it is reportedly

in the excess of 100 trillionChat GPT: Bullshit spewer or the end of traditional assessments in higher education?. Parameters are values used to control how the algorithm operates. For example to prevent the algorithm from spitting out the exact same response each time it is asked the same or very similar questions there is a parameter that controls the frequency of repetitive answers. Below we see the manifestation of such a parameter. Language Models are Few-Shot Learners

3. The larger set of parameters also allow GPT4 to be able to be multimodal; that is it can accept Images as well as text information as input. GPT3.5, and older versions, only accept text input requests.
4. These additional parameters also allows it to output more coherent and longer responses. We will show how using a naive based algorithm can be hit or miss below.

Now let's take a quick look under the hood.

Large Language Models

Generative Pre-Trained Transformers, the algorithm in ChatGPT, is a subset of algorithms called Large Language ModelsGPT-4 Technical Report. The groups of algorithm are probabilistic in nature, in fact many of the top performing AI algorithms are probabilistic. The reason for this is because we live in a world with imperfect data and many of normal human decisions relies on "intuition", experience or even finger crossings. These are all probabilistic models that we internalize. Thus it should not be a surprise that AI uses probabilities as well.

Large Language Models at its core is the use of probabilities to guess texts given an input text. We will demonstrate this below. The probabilistic algorithms can be of two types:

Statistical Language Models: example of these can be as simple as Markov Chains, which will be demonstrated below, to more complicated ones like Hidden Markov

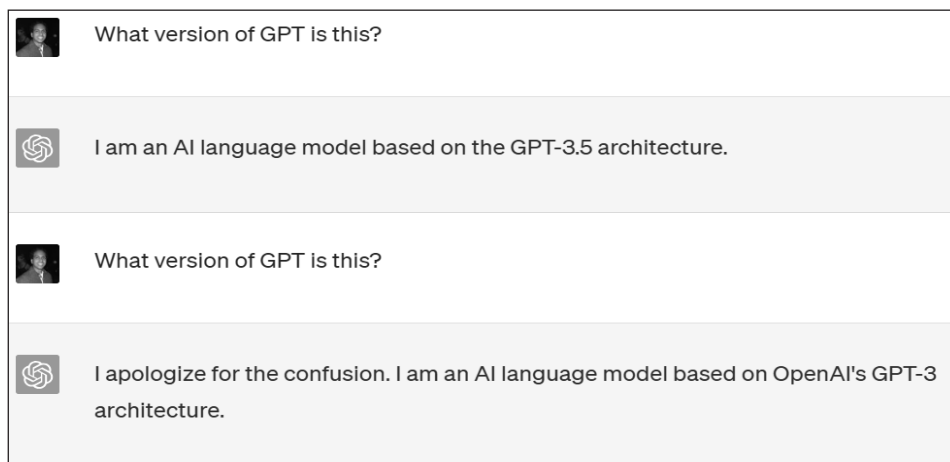


Figure 1: An example is a parameter that prevents from frequent repetition of answers to the same question. As seen above. Here we see can also see an inconsistency where the ChatGPT says that it is based on GPT3.5 architecture then on GPT3. Source: <https://chat.openai.com>

Models which can incorporate various grammatical and linguistic rules.

Neural Language Models: this is an attempt by computer scientist to imitate the neurons that make up a brain. It was first used in computer vision to categorize simple images. Neural networks create a black box of probabilistic functions that best represents the input data. It is a computer science technique of utilizing a web of computations. These computations go through several layers and iterations and each computational node is called a neuron.

ChatGPT uses Neural Networks, we will describe how a Neural Networks work a little later. However, to get a good grasp of the fundamentals we will look at the use of Markov Chains to create a sentence that is relatively coherent.

Markov Chains

Markov Chains is a very simple algorithm to understand. Additionally they can be made even more powerful with data cleaning and standardization as well as adding additional heuristics such as parts of speech, using different size n-grams (explained soon) etc. However, for our example we will use the most basic of Markov Chains whose simplicity allows easy access by the reader.

In our example we will use the novel Moby Dick as our input. The following are the steps:

Ingest the input and do any data cleaning if desirable. For example you can make everything lower case, remove punctuation, chapter names, entire chapters etc.

Choose your n-gram. An n-gram is the sequence of words you want to use in your algorithm. Let's say we have the following sentence "the quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog". A 1-gram would build a vocabulary with each word in an array like ["the", "quick", "brown", "fox", "jumps", "over", "the", "lazy", "dog"]. A 2-gram would be ["the quick", "quick brown", "brown fox", "fox jumps", "jumps over", "over the", "the lazy", "lazy dog"]. A 9-gram would be ["the quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog"]. What will become obvious if you try to implement this algorithm, is that as n increases you get more coherent sentences. But for us and to keep things simple we will use an n-gram of 1 with no data cleaning. What we do next is go through each 1-gram and record the word that follows and increment a counter creating a dictionary of sorts. This counter will give number of time that word follows your 1-gram word. Let us give an example from Moby Dick. The dictionary for the word "Sir" would look like: {Sir: [[Thomas,1], [Martin, 2], [sailor, 1], [Clifford, 4], [William, 1]]. This just states that after the word Sir; Thomas appeared once, Martin twice, Clifford 4 times etc.

Now we can get the probabilities of how often a word follows another. Using the above dictionary we see that there are a total of 9 non-unique words that follow Sir. We can now add the probability of each word appearing after Sir. So Thomas would be 1/9, Martin: 2/9, sailor:

1/9, Clifford: 4/9, William: 1/9.

Now we can implement the Markov Chain. If we start with the word Sir we will choose the next word at random. Since Clifford has a 4 in 9 chance of being called it is the most likely word to follow. We can then check Clifford's dictionary and its distributions which happen to be {Constable: 1/2, thinks: 1/2}. Again we randomly pick the next word which with 1 in 2 chances could be "thinks". Now we can check the dictionary for "thinks" ... and we continue this process thereby generating text. The above process was used to generate the sentence "Sir Clifford Constable has no lightning-rods?" - you can find the code at the following link <https://github.com/helsaint>:

This of course is a very simple implementation of a Markov Chain. One can be more creative and utilize a larger n and many more books than just Moby Dick. However, even when doing this the Markov Chains still performs much more poorly in generating good text outputs, than Neural Networks

Neural Networks

Because GPT is a Neural Network based algorithm we will quickly describe how a neural network works. We will use the most famous example first created by Yann LeCun that allowed computers to "recognize" hand written numbers. While this is not the same as text generation as seen in GPT the idea is transferable.

We will give a brief description of what is happening in this neural network and then how something similar can be applied in text generation.

1. A 28x28 image is lengthened so that it becomes a 784x1 vector. An image in a computer is basically a matrix of numbers where each value represents the colours. It's like drawing but instead of using lines we use a series of dots to "draw" the image.
2. The lengthened image is called the input layer and it is set to the first layer. The circles are the metaphoric neurons of Neural Networks where an activation function is applied.
3. The activation function, such as rectified linear unit (relu), is at its basically used to identify if any "useful" information exists in a pixel. Each pixel is sent through multiple neurons in the same layer. Additionally in these neurons multiple pixels are processed to create a new input layer. This mixing of information allows the algorithm to find relationships between pixels that it can then use to translate to a value in the output.

While the exact same thing does not happen in GPT we do have something similar. The input layer could consist of a word, character (split the words into individual characters), n-gram words etc. We can also include parts of speech, the topic class, author information, date published, country published in, popularity etc, etc. Once placed in the input is sent the algorithm will predict the best possible text to generate.

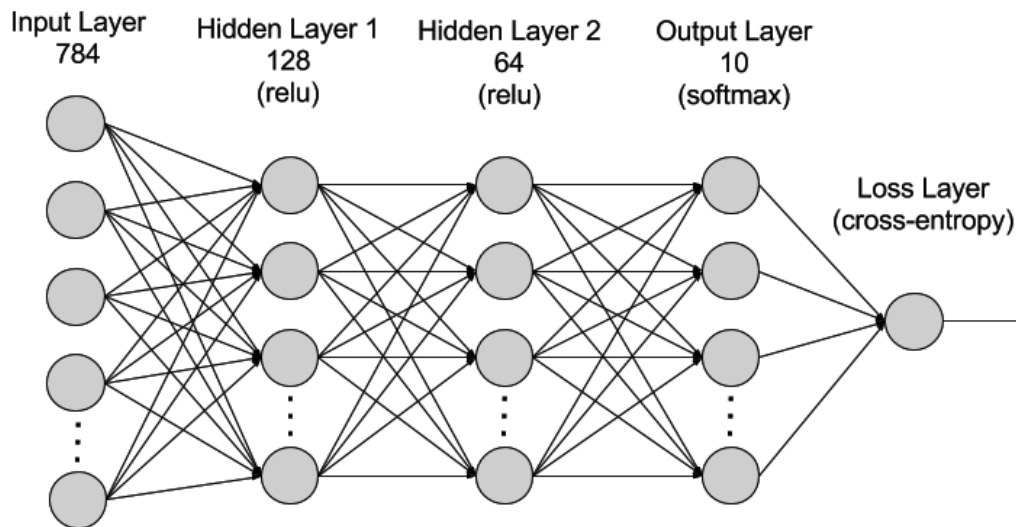


Figure 2: A 28x28 pixel image is input goes through several layers where activation function and gives an output which is the networks interpretation of the input image. Source: <https://mxnet.apache.org/>

A major strength of ChatGPT is the volume of data used to train the system. GPT3 was trained on 570GB of data. Language Models are Few-Shot Learners. There is no official information on the size of the dataset used by GPT4 but it is estimated that it is in the region of 100,000GB. The data is gathered from a variety of places including data scraped from the internet (Wikipedia, Reddit, newspapers, manuals, websites etc.), licensed databases, and data created by OpenAI contracted trainers. We see how an incredibly simple algorithm like Markov Chains, with no data cleaning and using a 1-gram, can create a coherent sentence using a single book. Now imagine what could be done with a huge dataset, much better algorithm and better implementation.

