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BRITISH GUIANA: Kicking Out the Communists

Monday, Oct. 19, 1953

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,823070,00.html#ixzz1G75MtoKd>



Last April, British Guiana, the Kansas-sized land of jungle, mountains and coastal sugar lands that is Britain's only colony on the South American continent, held its first popular elections under a newly granted constitution—and returned the first openly pro-Communist government ever to hold office in the British Empire. Last week, after six months of mounting frustration over the colony's Red-created unrest and subversive intrigues, Britain suspended the constitution and sent in troops to guarantee public safety. Said Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttelton: "Her Majesty's government is not willing to allow a Communist state to be organized within the British Commonwealth."

Chicago Schooling. Habitually less concerned than Americans about the menace of international Communism, the British had hoped by the example of good manners and management to cool off the hothead East Indian and Negro leaders elected in backward Guiana. But the crown-appointed governor, Sir Alfred Savage, soon found that the Reds of the victorious People's Progressive Party, holding 18 of 24 seats in the legislature, were too hot to handle. Their Premier was a 33-year-old East Indian dentist named Cheddi Jagan (rhymes with pagan), a rapid-fire orator in both English and Creolise (an abused English spoken in the colony). But the real brains of the Communist movement was his blonde, Chicago-born wife, Janet Rosenberg Jagan, 32.

Alone among Guiana's "Progressives," Janet Jagan, graduate of the U.S. Young Communist League, was trained in international Communism (although she says she now has no Communist Party connections). Daughter of a prosperous plumbing contractor who lived in Chicago and Detroit, she had finished 3½ years of college (Michigan State, Wayne, Detroit), and was a student nurse at Chicago's Cook County Hospital when she met Cheddi Jagan, a dentistry student at Northwestern in 1942. Ditching five other suitors, she married Cheddi, converted him to Marxism, helped him set up practice in British Guiana's capital of Georgetown in 1943.

Rumania Refresher. Starting the colony's first women's political group, stumping through the canebrakes to demand better housing for low-paid East Indian sugar workers, slim, serious Janet Jagan soon became the most talked-about woman in British Guiana. The waiting room of the Jagans' dental office became the meeting place of the discontented, and especially of those who sought independence for the colony. In 1947, after Jagan won a seat in the legislature, the Jagans sparked a bitter sugar strike in which five workers were killed. Founding the Progressive Party, Janet became secretary general and went from village to village making speeches and organizing study and propaganda cells. In 1951, her husband traveled to East Berlin. This year, after their April electoral sweep, Janet left her four-year-old son Joe with her husband and went first to Denmark to address the Copenhagen congress of the Communist-run Women's International Democratic Federation, then on to Rumania.

After Janet got back, Governor Savage quickly realized that he could never work successfully with the Reds. As soon as he let them repeal a ban on importing subversive literature, they brought in stocks of Communist propaganda. Then the new ministers fomented another big sugar strike that shut down the colony's main industry. When that petered out, they brought in a bill to force recognition of their Red-led union, and denounced "that man Savage" in open-air rallies. And when Janet Jagan drafted a party declaration demanding that London abolish the governor's control powers and other constitutional checks, the Colonial Office apparently decided that it was faced with a determined Red plot to seize full power.

London Lesson. Taking no chances after all the oratorical threats, London ordered 1,600 troops and four warships rushed to the colony. Though news leaked from Bermuda that the cruiser *Superb* had sailed with sealed orders, there was no violence. As the Royal Welsh Fusiliers and Marines fanned out to occupy key points around Georgetown, and the radio announced suspension of the constitution and dismissal of the legislature, Premier Jagan made the understatement of the week: "We are most unhappy about the situation." He and the other Red-tinged ministers were not detained or molested in any way, but the legislature's dismissal had neatly squeezed them out of their jobs.

At first, adopting an air of injured innocence. Jagan & Co. announced that they would take their case to the U.N. and to British opinion. Then they got their second wind, and Janet dashed off a fiery manifesto beginning: "Our country has been invaded by foreign troops . . ." and calling, almost in the same breath, for a general strike, a boycott and nonviolence. In London, a few Labor M.P.s cautiously questioned whether it had been necessary to act quite so forcefully. "Better to be in good time than too late," replied Winston Churchill. That seemed to be exactly the view of the U.S. State Department, which issued a prompt statement declaring itself "gratified" at the "firm action" against a Communist bid for power within the U.S.'s vital strategic zone.

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GREAT BRITAIN: Sledge Hammer in Guiana

Monday, Nov. 02, 1953



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,819064,00.html#ixzz1G73t2C8C>

The House of Commons, ancient Mother of Parliaments, last week debated the government's right to take back the democratic rights it conferred only five months before on the South American colony of British Guiana.

Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttelton defended his action in rushing warships and troops to Guiana to prevent a Communist coup (TIME, Oct. 19). Lyttelton accused the Guiana People's Progressive Party of 1) seeking to establish a one-party Communist state, 2) spreading racial hatred. He cited evidence that Dr. Cheddi Jagan, the East Indian dentist whom Lyttelton deposed from his post as Prime Minister, had conspired to organize a Red "People's Police." Two of Jagan's Cabinet ministers and his American wife Janet, a former Young Communist who became the deputy speaker of the colony's Assembly, had been seen touring the sugar plantations, inciting workers to strike. Jagan's Minister of Works & Labor had urged party hooligans to storm the Parliament building. One P.P.P. speech, cited by Lyttelton: "We are going to sacrifice some warm blood, so these damn white bitches see we mean something . . ."

Day in Court. Not all of Lyttelton's charges were equally convincing. A few, e.g., that the P.P.P. had "sought to undermine the position of ... the Boy Scouts," left some Britons with an uneasy feeling that the government was trying too hard to establish its case. The misgivings vanished last week when the nation got a firsthand look at what its home-grown Reds were calling "the suffering victims of imperialism."

Beetle-browed Cheddi Jagan, 35. had flown to Britain, confidently expecting a bonanza of Socialist sympathy. With him, flashing the three-fingered salute of the P.P.P., was his Minister of Education; an Oxford-educated Negro named Linden Forbes Burnham. The pair were met at London Airport by a bunch of British Communists, but before they could mount a soapbox, Scotland Yard whisked them away to a private office on the Opposition side of the House of Commons. Clement Attlee, whose government had prepared the way for self-government in Guiana, had urgent questions to ask. He had been disturbed by Lyttelton's handling of other colonial revolts (in Kenya and Nyasa-land), and wanted to make sure that the two Guianans got their day in court.

For close on three hours. Attlee, Nye Bevan, Herbert Morrison and ten others of Labor's top command grilled the pair, demanding clear-cut answers to Lyttelton's charges. Time & again, they put the direct question, "Are you Communists?", got only evasive replies. To a man, the Labor leaders were revolted by Burnham's doubletalk. "It's a tragedy," said one, "that such an opportunity should have been thrown away by such terrible men . . ." "Burnham is 20 times

more astute than Jagan," said another. "His answers were so slick that sometimes you were almost caught by them . . ."

Limited Indictment. Next day, in the House of Commons, the Laborites disowned Jagan and all his works, stoutly endorsed Lyttelton's pronouncement: "Her Majesty's government are not prepared to tolerate the setting up of Communist states in the British Commonwealth." Attlee added his bit: "It is quite clear that [P.P.P.'s leaders] speak the language of Communists and feed on Communist literature." Attlee approved the sending of troops and the firing of Jagan, questioning only whether it had been necessary to suspend the colony's constitution.

The Opposition was worried that Lyttelton's "sledgehammer" tactics might give the Reds in other British colonies a new rallying cry. "Wouldn't it have been better," asked Attlee, "to charge Jagan & Co. in a court of law, or ... dissolve the Parliament and have fresh elections?" Attlee's conclusion: "We have no dispute whatever about the danger and about the need for action. Our indictment is that there were other methods."

The vote sustained Lyttelton, 294 to 256—"a highly satisfactory majority," commented one Tory. Jagan and Burnham, who had watched the performance from the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery, noisily stalked out. At a London rally, they told their Communist friends: "Bullets have replaced ballots."

