

THE THINKER

Volume 12

January - June 2025



Photo taken at a symposium at the University of Guyana on the contributions of Dr. Cheddi Jagan to education in Guyana

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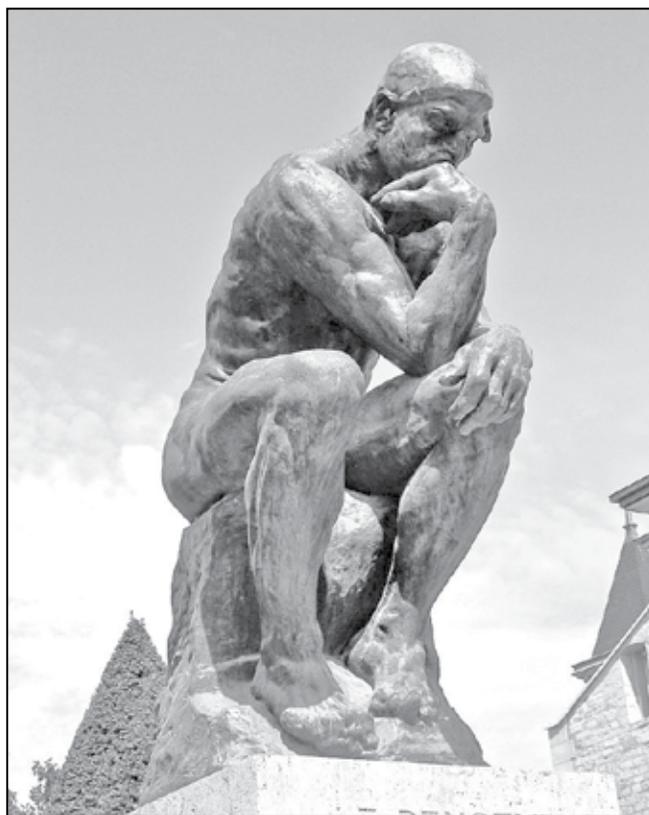
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The Thinker (French: Le Penseur) is a bronze sculpture by Auguste Rodin.

EDITORIAL

It is unfortunate, disappointing, a shame and a serious indictment the entire world must bear responsibility for the Editorial of this publication having for the THIRD successive issue, lament on the continuation AND worsening of the war still raging between Russia and the Ukraine, and the genocide taking place against the Palestinian people.

It has been said before but necessary to repeat, the NATO would stop at nothing short of depleting Russian resources with the ultimate intention of destroying it as a re-invigorated economy, despite the sanctions imposed on it by the West.

However, there's another dimension introduced onto the conflict, from the most unexpected source: President Donald John Trump. Before his election President Trump boasted that he "would settle/solve the Russian/Ukrainian war in the first day of his Presidency, before he even entered the White House". Thirty nine days after assuming the Presidency, Trump and Ukrainian President Zelensky had a meeting in the White House, and the world witnessed the shameful spectacle that transpired.

Tempers have simmered since then, Trump has bullied his way into lucrative Ukrainian minerals deals, after threatening to step away from its efforts at mediation efforts to bring an end to the continuing three years conflict.

At the time of writing, Turkey is proposed at the venue for Zelensky and Putin to meet to discuss cease fire with Trump to attend.

The other war zone has descended into genocide, being perpetuated by Israel on a daily basis on the Palestinian people. Instead of cease fire discussions, Israel has over the past weeks, emboldened by the support it continues to receive from specifically the USA and its allies in the West, has now resumed the prevention of food aid to the starving Palestinian people. Children are scrounging in garbage heaps trying to find scraps to eat. Babies are dying and mothers and fathers are starving themselves so that their children can get even half a meal from time to time.

And while all this suffering, starvation, homelessness and hopelessness and rampant diseases throughout the Palestinian occupied areas, Israel is bombing those still living resulting in deaths of countless innocent men, women and children, on a daily basis.

WHEN WILL THE WORLD WAKE UP AND DEMAND THAT THE GENOCIDE TAKING PLACE COME TO AN END?

"Murderous blood flow in Israeli arteries" says the grandson of former Israeli Prime Minister, Menachem Begin.

When will the sacrifices of those like Rachel Corrie, the young American who went to Palestine to defend the Palestinians and was crushed by an Israeli bulldozer, cause the consciences of people throughout the world to be aroused to the extent that they would demand that the injustices being allowed to continue unabated against a virtually defenceless people, come to an end?

When will the Arab world STOP sucking up to the allies of Israel and take decisive measures to bring the sufferings to the Palestinian people to an end?

Time is NO longer on the side of the Palestinians.

It is the fervent hope of The Thinker that by the time the next issue is published, the Palestinian people would be existing in a much safer, secure, happier environment.

Now, there is a conflict between two nuclear armed nations, India and Pakistan.

Hopefully good sense would prevail, armed conflict would cease, the two neighbours continue to talk, and the long existing dispute came to an agreed and acceptable end, and lasting peaceful co-existence be established.

Closer to home, Haiti continues to bleed with marauding gangs controlling most of the country, despite the attempts to bring stability, calm and reconstruction. Security forces from some Caribbean countries, and farther away from Bangladesh, Benin and Chad pledged personnel at one stage or another and currently the police force from Kenya, parade the streets in Haiti to bring back some order to the country.

It is imperative for CARICOM to continuously have the need for the stability of Haiti high on its agenda.

Trinidad and Tobago recently held elections and the twin island Republic had a change of government, with The United National Congress (UNC) winning 26 of the 41 Parliamentary seats. Its leader the 73 years old Kamla Persad-Bissessar is now the Prime Minister for the second time since elected the UNC's leader in 2010, and still the only female Prime Minister of the republic.

The Thinker extends very best wishes to the government of Trinidad and Tobago.

In our own Guyana, beyond all logic we still have the belligerent neighbour to our West laying claim to our ESSEQUIBO, rich in minerals, agriculture, forests, animal life and water ways. They are now absurdly talking about having elections for a governor (sic) in May of this year, despite world wide criticism AND the International Court of Justice (ICJ) the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, that settles disputes between nations, ruling that NO such elections must take place.

It should be emphasised that the boundaries between Venezuela and now state of Guyana were settled in 1899, by an International panel of experts.

It is hoped that good sense would prevail and Venezuela refrains from its bellicose attitude, and rejoin the league of nations interested in justice and allow GUYANA to continue its unprecedented economic march into the future.

HABEMUS PAPAM !~! WE HAVE A POPE

In the midst of all that has been happening in the world, Pope Francis, after a prolonged illness, went to the great beyond.

The consensus was that His Holiness was a Pope for the helpless, the poor and those in need. He was renowned for his humility and modesty.

His successor, the first American (with dual Peruvian nationality, also a first), who has chosen to be known as Leo XIV, has given the impression that he would follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, Pope Francis. The Thinker hopes that he would be able to persuade world leaders to pursue genuine peace throughout the world, for the benefit and happiness of all mankind.

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'Janet Jagan – Freedom Fighter of Guyana'

A biography by Patricia Mohammed

A Review by Rachel Manley

In the Caribbean spring, a green time for the region's political development, there were few names that shaped the basin's consciousness that did not come from a colonial history. Names like Eric Williams, Cheddi Jagan, Grantley Adams, Norman Manley, Alexander Bustamante, VC Byrd and T A Marrison. But among that group there was one name that didn't. The name was Janet Jagan—an American-born Jewish woman, widely considered at the time to be a Communist, who had influenced Cheddi Jagan, her British-Guyanese husband whom she met while both were studying in the United States.

As a child growing up, I had heard of the Jagans but had a different impression of Janet. My grandfather, Norman Manley, and my grandmother Edna revered the Jagans as fellow warriors for Caribbean independence and freedom, as the islands worked to lift the heavy yoke of their colonial past. My grandmother was a friend of Janet. They had met in 1949, both foreign born white wives (though my grandmother considered herself a mulatto) who saw culture as an imperative part of national consciousness in their husbands' political drive towards self-determination. I have often wondered if arriving as outsiders of different nationality, race and culture, Edna in 1924, and Janet in 1943, they were able to see the notable absence of features that would identify the Caribbean in their local arts which in colonial days reflected far more of England than the rich Caribbean landscape or its developing island characteristics. After all, not only countries get colonised; minds do too.

Patricia Mohammed's meticulously researched work describes how Janet, happiest working behind the scenes, started out as an arduous party organiser and fighter for women's rights, reluctantly entering the public arena as co-founder of the People's Progressive Party, Georgetown City Councilor, and Member of the House of Assembly. After the Jagans' five-month confinement to prison, in 1957 Janet became Minister of Health Labour and Housing, and finally democratically elected Prime Minister and later that year President, after her husband's death in 1997

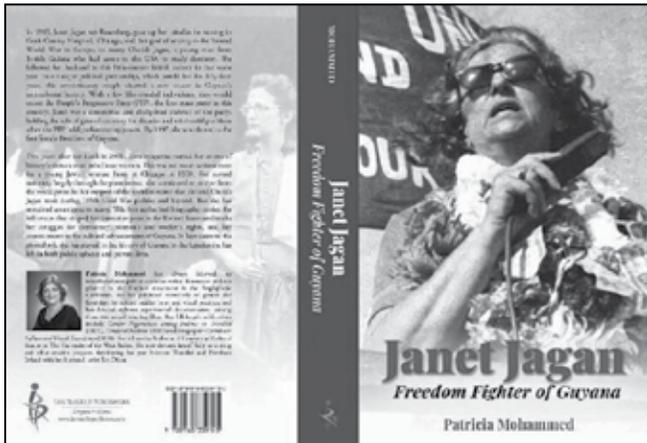
So who was this American woman who the US government banished after she became a Guianese



citizen and then, many decades later, was described by American journalist Robin Wright, in *The New Yorker* as a formidable example of women like Hillary Clinton in their own drive to grasp political power. In fact Janet Jagan was first to break the glass ceiling as an American when she was elected Guyana's President in 1997.

What were the influences that drove this steadfast socialist and champion of the poor and disenfranchised in her husband's country. These are the questions Mohammed has gone to great pains to answer, in a story that reveals the ways in which the struggle for self-realisation in those days was as much against American neo colonialism as it was against the crumbling British colonial system.

Could an author write a biography of Janet Jagan without the presence of Cheddi overwhelming Janet's story? Well Mohammed has managed to separate Janet from the couple's common cause. The story is structured to aim and keep a laser sharp focus on Janet. An initial look at its list of contents, mostly chronological, reveals chapters that not once mention Cheddi Jagan. The author paints a compelling portrait of Janet as a woman who is an ardent party organiser and activist; whose personal strength and conviction



speak from a light within, a light probably inspired by the Fabian socialist influences of her youth. Janet was conscious of deep social inequalities in the country of her birth which cried out for social justice. Mohammed shows how Janet's experience growing up in Chicago as a Jew gave her an empathetic understanding of what it is like to feel discriminated against and excluded; to be society's underdog.

Without ever diminishing the powerful, altruistic role of Cheddi Jagan, the author has managed to almost seamlessly extract the essence, often by difference, of Janet from the complementary kinship of the marriage, revealing a character less gregarious, less stellar perhaps in the sense of shying away from the limelight, but more meticulous. An editor and journalist, she was perhaps initially more comfortable with the cultural and cerebral, but she became equally passionate about then British Guiana and its people and future, about achieving peace and democracy. In a land deeply divided by history into two racial groups, Janet and Cheddi were fighting the good fight through democratic partisan politics, on behalf of all their country's races. It is a great irony that from her background as a minority, in her new land she would one day be facing and fighting officially-sanctioned proportional representation partly initiated by the US in her adopted country.