The datasets and how the GPT was trained has come under some scrutiny as well. Because the data is scraped from many sites on the internet GPT3, in its early trials, was pretty racist, misogynistic, violent and sadistic. The system needed to “learn” not to allow this kind of language so OpenAI through a San Francisco based contractor employed at least 200 Kenyans. OpenAI underpaid 200 Kenyans to perfect ChatGPT—then sacked them to train the system to recognize toxic language and block GPT3 from being an a-hole. For this work, a necessary job if ChatGPT was to become widely used and not just a novelty corrupted by junk data, the contractors were paid USD2/hour and immediately fired upon completion. So we see that people are used to manually curate the system this process is somewhat euphemistically called “fine tuning”.

There is also the case of how OpenAI got some of the datasets used in ChatGPT. Currently a group of authors suing OpenAI, among them is Sarah Silverman, an American comedian and novelist. She alleges that ChatGPT ingested her novel “The Bedwetter” without

her permission. She based her belief on the fact that ChatGPT is uncannily good at summarizing parts of the novel in good detail. Sarah Silverman and novelists sue ChatGPT-maker OpenAI for ingesting their books. One good thing that could happen if this case goes to trial is that it may shed some light on the inner workings of GPT4.

Yes, ChatGPT is impressive, however, it is impressive because it has been able to leverage the work of people from all over the world. The people who fill up Reddit, Quora, Wikipedia, Github etc. with useful content.

Is it intelligence just to be able to regurgitate information and rearranging the words, while at the same time you have human intervention to “fine tune” issues? Yes, GPT4 performs well at standardized exam, but that just proves that in general, standardized exam is simply rote learning. Can GPT4 and its successors show real innovation? All animals, human and non-human are known to be innovative, can ChatGPT become innovative?

AlphaZero

Now let us briefly describe another more impressive, perhaps, algorithm used in DeepMind’s AlphaZero. AlphaZero is an upgraded algorithm of AlphaGo created by DeepMind a UK based company now a subsidiary of Alphabet (Google). The AlphaGo algorithm was designed to play the Chinese game Go considered one the toughest and most complex board games in the world. To give an idea of the complexity of the game, Go has 10360 possible moves on the other hand Chess has 1040 possible moves.

AlphaZero is an improvement on AlphaGo in two major ways:

1. AlphaGo was developed using supervised learning.

Basically the designers input previous games and labelled them good or bad. Therefore when AlphaGo plays it can often recognize game states and make plays accordingly. This is similar to human players who memorize game opening, mid game and end game moves in chess. As it plays more against an opponent it learns more moves and recognizes what a good move is vs bad ones by storing plays that result in wins and the game states that led to this. However, that initial input is necessary. AlphaZero does not need this. All it requires is to have the rules of the game. It then trains itself by playing against itself. It starts by using random moves that follow the rules. As each game is completed it “learns” what moves lead to a win and what lead to a loss.

2. This ability to teach itself allows AlphaZero to be used in multiple games. AlphaGo can only play Go, while AlphaZero can play Go, chess and shogi. Additionally the ability to train itself allows AlphaZero to be used in a wide variety of situations, after all it only needs to have as input the rules of the situation. It can then start training itself. If you have watched the movie War Games (1983) you will see a stylized example of this learning. WOPR is given the rules to play tic-tac-toe and quickly learns that the game will always result in a draw (if played intelligently). It learns this by repeatedly playing against itself.

Let us now give a quick and dirty, but hopefully useful, description of how AlphaZero works. The algorithm primarily uses 2 other algorithms:

1. The first algorithm is used to search for the best possible moves given a state of the game. This algorithm is called Monte Carlo Tree Search (MCTS). By the fact that Monte Carlo is famous for its casinos you will not be remiss if you guess that this also a probabilistic algorithm.
2. The second algorithm is called Deep Q Networks. Its

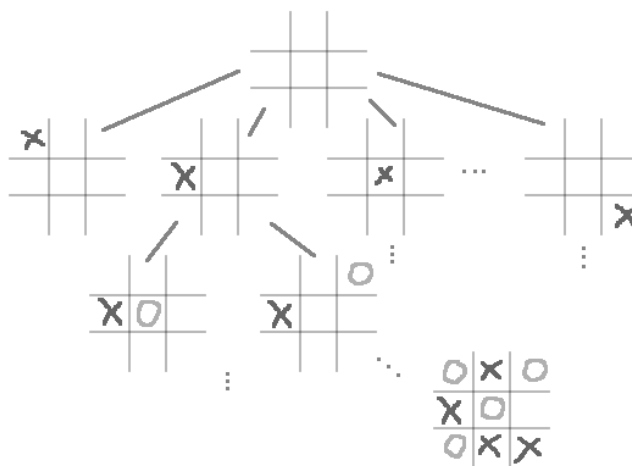


Figure 3: Decision Tree for a game of Tic-Tac-Toe revealing one possible end result. Dotted lines represent different game states in their respective levels that aren't shown for brevity.

a Neural Network algorithm similar to that described above. The main job of this algorithm is to simulate different outcomes given the current state of the game and rating which simulations are the best.

To give a good understanding let us look at the heuristics that would be used by AlphaZero on Tic-Tac-Toe. The game of Tic-Tac-Toe has 45 possible moves which can result in over 255,000 games that can be played Monte Carlo Tree Search: A Tutorial. Everyone is also familiar with the game so they should feel comfortable creating a mental picture of how AlphaZero would approach the game.

Before the use of MCTS, classical game algorithms were deterministic in nature. That is they would play an orthodox game and in simple games a relatively skilled human opponent could defeat the game by playing in an unorthodox style. The game would never learn new “strategies” to win without their developers manually inputting this data.

Monte Carlo Tree Search fixes this because it allows for the discovery new strategies by having the ability to investigate all avenues of play. For simple games like Tic-Tac-Toe a deterministic algorithm could be used, after all there are only about 255,000 games that could be played. But for games like chess, Go, shogi there number of games possible are more than all the atoms in the universe. Earth would be swallowed up by the Sun and a deterministic algorithm would still be working on figuring out all possible games.

Thus there is a need for something different and MCTS is that something different. Here we go:

1. Each game has a state, these are shown in Figure 3. Each state of the game just shows the positions of pieces on the board. These states of the game are stored in a tree-like structure with the root at the top. In our case the root is the initial state of the game before an X is marked and the game starts.
2. From each state there are a number of plays that can be made. That is you can put an X in a corner, a side, middle etc. This is where the Neural Network is used. It simulates a set of games from the current state and ranks them. It attempts to simulate as many levels as possible, increasing the depth of the tree. If a winning game state is found it stops and returns this information. If, however, after n number of iterations has occurred and no end game state is found the states are ranked by their positions and information is relayed up the tree.
3. Each game state and its ranking are then stored in a system called a Value Network. This is where the learning occurs. As a side note: when playing the game for real it is the Value Network that is used to play the game.
4. The ranking of each branch will then be used to create a probability function that will be used by the algorithm to choose which branch to use and therefore its next play.

5. Because games can be long and positions that don't currently seem advantageous can become so through future moves and algorithm that only follows best (probabilistic wise) routes will not discover useful stratagems. For example in chess the Bryntse Gambit is a play where white sacrifices their queen early in the game to later gain a positional advantage against the black king exposing it to attacks. Since in chess the loss of a queen, valued at 9 points, is considered very disadvantageous, an algorithm that only looks for best next plays would never discover these types of openings. By including probabilities into the choice such stratagems can be discovered.
6. After each game the algorithm saves information about the game and its outcomes. Therefore in future games when it encounters a state it will check to see if that state was encountered before and if it was what the outcome of future plays were. Then either it continues down that path or if that wasn't successful chooses another.

Is AI Intelligent?

We have looked at two of the most powerful and lauded algorithms in AI. One "learns" by rote and the other learns by trial and error. Is this intelligence? The algorithm in ChatGPT is very impressive in its human interaction interface. However, its learning is currently dependent on the data that it ingested. What is impressive about the algorithm is its ability to interpret user input and generally get good responses. Nevertheless, are we saying that the ability to correctly recall data is the sign of intelligence? What happens when there is a requirement for innovation? History is replete with scientist having to ignore previous "facts" and becoming radical by pursuing new avenues of discovery. Newton and many great minds thought there existed an aether which was then overthrown by Einstein's spacetime. Einstein, while not denying Quantum Mechanics, had deep reservation about Bohr's Copenhagen interpretation of Quantum Mechanics, currently most widely accepted interpretation. Would ChatGPT be brave/have the ego to say "the data I have is not correct, let me suggest something else"? Rote learning is known to shun such behaviour.