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BRITISH GUIANA: Liberty Deferred

Monday, Nov. 15, 1954

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,820408,00.html#ixzz1G73jhnBu>



With 1,600 Marines and Royal Welch Fusiliers aboard, four British warships sped to British Guiana a year ago to enforce London's decision to suspend the South American colony's seven-month-old constitution and thereby stifle its Red-infiltrated government. Since then, restive British Guiana has remained under a state-of-emergency rule by Crown-appointed Governor Sir Alfred Savage.

In London last week, the British government made public the report of a four-man commission appointed to study the Guiana crisis. Its conclusion: "Conditions for sound constitutional advance do not exist in British Guiana today." The report was harshly candid (said the Manchester Guardian: "To read it is like walking into a lamppost in the fog"), and argued that the colony's dominant political organization, the Red-ridden People's Progressive Party, was bent on destroying the constitution after first using its privileges to win unlimited one-party rule. For their activities protesting London's steps against the P.P.P., its leader, Cheddi Jagan, served five months in jail and his Chicago-born wife Janet is still in jail.

The Churchill government agreed with the commission's report, announced in Commons that the state-of-emergency rule will continue in Guiana for at least three more years.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,820408,00.html#ixzz1G73noRp9>

BRITISH GUIANA: Back on the Track

Monday, Apr. 02, 1956



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,862075,00.html#ixzz1G7ApzHTJ>

But for its first and only Premier, Communist Cheddi Jagan, British Guiana could now be far along the road to a stable economy and peaceful self-government. As far back as 1945, Britain earmarked \$10 million for the country's long-term development. But in early 1954, when it came time to draw up new requests for aid from Britain, the colony's first try at self-government had blown up in the ouster of Jagan. In the political confusion left behind by the Commonwealth's first Communist Premier, no one ever got around to applying for Guiana's share of the colonial development funds. A stopgap grant of \$14 million was made later that year, but it was no substitute for long-range financial assistance. Not until last week was British Guiana back on the track again.

Meeting in London with the colony's Governor Sir Patrick Muir Renison, Britain's Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd agreed to a new plan that would pour about \$58,240,000 into social and economic development in the next five years. The specific points covered by the plan included completion of the 130,000-acre Boerasirie irrigation and drainage project, rebuilding the main road along the seacoast from the Surinam border to Georgetown through rich sugar- and rice-growing areas, completion of a 4,000-unit housing scheme, and rural electrification. More than half the cash for the program will be provided by long-term loans from British financiers and the World Bank. Most of the remaining funds will come from the British government, in direct grants and interest-free loans. The rest will come from British Guiana itself.

Left unanswered was the question that has been dangling ever since Jagan's removal from office and the suspension of the colony's constitution: When will self-government be reestablished? The likely answer: when the flow of development funds has put an end to the ragged poverty, the mud-hut living standards and widespread unemployment that combined to bring Communist Jagan to power in the first place.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,862075,00.html#ixzz1G7AwwXWv>

BRITISH GUIANA: Jagan's Comeback

Monday, Aug. 12, 1957



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,825264,00.html#ixzz1G73KV6gc>

History was coming full circle in the poverty-ridden crown colony of British Guiana last week. Four years ago, in the country's first general election, Communism-spouting Cheddi B. Jagan, a suave, U.S.-educated East Indian dentist (Northwestern University, '43), startled the complacent British by sweeping into office. The followers of his People's Progressive Party shouted, "We guv'ment!", and Jagan boasted that they would shoot their "oppressors." Six months later, 700 British troops and three warships deposed Chief Minister Jagan, suspended the colony's constitution. Next week, under a cautiously revised constitution, the colony's 200,000 voters will again go to the polls. The overwhelming favorite to win from six to eight of the 14 Legislative Council seats: Jagan and his P.P.P.

Jagan's P.P.P. is favored in the battle of four leftish parties largely because the British gave him two major assists. First, they booted him out of office in 1953 before the people could be disillusioned at his lack of an overall program and his patent lack of administrative ability. Says one rival politician: "He should have been allowed enough rope to hang himself." Thus, to the voters, Jagan is still a martyred hero. Then, after belatedly setting up an \$84 million emergency-aid program to quiet rising discontent, the British ruined the effect by slowing down expenditures.

Starting with these advantages, Left-Winger Jagan, 39, is acting like a moderate as he campaigns with his wife Janet, once a Chicago Young Communist Leaguer. He denies that he is a Communist, although government officials are convinced he keeps in close touch with the Kremlin. He talks of forming a postelection coalition with a former ally, Forbes Burnham, 36, a mercurial Negro lawyer with Communist leanings of his own, whose splinter wing of the P.P.P. may win up to four seats.

If Jagan wins handily and switches back to his old Red line, Sir Patrick Renison, the Queen's governor, can appoint as many as 14 additional members to the Council, and thus cancel out Jagan's power without the face-losing last resort of calling in the troops. But Renison hopes to be able to persuade Jagan to set up a moderate government that can start easing the colony down the road to self-rule. Jagan claims that he is anxious to please. "I am a realist," he says soothingly. "The British government can still exercise full control even though internal self-government is conceded."

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,825264,00.html#ixzz1G73Q0X6d>

BRITISH GUIANA: Giving the Reds a Chance

Monday, Sep. 09, 1957



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,893627,00.html#ixzz1G72tM1YD>

In Communism's most direct and successful grab for power in South America, a dentist named Cheddi B. Jagan won an election and took office four years ago in British Guiana. Britain's embarrassed answer then was a task force of three warships and 700 troops to depose him. Last week, after the Northwestern University-educated dentist swept another election (TIME, Aug. 12), a wiser, gentler Britain tried a subtler answer—dumping the difficult problems of running the poverty-stricken little colony directly into Cheddi Jagan's lap.

Sir Patrick Renison, the British governor, named Jagan as Minister of Trade and Industry, named Jagan's U.S.-born wife Janet, once a Chicago Young Communist Leaguer, as Minister of Labor, Health and Housing. To aid the nine Jaganites and the five leftists from splinter parties who won the 14 elective seats in the Legislative Council, Renison used his appointive powers to name nine additional councilmen who, though they are all nonCommunist, are friendly enough to Minister Jagan.

Governor Renison apparently hopes that Jagan in power will either mature or fail badly enough to break his spellbinding hold on the voters. The British do not doubt that Jagan is as Red as ever, but the line he now talks is quite different from 1953, when he promised to shoot the "oppressors." This time he shows more practical concern with the colony's huge problems—poor soil, soggy terrain, and torrid climate. He preaches cooperation with the Crown and with the firms controlling British Guiana's sugar and bauxite industries.

If Jagan gets out of control, the constitution, revised after the 1953 fiasco, gives the governor enough power to tame him. Though the new Cabinet is controlled 5 to 4 by Jaganites, the governor himself hangs onto the title of President and can cast a vote. As for the Legislative Council, the governor could, if necessary, appoint enough new members to gain a pro-British majority. In a deeper crisis, he could invoke emergency powers and assume direct control.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,893627,00.html#ixzz1G72wl8s0>

British Guiana: Old Leftist, New Game

Friday, Sep. 01, 1961



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,939824,00.html#ixzz1G72iir6p>

When Dr. Cheddi Jagan, 42, a politically ambitious East Indian dentist, first took power in British Guiana eight years ago, he fluttered the doves of empire. Sounding every inch a Marxist. Jagan vowed: "The same bullets which were fired on poor people will be fired on our oppressors." announced that he was forming a "people's police" and abolishing the civil service. In a day when Winston Churchill was still Prime Minister. Britain's reply was to send four warships and 1,600 troops, who ousted Jagan and suspended the brand-new constitution that granted the 147-year-old colony internal self-government. Last week, in elections that represented a second attempt at self-government. Jagan was again the runaway winner, with 20 of the 35 seats in the legislature. But the fiery messiah of 1953 was now playing a much cozier game.