Janet's early ardour was far from being just a phase of youthful protest. Revealed here is an extraordinary woman who moves from the richest country on earth to one of the poorest, embracing her husband's family and culture with humility and grace, and imbibing both the beauty and misery of his land with sensitivity and intelligence. Janet immersed herself in the culture and politics of Guiana, recognising the great problems faced by a majority of its people, always responding by seeking practical solutions.

Perhaps the most powerful chapter of the book and the most moving for me personally, is "Sentenced to Jail" in which, after the 1953 suspension of the British Guiana's

constitution, many were jailed over time including Janet and Cheddi.

Janet's time in prison is described without drama by the author and equally dispassionately in the notes left by Janet which are lovingly transcribed by her daughter Nadira. In the biography of a woman bound up in politics, the focus is on her public life. But here in prison where a quiet and simple routine provides Janet with welcome time to read and think, one feels poignantly her devotion to her son whom she misses. During this time her son Joey celebrates his fifth birthday without his mother, but Janet writes him a few stories that will be the beginning of a series of children's morality tales reflecting the flora and fauna of Guyana that she will continue writing for her children and grandchildren and the children of Guyana for the rest of her life. Those stories are a metaphor for Janet – the visionary who would watch a nation grow as one would children, learning the stories and values that, rather than borrowed from other cultures, reflect the truths of home. She might be midwife to Guyana's Independence, but birth mother to her children and the stories she writes for them.

When Janet arrived in Guyana in 1943, the Caribbean was undergoing initial upheavals in protest against the British. Mohammed describes the conditions of rural Guiana that so spoke to Janet's sensitivities—the brutal poverty, lack of the most basic infrastructure and the stifling disadvantage of women in a patriarchal society. Janet's interest in the USSR political system and later visits to Russia were all in pursuit of working examples of equality for women. That system, despite its infringement on political or democratic freedoms, had granted equal status to women in the workplace and in this regard must have seemed an attractive model to Janet.

It is impossible to understand the story of Janet without the historical context of the Cold War and America's almost paranoid fear of anything Socialist which it interpreted and propagandised as communism. Within the reach of the American Eagle's neo colonial claws, Janet and her husband Cheddi would be characterized and victimized and eventually imprisoned for using a socialist model to provide equal opportunities for men and women, education and medical care for all, and welfare for the needs of the vulnerable and neglected. This paranoia affected many of the Caribbean islands whose early activists were often labeled Communist and even imprisoned despite the fact their emerging political parties were largely shaped by democratic theories.

I came away from this book with much more than knowing the historical details of Guyana which in different ways mirror its ex-colonial neighbors in their fight against poverty, violence and injustice as they too

struggled for their political self-determination. This biography fills in many gaps in understanding a region whose histories have not always been fully recorded. But I had just one disappointment; a question that has always puzzled me remains unanswered. A cursory look at the Index revealed no mention of the Caribbean federation, January 1958 to May 1962, and why Guyana chose not to join the union. It is reminiscent of Belize where George Price saw his country's destiny tied to the mainland of which it was a part. I have always wondered if the Jagans had a similar vision of their nation's destiny. As a journalist and diary keeper, most dear to Janet Jagan was a record of her adopted country's history and its cultural sovereignty. She was an obsessive informal archivist who studiously saved and filed every possible record of Guyana's living history and whose attention to her husband's legacy would preserve his memory after his death in 1997. She would have been relieved and proud to know that decades later an equally meticulous historian and gifted writer, Mohammed would in her research find and use this extensive material in weaving her story and the story of modern Guyana.

Martin Carter, the Guyanese poet, contemporary and friend of Janet, in one of his protest poems describes

the Caribbean imperative: "My course is set. I give my sail the wind/ to navigate the islands of the stars/ till I collect my scattered skeleton/ till I collect..." ...from a destructively fragmented colonial past defined by slavery and then by indentured labor. Mohammad's work here is an important step in that process. What will resonate long after its reading and our understanding of this renaissance woman who is its hero, is a sense of that intangible goodness that seeks to unite the divided, to lift the powerless, house the homeless, educate the illiterate and care for the elderly, the young and the vulnerable. This goodness, as typical of Fabian Socialist ideology as it is of Christianity or any of the humanitarian movements through history, is represented by Janet Jagan. Mohammed's life of Janet reminds us that social generosity has no nationality or gender, no specific theology or political persuasion. It is just a human instinct of good people to help their neighbors, and by extension the larger society that's being built. And Mohammed has honored this superbly.

Rachel Manley is a Jamaican writer and academic.



Rachel Manley is a Jamaican writer in verse and prose.

Will President Milei be awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics for destroying the Argentine Economy?

March 25—In his classic textbook *So, You Wish to Learn All About Economics?*, Lyndon LaRouche, the world’s foremost physicaleconomist of the last century, explained the requirements for candidates to be considered for the Nobel Prize in Economics:

“Since the Nobel Prize for economics was established, no candidate has been elected except that his ‘principal work’ in the field flourishes with abominable incompetence, and also until the incompetence has been affirmed by some national catastrophe somewhere caused by adherence to the doctrine.”

By all rights, Javier Milei, the circumstantial President of Argentina, is now a serious contender for the Nobel award.

His proud achievements in his first year in office (he was sworn in on Dec. 10, 2023), as reflected in official statistics published by INDEC (National Institute of Statistics and Censuses), include the following (see Figure 1):

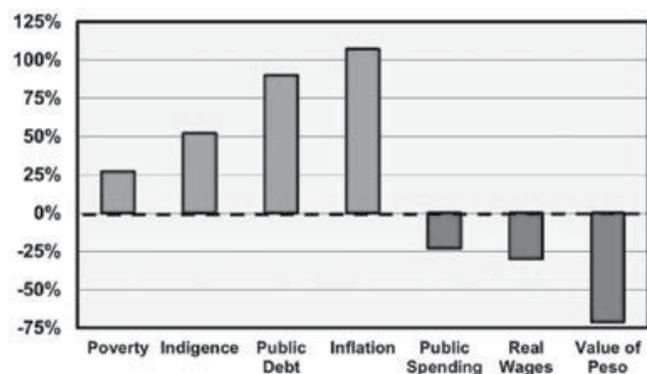


FIGURE 1
Argentina: What Milei Achieved in a Year
(index 2023 = 100)

- Increasing national poverty by 27%, and indigence (extreme poverty) by 52%. At the end of 2024, 53% of the population, or 25 million people, were poor; 18% were indigent. Child poverty (0-14 years old) stood at a shocking 69% of that age group.
- Increasing the public debt (as a percentage of GDP) by 90%.
- Increasing inflation by 107%, from an already impossible 118% annual average when

Milei took office in Dec. 2023, to a truly hyperinflationary 245% a year later.

- Cutting the federal budget by 23% overall, especially in the areas of social services and pensions (education spending was slashed by 42%; science and technology by 33%; transportation by 55%) – all in order to meet the demands of the IMF and international creditor banks to ensure debt service payments above all.
- Slashing average real wages by 30%.
- Imposing a “shock therapy” devaluation of 54% on his third day in office, followed by monthly devaluations of 2%, which left the peso worth 72% less at the end of the year. This unleashed a tidal wave of inflation in the country, which played a major role in driving millions of Argentines into poverty—exactly as intended.

And 2025 to date is looking even more “successful” for Milei’s banker-dictated measures.

To enforce such Schachtian policies, Milei has taken recourse to police-state measures of repression against protesters—including defenseless pensioners—under the bloody hand of Security Minister Patricia Bullrich. Perhaps worst of all, Milei reversed the previous Argentine government’s commitment to join the BRICS, which offered a workable alternative of development, infrastructure building, and rising living standards, based on cooperation with the nations of the Global South. That decision, announced on Dec. 29, 2023 (less than three weeks after Milei took office), has left the country with no visible alternative to the genocide now being executed by our prospective winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics.

In fact, Milei was put in office and is being widely promoted internationally for the purpose of turning Argentina into a bloody example for any nation, whether of the North (such as the United States), or of the Global South, that may be considering breaking out of the Wall Street/City of London straitjacket—as Argentina itself did under the consecutive governments of Néstor Kirchner (2003-2007) followed by the two terms of his

widow Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007-2011 and 2011-2015).

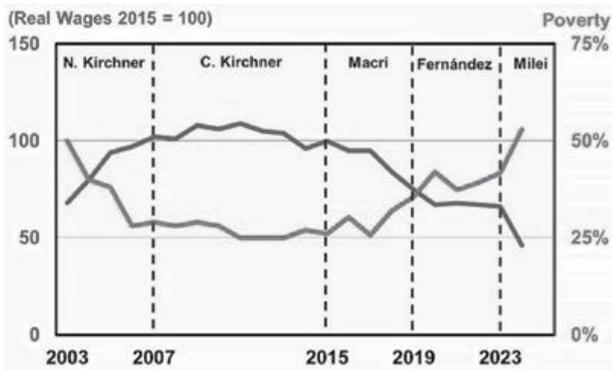


FIGURE 2
Argentina: Wages and Poverty

As can be seen in Fig. 2, during the 12 years of the governments of the Kirchners, who fought tooth-and-nail against the IMF and Wall Street, and built significant infrastructure to industrialize the country, average real wages rose noticeably.

Taking 2015 as an index of 100, wages rose from 68 in 2003 to 100 in 2015, a 47% increase. The bankers got back in control with Mauricio Macri, who applied straight neo-liberal economic policies from 2015-2019, and succeeded in cutting real wages by 25% in four years. Alberto Fernández, who had been Chief of the Staff in the first Kirchner government, lacked the willingness to fight shown by the Kirchners, and barely held the line against the banks, with real wages dropping another 12% down to less than two-thirds of what they had been at the end of Cristina Kirchner’s term. Then, under Milei, real wages have been slashed again, and now stand at only 46% of what they were back in 2015.

The trend of the poverty rate is, not surprisingly, nearly a mirror image of what happened with wages.

The poverty rate dropped by nearly half, from 50% to 26% of the population during the Kirchner administrations, and then the Macri government drove the poverty rate

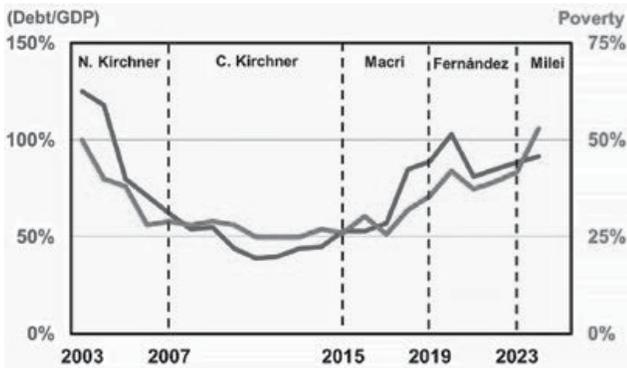


FIGURE 3
Argentina: Poverty and Debt

back up to 36% in just four years. Under Fernández, poverty rose from 36% to 42%. And then when Milei came in, poverty skyrocketed back above 50%, as previously noted.