In spite of the fantastic work done by the engineers who build ChatGPT this development has created a new job;

Prompt Engineers. A prompt engineer will basically try to design input queries for ChatGPT so that it delivers the correct response. This includes creating constraints, ensuring clarity, and provide structure of the request. Example of a bad prompt: Describe ChatGPT. Example of a good prompt: Give an overview of ChatGPT, describing its characteristics and functions. I

Now you may say, but what about AlphaZero and its next iterations? Its built in probabilistic approach has the ability to leverage randomness and examine areas that don't currently seem promising. While the approach taken by AlphaZero seems the most promising current algorithm, it is still bounded by rules. As primarily a game playing algorithm it requires a set of rules as an input. Those rules aren't self determined, they are determined by people. What if the rules are wrong? They obviously can't be all encompassing.

In humans and non-human animals innovation is rife. Non-human animals are known to be very innovative when there are changes to their environment. They develop new foraging techniques, new mating calls, use tools etc. Animal and human innovation: novel problems and novel solutions. Can a computer algorithm be able to do the same? Animals innovate because they need to in order to survive. Would an algorithm be able to mimic this behaviour? Would it then gain 'consciousness' and act on its own behalf?

The fact is that AI does pose a threat, but that threat is an economic one. It's a threat of the haves and the have nots. The hysteria of AI is the fear of open source AI. What the corporations want is to lock it up behind IP rules like they did with HIV drugs before generics were introduced. They want to keep their advantage. According to Luke Sernau, a senior engineer at Alphabet, "The uncomfortable truth is, we aren't positioned to win this arms race and neither is OpenAI. While we've been squabbling, a third faction has been quietly eating our lunch ... I'm talking, of course, about open source. Plainly put, they are lapping us." Google "We Have No Moat, And Neither Does OpenAI" They want to create a moat to profit from. So what's the best way to do that? Get the government to protect the interest of the corporations by force.



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Editor's Note:

In this article it was inadvertently stated that this was the 70th anniversary since the publication of Poems of Resistance from British Guiana by Martin Carter. Actually, the Poems were published in 1954 and not 1953. The error is regretted.

70 Years After The Poems Of Resistance



*All are involved
All are consumed
- Martin Carter*

In the year 2023 the Republic of Guyana can celebrate a significant milestone in the rise of its literature. It is the 70th year since the Poems of Resistance from British Guiana by Martin Carter. Although this collection was published by Lawrence and Wishart in London in 1954, it was mainly driven by events that erupted in 1953 and from developments even before that year. The main force was political – the well known invasion of the colony of British Guiana by colonial forces who seized the constitution and the democratically elected government of the PPP, set “brown beetles crawl(ing) about” and a “stranger invader” with a bayonet “aiming at (the) dream” of the Guianese people. This was the poet’s first full collection, but not his first publication, since Carter had begun releasing slender groups of poems since 1951, such as “The Hill of Fire Glows Red”. But a main force behind the book was resistance to the occupation and the curtailment of freedoms in 1953. Besides, 1953 was in the height of an important era in the modern age of Guyanese poetry, and Carter was a part of it. Lawrence and Wishart were reputed left wing publishers, and that has been cited as the reason for their interest in that first publication. Indeed, radical politics, the spirit of resistance as well as a corresponding “profoundly

humanist standpoint” are reflected in the introduction to the book written by Sydney King (now Eusi Kwayana). But that full collection, thereafter called Poems of Resistance, was to have two further editions. It was published for the second time in 1964 by the newly established University of Guyana with a preface by Neville Dawes, a foremost Jamaican novelist who was then on staff at the university. Dawes referenced the political context of the poems, but also described them collectively, as “a refusal to be dehumanised” by the military occupation. The third edition appeared in 1978 published in Georgetown by Release Publications with a preface by Rayman Mandal. This was also connected to the University of Guyana because Mandal was at the time a lecturer in Spanish there. He was the founder of Release Publications, the press that first published Carter’s third collection, the famous Poems of Affinity (1981).

A comprehensive history of the publication, “Publishing Poems of Resistance from British Guiana” in the Stabroek News of December 7, 2014, tells us of the appearance of several publications and manuscripts under the shorter title “Poems of Resistance” found both inside and outside of Guyana. Apart from the full collection reprinted in 1964 and 1978, these were small groups of six and sometimes three poems. The first appeared in 1953 and seemed to have been initiated by Janet and Cheddi Jagan of the PPP, and Carter’s wife, Phyllis. While that would reinforce the political motivation behind resistance poems, the historical article alludes to the references to Carter as a humanist, and reminds us that despite the reputation that he earned as a political poet, his preoccupations delved deeper and wider into humanism and existentialism. The article revealed that while concluding that those poems, some written and smuggled out while Carter was imprisoned in 1953, and some definitely written at other times, received much attention outside of Guyana. Further, the six poems at the core of this “Poems of Resistance” group included some that were banned and considered prohibited literature by the British at the time of the occupation.

What is of great importance is that in spite of, or, in addition to the recognised political context of those poems “I Will Not Still My Voice”, “Shines the Beauty of My Darling”, “I Clench My Fist”, “This Is The Dark Time, My Love”, “Tomorrow and the World” and “Let Freedom

Wake Him”, Carter is known to base many poems on a recognised Guyanese event in order to address wider issues concerning the state of humanity. Additionally, while these poems launched the poet as a major writer and earned him some degree of international renown, the label that he won as a ‘political poet’ considerably limits him. Yet Carter’s verse grew to be very quotable and he, around 1953, was a part of a major march forward in Guyanese poetry.

The lines “all are involved! all are consumed!” are among the best known and most widely quoted of lines from the poetry of Martin Carter. They appear in the last poem in the 1954 London edition among the lines “like a web / is spun the pattern /all are involved! /all are consumed!” and loom large in the popular consciousness. They are at the core of the political in Carter’s poetry, and especially appeal to politicians for superficial populist purposes, as well as out of a deeper understanding of political philosophy. The impact of these highly quotable lines reverberates from Carter’s position as a humanist, which is central to the poetry in which he sees humanity as indivisible from society as a psychological and political unit. The human condition is subject to the social environment, but human action is also responsible for the environment, which Carter presents as potentially tragic.

Moreover, the lines “all are involved” are included in the title of the focal volume edited by Stewart Brown in which he pulled together various essays of criticism on Carter written by several authors, including some which were already published in various places. Brown published *All Are Involved: The Work of Martin Carter* (2000) in an effort to energise critical attention to Carter and address the fact that international attention to this poet did not do justice to his value and importance. The volume brings together a range of new and foundational Carter criticism all in one place for easier negotiation. “All are involved” suggests the work of diverse hands as much as it implies the scope and depth of Carter’s poetry. That much is explored in the critical collection which interrogates a poetry of “state and being” as seen by Mark McWatt as well as a preoccupation with metaphysics, an excursion which Kamau Brathwaite has reason to find somewhat misplaced in the Caribbean context and an echo of Donne. Above all, Brown’s volume celebrates an essential factor in West Indian literature, a quality that renders the poetry so very quotable.

Lines such as “all are involved / all are consumed” remind us of that verse whose 70th anniversary we celebrate. It reverberates in the way critics and authors find the lines of that essential quality applicable to analyses of human society, as in the case of Gordon Rohlehr, for

instance, who applies them more than once as titles of critical works. The Guyanese born Rohlehr adopted Trinidad and Tobago, and reins in his wide collection of literary essays on the West Indies under a title drawn from Carter’s tragic sense of his native Guyana when he looks at Georgetown under siege in the early 1960s from riots, violence and destabilisation, and declares “here at my feet my strangled city lies”. Rohlehr uses the title *My Strangled City* for one book of essays, and “A Carrion Time” for a paper with a critical look at attitudes to the emergence of new radical verse in the Caribbean in 1971. The situation in 1953 that is so significant to the nation’s history of 70 years ago continues to factor infinitely. There is a Guyanese documentary film, *The Terror and the Time*, whose title is drawn from Carter’s “Cartman of Dayclean”, included in *Poems of Resistance from British Guiana*. The poem in its entirety provides narrative text for the beginning of that film which has an interesting history according to the oral reports. It started life as a documentary of 1953 and was actually being made in the Guyana government’s National Film Centre in the 1970s, but before it was completed it had to be smuggled out of the country to ensure its survival. As it turned out, the work began to grow to look like a damning comment as much on the Burnham era of the 1970s as on the terror of the times in 1953, and began to incite the suspicion of the PNC regime. Interviews with certain personalities did not win the approval of the authorities, among much else. “Cartman of Dayclean” is an urban poem steeped in the daily labour of the proletariat who eke out a diurnal existence represented by the turning wheels of a horse cart early in the morning when those cartmen have to start their working day. That image becomes a defining motif in the film which exposes the terror of those times in the Burnham regime.

Although some of these quotations are not taken from the *Poems of Resistance*, they reflect the continuing preoccupation of Carter with the tragic state of his native Guyana, as indeed with all mankind. Rupert Roopnaraine borrows a line for the title of his collection of essays, *The Sky’s Wild Noise*, from Carter’s poem “For Walter Rodney”, the poet’s tribute to a hero whose design was derailed and his name taken in vain by some of his erstwhile comrades and assistants. It has to be seen as a major irony that they later hitched the political party Rodney founded to the wagon of the very political force that harangued Rodney and the WPA in the 1970s. There are recurring nightmares in Carter’s verse, when the poet is driven to mourn the descended darkness. The poet saw in 1953 very much as he did when he beheld his “strangled city” on Black Friday in 1962. Carter sees “the whole of a morning sky” glowing red, painting the

horizon with the flaming colours of repeated fires set by terrorists and arsonists during one of the reigns of terror that recurred in the country's modern history. Guyanese novelist Grace Nichols recreates that image of malevolent incandescence whose crimson stain was seen repeatedly by her heroine in the novel *Whole of A Morning Sky* (1987). It is set in that period and inspired by the poetry with those cyclic characteristics.