The ballots were barely counted before Jagan began agitating for an end to the last vestige of British control (foreign affairs, defense) and demanding immediate independence. Domestically, he promised democracy and social reform. Abroad, he said, "we plan to follow a policy of neutralism like Nehru and Nasser." No longer shouting about oppressors, bullets or people's police, Jagan said reassuringly: "We also cherish the things the West fights for—personal liberties." The West kept its fingers crossed.

Marrying Marx. A plantation foreman's son who went to Northwestern University in 1941, married a Chicago-born Young Communist Leaguer named Janet Rosenberg, and came home yelling Marxist war cries. Jagan has simmered down in recent years, swung toward advocating order and development.

What may make Jagan's task more difficult is a tense racial issue that pits the more numerous East Indians, imported to work the cane fields, against the colony's Negroes. In last week's election, his People's Progressive Party wooed rural Moslem and Hindu sugar workers, promising socialist reform to those getting \$3.50 a day, did not even put up candidates in Negro strongholds.

"Like Tito." Jagan's main hope to knit his fractured country together is massive aid from abroad. With Cuba, he has a deal to export rice and timber in return for a Castro-confiscated printing plant. But to the U.S., he cooed that he does not intend to fulfill an old pledge to nationalize the sugar and bauxite industries. When final independence is won, he intends to join the Organization of American States. He wants to travel to the U.S. this fall to talk over his share of the Alliance for Progress with President Kennedy, and sees no reason why he should not get "aid from the Western world." Why not? he asks. "Tito and Nehru get aid, and even Poland."

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,939824,00.html#ixzz1G72nTljT>

British Guiana: Bring on the Tommies

Friday, Feb. 23, 1962



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,895907,00.html#ixzz1G7AU8Fkx>

The first time Cheddi Jagan, 43, the East Indian dentist-turned-politician, won the prime ministership of British Guiana in 1953, his aggressive Marxism and strident anti-imperialism so outraged Her Majesty's government that 1,600 British troops landed in Georgetown to throw him out of office. Now, still breathing defiance of imperialism, Jagan is Prime Minister again, and last week had to call on British tommies for help—to save him from mobs roaming the streets calling for Cheddi Jagan's hide.

British Guiana is divided by a long-festering racial struggle between the 294,000 rural East Indians, who gave Jagan his majority, and the 187,000 Negroes, who live in the towns and see Jagan as just another coolie. What set off the up roar was a Jagan budget that he claimed would "soak the rich" but seemed more likely to soak everybody, with increased tariffs on consumer goods and a compulsory savings plan. Even a state visit by Prince Philip did not quench the anger among Negro merchants and workers.

After Philip left, the protests flared into a general strike. When panicky police met some 10,000 demonstrators with tear gas and bullets, Georgetown blacks set fire to Indian-owned shops. Finally 150 troops of the Royal Hampshire Regiment drove off the rioters at bayonet point. But the fires destroyed almost 20% of the city.

Predictably, Jagan blamed it all on a "rightist plot," but union leaders as well as businessmen were behind the strike.

At week's end, an uneasy peace was imposed. At least six were dead, scores injured. The fire loss was reckoned in the millions. The loss to Jagan may prove irreparable. Neither he nor his racially torn country seems ready for the independence Jagan so insistently demands

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,895907,00.html#ixzz1G7AaYl6a>

British Guiana: For the Record

Friday, Jul. 06, 1962



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,940018,00.html#ixzz1G7A2Ygwj>

When British Guiana's far-leftist Premier Cheddi Jagan called on President Kennedy last fall, asking for \$60 million he didn't get, he represented himself as a neutralist-type democrat who believes in friendship with both East and West. Last week Jagan faced a three-man commission sent by London to investigate last February's anti-Jagan riots in the British colony perched on South America's northeast coast. The commission's report may well affect Britain's decision on whether it should grant independence this year, and whether Jagan is the man to lead it.

The hearing went this way:

Q. Are you a Communist, Dr. Jagan?

A. You will have to explain what you mean by Communist.

Q. Would you say Fidel Castro is a Communist?

A. I cannot say. That is for him to say.

Q. What are your views on Communism?

Jagan tried to duck the question, but Committee Chairman Sir Henry Wynn Parry insisted on an answer. "If he continues to be silent on the issue," said Parry, "the commission will be forced to take note that the witness has avoided answering this vital question." Enraged, Jagan shouted: "I believe the tenets of Communism to mean 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his need.' And I believe that represents the Communist belief and I accept it." Still angry, he went on to say that he admired Fidel Castro as "the greatest liberator of the 20th century," and admired Nikita Khrushchev as well.

Any more questions?

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,940018,00.html#ixzz1G7AHbA6M>

British Guiana: Husband & Wife Team

Friday, May. 03, 1963



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,828158,00.html#ixzz1G70ACipQ>

The most controversial woman in South American politics since Evita Peron is Janet Jagan, 42, the American-born wife of British Guiana's Premier Cheddi Jagan. Not only is she a white woman in a volatile land of East Indians and Negroes; she is also a strident Marxist and believed by many to be the brains and backbone behind her husband's Castro-lining government. Violent enemies call her "the devil."

Anti-Jagan dock workers recently stoned and burned her car; luckily for Janet Jagan, she was not inside at the time. Even the regime's moderate opponents blame her for much of what Cheddi does. "It's all Janet's fault that Cheddi's the way he is," says one adversary.

Like a Tiger. Dowdy and bespectacled, her greying hair askew, Janet Rosenberg Jagan looks more like a suburban matron than an impassioned leftist in a disturbed colony of 600,000 people on South America's northeast coast. But she was a fire brand Young Communist Leaguer in Chicago long before Cheddi came on the scene to study dentistry at Northwestern in the late 1930s. She hit it off with the ever-smiling East Indian, and when they returned as a married couple to British Guiana, Cheddi was making angry speeches condemning foreign "oppressors" and spouting the Marxist line. Wherever Cheddi went, Janet went too, making her own fiery speeches. She campaigned even when she was pregnant and ignored the rotten eggs thrown at her. "She was like a tiger in those days," remembers a Jagan admirer. "She would tell people how they were exploited and how the imperialists were sucking their blood."

With her Young Communist training, Janet conducted cell meetings on Communist ideology. She helped organize Cheddi's following into his People's Progressive Party, now runs it as secretary-general and edits the party's Red-lining paper called Thunder. Associates are called "comrade," and last year she spent three weeks in East Berlin, Moscow and Peking talking trade and spreading the word about what was going on in British Guiana.

"I'm an activist," says Janet Jagan. "People either hate me to infinity or love me to death. I get caught in extremes." She denies that she has "the influence I'm supposed to have." Whether she does or not, British Guiana's husband and wife team has brought little besides economic stagnation and political upheaval to the country.

In February 1962, after the Jagan government proposed enforced savings and higher taxes, mobs surged through the Georgetown capital in riots that left six dead and a charred shopping district in the center of town that has not been rebuilt to this day. Jagan had to call in British tommies airflown from London to restore order. An investigating committee sent from London to

look into the riots put the major blame on Jagan's government, and noted that in testifying Jagan refused a straight answer to questions about whether he was a Communist.

No Aid, No Work. Under the circumstances, the U.S. has refused all Alliance for Progress aid to British Guiana. And Britain, which last year was ready to discuss complete freedom for the self-governing colony, has now postponed independence indefinitely.

Jagan continues to stir up antagonism inside the country, and last week his regime was challenged by a paralyzing general strike. The walkout was called to protest labor legislation that would require government-directed union elections in all industries. The powerful Trades Union Council suspected Cheddi of trying to grab control of the unions, insisted on elections regulated by an independent agency.