The public debt, domestic and foreign, is the mechanism that the bankers use for the looting process whose results can be seen in these graphs. As Fig. 3 shows, when the debt was deliberately reduced during the Kirchner years, and all dependence on the IMF ended, it became possible to invest in development, and poverty fell as a result. When the Argentine public debt increased, by demand of international bankers, then poverty rose with it.

The Theory: ‘Abominable Incompetence’

Javier Milei pronounces himself an “anarcho-capitalist” and a strict adherent of the Austrian school of economics, that is, the followers of Ludwig von Mises and his student, Friedrich von Hayek. Their theory is straightforward, and should hardly be described as “economics.” One adequate summary would be: “greed is good.” The argument is, that, if the state or any other authority would just get out of the way (or be removed), then individuals will each pursue their own personal benefit, and in this way society will be better off. This is sometimes referred to as “laissez-faire” capitalism, and its advocates include Adam Smith (with his “invisible hand”), David Hume, Jeremy Bentham, and in more modern times, Milton Friedman.

But the actual root of this argument traces back to the Anglo-Dutch “philosopher” Bernard de Mandeville (1670 -1733), whose Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Public Benefits, argues shamelessly that everyone should be allowed to just let it rip and enjoy his vices to the maximum, and a spontaneous order of society will result. Jeremy Bentham (1747-1832) merely repackaged Mandeville with some additional sophistry about a hedonistic “felicific calculus” to maximize pleasure and minimize pain, to come up with various treatises whose titles include “Defence of Usury” and “On Pederasty.” Von Mises, Milei’s hero, praised Mandeville for “point[ing] out that self-interest and the desire for material well-being, commonly stigmatized as vices, are in fact the incentives whose operation make for welfare, prosperity and civilization.”

Wherein lies the axiomatic flaw?

Freedom and libertinism are not the same thing—even though adolescents often confuse the two. The State has a proper role to play in a society concerned with progress and development, which is to serve as the organized expression of the Common Good, or what the

Founders of the United States referred to as the General Welfare in the Constitution.

This is especially critical in economy, especially in controlling the issuance and direction of credit toward productive, not speculative activity.

The fact that some States are imperfect, or that corruption occurs and mistaken policies are also adopted, does not justify the elimination of the State and its role in the economy. That only serves to hand everything over to the financial Establishment, who then end up controlling the financial system while the duped population whoop and holler about how they are now finally “free.”

The image of Javier Milei brandishing a chainsaw with which he intends to chop the State down to size, is taken straight out of the outlook supplied by Mandeville’s Fable of the Bees.

Lyndon LaRouche provided a succinct interview on these matters which was published on June 20, 2010 by the Swiss website The Daily Bell, self-described as “A Daily Compendium of Free-Market Thinking.”

Question: What do you think of free-market thinkers and the Austrian economic school?

LaRouche: Implicitly, the school is a fraud in fact, and a disaster in effects.

Question: What do you think of marginal utility?

LaRouche: The dogma of an irrationalist form of late Nineteenth-Century cult.

Question: What do you think of Adam Smith?

LaRouche: He is disgusting.

Question: What do you think of von Mises’ great work, Human Action?

LaRouche: It is a childish concoction.

The Practice: ‘National Catastrophe’

Javier Milei campaigned for the presidency brandishing a chain saw at rallies, with a savage gleam in his eye, to indicate what he planned to do to government

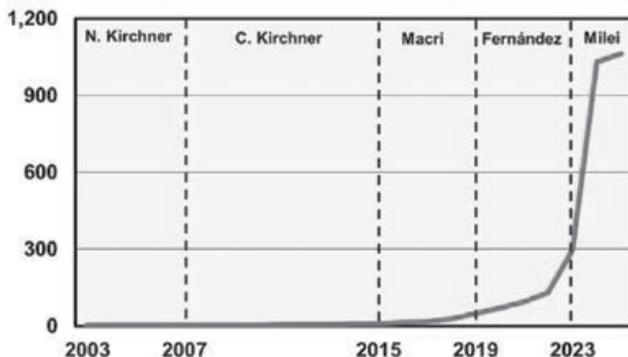


FIGURE 4

Argentina: Pesos per Dollar

spending—and to the lives of Argentines. When he was sworn in as President on Dec. 10, 2023, he hit the ground running and severely devalued the peso by more than 50%, as the international banking community had long been demanding. The results are shown in Fig. 4, which shows the peso-dollar exchange rate over the last two decades.

On the issue of the budget, Milei repeatedly swore that he would free the Argentine people from the “omnipresent state,” which he vowed to do by dismantling the country’s important social safety net for the population, privatizing all state-run companies and institutions, and shutting down state-financed infrastructure projects. He insisted that he intended to rip the federal budget to shreds. “This is no time for gradualism, no time for weakness,” he said in one public address.

The long-term collapse of the national budget shown in Fig. 5 provides the context for Milei’s Nobel Prize-worthy achievements on this front.

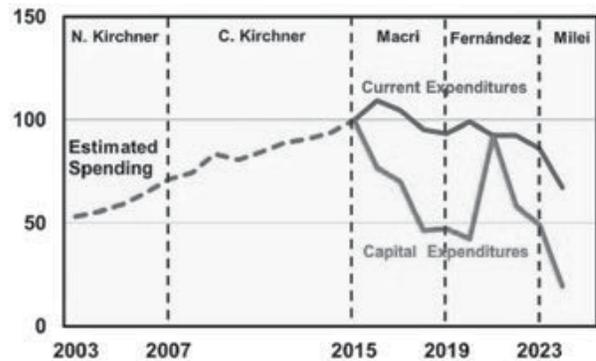


FIGURE 5

Argentina: Government Spending

(constant pesos, 2015 = 100)

Using the year 2015 as the base year of 100 to index constant peso expenditures, we see that current expenditures declined gradually (14%) under both Macri and Fernández. But when Milei came into office, as promised he slashed current spending by more than 28% in one year, down to two-thirds of the 2015 level. (That same INDEC time series was unavailable for the period 2003-2015, so for purposes of comparison we generated an estimated total government budget index for that period, based on a different time series of budget spending as a percentage of GDP.

Although not strictly comparable, it does provide useful context for the period of 2015 to the present.) But it is in the capital budget category, which is the most critical for investments for the future growth of the economy, that we see the real savagery of the neoliberal policies. Macri cut the capital budget by a whopping 53%; and then Milei kicked the legs out altogether, bringing the

capital budget down to less than 20% of what it had been in 2015.

This cuts directly into the areas that once made Argentina one of the developing sector nations with significant industrial and scientific capabilities, in areas such as nuclear energy and space exploration. This history, still fresh in the minds of many Argentines today, made it doubly important for Wall Street and the City of London to push Argentina over the cliff into indigence and servitude to the financial Establishment, to make it an example and reminder for any nation also sharing that commitment to progress.

By the end of 2024, Milei had managed to generate a 1.8% fiscal surplus—achieved by gutting pensions, paralyzing public works, reducing subsidies, and freezing wages of state sector workers. Speaking to reporters on Jan. 11, 2025, IMF Managing Director Kristalina Georgieva lavished praise on Milei’s economic program as “the most impressive in recent history.”

In a Dec. 29, 2024 interview with Forbes, Milei spoke about what comes next. “We’re going to continue removing regulations. We’re going to advance with our agenda of privatizations and deepen labor reform.” He explained: “The chainsaw was the first phase. We made a first big [budget] reduction and now comes deeper things which isn’t just deregulating and getting rid of these [regulatory] obstacles but implies a bigger reform of the State which means making it even smaller.”

Once the labor reform is completed, he added, a pension reform will follow. This on top of the gutting of pensions already achieved over the course of 2024, which resulted in a third of all retirees, a half a million people, becoming newly poor in 2024. According to Argentine press accounts, in October of 2024, a minimum pension was 21% lower in real terms than it had been a year earlier. Programs that provide free medication to seniors have also been terminated.

And all of this, to please “the markets”—i.e., Argentina’s City of London and Wall Street creditor banks, and the IMF policeman of the current speculative trans-Atlantic financial order, all of whom have plenty of “skin in the game.”

The role of the IMF in the Argentine debacle is particularly noteworthy. It is not the case that it holds the largest part of Argentina’s foreign obligations—that distinction falls to the country’s bonded debt holders:

foreign banks, vulture funds, and other predatory creatures which follow the Mandeville/Milei laws of the speculative jungle—but it is a policy bellwether. As Fig. 6 shows, Néstor Kirchner’s government inherited a debt to the IMF of over \$15 billion, and in the middle of a life-and-death battle against the vulture funds that had

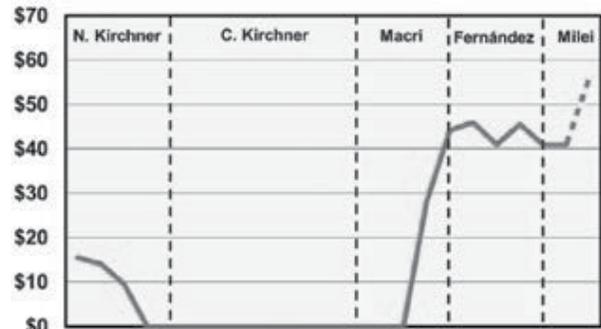


FIGURE 6
Argentina: Debt Owed to the IMF
(billions of dollars)

descended on Argentina, he decided to pay off the IMF debt in full, in order to reduce Argentina’s vulnerability to policy pressure from that quarter. When banker-boy Macri became President, he took out a walloping total of \$44 billion in loans from the IMF—with which he paid off the full pound of flesh that the vulture funds had been screaming for, and which served as the principal source of the \$86 billion in capital flight that left the country between 2015 and 2019, according to official figures provided by the BCRA (Central Bank of the Argentine Republic).

Fernández held off the creditor wolves and the IMF as best he could, with debt to the IMF dropping slightly to \$41 billion—which is where it stands today. Argentina is, by far, the IMF’s #1 debtor, representing 28% of all IMF debt.

But it won’t be stable for long. Javier Milei, who campaigned and entered office swearing repeatedly that he would never, ever increase Argentina’s indebtedness, in March 2025 has now applied to the IMF for a loan in the range of \$10-\$20 billion. The broken line in Fig. 6 reflects a possible increase of \$15 billion, a halfway point of what Milei is looking for.

Former President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner wrote a pointed open letter to Milei on March 9, 2025, in which she noted sarcastically: “Your Austrian School experiment failed you, you’re drowning because you lack dollars, and you’re throwing in the towel by asking the IMF for a loan.”

Epilogue: Crazy, Crazier and Craziest

Who in his right mind would promote Milei’s Argentina as a model for any country, let alone the U.S.? BlackRock’s Larry Fink; DOGE budget-slasher Elon Musk; Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent; and more— that’s who.

Even his biggest fans and promoters recognize that Javier Milei is crazy—his nickname in Argentina is “el

loco.” For example, Milei owns five cloned dogs, which he refers to as his children, and he claims to speak regularly with their long-dead progenitor, Conan, who, he says, provides him guidance from the afterworld. Milei has named four of Conan’s clones after Austrian school luminaries: Milton (in honor of Milton Friedman, Nobel laureate), Murray (in honor of Murray Rothbard, the founder of anarcho-capitalist economics), Robert and Lucas (both named after Robert Lucas, Jr., Nobel laureate).