Another significant factor is the publication *Poems of Resistance* from British Guiana itself in the context of Guyanese poetry in and around 1953. It is worth considering what impact Carter's first published collection had at the time and what contribution it made to the march of the literature. By 1954 only a few local Guyanese poets had published collections of poems, and there were still only a few anthologies, but the national literature had advanced in significant ways, particularly in poetry and fiction. While the poetry anthologies had to arise from early controversy, the appearance of the literary journal *Kyk-Over-Al* in 1945 was a considerable catalyst. As David Dabydeen put it, "British Guiana . . . was not a backwater in cultural terms" in the second half of the nineteenth century when there was a considerable roll call of activities and performances, including outlets for the publication of poems. Among these were a journal, *The Colonist* and *The Argosy* newspaper. However, not many prominent local poets emerged. Simon Christian Oliver, a black schoolmaster who was writing in the 1830s, is known for a sonnet on Emancipation in which he exhorted the "freedmen" to be grateful and submissive to their (former) masters, Thomas Don, a former slave, was one of only two of these local nineteenth century poets to have published a full collection, *Pious Effusions* (1873), not surprisingly, a very Christian document.

Egbert Martin, writing under the name of Leo, made the greatest impact up to that time with his two collections of verse – *Leo's Poetical Works* (1883) and *Leo's Local Lyrics* (1886) in the nineteenth century. He found a voice that gave identity to the national literature and a measure of originality that was not to be matched until some 40 years later. The Guyanese poetry established by Martin was not continued by his successors for the first 30 years of the twentieth century, during a period when the verse was characterised by imitation of English Victorian and Romantic models. Throughout those years there was only one published collection that could be called Guyanese poetry. According to Aliyah Khan, "In 1915 or 1916, Lalbihari Sharma, formerly of Chapra Village, United Province of India (Bihar), previously an indentured labourer of Plantation Golden Fleece, Demerara, British Guiana, then a prosperous Essequibo

rice farmer, pandit, money lender, politician, poet and musician, published his *Even Regret Night: Holi Songs of Demerara* ". These musical poems express the personal and emotional feelings, including love poetry, of Sharma while he was in British Guiana. By 1915 he had returned to India, but the collection comes closer than anything else to a poetry of the festival of Phagwah (Holi) in the colony.

The most notable poetic collections by local poets were those by the very prolific AJ (Arthur James) Seymour starting in 1938, and Wilson Harris in 1953. Carter followed in 1954, after having released small groups of poems, including the six called "Poems of Resistance" in 1953. So that Carter's first book was one of relatively few published volumes. But it notably advanced a national poetry up to that time served by anthologies and, since 1945, by the journal *Kyk-Over-al*. There were significant stimuli to the rise of Guyanese literature since Leo. The first was the call to East Indians in British Guiana to be socially and culturally conscious by cultural activist and poet Joseph Ruhomon who published the first known treatise by an East Indian in the Caribbean in 1897. This was titled "To India, The Progress of Her People At Home and Abroad, and How Those in British Guiana May Improve Themselves". A wave of cultural consciousness followed, including several sports and cultural clubs, engagement in Indian culture including the works of Rabindranath Tagore, and dramatic clubs. There were periodicals/newspapers, such as *The People*. A parallel wave was experienced in African consciousness with similar activities, to a large extent initiated by N.E. Cameron, mathematician, author, playwright and anthologist.

Cameron edited an anthology of 100 years of Guianese poetry and published *Guianese Poetry 1831 – 1931* (1931), but it was exclusively the poems of African-Guyanese and included no East Indian poet. Speculatively, in response, C.E.J. Ramcharitar-Lalla edited *The Anthology of Local Indian Verse* published in 1934. Neither of those advanced the national poetry since most of the selections were imitative and did not exhibit the characteristics that were to give shape and identity to Guyanese poetry in the 1940s. The anthologies later edited by Seymour, including those in the early 1950s exhibit a growing national identity and individual voices by many poets. In particular, *Kyk-Over-Al* nurtured the growth of this emerging national poetry. Walter McA Lawrence had turned landscape poetry into nationalist patriotic verse, and later poets Wilson Harris, Edgar Mittelholzer, Helen Taitt, Ramcharitar-Lalla as well as Seymour himself were among the most prominent poets with their own voices,

By 1951 Carter had joined them. "The Hill of Fire Glows Red" was published in the Miniature Poets Series in 1951, followed by "The Kind Eagle" (1952) and "The Hidden Man" (1952). The kind of cultural support available for literature at the time included the strongest factor – Kyk-Over-Al, and the extra push given by its editor, the indefatigable Seymour, which facilitated not only its regular periodical publications, but at least one major anthology. It was such robust support, that West Indian poets such as the Trinidadian Harold Telemaque benefitted. There was the active P.E.N. Club and literary evenings which, a decade later, were to witness the formation of the New World group. Carter was a part of those "evenings", but he was also moved by much more, and the growing strength of his verse, including the publication of *Poems of Resistance*, was to advance the poetry seamlessly despite the further development of Mittelholzer and Harris as fiction writers rather than poets. Helen Taitt was the only female in that elevated company, and her future was to be in dance, dance theatre and playwriting. She is also known to have been responsible for one of the first exhibitions of work by artist Philip Moore.

However, the rise of Carter as a poet was driven by an environment that had additional factors, including a poetry that interrogated the social and political environment while gradually growing in artistic accomplishment. The latter was much in evidence when Carter released the group titled "Poems of Shape and Motion" in 1955. Somewhere between the years 1947 – 1953, Carter was a protégé of Cheddi and Janet Jagan, and experienced personal development as a part of the political movement that led to the founding of the Political Affairs Committee and the People's Progressive Party. After 1950 he joined the editorial staff of the periodical *Thunder*, theoretical organ of the political group, and according to Phyllis Carter, to protect his job in the civil service at the time, he wrote under the pseudonym "M. Black". These experiences helped to afford Carter considerable philosophical depth, which could only intensify with his direct involvement in the national political affairs of 1953. This interlude in the poet's development is acknowledged in the critical accounts; for instance, by Peepal Tree Press.

The shape of Guyanese poetry in that period is that it was a literature that had advanced substantially since the 1940s. Edward Baugh in his account of the progress of West Indian poetry from 1900 to 1970 quotes Seymour's several attempts to define Caribbean poetry, based on his outlook and observations of British Guianese writers. There was a strong sense of nationalism and what Baugh suggests was a process of "decolonisation". A few

Guianese poets were beginning to find identity in the context of various attempts around the Caribbean such as the drive for social realism (in fiction) started with H.G. De Lisser in Jamaica and continuing through C.L.R. James and the Beacon group in Trinidad, and fortified by the establishment of literary outlets like *Focus* (in Jamaica, 1942), *Bim* (Barbados, 1945) and *Kyk-Over-Al* (BG, 1945). Carter's contribution to this literature was of a poetry that was well on the way to the perceived decolonisation and a reinforcement of the growing nationalism in Guianese verse. If one seeks to celebrate Carter's poetry of 70 years ago, justification may be found in these aspects of the contribution. Carter was foremost among Guyanese poets finding an individual voice at that time. The poems between 1951 and 1953 were to be collected in *Poems of Resistance*, which was the most outstanding publication in Guyanese poetry at the time. There is great claim advanced because of the book's political context – its place in the colony's struggle against British military occupation and the beginning of a fight for independence. The book is extraordinary as a radical document of revolutionary struggle, made more significant when the poet himself was a part of the vanguard, imprisoned by the colonial authorities for his role in the resistance and the collection of poems includes some written while incarcerated. Tessa McWatt in the script for the opera *Knife of Dawn* (2021), performed at London's Royal Opera House, uses Carter's verse to explore the role of the poet in a social/political context, to interrogate sacrifice and an artist suffering imprisonment in a fight on behalf of the people. The opera recognizes the high significance of the poetry and is further testimony to the place of *Poems of Resistance* in history.