Sugar mills, bauxite mines, docks, railroads and airports shut down. Store owners covered their windows with strong wire mesh, British tommies went on alert, a British warship stood offshore, and police armed with bayonets patrolled the streets of Georgetown. At week's end Cheddi was desperately trying to negotiate a solution to the strike. It was doubtful whether he could get away for a trip to the U.S., where he was scheduled to appear before a United Nations committee studying British Guiana's case for full independence, and he was forced to send his regrets to the Winnipeg Press Club in Canada, where he was supposed to make a speech. As a substitute, Cheddi wired the Canadians that he would send his wife Janet to do the talking for him.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,828158-2,00.html#ixzz1G70NLuMu>

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British Guiana: Stoning the Prime Minister

Friday, Jun. 14, 1963



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,874823,00.html#ixzz1G6zmfv42>

A crowd of 5,000 gathered at the cemetery just outside British Guiana's Georgetown capital for the funeral of a Cabinet minister. But only a few were there to mourn. Most of them were waiting for Cheddi and Janet Jagan, the Marxist husband and wife team who misrule the small, self-governing colony perched on South America's northeast coast. When the Jagans arrived, the crowd surged forward hurling coconut shells, bottles, bricks and stones at their Prime Minister. Pulling a coat over his head, Jagan fled with his wife to a car and sped away as the rioting spread. By the time police dispersed the demonstrators seven hours later, some 100 were injured, 150 arrested.

The riot was the latest flare-up in a seven-week general strike against Jagan's high-handed Communist-oriented regime. In April, Jagan introduced a bill in the legislature that would have empowered the government to "supervise" all union elections. Considering the bill a naked attempt to grab control of the country's labor movement, the powerful Trades Union Council called its 50,000 members out on strike. The bauxite mines and sugar mills closed down; so did the docks, railroads and airports. Hardly a store remained open. In the emergency, British technicians arrived to run essential power plants and water works if necessary. The frigate Whirlwind, later replaced by the Londonderry, steamed into Georgetown harbor to reinforce the 500 Coldstream Guards on duty in the country.

Jagan still clamors for independence from Britain. But London, which had originally hoped to cut British Guiana loose last year, suspended all talks after a series of riots in February 1962. The continuing unrest seems likely to postpone independence indefinitely -at least under Jagan. By last week, he was making desperate attempts to come to terms with the strikers. But the workers still stayed off the job, and the mounting opposition was determined to use the marathon walkout to topple his government.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,874823,00.html#ixzz1G6zc7zo6>

British Guiana: Calling for Help

Friday, June 21, 1963



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,874885,00.html#ixzz1G79iS0xo>

All week long, raging mobs of Negroes surged through British Guiana's Georgetown capital, looting stores, mercilessly beating any East Indian in their path. What started as a peaceful strike by British Guiana's Negro-dominated unions against Marxist Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan's highhanded government became a bloody fight with ugly racial overtones. It pitted the East Indians (49% of the population), who loyally follow their countryman Jagan, against the Negroes (45%), who regard him as a dangerous Communist.

Jagan's reaction to the conflict served only to inflame it. When a crowd pelted his car as he was leaving Parliament, his bodyguards opened fire, wounding four demonstrators. As the rioting grew worse during the week, Jagan's riot police, aptly nicknamed the "Bongo Boys," hurled tear-gas grenades, waded in with truncheons, and finally started shooting. Scores were wounded, hundreds arrested. Food supplies ran short, and at one point hundreds of children joined the demonstrators, rattling spoons and empty plates and chanting, "We want food, we want food." At the Georgetown docks, where the Russian freighter Kirovsk was loading 30,000 bags of rice sold by Jagan to Communists, an angry mob stoned police and smashed windows of the government's Rice Marketing Board. Soon after, nearly 100 sticks of dynamite were found, some with the fuses sputtering. The Russian ship sailed for Castro's Cuba.

So serious was the situation that Jagan was forced to accept a strange sort of aid for a man who describes himself as an "anticolonialist nationalist." He called on the British Governor, and for the second time in 16 months, let British troops protect his tottering regime. In battle dress, weapons at the ready, a contingent of Coldstream Guards stationed in the country quick-timed through Georgetown to lay barbed wire around Parliament House and take up positions at key power and water facilities. In London, the Colonial Office watched the situation closely. There was talk that Britain might suspend British Guiana's constitution and temporarily revoke self-government if Jagan cannot maintain law and order.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,874885,00.html#ixzz1G79oE3Js>

British Guiana: A Nearness to Civil War

Friday, Jul. 12, 1963



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,940298,00.html#ixzz1G71eVz2w>

A general strike has been raging in British Guiana for eleven weeks against the regime of Marxist Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan. The bitter division of the colony between the Negroes and the East Indians (still loyal to their countryman Jagan) is worsening. Violence is spreading from the Georgetown capital to the countryside, where enraged mobs of anti-Jagan Negroes battle with the East Indian farmers.

As the fighting continued, Jagan appointed his wife, Chicago-born Janet Rosenberg, a onetime Young Communist Leaguer and the colony's most controversial woman, to be Minister of Home Affairs, making her, in effect, British Guiana's top cop. Neither Janet nor her police have been able to quiet things. All that prevents outright racist civil war is the presence of 500 British troops that Jagan called upon to protect his tottering regime.

In London Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys rejected any suggestion that Britain suspend British Guiana's self-governing constitution and take charge, but another 145 troops were airlifted to British Guiana "because of a deterioration in the situation." At week's end, the efforts of a British negotiator finally brought a truce between Jagan's government and the striking unions. But the racial differences have cut so deep that no easy end to the violence was expected.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,940298,00.html#ixzz1G71kJ23v>

British Guiana: The Gimpex Way

Friday, Oct. 04, 1963



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,875250,00.html#ixzz1G7ECdtN3>

"Hello, late workers," reads the cheery newspaper ad. "Are you usually late for work, appointments and dates? Well, let Gimpex take care of this with a Russian alarm wristwatch." And if timing is no problem, how about Chinese or Czechoslovakian sewing machines, glassware, pots and pans, brushes, cut-rate food items? In British Guiana's capital of Georgetown, Gimpex, short for Guiana Import-Export Corp., offers them all. The company is the colony's biggest importer of Communist goods, and Marxist Premier Cheddi Jagan's lifeline to the Red world.

No one in the tiny South American country questions any more whether

Cheddi Jagan is a Communist. "Communism," he says, "is winning throughout the world—it will win everywhere." The smiling East Indian has long insisted that British Guiana will never be come an out-and-out satellite, but the evidence of Red influence is everywhere. Czech and Russian trade missions abound; ships carrying Russian and Cuban cargo frequently nose in and out of the harbor, 31 by actual count in the last 20 months.

"Private Company." The most dramatic evidence, though, is Gimpex. As a colony, Guiana must have Britain's consent to conduct trade behind the Iron Curtain. But a "private company" can proceed on its own. Hence Gimpex. Organized 21 months ago, Gimpex is run by Jagan's own People's Progressive Party and operates as an extension of the government. Last month Gimpex moved into potatoes, onions and garlic with imports from Poland and Czechoslovakia; it is filling lumber orders for East Germany and Russia. To Cuba it ships railroad ties and rice; in return, Castro sends cement, printing machinery and foodstuffs.

During British Guiana's crippling, 79-day strike, Gimpex saved the day for Jagan. When food reserves dried up and the opposition threatened to starve the government out of office, Gimpex imported petroleum products, flour and other staples, using Cuban and Russian ships. Last July Gimpex actually managed some indirect aid from Cuba. The company sold \$1,000,000 worth of railroad ties to Cuba, and the money—paid in advance—was lent by Gimpex to Jagan's government.

Just Wait & See. Last week Jagan was in London lobbying for independence and some free world investment. He accomplished little. Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys has already laid down the condition for British Guiana independence: a coalition between Jagan and Opposition Leader Forbes Burnham of the People's National Congress. But that seems a long way off. In talks with British investors, Jagan was less than reassuring: "About my government and my party, it is only when we have independence that the people will know where we stand."

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,875250,00.html#ixzz1G7EKRzZM>

British Guiana: Terror in the Sugar Cane

Friday, Mar. 13, 1964



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,828246,00.html#ixzz1G7DmG04k>

Near British Guiana's capital of Georgetown last week, East Indian terrorists attacked sugar-cane cutters with acid bombs and rifles. In the capital, city officials decided against holding the customary public ceremony as Sir Richard Luyt, the colony's new British-appointed Governor, replaced Sir Ralph Grey, who is moving on to the Bahamas. To prevent riots, the swearing-in ceremony took place on a Georgetown wharf only a few feet from the Canadian ship that brought Sir Richard from Trinidad. Once again, the fuse was lit in British Guiana, and holding the match—as usual—was Marxist Premier Cheddi Jagan.