Yes, Milei’s relationship to his dogs is flat-out crazy. Crazier still is his magical belief in the Austrian school of

quack economics. And craziest of all are those who, in the U.S. and elsewhere, would take Milei as a model for the kinds of policies that should be imposed in the U.S.



Javier Milei and Elon Musk hold a chainsaw during a meeting of the U.S. 2025 Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in February.



Dennis Small - Ibero-America Editor, EIR, The International Schiller Institute

Cheddi Jagan's Passion and Commitment to the education of his people and his ultimate legacy, The University of Guyana (UG)



Let me recognize the presence of our former President Mr. Donald Ramotar for being here, some members of the Jagan family - Barbara, Clive, and others; let me recognize, Captain G. Govia, my colleague from Mc Gill University, Professor C. Madramotto and the VC of the University of Guyana Professor P. Mohamed. Let me also recognize the presence of my fellow panelists, Dr. Emmanuel Cummings, Dean, Faculty of Medical Science, UG. Mr. Hydar Ally, Chairman of the Cheddi Jagan Research Centre Board, Mrs. Yasho Rampersad, and Mrs. Indra Chandarpal of the Cheddi Jagan Research Centre, and I do owe them a debt of gratitude for supporting my work.

To members of the academic community, distinguished leaders, politicians, other scholars, friends and students, a warm welcome and thanks for coming out on Friday afternoon to hear from us. I am hopeful we will also hear from you on the anniversary of the birth of our former leader Comrade Cheddi Jagan (March 22nd, 1918, born) and our first Premier in colonial British Guiana (1953-64), our fighter for Guyana's freedom and independence from British colonial rule and also for removing the tyranny and tragedy of the former President Burnham's PNC rule over Guyana for 28 years. Let me say Comrade Cheddi, our nationally loved, regionally and globally respected statesman was President of an Independent

Guyana when he made a remarkable return to power in October 1992 and served the country to the time of his death, 6th of March 1997.

There is so much that can be said on Cheddi's tremendous contribution to Guyana's development, but I will focus my remarks today on Cheddi's transformational role in the development of the educational sector of Guyana - one of his passions.

Introduction

I've always given thanks and praise for my early, superb education in Guyana (Leeds Government School - No. 51 Village, Corentyne and then to Queen's College, Georgetown- 1962-69) but must confess that my training and experiences since that time as well as my Guyanese birthright, have made me what I am and on quiet reflection, I think, a nationalist and a regionalist at heart, having worked and lived at the Regional UWI in Trinidad for more than 40 years! "The Guyana El Dorado, best of all the world to me" which I sang with gusto at QC as a young choir boy, has never left me in spirit, in my hopes and aspirations for a better country, despite all the difficulties this country has faced. Those who know me in Trinidad often heard me sing "Guyana Babu", when it was not popular in those days, and to their great

amusement. So, I am here, like I think, most if not all of you, to pay tribute to our first Premier and well-loved leader, Dr. Cheddi B. Jagan "A man of the people and for the people." I'm indeed fortunate that in one's lifetime I can have the opportunity to express one's gratitude to a political leader who impacted our lives in so many ways. But as Professor David Devideen wrote in his book "Politics matters more when politicians subscribe to an ethos embodying high moral, spiritual and cultural values that inform sound governance. In some, politics matters when we can see and experience such values in effective leadership by those who lead us."

Cheddi Jagan, as I reflect, was the leader of our generation and the founder, everlasting face of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), for 50 years. He was inspirational, often with a thunderous, fiery voice, steadily challenging us intellectually. In my early youth, I knew him like most Guyanese on the political platform at Number 64 Village on the Corentyne, adored and adorned by us, and then later in my professional life, at the University of the West Indies (UWI) I got to know him a bit more personally. He was a very humble, charming gentleman, and not only a nationally but regionally and globally respected statesman.

At the time of his death, I was moved to write a tribute to him in the Indo Caribbean Review. In this paper, my concluding line was "The deeds of men are known and usually assessed in time, by history and after their passing. Cheddi Jagan was judged by us in life, he was Guyana's hero, loved and revered by the children of Guyana."

The principal reason I'm here this afternoon is to reflect on Cheddi's most stellar contribution, which was to the education and training of his people, not only for their personal advancement, but in building an independent, prosperous, progressive, and united Guyana. "One Guyana" as our current President Dr. Mohamed Irfaan Ali has labeled- a Guyana that reflects the motto of the PPP, "Peace, Progress and Prosperity." I ask how many young people today can quote this? Hopefully, all of Guyana can.

National Development and Education - His philosophy & vision

Cheddi's hopes for the education of his people went far beyond the functionality and transmission of knowledge so as to facilitate the multiplicity of skills needed to advance a country's development. The philosophy of his goals for education, expressed explicitly in 1993, were noble and reflective of the unique leader that he was. "It is not too much to say that the quality of a nation's life, the values people cherish and live by, people's capacity

to recognize truth, deal honestly, and strive for justice and to rise above themselves in pursuit of common national goals is a direct reflection of the quality of education to which people have been exposed and in which they have imbibed."

The above vision and hopes of his were in fact an expression of who he was and the values he placed and expressed also for himself as a leader- one that was shaped by his own experiences, his primary and early secondary education in Rosehall/Port Mourant and then in 1933 to Queens College in Georgetown, and at Universities in the U.S- Howard in Washington (1936-38), Northwestern University in Chicago for Dental studies (1938-42), and interestingly and simultaneously at the YMCA College in the Loop (Chicago), pursuing a BSc degree focusing on subjects such as Physics Economics, Political Science, Philosophy and Sociology. He graduated in 1942 with both a Doctor of Dental Surgery DDS degree and a BSc degree respectively. Cheddi himself was in search of a broad-based, more liberal and progressive education as the academic path he chose reflected his growing interest in social justice and global affairs complementing his training in Dentistry. Cheddi, a trained dentist, reflected on his studies as follows- "My education was not so liberal, that it was lacking in many important respects. I became conscious that I was being trained to become nothing but a glorified technician and craftsman, and this is in Dentistry. And while I liked what I was being trained for, I did not know enough of what was happening around me and, in the world, outside." He reflected on Queen's College, which he attended, "There was no civics, economics, political science philosophy, sociology." Again, he said, "Because I had a good memory and I wanted good grades, I had specialized in the exact Natural Sciences." This sadly was my own experience at Queens and especially so, at the UWI, an institution (initially The University College of the West Indies (UCWI)) founded on British colonial values in 1948 and shaped by The University College of London (UCL). This was especially so where my education in engineering was straight-jacketed, and I can say the same for my colleagues who were studying Medicine. It was about knowledge to develop functionality and not broad enough for national or regional building. One more suitable to personal development rather than altruism, associated with the professions at that time. Nevertheless, students like myself at the UWI and at that time (1969-72) developed strong regional bonds of communication and friendship that last to this day.

Cheddi's thoughts on the broad goals of education for the colonial and post-independence era of Guyana were inspiring. While the world has changed since that time- one that is being shaped today by globalization,

trade and migration, multipolar tensions, conflict and oppression of the weak, the new “Trumpism” that is being unfolded each day as we speak, thus the need for the broad, liberal education of our people, in my humble view, is even more compelling today. I sincerely hope that our leaders of today can consider these values of our founding leader of the PPP and Guyana and reflect on the need for change to the content and outcomes of our education in our Schools, Technical Institutions, Universities, etc, (while maintaining the quality and standards of specific disciplines of study). Thus we can build a nation reflective of Cheddi’s values and one where our graduates can navigate a very complex, challenging world.

Building the foundation of the educational system

In the late 50s & 60s, Cheddi, as Premier of Colonial British Guiana, tried to educate us on his world view using the political platform. I can attest from his writings and other published works, Cheddi’s contributions to transforming the educational system and providing significantly more access to the sons and daughters of Guyana to kindergarten, primary and secondary schools and to Queens College and Bishops High, the latter schools for the exclusive and privileged in particular. It was an exciting time for us, that is the late 50s and early 60s, as Cheddi was creating opportunities for all of us especially those from rural, distant and neglected communities, outside of Georgetown. Not privileged people, but those with a hunger for education and training so as to escape the bondage of hard labour and poverty and to also contribute to building a prosperous Guyana, our Eldorado, one without the oil and financial windfall of today.

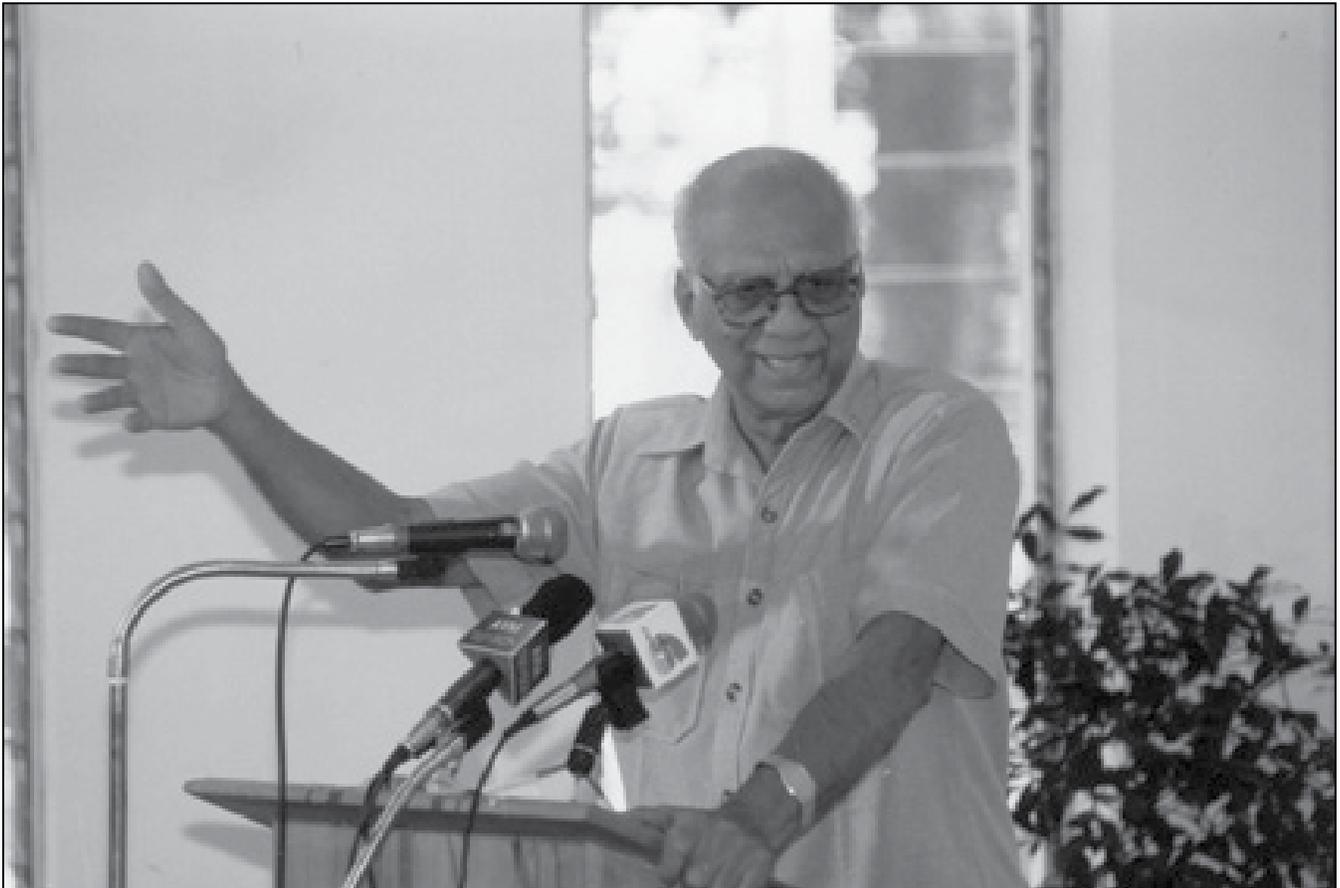
This was an inspiring and hopeful time (50s/60s/70s) for me as through Cheddi's actions all of us, and I say this humbly, my brothers and sisters attended Queens and Bishops in Georgetown (at great sacrifice to my beloved parents of 64 Village, Corentyne). Cheddi noted that in that period up to 1964, “Government secondary schools increased from 2 to 10, the number of secondary school scholarships increased from 12 in 1952 to more than 200 in 1963, and scholars were given preference of entry to the best high schools, Queens and Bishops in particular. The number of teachers who received training increase from 30 per year to 150 and we planned by 1970, every teacher in public/private school would have received training.” The Government introduced the Pre-Service and In-Service Teachers Education Programme which were hailed throughout the Caribbean and in 1963, nearly 500 teachers were receiving training in British Guiana.