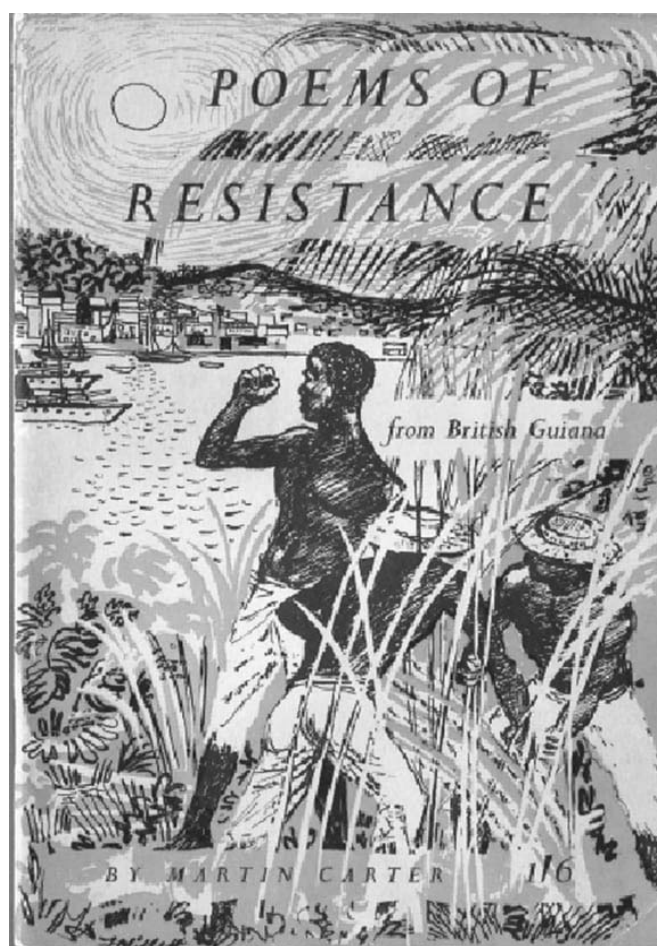
Carter's first published book has not been free of criticism of its style and content in poetic terms. It has been too often looked at as revolutionary verse limited to a political framework. But limitations have been identified where the maturity of craft is concerned. Eddie Kamau Brathwaite has argued that Carter's metaphysical voyages are misplaced and suffer echoes of John Donne especially in the poem "I Am No Soldier". The metaphysical resorted to by Carter, he further argues, is alien to the Caribbean in a way it is not to the seventeenth century Metaphysicals. Yet, in terms of Caribbean poetry, the engagement of metaphysics may be seen to work in the use of image and concept. "I Am No Soldier" is one of the selections in *Poems of Resistance* in which the poet speaks from his place of imprisonment during the British occupation. At one time Carter was held at a camp in a forested area close to Timehri, then known as the Atkinson Field, some 26

miles up the Demerara River. This Guyanese landscape is vastly different from what can be imagined in a small island like Barbados. Guyana is a vast continent to the islanders and indeed a poet can speak of regions, continental space and horizons, as he does in this poem. Furthermore, Carter never limited his reference points to England, introduced as he was to the new horizons described by the likes of Richard Hakluyt, the vast arctic regions, the geography and cosmology as the wide world was being opened up for Europe. Carter declares “Wherever you fall, comrade, I shall rise” and is called for echoes in such references as “somewhere in an Arctic night”. To begin with, he was incarcerated in a “region” of dark forests and cold nights, seeming to give the impression of his struggle and his solidarity extending across the globe, anywhere, wherever a comrade might fall.

A number of the selections in *Poems of Resistance from British Guiana* have made a mark in West Indian literature because of characteristics of the verse that typify Carter and the craft he contributes to the literature. One of these is “University of Hunger” in which the subtle use of language stands out. Occasionally, Carter’s lines may confound readers of Standard English (SE) because the way the poet uses it, it is really not standard. “Is the university of hunger the long march” is one of those Carter sentences employing the Creole language syntax – a Creole speaker’s “is the university” as against the SE “it is the university”. The poem, although primarily cast in the SE is influenced by a Creole speaker’s thought patterns. Yet another is the antithesis in “This Is The Dark Time, My Love”, a poem addressed to one’s “love” that describes all that is opposed to a love poem and a message of endearment. “The shining sun” of promise and brightness “is hidden in the sky”, immediately expressing a negation”. There is a suggestion in the poem of the lines of Mediaeval poetry whose lines are divided in half by opposite meanings. “Red roses bend their heads in awful sorrow”, and the paradoxes continue: “It is the festival of guns, the carnival of misery”. The anti-love poem is to end with the most devastating thought of all : there is a “stranger invader / watching you sleep and aiming at your dream”. To shoot down a dream is a

most terrifying assassination.

Poems of Resistance from British Guiana is known for those poems, and others such as “I Come From The Nigger Yard”, which are signature pieces in the book. But the collection makes a statement about the state of West Indian poetry at the time. It reflects the growing establishment of definitive Guyanese poetry that began to exhibit national identity as well as nationalism and decolonization at the dawn of post-colonialism. It is a unique text in the way it documents the country under siege. Yet, it exhibits poetry that is universal in outlook, that set itself within known local events in order to transcend them and address wider concerns of humanism.



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Seventy Years After - The Palestinian People remain without a homeland



SEVENTY FIVE years after the United Nations decided on the TWO STATES solution for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, one for Palestinian Arabs and one for the Jewish people, the Palestinian people continue to be ruthlessly, callously and unfairly denied a place on earth, that they can call their own homeland.

ALL peace loving, fair minded, democratically inclined people, throughout the world reflect on an almost daily basis, and agonize on how much longer the Palestinian people would have to endure the degrading conditions, living in camps in inhuman facilities and surroundings, before they can be liberated and freed. How long more would they have to rely on committees and organizations' deliberations and resolutions, before the denial of their own homeland can be resolved?

THE PALESTINIAN conflict has been intermittently in the news for all of these seventy five years, appearing in headlines, whenever the conflict is inflamed, invariably, when new "settlements" for Israelis are imposed upon lands identified for the Palestinians, almost on all occasions, accompanied by loss of lives, severe injuries to innocent civilians and extensive damage to property.

The most recent of such incidents occurred on 3rd. July, 2023 when the Israeli military forces unleashed an operation targeting the city of JENIN, killing at least ten persons.

Before that, however, Patrick Kingsley, the Jerusalem Bureau chief of New York Times, reported "In response to a deadly shooting, Israeli arsonists set fires in Palestinian villages and the Israeli government advanced plans for new settlement homes in the occupied West Bank".

Israeli troops, heavily supported by drones, pulverized the city of JENIN for days, in one of the biggest and deadliest incursions in decades.

The Jenin Brigades, comprising militant groups operating within the city's crowded refugee camp (in which approximately 14,000 refugees were living in less than half a square kilometer) claimed to have engaged Israeli forces and brought down one of the unmanned aircraft.

These renewed attacks on the Palestinian people by the MOST right wing reactionary government in Israel's history, telegraphs, in my opinion, what's to come with more frequency, cruelty and destruction.

A CASUALTY of this specific dastardly attack was the chief of police of Tel Aviv.

Like many other Israelis, both in Israel and outside, who have spoken out against the unfair and oppressive treatment and destruction of the Palestinian people's livelihood, the police chief resigned, during the first week of the bombardment and attacks on Jenin. Thousands of Israeli protesters took to the streets of Tel Aviv to express their anger of his forced resignation. The security forces (some on horse backs) were forced to use water cannons to control the crowds.

The police chief, in a televised statement, announcing his resignation, said he "could easily meet these expectations" (of his minister) "by using unreasonable force that would have filled up the emergency room of Ichilov (a hospital in Tel Aviv) at the end of every protest". He went on to cite "political intervention" and "continued political pressure" as the reason for his decision. He instead opted to leave his job, rather than having to resort to further violence against protesting Palestinians. Although not naming him, most of the pressure to wield the iron fist against the anti-government protests, came from the far right National Security Minister, Itamar Ben-Gvir.

IT IS IRONIC that the ONLY led Jewish state in the world would resort to such inhumane, dastardly and bureaucratic treatment of another people AFTER what was meted out to them by the fascist, Adolph Hitler. I hope it's not as some commentators have suggested that's it's a case of retribution and or retaliation for what they suffered. Were this to be true, one can only speculate on the unimaginable atrocities and sufferings the world would experience should other nations resort to similar positions.

ANOTHER reason, if one were even required, for the displacement of the Palestinian people to be settled once and for all time.

Over the years, successive Israeli governments have demoralized, humiliated and destroyed the lives and

shattered the legitimate expectations of the Palestinian people by their constant bombardment of their homes, schools, medical facilities and other civilian infrastructure, with their far superior weaponry, against a people who have only "bricks and sling shots" as an attempt of a defence.

A BRIEF history of the conflict would indicate that in 1922, The League of Nations (predecessor to the United Nations) made a decision to place Palestine under the administration of Great Britain, in the form of a mandate, which for all intents and purposes, was intended to be a TRANSITORY PHASE - until Palestine attained the status of a fully independent nation.

Being unable (some say unwilling) to find a solution to the settlement of the Palestinian people, the United Kingdom transferred the problem to the United Nations in 1947, and the TWO STATE solution was then decided.

DECADES AFTER, and thousands of people killed, maimed and lives shattered, the Palestinian people remain WITHOUT a place on the world's map that can be identified as their homeland and country.

However, and significantly, the State of Israel was established on 15 May, 1948 and is a FULL member of the United Nations. A similar recognition eludes the Palestinian people and the State of Palestine remains a dream.

It should be noted that for a state to obtain membership of the United Nations, it requires a two third majority vote by the General Assembly, AFTER a recommendation of the Security Council of the U.N.

For Palestine, therefore, to take its rightful place in this world Assembly of Nations, it must first receive NINE of the FIFTEEN favourable votes in the Security Council, provided that NONE of the five permanent members (China, France, The Russian Federation, The United Kingdom and the United States of America) vote against the application. This effectively means that any ONE of one hundred and Ninety two member states can deny the Palestinian people their legitimate place in the world.

Despite the recognition by two thirds of the member states of the United Nations and the lofty intentions and mandate of this, the ONLY body comprising ALL the nations of the world, neither the security of the Palestinian people nor peace in this region has been achieved.

Indeed, the situation has gotten considerably worse for the Palestinian people, with the United Nations declaring that 2022 was the deadliest year in the Israel- Palestine conflict, since counting began. (1)

This disclosure of the United Nations, speaks volumes.

AFTER the League of Nations decision, the Zionist Organisation worked to establish a Jewish state on lands inhabited by the Palestinians for two preceding millennia, a clear violation of the inalienable right of the Palestinian

people and the assurances of independence given by allied powers in recognition for their support in the war.