In 2½ years, as head of the self-governing South American colony, Jagan has developed into a curious combination of Castroite and racist, preaching Communism while leading some 290,000 East Indians against 330,000 anti-Jagan Negroes and whites split between two major parties. Full independence was expected this year or next. But last October, after eleven weeks of strikes and violence, Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys indefinitely postponed complete freedom for the tiny, strife-torn land. Sandys ordered new elections by the end of 1964, and decreed that they would be held under proportional representation instead of the simple majority rule that Jagan prefers. Sandys' obvious hope is to encourage party coalitions, thus weakening Jagan's power. Jagan's response has been to cripple the country's economy and bring British Guiana to the verge of civil war.

Partly to force Britain to call off the election and partly to force sugar producers to recognize his two-year-old Guyana Agricultural Workers Union, Jagan sent his union out on strike at the beginning of February. Though the GAWU is smaller than the anti-Jagan Manpower Citizens Association, which speaks for 60% of the colony's 25,000 sugar workers, it makes up in terror what it lacks in size. Its men dynamited irrigation aqueducts, pay offices and watch posts on 41 cane properties, put thousands of acres of unharvested cane to the torch, and bombed 33 homes of anti-Jagan Negroes and East Indians. Gangs of strikers waged pitched battles with nonstriking workers, injuring more than 50.

Last week, as more and more sugar workers stayed home out of fear, only six of the colony's eleven sugar factories were still grinding, and those six were only operating part-time. If the strike goes on much longer, there will be no hope at all of producing the usual 300,000 to 400,000 tons of sugar that represent a large part of the colony's foreign exchange. "So far, our strike has been partial," said a Jagan union leader last week. "From now on, it is a general strike."

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,828246,00.html#ixzz1G7DxZFW6>

British Guiana: Race War

Friday, Jun. 05, 1964



Terrorist bands of East Indians and Negroes roamed British Guiana day and night last week, waging sporadic war on each other, murdering and looting, burning homes and assaulting women. Only the presence of 1,200 British troops with orders to shoot to kill prevented the ugly violence from erupting into a full-scale civil war, pitting the country's 295,000 East Indians, led by Premier Cheddi Jagan, against its 190,000 Negroes, who hate Jagan as a racist and rabble-rousing Marxist.

Cats in the Cane. Tensions have been building up for years between the two peoples in Britain's small, self-governing South American colony. Instead of seeking to calm the passions, Jagan has only fanned them higher. Three months ago, he sent his East Indian sugar workers out on a jurisdictional strike against a larger, anti-Jagan union. Cats were doused with gasoline and sent yowling through the cane fields as living torches. Jagan's 'strikers attacked Negroes in the fields; half a dozen workers died of the beatings. Retaliating in kind, gangs of Negroes went hunting for East Indians.

In the early stages, the worst of the fighting was centered in a small town, eleven miles west of the Georgetown capital. Last week the violence flared all across the unhappy colony. One night in Leonora, ten miles west of Georgetown, a band of terrorists attacked a police patrol, killed two constables and escaped with their rifles. Next morning an elderly Negro couple was found shot to death on their nearby farm. At news of the killings, a raging mob of Negroes halted a Georgetown-bound train and in a vicious melee left 17 East Indians injured, including one victim with both hands, both legs and his back broken. In Georgetown, gangs of Negroes beat up hundreds of Indians, looted Indian market stalls, robbed Indian workers, chased Indian children out of a school.

Spear in the Back. Within hours, the situation was so far out of control that British-appointed Governor Sir Richard Luyt declared a state of emergency throughout the colony, ordered a 7 p.m.-to-5 a.m. curfew in one troubled area, and sent a hurry call to London that brought 500 more Tommies to reinforce the troops already on hand. Still the killing went on. At Bachelor's Adventure, a predominantly Negro village 14 miles from Georgetown, Negroes took up spears and pitchforks, began attacking Indians and burning their homes. A pregnant woman, mother of eleven, was killed by a spear thrust in the back, her husband was critically injured, and an Indian watchman on a sugar plantation was shot dead. In Wismar, 60 miles south of Georgetown, Negro bands burned close to 200 homes and killed four East Indians, including one man burned to death. British troops rushed in to disperse the mobs and escort 1,700 East Indians to safety.

At week's end the patrolling soldiers were desperately trying to keep the two races apart. No one had an accurate count of the toll, but so far in Jagan's strike at least 33 East Indians and Negroes have been killed and more than 2,000 injured. As for Cheddi and his Chicago-born

Communist wife Janet, they still clamor for immediate independence from Britain and noisily accuse "American imperialists" of stirring up opposition to their rule.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,938603,00.html#ixzz1G72Oc2WN>

British Guiana: Working to Divide

Friday, Jun. 12, 1964



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,875876,00.html#ixzz1G70qhprJ>

BRITISH GUIANA

Premier Cheddi Jagan's government last week washed its hands of all responsibility for maintaining law and order in the strife-torn South American colony. In a teary speech to British Guiana's Senate, Janet Rosenberg Jagan, 43, Cheddi's Chicago-born, Communist-sworn wife, announced her resignation as Minister of Home Affairs after a year in the job; Janet accused her own cops of racism and sabotage, charged that the 90% Negro force is bitterly anti-Jagan, has done nothing to halt persecution of the country's Jagan-supporting East Indians.

Actually, British Guiana's Marxist husband and wife team have themselves busily stirred up racial trouble by calling on East Indians to support "to the death" Cheddi's demand for immediate independence from Britain. And they contributed mightily to the current flare-up by calling East Indian sugar workers out on a strike during which nonstriking Negro field hands were beaten and murdered. Negroes have fled from heavily East Indian villages, and streams of East Indians from Negro-dominated areas have poured into refugee camps near the Georgetown capital. The prospect is for further polarization and violence.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,875876,00.html#ixzz1G70vHe54>

British Guiana: A New Boss

Friday, Jun. 26, 1964



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,898167,00.html#ixzz1G72TF3UN>

At last the British had no choice but to take control of their race-torn little South American colony. After five months of continued violence between 295,000 East Indians, led by Marxist Premier Cheddi Jagan, and 190,000 Jagan-hating Negroes, Britain's Governor Sir Richard Luyt announced that he was assuming emergency power in British Guiana to prevent further bloodshed. He also ordered the arrest and detention of 35 leading troublemakers—all but two of them members of Jagan's People's Progressive Party. Temporarily at least, Cheddi Jagan and his Communism-spouting wife Janet were out of business.

In the most recent clashes between the races, 15 have been killed and scores injured. The worst horror was played out in the Georgetown capital when terrorists fire-bombed the home of a mulatto anti-Jagan civil servant, killing him and seven of his children. On radio next day, Governor Luyt (pronounced late) reported that Jagan and his ministers had refused to impose curfews, refused to permit military searches for terrorists, and had not muzzled race-baiting radio broadcasts. Said the Governor: The security force of 1,200 British troops, 600 "volunteer" troops and 1,600 local police "will be firm. They will also be fair. The position now is that the Governor and not the ministers will handle the emergency."

Some of Jagan's opponents welcomed Luyt's action as "the only one that can prevent the country from falling into a final stage of anarchy." Predictably, Jagan cried imperialism and condemned it as "a dark mark on Britain's all-dirty record as a colonial power." His followers warned that he might call for countrywide civil disobedience. If he does, Jagan himself is almost certain to land in jail.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,898167,00.html#ixzz1G72ZMkIA>

British Guiana: Admission of Failure

Friday, Aug. 14, 1964



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,897246,00.html#ixzz1G728wsMt>

Cheddi Jagan, British Guiana's Marxist Premier, finally gave in—at least for the time being. Last week East Indian members of Jagan's agricultural workers' union were going back to work after the longest and bloodiest strike in the little South American colony's turbulent history. Even with the six-month strike officially over, peace is returning slowly.