I can share with you that in 1959, my eldest brother passed the County Scholarship Examination, and was one of three Berbician students to go on to Queens College. Cheddi later introduced the free-place scholarship system based on meritocracy and thus, I was one of a few who attended Queens College (1962) and Bishops High School, from rural Corentyne, Berbice. This was the beginning of change, with meritocracy trumping privilege and to open up free Secondary Education in then British Guiana.

I can continue that even after the neglect and the decadence of the 28-year rule of Guyana and the trials and tribulations the country faced over that time (1964-1992), on Cheddi’s (after Forbes Burnham and his PNC) return to power in 1992, as President, he reengaged with vigor in his passion and drive to reconstruct and grow the educational infrastructure of Guyana. I thank my friend (who was centrally involved as an engineering professional) for sharing the following information- “Construction of nineteen new primary schools and three educational institutions in Guyana (including the CPCE) under the Primary Education Improvement Programme, Phase 1, financed by the Government of Guyana and the IDB. Rehabilitation and extension of sixteen primary schools in Guyana under the Primary Education Improvement Programme, Phase II, financed by the Government of Guyana and the IDB. Construction of fifteen new primary schools under the Primary Education Improvement Programme, Phase III, financed by the Government of Guyana and the IDB, 1997-1999. Condition survey and preparation of budget estimates for the emergency repair and extension of sixty secondary schools in Guyana under the Secondary Schools Reform Project (SSRP), Emergency Repair Schools Project, financed by the Government of Guyana and the World Bank. Rehabilitation and extension of eleven secondary schools in Guyana under the Secondary Schools Reform Project (SSRP), Pilot Schools Project, financed by the Government of Guyana and the World Bank.” The neglect of education in Guyana under President Burnham is illustrated by these statistics which demonstrate the reconstruction that needed to happen in 1992 with the PPP’s return to Government.

Tertiary education and the creation of a National University - The University of Guyana

I wish to speak on the second educational legacy of Cheddi Jagan beyond primary and secondary education for which he had laid a solid foundation i.e. tertiary education and the creation of the national University of Guyana (UG). This was the foremost educational passion of his in the early 60s. Despite the daunting



circumstances of that time, The University of Guyana's ordinance was passed by the Senate on March 18 and by the Legislative Assembly on April 5, 1963. On Tuesday, October 1, 1963, the University of Guyana was born, with classes starting on Wednesday, October 2, 1963, in the evening at Queens College in Georgetown. Cheddi drove the UG establishment with his vigor and personal determination.

At that time of its creation, UG was disparagingly referred to by many as "Jagan's night school" as it was his creation and first located at Queens College in Georgetown. I was at Queens College at that time, my first academic year there (1962/63) and one that was interrupted by the violence at that time in Georgetown! Despite the negativity, Dr. Harold Drayton, UG's first Deputy Vice Chancellor wrote "that from among 680 applicants, to the first UG class, 179 students were accepted: 149 men and 30 women, 102 from Georgetown and its environs, 77 from rural areas, 81 civil servants, 54 primary and secondary school teachers, and 44 others. The average age of these first-year students was 25." Cheddi was providing the opportunity for Guyanese who were hungry to have a university education but could have never afforded this. The University of Guyana was born and was his very determined creation and to become a lasting legacy.

UG began its Faculties of Arts, Social Sciences, and Natural Sciences with an impressive listing of academic leaders: Chancellor Edgar Mortimer Duke (Guyana Scholar and eminent Jurist), Vice-Chancellor Lancelot Hogben (UK), Deputy Vice-Chancellor Harold Drayton (Guyana), an impressive Board of Governors, outstanding Guyanese, and a listing of academics from overseas and Guyana of good academic pedigree, passion, and promise. Some of them I knew from my years at Queen's College.

The foundation for the University of Guyana was built on a solid academic platform led by Cheddi with the knowledgeable support from his first Senior appointments and his able Minister of Education Senator Cedric Nunes. In his speech at the inauguration of UG, Cheddi Jagan concluded as follows: "I have stressed the function of the University of Guyana to provide the skills and higher education necessary for the economic development of the country, and I have alluded to its role in developing and defining values in our society." He further noted that with the advent of UG: "Every child born in the remotest settlement in the interior or in the farthest village on the sugar estate should have a real opportunity to reach the highest position in the land. The highest position in our society must no longer be the preserve of the rich and the wellborn. By bringing university education within the reach of everyone, we have laid the foundation for

the establishment of democracy in our country." He concluded by noting that: "The creation of UG will foster development of a national consciousness and a national identity and through this Guyana can become the great nation we would all like it to be." This is Cheddi Jagan's foremost legacy in the field of education. He was the first Caribbean leader to create a National University, the University of Guyana, in 1963. This was the prelude to British Guiana exiting the UWI- one of the seven founding members of the UWI (then UCWI) which was then centered at the Mona Campus in Jamaica.

I am aware that the College of Arts, Science, and Technology (CAST) was formally recognized in 1964 in Jamaica, and this later became the University of Technology, Jamaica. The University of Suriname, the forerunner to Anton de Kom University, was established in 1968. The University of Belize was established in 2000, and the University of Trinidad and Tobago was established in 2004. Cheddi Jagan was a visionary leader ahead of his time in meeting the broad, tertiary educational needs of his people.

British Guiana- withdrawing from the regional UCWI (UWI)

British Guiana, under Cheddi, was bold enough to withdraw from The Regional UWI in Feb 1962 and this move was especially impactful as British Guiana was one of its founding members. The country had sent by 1963, a limited number of its outstanding sons and daughters to the UWI. But Cheddi Jagan did not find enough satisfaction from UWI as too few Guyanese students were being trained at too high a cost. By creating a National University, UG, this unsatisfactory state of affairs would be corrected. It has!

My interest as a Guyanese, a UWI alumni, and a University Professor and a leader at the University of the West Indies at the St. Augustine Campus in Trinidad, for so many years, has always been to have a better insight into the establishment of the University of Guyana and concomitantly with Guyana's withdrawal from the University of the West Indies. This illustrious institution (UWI), whose reputation was derived from an early association with University College of London (UCL), was built upon a colonial platform but one that allowed for a solid professional education, initially in Medicine (Jamaica) and then in 1960 in Agriculture and in 1961 Engineering at the St. Augustine Campus in Trinidad.

Thanks to the support of the Cheddi Jagan Research Center, these early insights of mine have revealed what Cheddi Jagan has always said, and in fact, said to me: "that UWI was an expensive institution for Guyana and for the few privileged who attended there at Mona,

Jamaica. Firstly, Cheddi noted that he could educate multiple times more Guyanese at a national university like UG." Drayton noted the fact that despite a substantial contribution of \$3,331,456.00 to the recurrent expenses of the UCWI during the period 1948 through 1961, only 41 graduates (from a total of 97) had returned to serve British Guiana. These telling statistics lay the basis of why Dr. Jagan was not happy with the cost of Guyana's contribution to the UWI and the benefits Guyana was receiving in return.

Secondly, he was concerned about UWI's colonial, conservative nature and traditions, which did not allow for the free thought and thinking necessary for the independence and development of our countries. He wanted, at that time, what could be considered a progressive University. Despite separate personal interventions in 1963 into Guyana from two illustrious West Indian Statesmen, Prime Minister Eric Williams of Trinidad and Tobago and then Premier Errol Barrow of Barbados for British Guiana not to leave the UWI as a full contributing member, Cheddi was not persuaded. It appeared that in 1962 the UWI was willing to establish a College of Arts and Sciences in Guyana. This was a tremendous offer as it would have brought the UWI into Guyana creating the third campus of the University after Mona and St. Augustine. However, British Guiana did not find favor with this proposal, nor did the analysis inform accordingly. Cheddi wanted a completely autonomous College of Arts and Science in British Guyana modelled after the American Collegiate System rather than that of the United Kingdom. The Minutes of these meetings were fascinating for me to read with consensus that while UWI had developed an excellent reputation for quality it was in need for restructuring with for example the UWI providing more professional education like Medicine with the West Indian countries providing a feeder for this through their own autonomous Colleges of Arts and Sciences. Prime Minister Williams "felt sure that in trying to establish a National University of Guyana, the Government of British Guiana would find that they have bitten off more than they can chew."

As I reflect on these developments during a very difficult time in Guyana (BG), I cannot help but admire Cheddi's determination to create the UG. This was a time of great turbulence in Guyana, 1962/1963, was often described by "strife and strikes" driven by US interest, with the conniving Forbes Burnham of BG and Duncan Sandys, the Colonial Secretary of the UK at that time. The ultimate goal of theirs was to remove Cheddi and his PPP Government; they succeeded in 1964! Despite all the challenges of the time, UG was established by Jagan, who was passionate about a national University for the people of Guyana, not one defined by the University

College of the West Indies- the regional UWI.

Jagan was intimately involved in seeking assistance to build the leadership of UG with academics of proven competence and reputation as he would have described, “progressive academics”, those whose thinking aligned with his. He was intimately involved in the planning of the University of Guyana even in the midst of the political storm surrounding him. Professor Harold Drayton, one of his academic lieutenants, who he had recruited, provided insightful details in his book on the establishment of UG. Jagan's creation of the University of Guyana is, to my mind, his proudest legacy in education, aimed at nation building and providing education to the highest level for all the peoples of Guyana, who were hungry for tertiary education, irrespective of race or class.

But Cheddi was not finished- his vision for Berbice campus of UG on his return to power in 1992 was fulfilled by then President, Dr. Bharrat Jagdeo. The Berbice Campus of the UG was formally opened on November 19th, 2000, at Tain on the Corentyne by President Jagdeo.