TWENTY FIVE years after the decision of the League of Nations and continuous violence in Palestine, Great Britain referred the problem to the United Nations, who proposed separating Palestine into two distinct independent states: PALESTINE ARAB and JEWISH, with Jerusalem, internationalized.

Unfortunately, the Jewish state proclaimed its independence on May 14th. 1948, which resulted in the first Arab/ Israeli war. The war ended in 1949 with Israel gaining the advantage, SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND Palestinians displaced and the territory divided into THREE parts:

The State of Israel

The Wet Bank (of the Jordan River)
and the Gaza Strip.

In successive wars, Israel expanded its occupation to include ALL of Palestine.

From 1948 to the present, there have been many wars/ clashes, unimaginable suffering, immense destruction and countless deaths and maiming of the Palestinian people, in addition to millions of Palestinians in exile.

THE UNITED NATIONS accepted its responsibility for finding a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian issue and despite Resolution 181, referred to above (as the transitory stage) a lasting peace remains elusive, exclusively due to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, without a similar arrangement for Palestine.

A SECRET Sykes- Picot Agreement between Britain, France and Russia, and later to include Italy in 1916, led to the allocation of Ottoman Arab territories to spheres of influence of the European powers.

To satisfy Arab concerns caused by the revelation of the agreement by the Soviet government, after the 1917 revolution, and by certain conflicting statements of British policy, further assurances concerning the future of Arab territories, were given by the British government, which read inter alia "so far as Palestine is concerned, we are determined that no people shall be subject to another". This assurance has been honored, shamelessly and exclusively, in the breach.

FOR DECADES, tension has been a constant in the region, particularly between Israel and Egypt, Jordan and Syria.

Following the 1956 Suez Crisis, and Israel's invasion of the Sinai Peninsula, Egypt, Jordan and Syria signed mutual defense pacts in anticipation of a possible mobilization of Israeli troops. In June 1967, following a series of maneuvers by Egyptian President Abdel Gamal Naseer, Israel preemptively attacked Egyptian and Syrian air forces, starting the Six-Day War.

After the war, Israel gained territorial control of the

Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip from Egypt; the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan; and the Golan Heights from Syria. Six years later in what is referred to as the Yom Kippur War or the October War, Egypt and Syria launched a surprise two-front attack on Israel, to regain their lost territory; which failed to achieve any significant gains for either Egypt, Israel or Syria, even though Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat declared a victory for his country as it allowed Egypt and Syria to negotiate over previously ceded territory. Finally, in 1979, following a series of ceasefires and peace negotiations, representatives from Egypt and Israel signed the Camp David Accords, a peace treaty that ended the thirty year conflict between Egypt and Israel.

THE INTERNATIONAL conference on the Question of Palestine, held between 29th. August and 7th. September, 1983 in Geneva, was a landmark event in which the International community focused on the struggle of the Palestine people for their inalienable right to self determination.

The Geneva Declaration on Palestine had definitive guidelines for concerted International efforts aimed at a comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement for Palestine through the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East.

During the years 1948 to 1988, there have been numerous UN General Assembly Resolutions, proposals by major governmental organisations and individual member states, in addition to hundreds of NGO's, to convene such a conference in order to find a solution to the Palestinian situation and Arab- Israeli ongoing conflict, once and for all times.

THE PRESS RELEASE of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 76 th. Session High Level Debate, it was stated that Mohamed Irfaan Ali, President of Guyana, expressed Guyana's "solidarity with the Palestinian people and its desire for a dignified existence in its own homeland in accordance with a two-state solution" and called "on the international community to support the cause".

FOR YEARS, voices have been raised in defense of the Palestinian people, but these all seem to be "blowing in the wind". In researching for this article, I've come across presentations by John Oliver (winner of at least three

Prime Time, fourteen Emmy and two Peabody Awards) as well as by Trevor Noah, another highly regarded South African investigative journalist, pleading on behalf of the Palestinian people.

ADDITIONALLY, Guyana, even before it's own Independence in 1966 (and continuously after) has been in the forefront of the struggle for the Palestinian people to be given their inalienable right to live peacefully in THEIR OWN HOMELAND.

IN FACT, Guyana's support for Palestinian Sovereignty has been so unwavering that in 1974 it was elected a member of the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (CEIRPP) along with twenty four other countries.

GUYANA continues to be a respected member of this Committee and a delegation is expected to visit Guyana in the near future to enhance the cause, and hopefully as well, to solicit and obtain aggressive solidarity for the Palestine people.

FINALLY, now that Guyana would be joining the elite/ austere and most important body of the United Nations, The Security Council, as a Non Permanent member, beginning 2024, having received the vote of EVERY voting member, except one, I would be bold enough to suggest that our eminently astute delegation on this Committee, take the lead to initiate a discussion on the question of the people of Palestine to be allowed to live in their own homeland, with adequate security and enshrined safeguards against incursions by Israel or any other country.

The time has come after decades of being displaced, for the Palestinian people to be given the justice they rightly deserve.

It is time for the killings, loss of limbs, the merciless suffering, the damage and destruction to property and all other atrocities being perpetrated against a helpless and defenseless people to be brought to an immediate end.

1).

(With 2022 Deadliest Year in Israel-Palestine Conflict, Reversing Violent Trends Must Be International Priority, Middle East Coordinator Tells Security Council—18th. January 2023, Press Release (SC/15179).



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The 1953 Suspension of the Constitution



The suspension of the 1953 Constitution by the British Government remains until this day a blatant and shameless episode in political landscape of Guyana. Even though the PPP won the elections by a landslide, the British Government deposed an elected government and installed in its place an interim administration made up of several persons who not only failed to win seats but lost so badly that they had their deposits forfeited.

The suspension of the Constitution, however, was part of a much larger plan, namely the breaking up of the PPP which had become a formidable political force. This was evident from a statement by the Colonial Office in justification of the suspension of the constitution:

'It had become evident that the intrigues of the communists and their associates, some in ministerial post, threaten the welfare and good administration of the colony. If these processes were to continue unchecked, an attempt might be made by methods which are familiar in some other parts of the world to set up a communist-dominated state. This would lead to bloodshed.'

Nothing was further from the truth. In fact, there was nothing 'communistic' by the policies pursued by the PPP during its short stint in office. The records will show that Labour Relations Bill which was deemed 'communistic' was in fact patterned after the Wagner Act which was one of the most progressive piece of labour legislation in the United States.

Although British Guiana began attracting world attention after the 1953 victory, the first country in the hemisphere where a leftist party won power by constitutional means, it was the landing of British troops and the suspension of the Constitution that catapulted the colony in terms of global spotlight. The popular TIME Magazine referred to the PPP victory as 'the first communist government being set up in the western hemisphere.'

It is important to note that the removal of the PPP from office coincided with a period of intense superpower

rivalry. During the second world war, fascism was seen as the main enemy of the United States and its western allies. However, during the cold war period, the enemy was no longer fascism. Communism was seen as the main 'evil' which had to be contained at any cost.

It is a historical fact that the PPP became one of the earliest victims of the cold war. Soon after the removal of the PPP from office, an interim government was nominated which included members drawn mainly from the defeated National Democratic Party. A number of PPP leaders were either imprisoned or had their freedom of movement restricted. Among those imprisoned were Dr. Jagan and his wife Janet both of whom were sentenced to jail for six months on separate charges. Burnham was spared imprisonment for obvious reasons as will be shown later.

With the imprisonment and confinement of the top leadership of the PPP, the way was clear to undo previous legislation and thereby preserve the then status quo. But even more sinister from the standpoint of the colonial administration was the need to destroy or at the very minimum muzzle the militant PPP under the leadership of Cheddi Jagan. A commission headed by Sir George Robertson was set up to investigate the circumstances leading to the suspension of the constitution and to make recommendations. The PPP refused to appear before the commission on the grounds that it was 'weak, uninspiring and unlikely to report objectively'.

The commission, as expected, endorsed the suspension of the constitution, and found that 'the setback to orderly constitutional progress was due, not to defects in the Constitution but to the fact that those in control of the PPP proved themselves to be relentless and unscrupulous in their determination to pervert the authority of government to their own disruptive and undemocratic means.'

It also found, on the evidence as a whole, a very powerful communist influence within the PPP. Those singled out as

accepting unreservedly the classical communist doctrine of Marx and Lenin were Dr. Jagan and his wife Janet, Brindley Benn and Martin Carter. Interestingly, Burnham although considered radical by British standards, was described as a moderate with socialist tendencies.

The stage was set for a split of the PPP. This was actually encouraged by the report when it stated: 'there were many who thought that as the recognized leader of the 'socialists' in the party, Burnham ought to have taken a much stronger line than he did in opposition to the more blatant communist activities of the Jagans and their supporters.

The split in the PPP did in fact happen after Burnham unsuccessfully attempted to take over the leadership of the Party. The fact that the schism later manifested itself by way of ethnic cleavages should not be interpreted to mean that it was racial in nature since a significant number of Blacks remained with Jagan and a number of East Indians rallied behind Burnham. In the 1957 elections, for instance, the PPP (Jagan) maintained much of its multi-racial appeal by winning nine of the 14 seats, despite gerrymandering attempts by the colonial administration. Burnham's PPP won three seats. The other two seats were shared between the United Democratic Party headed by John Carter and Stephen Campbell who became the first Amerindian to enter Parliament.