Jagan ordered the walkout last February to force recognition of his union by sugar growers, and create enough disturbance to make Britain postpone this autumn's election, which he would most probably lose. He failed on both counts. All he accomplished was to weaken the country's economy and touch off a vicious racial war between his 295,000 East Indian supporters and the colony's 190,000 determinedly anti-Jagan Negroes.

To enforce Jagan's demands for his union over an older, bigger union, East Indians started harassing nonstriking Negroes in the sugar fields. Before long, any real issue was forgotten in the racial hatred. Houses were bombed, plantations burned, men, women and children on both sides set upon without mercy. A month ago, terrorists planted a time bomb on a river ferry carrying 69 Negroes; at least 40 were killed. Negroes retaliated by blowing up Jagan's party headquarters in Georgetown, killing a Negro worker and narrowly missing the Premier's Chicago-born Communist wife and party secretary, Janet Rosenberg.

Citing "the callous disregard for human life that has been shown by terrorists up and down the country," British Governor Sir Richard Luyt called in 5,000 Tommies to quell the riots and assumed emergency rule—in effect stripping Jagan of power. He also ordered Guianese to turn in all private firearms except licensed pistols, under pain of life imprisonment plus flogging. Through it all, the Colonial Office in London stood firm by the election schedule, while the sugar companies stuck with the established union.

By the time Jagan finally called a halt to the strike, in the interests of "national unity and harmony," the deaths totaled 173, with uncounted thousands injured. Moreover, many workers are still idle because cane growers are between spring and fall crops. The beatings and killings continue, and four or five houses go up in flames every night.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,897246,00.html#ixzz1G72EccB5>

British Guiana: Cheddi Against the Field

Friday, Nov. 27, 1964



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,871398,00.html#ixzz1G7DKE48f>

The East Indian speakers at the rally could barely be heard above the din. Tough-looking Portuguese and Negro youths swaggered about the parade grounds in the Georgetown capital—heckling, booing and shouting obscenities. When the last East Indian speaker stepped up, the mob advanced to the platform, disconnecting the public address system and defying the outnumbered East Indians to do anything. Then the hecklers swarmed toward a car, nearly lynching an East Indian driver because someone shouted: "He's got a gun." The gun was a toy pistol.

Reason behind this and similar riots is that on Dec. 7, Britain's tiny self-governing colony on South America's northeast hump will elect a new government. The campaign pits Marxist Premier Cheddi Jagan and his 295,000 East Indian followers, who live mostly in the countryside, against an informal alliance of 330,000 violently anti-Jagan whites and Negroes, who control the towns and are led mainly by Georgetown Attorney Forbes Burnham, 41. Jagan has a real fight on his hands. In 1961 he got 42.6% of the vote. But under simple majority rule, he picked up enough districts to win 20 of Parliament's 35 seats. This time, however, the British have decreed countrywide proportional representation—strongly hinting that London wants an opposition coalition in Parliament that will mix the races and bring Jagan down.

Campaign of "Ifs." Cheddi's first reaction to the new ground rules last fall was to threaten a boycott. When that failed to daunt the British, he sent his East Indian sugar workers out on a strike that swiftly degenerated into an ugly race war. Hundreds of Negro and East Indian homes were bombed, 173 people were killed, thousands more injured. Sporadic fighting went on for six months until British Governor Sir Richard Luyt assumed emergency power and called in 5,000 tommies. Only then did Jagan call off the strike and order his supporters to register.

His campaign has done little to calm the racial passions. His party circulated thousands of copies of a preliminary police report on the activities of Negro counterterrorist groups during the strike. When Luyt banned the report on the grounds that it was secret and full of unverified accusations, a so-called Jagan "government commission" put out its own juicy report on Negro violence. Then there is the question of Jagan's Marxism: Cheddi has long railed at the "imperialist" U.S., while lauding Fidel Castro, trading with

Cuba, and calling for Cuban-style "socialism" in British Guiana. Yet he insists that "my party is not a Communist party." Is Cheddi himself a Communist? "If you mean to each his own," he says, "then I am a Communist. But if you mean denial of freedom, then I am not." Chance for a Coalition. Cheddi's chief opponent, Negro Leader Forbes Burnham, considers this pure doubletalk. A graduate of London University, Burnham is an able, experienced politician who would strengthen the colony's ties with the U.S. Chances are that Jagan will win the most votes,

but not the 51% majority he needs to form a government. In second place will come Burnham, and third, the United Force Party, led by Portuguese Businessman Peter d'Aguiar. Anti-Jaganites then hope that these two will stitch together a ruling coalition, allowing British Guiana to recover, with Western help. "Jagan," says Burnham, "has antagonized the West as far as assistance is concerned, and failed to get assistance from the East."

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,871398,00.html#ixzz1G7DWxbcH>

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A Letter From The Publisher: Nov. 27, 1964

Friday, Nov. 27, 1964



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,871377,00.html#ixzz1G71K9ANh>

A JOURNALISTIC tenet holds that — the best reporter is an observer of events, not a participant. But in almost every correspondent's career there comes a moment when the only thing he can do is stop looking and start participating. One of those moments came to TIME'S Caracas Bureau Chief Mo Garcia as he finished observing a hot-tempered political rally in British Guiana, the British colony where a violent conflict is going on between Negroes and East Indians (see THE HEMISPHERE). The Negroes bitterly oppose and the East Indians support Leftist Premier Cheddi Jagan. Turning to leave the rally, Garcia noticed a commotion beyond the glare of floodlights and heard shouts: "She's dying! She's dead!" Wedging his way through a crowd of about 40 Negroes, Garcia found an East Indian girl of about 18 on her knees, trying to ward off the crowd of anti-Jagan-ites who had partly torn off her clothes and were showering her with kicks and blows.

"I lifted her with my left arm," Garcia reported, "and she clung to me for her life." The reporter yelled, "Let her go, she's just a girl," but to no avail. As he tried to carry her to safety, the rest of the girl's clothing was ripped off; Garcia's pockets were picked, his watch was snatched from his wrist, his head was smacked with what felt like a piece of pipe, and something smashed against his right kidney. His knees sagged, but he kept going.

Warding off blows as best he could, Garcia at last reached a couple of mounted policemen and shouted, over and over again, "Can you protect this girl?" The cops did nothing, and the mob closed in again, chanting obscenities, pummeling the newsman and clawing at the girl. Garcia managed to drag the girl another 30 yds. or so along the street before the mob stopped them. There seemed no escape, but at that moment a black car rolled up and the crowd fell back, afraid that more responsive police had arrived. The driver turned out to be a hospital official rather than a policeman; he managed to take the girl to the hospital, and drop the blood-drenched correspondent at his hotel.

Garcia hunted up a doctor, who stitched up a 1¼-in. gash cleaving through to the skull. For Garcia, a laconic, spotlight-shunning sort, the aftermath was almost worse than the ordeal of the rescue. There were grateful phone calls from Premier Jagan's U.S.-born wife Janet, a U.S. State Department protest, and an announcement that the mounted cops who had ignored Garcia's pleas for help had been suspended. The final flourish was the arrival of a delegation of East Indian women who brought a document of thanks and a pair of gold cuff links, then placed a garland of pink oleander and purple madaar flowers on the correspondent's stitched-up head.

IT'S DIFFICULT ROLE FOR ME TO PLAY AND QUITE EMBARRASSING,

Garcia cabled New York, I FEEL FINE EXCEPT FOR HEADACHE AND PAINS ALL OVER.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,871377,00.html#ixzz1G71TQLq6>

British Guiana: Cheddi's Last Stand

Friday, Dec. 18, 1964



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,876477,00.html#ixzz1G713xCJv>

Land Rovers prowled the streets, bristling with British tommies and submachine guns. Army helicopters whirled overhead. Military radios crackled back and forth. It was election day in British Guiana, and Her Majesty's government in Whitehall was determined to ensure the peaceful elections that seemed to be the colony's only hope of ending its three-year reign of racial violence. But -not for the first time-hope for stability in British Guiana was thwarted by Marxist Premier Cheddi Jagan.