Post this presentation and very recently, the current President of Guyana, Dr. Mohamed Irfaan Ali announced that expansion of programmes at the Tain Campus, Berbice for e.g in Medical Sciences, Pharmacy, Dentistry, Engineering and Oil and Gas, especially so for Region 6 students. This announcement of his on professions/skills that are desperately needed for the advancement of today's rapidly developing Guyana, once more fulfills Cheddi's vision and a hope for the National University to meet its key role in enhancing tertiary education in Guyana. I applauded the President for this announcement and the strengthening of the National University of Guyana. We have thus witnessed three Presidents, Jagan (the architect), Jagdeo, and now Irfaan Ali, building the capacity of the National University and now including the provision of tuition-free education at UG. I often reflect, where would Guyana be today in terms of meeting the pressing needs of its people for a university education without the establishment of UG in 1963? In this regard, Cheddi was a visionary, a West Indian leader well ahead of others at that time.

Concluding remarks

As I conclude on this anniversary of the birth of our founding leader, former President and Premier of our beloved Guyana, his legacy in education continues. I am happy to witness the steady growth of our educational institutions, particularly the building of modern, inspiring secondary schools like the Abram Zuil School on the Essequibo Coast and the recently commissioned expansion of J.C Chandisingh Secondary School in Port Mourant by the Hon. Minister Mrs. Priya Manickchand. President Ali had said that “Education has been used as an equalizing force towards societal improvement.” Cheddi's vision continues on what we must never fail to do i.e to support our national university, the University of Guyana for nation building. This which he created in 1963 with great commitment, drive and passion despite the severe challenge of that time, and one that one year later, 1964, saw him and his PPP party removed from Government. As a University Leader myself, it is incumbent that the National University, UG, also responds and fulfills Cheddi's legacy.

I thank you.

**Prof Clement K Sankat,
Professor Emeritus and Past PVC Campus Principal,
UWI, St. Augustine, Trinidad.
Now Director, GTTCI Tain, Berbice.**



Professor Emeritus Clement K. Sankat is the Director of the Guyana Technical Training College Inc. (GTTCI) in Berbice. Professor Sankat is a Chartered Engineer and a former Pro Vice Chancellor and Principal of the St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad, of the University of the West Indies (UWI) and the former President of the University of Belize. A former student of Queen's College, he is well trained in Engineering with a BSc (Hons), MSc in Mechanical Engineering from the UWI and a PhD in Food/Agricultural Engineering from University of Guelph in Canada. He was a former Head of Dept., Dept. of Mechanical Engineering and Dean of the Faculty of Engineering at the UWI. For the past 20 years, he has also been a leader in University administration and for his work, both in and out of the University, he has been recognized widely including receiving the UWI Vice Chancellor's Award for Excellence, Guyana's National Award, the CCH, and an Hon. Doctoral Degree from the University of New Brunswick, Canada.

Arrival Day – A Celebration of Diversity



All Guyanese celebrate Arrival Day on May 5th. This important national holiday honours the arrival of our indentured ancestors to British Guiana and reminds us of their strength and contributions. After the British Parliament passed the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, a system of indentureship began to address the expected labour shortages from the end of slavery. The Act took effect on August 1, 1834, requiring formerly enslaved individuals over the age of six to serve as apprentices for five to seven years.

Plantation owners, facing a labour shortage, sought new sources of cheap labour, which led to thousands of indentured labourers coming from countries like India, Portugal, and China. Many were attracted by promises of work and better pay, but they faced exploitation and difficult living conditions. Arrival Day not only marks the start of this migration but also celebrates the diverse cultures that have developed from it, representing the shared history and spirit of the Guyanese people.

The initial group of Portuguese immigrants reached British Guiana on May 3, 1835, aboard a ship named "Louisa Baillie." This marked the beginning of a significant influx of Portuguese migrants, with approximately 32,216 Portuguese individuals moving to British Guiana over the subsequent fifty-five years. Nevertheless, the arrival of the Portuguese did not resolve the labour shortage on the sugar plantations, which were crucial to the colony's economy. The demand for workers continued to be high, highlighting the persistent challenges of labour supply in the colony.

In 1836, Sir John Gladstone, a British merchant and plantation owner, contacted the recruitment firm Gillanders, Arbuthnot, and Company to find Indian labourers for the sugar plantations in British Guiana. This firm had experience in labour supply and confirmed it could meet the demand.

In 1837, Gladstone took further steps to ensure his plan could proceed. He asked the President of the Board

of Control for India if there were any objections to bringing in Indian labourers. He received a positive reply, indicating there were no objections.

On April 29, 1837, Gladstone formally requested permission from Lord Glenelg, the colonial secretary at the time, to import workers from India. This was part of a larger strategy to solve labour shortages caused by the decline in enslaved labour after the abolition of slavery. After careful consideration, an Order of Council was passed in July 1837, allowing the importation of Indian laborers.

To prepare for this important task, the ship *Hesperus* left Liverpool on June 23, 1837. It aimed to pick up the first group of Indian labourers headed for the sugar plantations in Demerara.

Meanwhile, another plantation owner, Andrew Colville, also sought more labour. He sent the ship *Whitby* to Calcutta to recruit workers for his estates in the Berbice and Demerara regions. His actions showed the growing demand for workers as sugar production became crucial to the colonial economy. This marked the beginning of a significant chapter in the history of labour migration to the Caribbean and set the stage for the indentured labour system that followed.

The *Whitby* arrived in Berbice on May 5, 1838, bringing 150 labourers to the Highbury plantation. It then travelled to Demerara, where 99 more individuals disembarked between May 14 and 16, 1838. The *Hesperus* also played a role, delivering over 156 passengers who landed in Demerara between May 8 and 10, 1838.

The first Indian indentured immigrants reached British Guiana on May 5, 1838, marking a significant moment in the country's history. Nevertheless, the Indian indentured labour system soon faced numerous issues. The mortality rates on the vessels transporting indentured workers were high, and the severe working and living conditions sparked considerable outrage, which was heard back in India.

On July 11, 1838, the administrations of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay made the rare decision to halt labourers' departures by preventing ships from setting sail with prospective emigrants. This resolution was formalised with Act XVI on May 29, 1839, which banned overseas migration for manual labour.

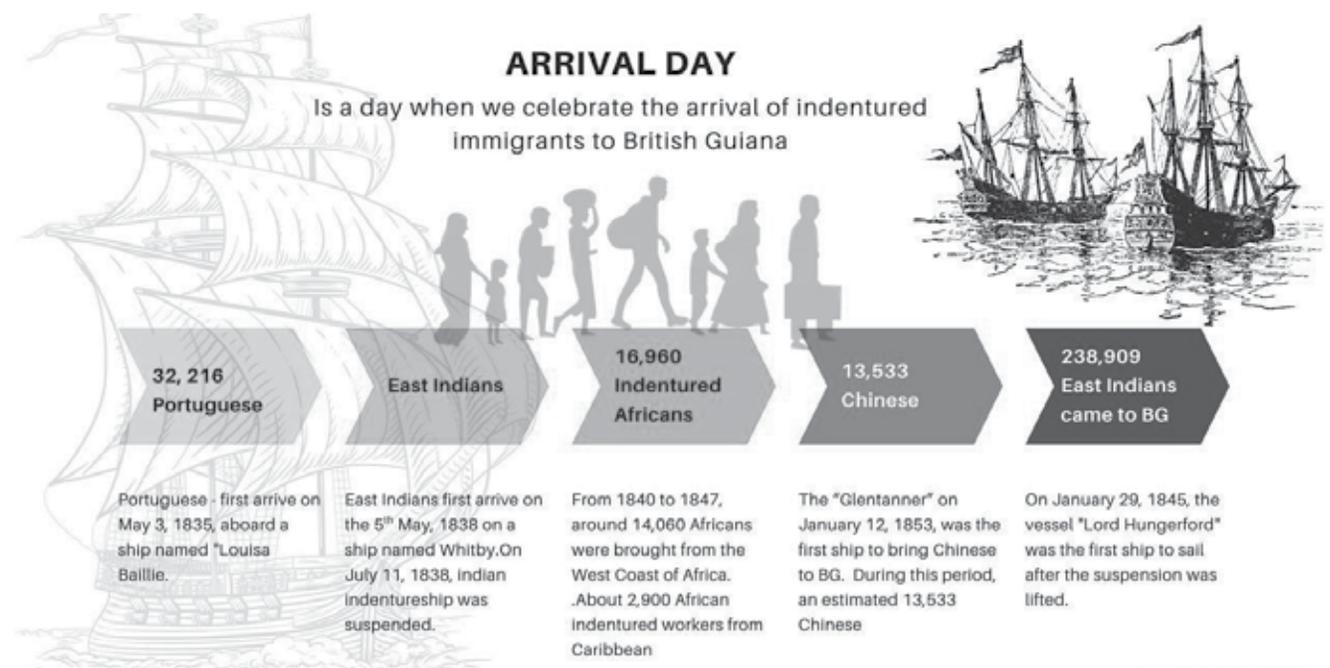
The prohibition on emigration was finally lifted after six years. On January 29, 1845, the vessel "Lord Hungerford" departed from Calcutta, carrying the initial group of emigrants to British Guiana. Between 1845 and 1917, 238,909 East Indians undertook the challenging journey to British Guiana in search of improved livelihoods.

During the six-year suspension of the "Coolie Trade," plantation owners struggled with labour shortages and looked for other sources of workers to keep their farms running. Between 1840 and 1841, the Voluntary Subscription Society imported about 2,900 African indentured workers from Barbados and other Caribbean islands. This move was part of a bigger plan to broaden the labour supply. From 1840 to 1847, around 6,718 Africans were brought from the West Coast of Africa, and that number grew to about 14,060 later. Efforts were also made to recruit workers from the Southern United States, but this resulted in only about 70 individuals,

showing the difficulties in finding labour from that area. With ongoing labour shortages, planters turned to Chinese indentured immigrants as another option. The first group arrived on the ship "Glentanner" on January 12, 1853, starting a significant flow of Chinese labour. During this period, an estimated 13,533 Chinese individuals settled in British Guiana.

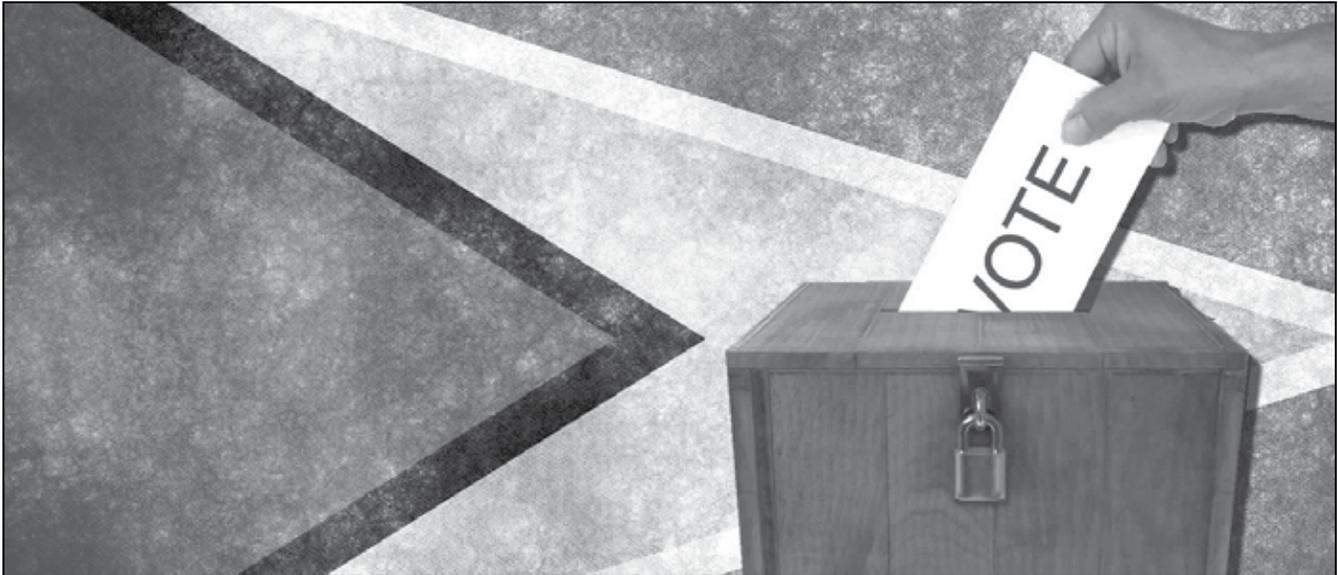
Between 1838 and 1918, about 429,623 Indians migrated to the Caribbean. This migration happened mainly because sugar plantations needed workers after slavery ended. Out of this group, 238,909 people went to British Guiana and helped build the sugar industry. After their five-year contracts were up, 66,140 of these migrants decided to return to India.