The split in the PPP however proved to be a major setback in the nationalist struggle for self-government and ultimate political independence. But even more damaging was the subsequent polarizing effect between the two major ethnic groups in terms of political behaviour. The split left a deep scar on the Guyanese social fabric. That notwithstanding, the PPP again emerged victorious in the 1957 and the 1961 elections until the British Government changed the electoral system in the 1964 elections from the constituency model to proportional representation.

The victory of the PPP in the 1957 and in the 1964 elections posed a major challenge with respect to Anglo-American diplomacy. The leftist orientation of the PPP became a thorn in the flesh as far as the United States and Britain was concerned. British Guiana became the first country in the western hemisphere where a leftist party had gained political power through constitutional means. A salient point to note is that this period coincided with that of the cold war when both the United States and

the then Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) were in active competition for 'spheres of influence with both sides seeking to expand their ideological frontiers. The seizure of power by Fidel Castro in 1959 and the setting up of a communist regime in what was perceived to be a US backyard heightened US sensitivity in the region. It also rendered the United States even more determined to, as it were, nip in the bud, any attempt at setting up leftist regimes in the region. The suspension of the Constitution predated the Cuban revolution but the ideological battle for hearts and mind started almost immediately after the end of the Second World War.

Of significance to note is that the early 1960s coincided with a decolonization wave which at the time was sweeping the continent's of Asia, Latin America and Africa. Britain had already signaled its intention to grant political independence to Guiana but the victories of the PPP in 1957 and again in 1961 resulted in a change of the British position, under pressure from the United States.

Conclusion

The suspension of the Constitution proved to be a temporary setback to the constitutional rule and the independence struggle. But, as pointed out by the late Ashton Chase in his publication '133 Days Towards Freedom In Guiana' while the plot may have succeeded, the forces of progress cannot be halted. The people cannot be subjugated and suppressed all the time. There was a temporary victory thwarted by the force of arms. Ours, that is the working class, will be a lasting victory, for our spirit has not been daunted, our will and determination have not faltered. The temporary setback has only steeled us to go forward, to prepare for even greater sacrifices in our struggle for freedom, liberty and independence.'

Those were indeed visionary and forward-looking thoughts which did in fact materialized. The PPP continued until this day to blaze the trail for a free, democratic and prosperous Guyana.

In some important ways, the PPP during its short period in office had established a pro-poor developmental framework which has informed all subsequent PPP and later PPP/C budgets and development plans and programmes.



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The Belt & Road Initiative

Changing The World



On September 13, 2013 a summit meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation (SCO) was held. This meeting has gone down in history as being one in which proposals were made that has changed and is changing the world. It took place in the Central Asian Republic of Kyrgyzstan. It was here that President Xi Jinping first proposed concrete measures to accelerate the economic development of the region. This proposal has become known as the Belt and Road Initiative. Originally it was to link the member states of the SCO and observer states (eleven countries) which all lay on the ancient Silk Road. The Silk Road came into existence more than two thousand years ago. It was a major trading route for countries in Asia and Europe. It was a brilliant idea which found favor with all the countries in the SCO.

Some of the major features included connectivity with member states. That entailed linking the transportation and communication infrastructure of the participating states. That was a precondition for increasing and developing trade relations. This meant opening new trading routes by both land and seas.

Another important aspect of the proposal was the financing of this massive project, that was expected to integrate the region in a much more profound way.

The initiative was so bold, so creative that almost from the moment that President Xi's speech was reported by the world media it captured the imagination of leaders in every part of the world. Countries began requesting to be part of the process. The enthusiasm was so high that President Xi had to modify his original intention and open the process to the whole world.

Conditions That Gave Rise To The BRI

Since President Xi was elected as General Secretary of the CCP in November 2012 he began making important speeches in relation to the International situation.

It was a period when the Global Economic and Financial crisis which began in 2007/2008 was still having serious negative impacts on the economies of both developed and developing countries. As is usual in times of then Capitalist crises the big Capitalist States tried to solve the issues at the expense of poorer developing states.

This was manifested in growing protectionism in which goods from developing countries found their products to be uncompetitive due to massive subsidies that the large Western States were giving to its companies both in industry and agriculture.

At that point too we saw the rise of terrorism and the

drug trade was being considered to be a global issue to add to the grave security concerns.

In that period China stood out and refused to take the road of protectionism. Indeed it insisted on greater openness and a more vigorous engagement internationally. No doubt President Xi thought it would be incorrect in the period of rapid Globalization for countries to adopt positions which would lead to isolationism. He adopted a scientific, dialectical approach.

Basing it-self on the experience of China since the opening up at the end of the 1970s the leadership of the CCP led by President Xi, it must have concluded that it was futile for the PRC to take a similar stance as the West was adopting. After all, experience has demonstrated that China's development was due to its relation with the world and the world prosperity has become dependent on China.

Even before he announced his BRI proposal President Xi was evolving into a position of greater opening up to the world. In March 2013, six months before his speech at the SCO summit meeting the Chinese leader was advocating greater opening up and deeper cooperation to deal with the crisis.

In a speech at The Moscow State Institute of International Relations the President said "... It is a world where countries are connected to and dependent on each other to an extent never before experienced. We as humans all live in the same global village in the same time and space at the confluence of history and reality. More and more we are becoming a community with a shared future in which we all have some of each other within us..."

Clearly this type of analysis led the CCP to promote a new type of International Relation. It is one which is based on the concept of win-win policy, mutual benefits and mutual security. It is a concept that sees the world as one where cooperation is the most important condition. To fight against the challenges confronting mankind at the time and the approach in dealing with all global issues.

That is why when China began to grow in strength after its opening up began in 1978 it started to help the poorest countries in the world. Those countries that could not obtain assistance from the World Bank and the IMF because of the weakness in their economy. Those countries were considered by the West as high risk.

That type of Western thinking was based solely on money. In fact any assistance was usually premised on those countries giving up control of their economies to huge transnational corporations. In almost all the cases investments only went towards the exploitation of natural resources.

China's cooperation was qualitatively different. It never dictated to countries what they should do. Instead it

worked with governments which identified their own priorities.

That is why much of the assistance given by China was towards creating conditions for sustained growth. Those projects were mainly physical infrastructure e.g. Roads, Bridges, Railways, Ports, Energy such as Hydro Electricity etc.

A lot of assistance went towards building up its social infrastructure which impacted positively on the development of the Human Capital and ensured that growth became sustainable.

China's assistance helped developing countries to assert their sovereignty. Even before the BRI we know of the Trans-Zam railway in the 1970s which freed Zambia from dependence on South Africa.

There is another reason for China's different approach that is not spoken about very much. That goes to the PRC ideological/ philosophical outlook.

It has stated that it is guided by Marxist theory. Marxism provides a scientific view of life. Its approach to local and global problems is rooted in what is best for the broad masses of people, mainly working people.

This has led China to adopt a strong alliance with all countries and determines its selfless assistance to poor developing countries.

Thus win-win diplomacy has paid great dividends for China and those countries involved with it before and after the BRI was launched. Today some one hundred and fifty countries have joined the scheme. This has spread to all corners of the globe.

That is why China is the largest trading partner of most of the countries of the world. Many are high in praise of this new and viable approach to international relations.

It is really no mystery therefore that the PRC is held in such high esteem throughout the world. Its example has been spreading and has allowed it to increase its influence greatly.

However, not everyone is happy with the successes of the PRC.

The US in particular is very unhappy with China's high and growing prestige throughout the world.

In fact they view the relationship that China has developed with the rest of the world in a pretty hostile way. Their basic concern is that the PRC assistance is lessening the dependence of developing countries, many of which are endowed with much natural resources, on the West. They are afraid of losing their power to keep the former colonies and semi-colonies in a state of dependence and ripe for super exploitation.

Therefore they have launched a massive campaign to retard the economic growth of China in the world. To do this they have been resorting to every measure at their

disposal.

In the first place they have launched a slander campaign on the PRC. They are accusing China of having colonial and neo-colonial ambitions. Of course they have been proven wrong on every count. China's relations have had a profoundly positive impact on every aspect of life in the world. Their projects have all helped to reduce poverty and enhance economic growth.

The US and some of their closest allies have resorted to the "carrot and stick" policy in dealing with countries that have good relations with China.

At a recent G7 meeting they have proposed to raise funds to "assist" poorer nations. They have openly stated that that was to counter China's BRI. That's the carrot.

They have also been using other measures to try to reverse the good relations that are flourishing between China and many countries of the world. These include the threat to third world countries to break off relations with China. They even go so far as to apply various types of sanctions to punish countries that continue to pursue good relations with the PRC.

That is not all. The US in particular has launched a massive attack on China aimed at slowing down its economic growth and reducing its capacity to assist the world's poor.

These include restricting trade in high tech chips that are used in modern tools of development. Not only have they banned the export to China but they have also forced many European countries to do the same.

The irony of today is that the once powerful European countries that colonized the world have now become "colonies" of the US. They are forced to follow their every instruction.

In the attempt to further retard China's growth they are forcing countries to break contracts with Chinese companies. The ridiculous excuse they are using to accomplish this is to push the false claim that those companies are "spying" for China.

The real reason is to maintain Europe and Japan's dependence on the United States.

Another method they are using is the military. The US is attempting to encircle China with military bases to always pose a threat to the PRC.

To force China to spend more and more on the military they have been using the puppet regime in Taiwan to heighten tension in the region.

Their objective is to force China to allocate more resources to security while depriving China's real economy of those resources.