The election was specifically designed to oust Jagan, whose People's Progressive Party is overwhelmingly supported by Guiana's 295,000 East Indians. To guard against a repetition of the 1961 election, when Jagan won a parliamentary majority with only 42.6% of the vote, the government introduced a system of proportional representation under which he would have had to win a clear majority to return to power. Since no other party is willing to join a Jagan government, the British hoped that the election would result in a coalition headed by Attorney Forbes Burnham, a moderate, pro-Western leader whose People's National Congress Party is backed by his 190,000 fellow Negroes.

Familiar Tale. To a certain point, the election went as planned. Jagan piled up only 45.8% of the vote; Burnham won 40.5% and stood ready to form a coalition with the third-running United Force Party (12%), headed by Portuguese Businessman Peter d'Aguiar. But then Cheddi simply refused to resign. "The election was fraudulent," he announced. "The British government will have to force me out." Unimpressed, the governor formally appointed Burnham Prime Minister.

It was a familiar tale. Jagan, a dentist turned demagogue, founded the P.P.P. in 1950 with his Chicago-born, sometime-Communist wife Janet, and won the colony's first general elections in 1953. Jagan's intemperate demands for independence and deliberately incited sugar strikes forced the British to boot him out after five months. Ever since his return to power three years ago, Jagan has gone out of his way to foment racial passions. When last week's elections were announced in October 1963, his answer was to send his sugar workers out on a savage strike that lasted six months and took 173 lives before 5,000 troops restored order.

Bedtime Reading. By contrast with the P.P.P.'s racist election propaganda, Burnham's campaign focused on such needs as public works projects and agricultural reform. A silk-smooth speaker and one of his country's top criminal attorneys, Burnham earned a law degree with honors at London University, reads himself to sleep in English ("political novels"), French (Lamartine, Corneille), or Latin (Cicero, Tacitus, Catullus). Originally a co-founder of Jagan's P.P.P., Burnham soon soured on Cheddi's Marxist rantings and, fired by his own ambition, set

up the anti-Communist P.N.C. in 1957. If his ideas today are sometimes vague, he is an avowed friend of the U.S.-and needs to be, since the backward colony desperately needs U.S. aid.

Above all, Burnham is determined to damp down racial hatreds. "Every case of hooliganism will be ruthlessly dealt with," he vows. "We will not condone violence." Nonetheless, the colony may well be in for more violence before Jagan goes back to dentistry.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,876477,00.html#ixzz1G71AXJx6>

British Guiana: Repairing the Damage

Friday, Feb. 19, 1965



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,940939,00.html#ixzz1G78uaKKK>

In three years of Marxist misrule, Cheddi Jagan managed to ruin British Guiana's economy and set the country's East Indian and Negro populations at each other's throats. But Jagan, an East Indian and a former dentist, was defeated in last December's elections, and Forbes Burnham, an anti-Communist Negro, now leads the tiny, self-governing British colony. As of last week, Burnham seemed to be making a fair start toward repairing the damage.

Calling for an end to the racial fighting that killed more than 170 Indians and Negroes in the months before the election, Burnham has formed a coalition Cabinet of many colors. His Cabinet includes Negroes, East Indians and whites—all working to patch up the country's sugar and bauxite economy. One of Jagan's pet schemes was a mandatory national "savings plan," under which the government automatically deducted 5% from every worker's wages and put the money into a government-run fund. When Jagan left, the treasury did not have enough funds to pay back the \$3,650,000 collected under the plan. Burnham canceled the scheme and offered to pay off the depositors with 71% government savings certificates that will mature in 91 years. So far, demands for cash payments have amounted to less than \$100,000.

Foreign investors are suddenly regaining their enthusiasm about British Guiana. In the past month, foreign and domestic companies have snapped up more than \$3,000,000 in government bonds. The Reynolds Metals Co., which operates bauxite mines, is now talking about expanding operations. The British government has pledged \$7,000,000 in development funds, and a U.S. aid team has just finished studying Guianan needs.

In the meantime, Jagan fumes that the elections were an "imperialist plot" to oust him. His People's Party, which still controls 24 of the Assembly's 53 seats, continues to boycott the legislature and threatens renewed violence. In the past few weeks, bands of extremists have been roaming the countryside, derailing trains, cutting telephone wires and setting scattered fires in the sugarcane fields. This week Britain's Colonial Secretary Anthony Greenwood is scheduled to pay his first visit to the colony, and the British Army garrison is braced for whatever else Cheddi and his followers may have in mind.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,940939,00.html#ixzz1G792sd7J>

British Guiana: Independence Ahead

Friday, Nov. 26, 1965



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,834718,00.html#ixzz1G7Ci5wpk>

After 162 years of colonial rule, British Guiana will soon be going its own independent way. In London last week, following 17 days of talks with Guianese leaders, Colonial Secretary Anthony Greenwood announced that the small South American colony will gain its independence on May 26, 1966.

Perched on the continent's northeast shoulder, British Guiana has a lot going for it: major bauxite deposits, rich timberlands, a benign, well-watered climate for rice and sugar cane. Yet until a year ago, it was all London could do to maintain law and order, let alone grant independence. Under rabble-rousing Marxist Premier Cheddi Jagan, British Guiana's 295,000 East Indians and 190,000 Negroes were engaged in a vicious racial feud that only the presence of British troops prevented from becoming outright civil war. Then in new elections last December, Negro Attorney Forbes Burnham came to power, formed a coalition government, and put the colony back on the road to progress.

Jagan continues trying to stir the old racial fires, went so far as to boycott the constitutional conference. Burnham merely ignores him, and with Finance Minister Peter D'Aguiar, head of a small multiracial party, has helped work out a constitution that offers the hope of a prosperous, stable and democratic future. Elections will be held under a system of proportional representation. To broaden the government base even more, the Prime Minister will be required to consult with the opposition on such matters as key appointments in public service and the judiciary. Guyana, as the new nation will call itself, intends to remain a member of the British Commonwealth—and hopefully join the OAS family of hemisphere nations.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,834718,00.html#ixzz1G7CnVbwS>

Guyana: Under Five Colors

Friday, June 03, 1966



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,835717,00.html#ixzz1G78aFJnl>

Near the speaker's stand in Georgetown's Queen Elizabeth Park, Negro Prime Minister Forbes Burnham threw both arms around his bitterest enemy, the Marxist ex-Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan. Moments later, the lights dimmed, a band struck up God Save the Queen, and in solemn midnight darkness the Union Jack, which had flown over British Guiana for 152 years, slid slowly down the pole—to be replaced by a new five-color (green, red, yellow, black, white) flag. Thus—with the Duke and Duchess of Kent looking on as Britain's official representatives—did the tiny, oven-hot colony mark its independence last week and start life anew as the nation of Guyana (pronounced guy-an-uh, meaning "land of waters" in an Amerindian dialect) and as the 23rd member of the British Commonwealth.

As it embarks on nationhood, Guyana has plenty going for it: rich bauxite deposits, extensive timberlands, and an excellent climate for rice and sugar cane. But it may have even more going against it. Fully two-thirds of the country's 83,000-sq.-mi. land area is being contested by its neighbors, Venezuela and Dutch Surinam. It has a chronic and crippling lack of skilled manpower and cash. It has critical unemployment, now more than 20%. It also has Cheddi Jagan. As a rabble-rousing Premier between 1961 and 1964, Jagan not only wrecked the colony's economy but also triggered a violent racial feud between his 320,000 East Indian followers and the 200,000 Negroes who support Burnham.

With 173 persons dead and thousands injured, Britain finally clamped on a state of emergency two years ago, and shrewdly called for new elections under a system of proportional representation. As expected, Jagan lost out to a coalition government headed by Burnham. Since then Burnham has tried to blur the country's color bars by setting up what he calls a "consultative democracy." He appointed a multiracial Cabinet, began conferring regularly with various racial groups, and did his best to form a color-blind government.