On May 5th, we remember our journey and honour the struggles, sacrifices, and successes of our ancestors. These strong individuals faced many challenges to create a better future for us. Their dedication to fairness, equality, and cultural identity helped shape modern Guyana. Let's be inspired by their important contributions in agriculture, education, and community building. Together, we can work towards a united and thriving Guyana that respects their legacy.



Dr. Frank Anthony is Minister of Health. He is a graduate from the Russian Friendship University in Medicine and has a Master's Degree in Public Health from the Hebrew University in Israel. He is a Member of Parliament and a member of both the Executive and Central committees of the People's Progressive Party.

Elections - 2030



YES!!!! YOU did read correctly - 2030 and NO, not 2025. The ship for 2025 has already sailed ---Vice President Jagdeo, months ago announced that the National and Regional Elections would be held in November of this year (December being the date by when, constitutionally, they must be held).

That being out of the way, I wish to share some thoughts, which I hope would engender debates.

By now, the world and Guyanese specifically, would know first-hand of the sordid events of March to August, 2020 when blatant, barefaced attempts were made to subvert the will of the Guyanese people AGAIN, by the PNC, now joined by the AFC and others of similar ilk, as they did continuously from the 1960's to 1992. On this note, I wish to repeat as I've noted in communication to the media in Guyana, and others that MY unwavering and firm conviction is that the PPP did NOT lose the National Elections held in 2015.

I remember vividly the discrepancies in the SOP's of the PPP and the declared results.

I remember the Region Seven seat being declared in favour of the APNU+AFC by ONE vote.

I remember the many requests being made for recount of ballot boxes, agreed to by the Chairman, then refused. After one of my letters on this, I encountered Dr. Steve Surujballi at Red House, and we had a short conversation on MY recollections. He attempted to "bamboozle" the issue and to put a swing to it, where upon I invited him to clear the air, from his "perspective". He agreed to consider that suggestion, but I've NEVER seen his response to MY version, publicly.

I remember the PPP finally, reluctantly ceding government WITHOUT even a hint of violent expression, as was and STILL IS the modus operandi of the PNC.

MY feelings are so strong on this matter that I invited the PPP (in a letter published in the print media) to withdraw the case that was filed since 2015, TEN LONG YEARS ago, and if ever heard and determined would have NO meaningful value other than academic. The PPP has three Commissioners on GECOM who can argue a case (TWO being lawyers) for the recounting of those twenty two ballot boxes, claimed by the PPP to have different votes than declared by the GECOM that gave the APNU+AFC "victory". This would prove conclusively who won the 2015 Elections. It would also save millions of dollars to procure new ballot boxes as it would "free up" those boxes (now probably rotting away somewhere) as well as millions being incurred to "secure/guard" these boxes.

I fail to understand how this suggestion doesn't make sense, EXCEPT that I'm the stupid one.

As I've said before, the elections due in 2025 would be contested towards the end of the year, so it's now too late to change the legislation for those elections. I, like so many other Guyanese at home and in the diaspora, and possibly many others of different nationalities, would be willing to wager that EXCEPT by some miracle, another party or alliance of parties, other than the PPP/C win the elections, all sorts of excuses would be forthcoming to claim irregularities and their supporters riled up to create disturbances.

I vividly remember THAT day at Ashmin's building when,

NOT ONLY GECOM's officials (anyone is free to guess who I'm referring to) but big wigs in the PNC tried their bullying tactics to force the fictitious declaration being made, thereby subverting the will of the Guyanese electorate.

Their spurious argument was that an election petition should be filed and heard, if ever, YEARS AFTER, which would have been a waste of time.

It was the brilliance of the PPP's legal and political brains, that succeeded in preventing such a catastrophe. Anyway, those matters are now sub judice and I cannot comment further on them.

Fortunately, the recount of the ballots was agreed to and after an exhaustive prolonged period, resulted in the PPP/C's victory. The Observers, mainly from CARICOM and certain Diplomatic missions present here, took principled positions including the threat of and actual sanctions by the US government which were the persuasive reasons for APNU + AFC relinquishing the reins of government. Fortunately, Guyana 'dodged the bullet' on this occasion.

I have absolutely no doubt that in 2025 due to the tremendous achievements of the PPP/C since 2020 they would once again secure a majority (some argue a larger one than in 2020) in Parliament and form the government.

The evidence of unprecedented and accelerated development over the past five years have succeeded in "boggling the minds" of Guyanese and mesmerising our neighbours and those wider afield. We are now the envy of our Caribbean and South American brothers and sisters.

However, since I'm reaching the end of my contribution to this edition of The Thinker, I'll share some thoughts on the 2030 elections, as the title of this article indicated.

I have a friend who has the political memory of an elephant coupled with the experience of a Head of State and who has been a voice "in the wilderness" preaching from the gospel of "First Past The Post". He is convinced that the re-implementation of First PAST THE POST SYSTEM OF CONDUCTING ELECTIONS IN GUYANA, would solve not only many of the problems we experience mostly during and especially AFTER elections, but many other persistent issues that plague us as a nation, such as racial and other suspicions.

As an aside he passionately supports his arguments by emphasises that when the system of PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION was imposed by the British on an unsuspecting Guyanese people, it was THE FIRST such imposition for any Commonwealth (British or not) country, and has NEVER after been the preferred or imposed system for conducting elections.

In fact, the UNITED KINGDOM itself, INDIA (often referred

to as the most populated democracy in the world) CANADA and the UNITED STATES (for Congressional elections) all have First Past The Post (FPTP) as their electoral system. One wonders why, if it was satisfactory for those countries, what was so unique about Guyana that Proportional Representation (PR) had to be "tested" here. Many are of the view that it was another instrument in the arsenal of the USA and the UK to prevent the PPP from winning the elections.

There are many valid arguments in support of and opposed to FPTP, and I'll make an attempt to give examples of both, but it's necessary to briefly indicate the basic differences in these two systems and how votes are translated to seats in parliament.

FPTP divides the country into geographic constituencies, each electing ONE candidate (by a simple majority) to represent that constituency in Parliament, whereas for the PR system the entire country is one constituency and parliamentary representatives are allocated to political parties according to the percentages of votes they receive, nationally.

In Guyana there is also a Geographic representation for each of the ten regions, which was introduced in the 1991 electoral reforms and fully implemented in the 2001 National and Regional elections, as an attempt to address direct representation, for the ten political/geographic areas of the country, called REGIONS.

It is posited that FPTP, allows the smaller geographic area, to elect MPs with whom they are familiar, and who can be removed for failure to adequately represent them in Parliament, UNLIKE the PR system in which the representative (or leader) of the list chooses the candidates for Parliament. It has been the experience that a candidate registered in one region can represent the electors in another region, sometimes in opposite ends of the country.

It is logical to assume that someone elected directly by the smaller geographic constituencies would be much more familiar with the localised issues, needs, priorities and expectations etc. of those areas, as against an MP "imposed" on them.

It is noteworthy to mention that in the FPTP, a candidate can be elected as a Member of parliament (MP) even though failing to secure an overall or absolute majority (51%) of the valid votes cast. In the scenario below, Candidate A can be elected with 40% of the votes as follows:

Candidate A - 40%
Candidate B - 30%
Candidate C - 25%
Candidate D - 05%

In a country like Guyana, with remote communities, relatively unstable connectivity, the ballots would be easier to produce and much more simple to understand, with the name of a candidate representing a political party (and possibly "independent" candidates) against the political party being on the ballot. The FPTP system enables not only a stronger constituency/member of parliament link, but also results in a much more dependable accountability mechanism.

The FPTP system has also been proven to ensure localised issues of concern to the constituencies are addressed in a far more timely manner, and if adequately discussed and explained tend to satisfy the majority of the communities' needs and priorities (eg. water supply as against a health centre, as one may relatively, not too far away).

For such communities/MPs interactions, it would be extremely useful if the MP is accommodated in State provided facility(ies) depending on the expanse of the Constituency.

Budget provisions and submissions to Parliament (motions, questions etc.) can benefit from such interactions.

Having said that, a serious argument for this system would be the timeliness of counting votes and determining the winner of the constituency (a majority of ONE is enough to declare a winner). The delayed declaration of the results in EVERY national and regional elections (2020 being the best and most recent example), at least since Independence has been the cause of so much widespread violence, deaths and destruction. Mechanisms can be included in the Laws of Guyana to recount the results whenever a person has won with 100 votes or less.

On the other side of the equation, PR it has been argued, with supporting evidence, often results in ineffective and weak coalition governments, and the necessity for more frequent elections. Such governments are often forced into compromises with smaller parties, with vastly differing ideologies, priorities etc. One example is Israel which had had FOUR coalition governments between 2015 and 2025, and a number of resignations and threats of same, for differences in policies and ideologies. Smaller parties make demands which are in

many instances agreed to, just to remain in government, principles and pre elections manifesto pronouncements conveniently abandoned. At this exact moment, the small right wing, hawkish elements in the government of ISRAEL are ensuring that the war in Gaza is not only continued but intensified, with the aim of eradication of the Palestinian people. A genuine case of the PR system NOT functioning in a democratic sense!! AND unstable government!!

This is also ample evidence of the PR system dividing a nation, and is exemplified more in nations which have multi religions, races, ethnicities, cultures, etc.

National issues such as peaceful co-existence are sacrificed on the alter of partisan ones, to the detriment of the nation as a whole.

However, proponents of the PR system of government, have contended that it is a more democratic system of electing a government, since the party with the largest number of votes form the government and the leader of the party chooses the executive. This is countered by the sometimes election of minority governments and their susceptibility to No Confidence Motions (Guyana 2018). Minority governments can be affectively avoided by the "run off" rule, as happens in some South and Latin American countries where ALL Presidential candidates face the electorate and if no one secures 51% or more of the votes cast, the TWO candidates with the highest number of votes, face each other in a "run off" elections, normally after a few weeks of the first, to decide the winner.