This was one of the methods they used during the Cold War to weaken the Soviet Union.

However, it is clear that the prospects for the successes of those tactics are very slim.

The mutual benefits that countries are having due to their relations with China are allowing them to resist U.S. pressures.

China's economy has grown very large and has become so diverse that it is more than capable enough to successfully resist the pressures of the imperialist forces. In fact we have seen that a lot of Western economic aggression towards China is having a negative impact on their own economies and on their general welfare. Signs are emerging of more and reluctance of some countries to try to confront China.

The Belt and Road Initiative has created a truly strong interdependence of nations. It has become an indispensable feature of our 21st century, the most important enterprise by far.

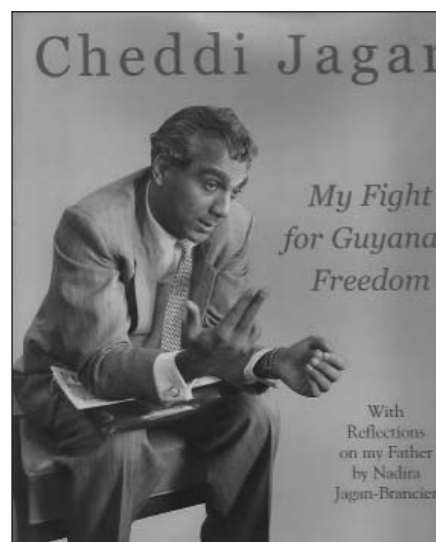
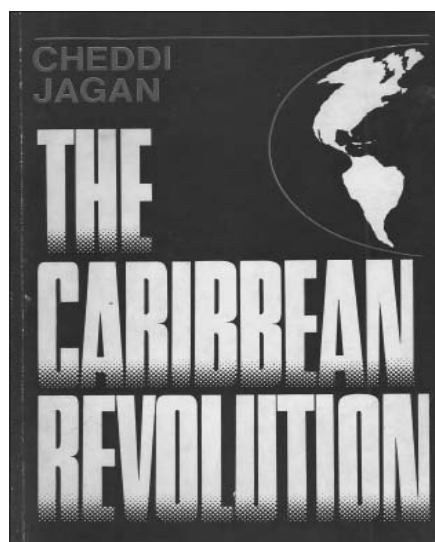
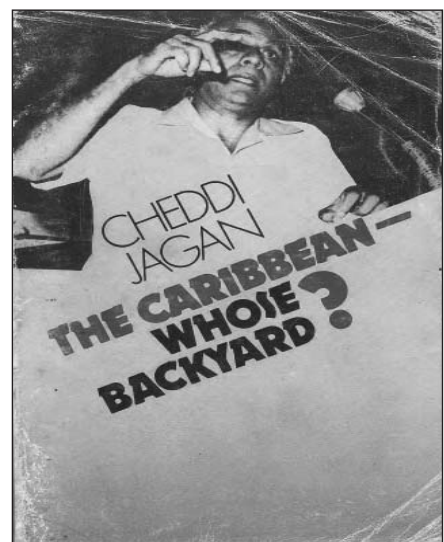
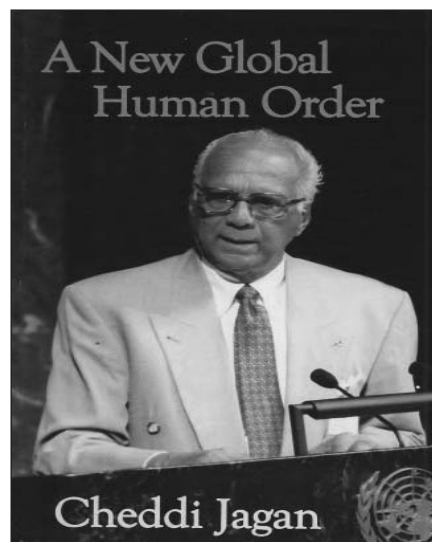
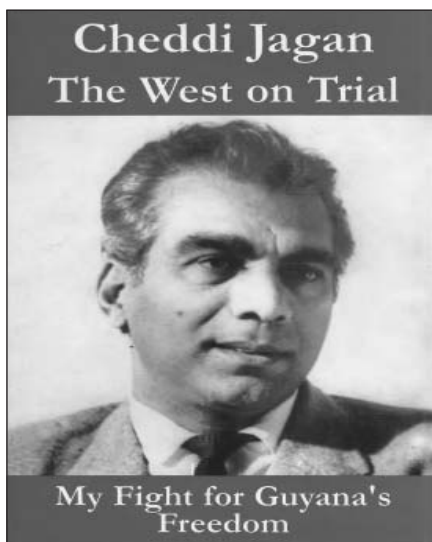
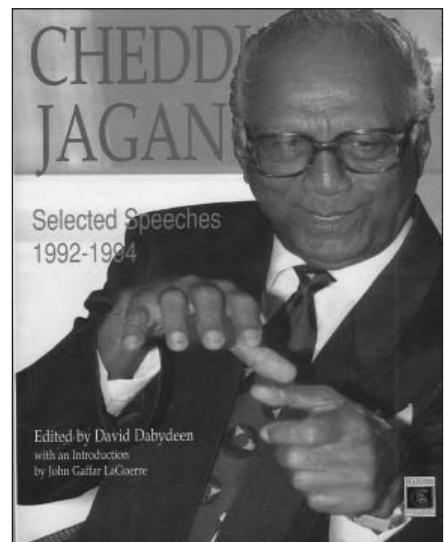
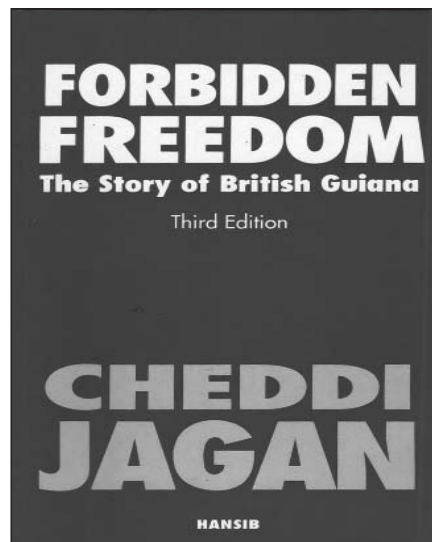
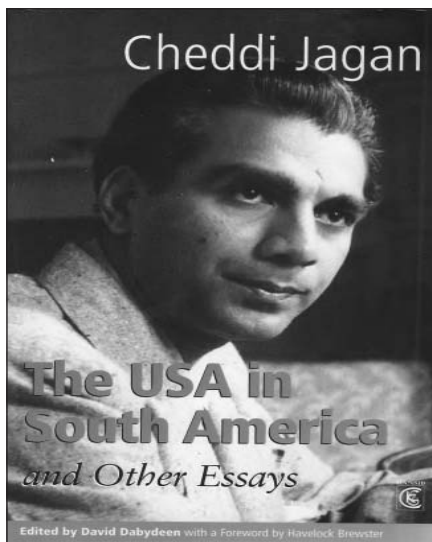
In the last ten years our world has changed quite a lot. Much of that is due to the positive impact of the BRI launched by President Xi a decade ago.

We believe that the best days of this project are still ahead of us.



Donald Ramotar is the former President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana. He also served as General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party. Mr. Ramotar is a graduate from the University of Guyana in the field of Economics. He is an avid writer, and contributes regularly to the Mirror newspaper and other publications.

Publications by Dr. Cheddi Jagan



Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

The Cheddi Jagan Research Centre (CJRC) was officially opened on March 22, 2000 which was the 82nd birthday anniversary of Dr. Cheddi Jagan. The CJRC is dedicated to making available to Guyana and the world, the very rich collection of materials which captures the visionary thoughts and revolutionary ideas of the late President of Guyana, Dr. Cheddi Jagan (1918-1997)

The centre houses a large archival collection of papers, documents, photographs, audio and DVDs related to Dr. Jagan's long and enduring involvement in leading the political struggle in Guyana and at the global level. Dr. Cheddi Jagan is the Father of the Guyanese nation and a renowned and respected statesman. His immense stature in Guyana the Caribbean and the world at large stems from his ground-breaking contributions in numerous stages of the struggle for a better life for the people of Guyana and the world at large.

These include:

1. The struggle against the British to end colonial rule through political independence.
2. Governing for the benefit of the Guyanese people in the colonial period in 1953 and 1957 to 1964 and as the first democratically elected President of independent Guyana from 1992-1997.
3. The international struggle for an end to poverty and inequality through a New Global Human Order.

The CJRC's aims and objectives are to publish material and promote research on the life, work and ideas of Dr. Jagan which is intertwined with the history of Guyana as a whole from the early 1940's to the late 1990's.

Moreover, the collection is indispensable to any analysis of Guyana's post-war social, economic and political development, since Dr. Jagan's work and thoughts have had such a powerful resonance with his country and beyond.

Conference Room Rental

The Conference room is available for rental to host meetings, seminars and workshops

CONTACT US

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre (Red House)

65-67 High Street, Kingston, Georgetown

Tel: (592) 223-7523/4

Website: <http://jagan.org>

Opening hours: Monday – Friday (9:00 am – 4:00pm)

Admission – FREE!

The Cheddi Jagan Research Centre is dedicated to making available to the Guyanese and international communities the Legacy and Work of the Late President of Guyana, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, through research and education.

The Centre is a non-governmental, non-profit organisation located at the Red House.

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