Last week Jagan was biding his time. Under Britain's terms of independence, Guyana will keep a contingent of British troops till October and remain a constitutional monarchy for three years, with Queen Elizabeth as its head of state. Then voters will elect a new government and decide by referendum whether they want to become a republic. With the East Indian population growing far faster than the Negro segment—and thus producing more voters every year—Jagan hopes by election time to have the added racial support he needs to beat Burnham. Burnham's only hope is to chip away at the old color blocs and broaden his following. He is confident he can, but only the next election will tell.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,835717,00.html#ixzz1G78f8lJa>

Guyana: An Easier Way

Friday, Dec. 27, 1968



Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,900447,00.html#ixzz1G7CGZF BW>

The threat from the left in South America need not always be suppressed by armies. It can often be met as easily and more democratically at the ballot box—as the coastal republic of Guyana demonstrated in its general elections last week. Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, who has ruled a shaky coalition since Guyana ceased being British Guiana in 1966, won a clear majority after the votes were counted. His opponent was Dr. Cheddi Jagan, who switched from dentistry to politics and for a time after independence ran British Guiana as a devoted Marxist. He hailed Fidel Castro as the century's greatest liberator.

Arson and Rape. Tiny Guyana (83,000 sq. mi.) is a rarity among South American nations. Like Jagan, about 51% of the population of 700,000 is descended from East Indians who were indentured by the British decades ago to work the sugarcane fields. Another 30%, like Burnham, has ancestors who were Negro slaves imported for the same purpose. The remainder is an olio of whites and aborigines, who are called Amerindians to distinguish them from East Indians. About the only tie that Guyanans have with the rest of South America is a long-standing border dispute with neighboring Venezuela. Guyana's political battles have always been joined on ethnic lines. As Prime Minister of the colony, Jagan more or less ignored the social justice that he had long preached. His favoritism toward the Indians finally touched off a three-year vendetta between blacks and Indians that resulted in riots, arson, looting, rape and murder. In 1964, British troops moved in to stop the slide into chaos. Though Britain then introduced proportional representation in the unicameral 53-seat National Assembly, Jagan's Progressive People's Party continued to hold the largest single bloc. But Burnham outvoted and succeeded him as Prime Minister by putting together a coalition of his People's National Congress Party and a smaller conservative group called United Force.

Ribbons and Rocks. The U.S. preferred Burnham to the Marxist Jagan. In three years, it provided \$43 million in aid funds, which allowed the Prime Minister to build 380 miles of highway, rural water-supply systems, 61 new schools and an educational extension program. Campaigning for re-election earlier this month, Burnham could brag of decreasing unemployment as men went to work on new projects. He ostentatiously cut ribbons for a 44-mile stretch of highway near Guyana's capital, Georgetown, and a \$3,600,000 terminal building at the capital's airport. To make doubly certain of victory, however, Burnham shrewdly pushed through legislation allowing Guyanans living overseas, who are mostly Negroes, to vote by absentee ballot for the first time. Of 36,745 who did, 34,429 supported Burnham. Jagan, meanwhile, was bombarded with oranges, tomatoes and rocks while waving a copy of Arthur Schlesinger's thousand-day account of the Kennedy Administration and crying: "Here I have proof that Burnham sold out to the Yankees!"*

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,900447,00.html#ixzz1G7CMny00>

GUYANA: Magic Majority

Monday, Dec. 22, 1980



More election-day heroics

Industrial production is declining, consumer goods are in short supply, and political repression is mounting. That is not usually the kind of record that keeps incumbents secure in office. Yet in Guyana, President Linden Forbes Burnham, 57, felt more than confident that his 16-year-old regime would be returned to office in this week's national elections. As he boasted to cheering supporters of his People's National Congress party, "We are the only [party] that can produce for ourselves a 75% majority after the votes have been cast."

Indeed. Since coming to power after Guyana gained its independence from Britain in 1966, Burnham, an Oxford-trained lawyer, has often been accused of rigging his own election-day heroics. Critics claim that in 1973 he padded his first post-independence victory with the votes of 70,000 dead or nonexistent people. Guyana's army seized the ballot boxes after initial returns seemed to be turning against Burnham. When the results were announced a day later, he had won a satisfying two-thirds majority.

Under a new constitution that Guyana's rubber-stamp parliament approved in October, Burnham gained virtually limitless authority as President and Commander in Chief. Nonetheless, he called for another show of support—specifically, 75% of the electorate. Opposition candidates were not allowed to see a list of eligible voters, even after the government blithely removed more than 111,000 names, or about 20% of the electorate. There are accusations that other names have been added, including those of victims of the 1978 Jonestown massacre.

Burnham has engineered substantial flows of Western aid (including \$47 million pledged in the past four years from the U.S.) by warning against the perils of a victory by his Communist rival, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, 62, who was Guyana's Premier between 1957 and 1964. Particularly helpful was a \$125 million credit line approved by the International Monetary Fund last July. Burnham has also sought favor with African and Communist bloc countries by nationalizing 80% of the Guyanese economy, including bauxite mines once owned by Alcan and Reynolds Metals. Although Guyana still has close relations with Cuba, Burnham promptly dispatched his fraternal greetings to Ronald Reagan after the U.S. election. Says Cheddi Jagan's American-born wife Janet, "Burnham has cards all over the place. He is totally amoral politically."

Burnham may be playing his cards recklessly, however. Production of sugar, rice and bauxite has fallen by nearly 30% this year, while corruption and black marketeering are rampant. Despite campaign harassment, a more broadly based movement called the Working People's Alliance has replaced Jagan's People's Progressive Party as Burnham's main opposition. Three W.P.A. activists have been killed in the past year, including one of the group's leaders, Historian Walter Rodney, 38. W.P.A. members blame the deaths on Burnham sympathizers and have

urged Guyanese to boycott this week's vote. Since the government has excluded the new group from the ballot, Burnham's supporters are confident of a landslide victory. "These elections are not really for us," a member of the government told a Western diplomat last week. "They are for you."

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,924608,00.html#ixzz1G722eBoV>

Power At Last

Monday, Oct. 19, 1992



It took 39 years, but at the age of 74, Cheddi Jagan finally made it. Long an avowed Marxist, Jagan has been contesting elections in the South American nation of Guyana (pop. 751,000) since 1953, when it was a British colony. He claims to have won several but says he was kept from serving out his mandates by British or American CIA machinations or by vote fraud. Last week he won yet another vote, and this time the loser, President Desmond Hoyte, urged Guyanans to accept the result and allow Jagan, who now supports free-market policies, to become head of state at last.

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,976789,00.html#ixzz1G7Bsc6y>

Time Magazine's # 8 of 16 of History's Most Rebellious Women



Janet Jagan, Guyana

For Chicago-born Janet Jagan, the vibrant labor struggles in the mid-20th century of her own country were not enough. After falling in love with Cheddi Jagan, a Guyanese dentistry student at Northwestern, Jagan followed her future husband, with Lenin's writings in hand, to his homeland in 1943. Setting up shop as a dental assistant, she set out on a path that would lead to her becoming Guyana's first female President. In 1946 she and her husband founded the People's Progressive Party, which sought to promote Marxist ideals as well as decolonization from the U.K. In the late 1940s, the Jagans inspired strikes by domestic workers in what was then referred to as "British Guyana." The movement attracted the ire of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who put the Jagans in jail. But Janet Jagan proved to be a political survivor, remaining in the game despite various attempts to purge her from leadership posts. An impolitic p.r. campaign singing the praises of the Cuban revolution in the 1960s attracted the attention of John F. Kennedy, who in turn targeted Guyana's labor unions. Relegated to the sidelines after a leftist government flopped in the 1960s, Jagan took to the pages of the *Mirror* newspaper, becoming its editor. By the time she was elected President in 1997, the country had achieved the independence from Britain that she had sought and had nationalized much of its economy. —Daniel Fastenberg (March 8, 2011)

Read more: <http://www.time.com/time/photogallery/0,29307,2057714,00.html#ixzz1G7GZI4qq>