I have titled this essay, ELECTIONS 2030, since it is now too late for consideration to be given to a change in our electoral system for the elections in 2025. However, and more so with constitutional reforms on the agenda. with robust, meaningful debates, discussions, consultations at community and national levels (with even a Referendum) the issue can be ventilated in enough time to either implement changes agreed upon or continue along our now system of Proportional Representation.



Harry Narine Nawbatt was the Former Executive Director, Social Impact Amelioration Programme (SIMAP), Former Project Manager, Poor Rural Communities Social Services Project (PRCSSP), Former Minister of Works, Hydraulics and Communication & Minister of Housing and Water, Former Ambassador of Guyana to Brazil and High Commissioner of Guyana to Canada.

Farewell to José ‘Pepe’ Mujica – The Marxist Rebel who turned into the ‘World’s Poorest President’ to lead a nation

José ‘Pepe’ Mujica, Uruguay’s former president and a globally admired and respected statesman, died at the age of 89 on 13 May 2025. His passing was confirmed by President Yamandú Orsi, who expressed deep sorrow and gratitude for Mujica’s lifelong service to the country. Diagnosed with cancer in 2024, Mujica remained resolute and forthright to the very end, describing his illness with the frankness that defined his life. ‘A warrior has the right to rest,’ he said in what he knew would be his final interview. Born a rebel and made a statesman by the twists of fate and the tides of history, Mujica rose from the ranks of the far-left Tupamaros movement in the 1960s. That turbulent chapter of his life saw him arrested, tortured, and held in solitary confinement for nearly a decade. Yet, out of that darkness emerged a man not hardened by bitterness but softened by wisdom—a man who, upon the country’s return to popular and participatory democracy in 1985, chose politics as the means to change the world he had once fought with arms to reshape. He went on to serve as president from 2010 to 2015, governing with a deeply humanistic philosophy. Mujica championed progressive social reforms, promoting gay rights, championing marijuana policy reform, and advancing reproductive freedom. He simultaneously steered Uruguay toward environmental sustainability, with a strong emphasis on renewable energy and ecological responsibility. But it was not only what he stood for that captured hearts—it was how he lived those values every day. Even as head of state, Mujica refused to inhabit the presidential palace, choosing instead the modest flower farm he shared with his wife, Lucía Topolansky. He drove an old Volkswagen Beetle and donated most of his salary to charity. Such gestures were no political performance but genuine reflections of his belief that leaders should not distance themselves from the lived reality of their people. ‘Politicians should live like the majority, not the privileged few,’ he insisted. Tributes have poured in from across the globe. Mexican President Claudia Sheinbaum hailed him as



an example to the world, while Chile’s Gabriel Boric praised his astonishing optimism. Colombia’s Gustavo Petro, also a former rebel turned president, offered a poignant farewell. Mujica’s legacy, they all agree, is one of humility, hope, and unshakable moral clarity. He was more than a national figure—he was a symbol of a generation that fought to pull their countries out from under the shadow of reactionary and bourgeois dictatorship. Mujica’s journey from guerrilla to statesman echoed the complex evolution of his life: fractured, bruised, yet capable of immense transformation and grace. His life was living proof of the power of conviction, even when it demands great personal cost. Mujica continued to play a quiet but influential role in public life long after leaving office. He supported progressive causes, gave candid interviews, and never ceased to speak uncomfortable truths. Even as his cancer returned and spread in early 2025, he faced it with the same stoic humour and dignity that had defined his leadership. He never stopped fighting—but neither did he fear the end. In bidding farewell to José Mujica, the world loses not only a leader but a rare soul in global politics: someone who proved that integrity, modesty, and courage can still shape the course of nations. Uruguay will remember him as its most beloved president, and the world will remember him as the man who dared to lead not from above, but alongside his people.

Growing Closer Together: The Guyana-China Relationship



DOMESTIC POLICIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

China has made staggering achievements over the past 40 years. It accomplished the feat of lifting 800 million of its citizens out of poverty and of meeting the basic living needs of its 1.3 billion people within that period of time. These accomplishments do more than to signify that China elevates the rights and interests of its people above all else.

China's phenomenal industrial development in the 1990s and 2000s rested on a set of pillars that included enormous investments, the transfer and development of technology, production for export, low financing and economic wages. China's successes are attributed by some observers to the country's prolonged avoidance of warfare.

The National Congress of the CPC in 2012 set the goal of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020. GDP and per capita disposable income were doubled from \$4,500 per capita per annum in 2010 to \$9,000 in 2020. China's ambitions were to become a moderately well-off society by around 2020 and a fully developed, rich, and zero-carbon economy nation by around 2050. In July of 2021, Xi Jinping announced that China has realized its first centenary goal -that of building a moderately prosperous society.

The attainment of moderate prosperity is measured in aspects such as the economy, democracy, science and education, culture, society and people's lives. The reasons for this progress is that China's fundamentals

are strong. Its sound education system, political and social stability, low cost production, savings rate and economic coherence make China a formidable country over the long term. China, which has 17.5% of the world population, has contributed 31.1% to global growth over the past decade. China has proven that it is extremely adept at innovation, and is dominating the new technologies-carbon, renewables, nuclear, AI, 5G, electric vehicles and fast rail, leading to rapid technological advancement. Moreover, China is willing to share that technology in different parts of the world.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

At a global level, China has consistently advocated for a world that is universally prosperous and secure, to be attained through joint efforts and win-win cooperation. This is summed up in President Xi Jinping's call since 2007 for a "Community of Shared Destiny", that advocates for diverse poles of civilization achieving common progress. The Community of Common Destiny for Mankind gives the philosophical underpinning for a global community of human beings confronting global challenges unitedly and fostering one worldwide community with a common destiny. By this measure, a country should accommodate the legitimate concerns of others when pursuing its own interests; and it should promote common development of all countries when advancing its own development. Countries should establish a new type of global development partnership that is more equitable and balanced, stick together in times of difficulty, share

rights as well as shoulder obligations, and boost the common interests of mankind. The doctrine envisions partnerships that would endure through difficult times. Through this approach, China has been striving to be an anchor for globalization and world stability.

This preference for cooperation over confrontation is a break from the Cold War mentality, which has led to so many conflicts between traditional and rising world powers in the past. Its progressive and timely vision thrusts China above the outmoded thinking of zero-sum games. This is the likeliest pathway toward solving the world's hot button issues, foremost being to establish a stable relationship with the West, particularly with the United States. China's cooperation policies have also been shown to support integration in other regions, including Africa, Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean, and to push for economic development while seeking stability in Asia.

THE BELT AND ROAD

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is central to China's initiative to expand opportunities for the Chinese people and for the wider world. The BRI flows from the concept of a Community of Common Destiny for Mankind. It is a practical system to develop transportation linkages and growth infrastructure along the land and sea routes of the ancient Silk Road and beyond. Infrastructural investments include ports, skyscrapers, high speed railroads, clean energy projects, roads, bridges, airports, dams and energy and IT infrastructure. In other words, the BRI is a global infrastructure development strategy by which China is investing in countries worldwide. Its target date for completion is in 2049 which will coincide with the centennial of the People's Republic of China (PRC)'s founding.

Prior to the re-election of Donald Trump, studies had estimated that the BRI could boost trade flows in participating countries by 4.1 percent, as well as cut the cost of global trade by 1.1 percent to 2.2 percent, and grow the GDP of East Asia-Pacific developing countries by an average of 2.6 to 3.9 percent. BRI is likely to increase the world GDP by \$7.1 trillion per annum by 2040.

The BRI has engendered much criticism but these attacks originate only from the global North. The allegations that countries subscribing to the BRI are falling into a debt trap is being peddled by China's chief protagonist, the United States. This argument is supported by Europe, which sees China as placing a wedge between Europe and Africa. Over 150 countries are signatories to the BRI. Less than ten percent of these have wound up unable to repay their loans. Of these, there is no evidence that it was the BRI that created their financial difficulties in the first place.

This is a western view. It is not the view of African countries, for example, that they will become indebted and colonized anew, this time by China. In fact, Chinese economic policy has broken down the divide between political conditionalities and development.

CHINA, THE US AND THE CARIBBEAN

Prior to the chaos that was unleashed at the start of the second presidency of Donald Trump, China was well on its way to becoming a major player in the global economy, potentially surpassing the US in GDP by 2030 or 2035.

Remarkably, China has attained its successes in the face of US policies designed to stall its economy. Banning the sale of technology and the imposition of tariffs are two such measures that come to mind. China is reacting to the prospect of a trade war with the US with remarkable prescience and dexterity. As early as 2019, China rolled out a scheme to service both domestic and foreign trade with dual internal and external circulation mechanisms. This nimble and ambidextrous strategy is designed to keep China open to the world economy while increasing its self-reliance. China largely met its set growth target of 5% in 2024. On relations with the United States, China's attitude is that "There is no reason why China and the United States cannot be good partners." But the same cannot be said for the other side.

Three US Secretaries of State have visited Guyana within the past 4 years and each one issued public statements against dealing with China. Following a visit to Guyana by former US Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo in 2021, China's embassy in Guyana issued a statement clarifying that Beijing "attaches no political strings in bilateral pragmatic cooperations." Pompey's successor, Marco Rubio uttered inaccurate criticisms about the quality of Chinese road construction. These narratives have been refuted by China and by the countries of the region alike. These tactics by the United States have not prevented the Government of Guyana and other countries in the region from continuing to pursue avenues for mutual cooperation with China.

Washington is being compelled to up its regional foreign policy game as a response to China's growing role in the Caribbean. The Caribbean as a whole is hungry for Chinese made goods and infrastructure. Chinese state-owned and private companies are increasingly a fixture in high-profile sectoral and national developmental projects from The Bahamas and Jamaica in the northern Caribbean to Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago in the south. Along with the projects come a growing role for Chinese lending and investor-type institutions in the Caribbean.

CHINA AND GUYANA

China and Guyana are the biggest and the fastest-growing developing nations on the planet respectively, with the remainder of 2025 teeming with as many new opportunities as there are challenges for their bilateral relations. Guyana is now facing many similar problems that China has had to grapple with, and has so recognizably addressed, over the past 40-plus years. Internationally, our two countries are closely aligned on issues of sustainable development, economic policy, climate change and international security. Regionally, Guyana is a major positive influence for China in a region where there are countries that do not subscribe to the One China policy.

Our two countries' bilateral relationships has been nurtured during the past centuries, dating back to the arrival of Chinese immigrants in Guyana; that kindled a partnership which continues to grow, with Chinese nationals playing a significant role in the country's socio-economic development.

Undoubtedly, the country with the largest the world's largest power plant, the Three Gorges Dam, and the largest energy generation capacity in the world, can impart much to Guyana, its much smaller ally that is now petroleum rich but industrially poor. In 2024, Guyana's trade with China reached \$1.4 billion, a 14.4 percent increase compared to the year prior. Chinese enterprises have invested US\$2.7 billion, bringing total investments to US\$10.56 billion.

Borrowing more heavily from China's modernization strategy to coordinate Guyana's economic and social transformation would allow Guyana to be modernized through advanced technology. This could serve to increase transportation efficiency, reduce insecurity, introduce AI technology, facilitate digital economy transformation, improve food security and provide modern financial services. Similarly, there is potential for further collaboration in clean and renewable energy, mineral extraction, agricultural technology and tourism. In summary, the two countries can elevate and upgrade their bilateral cooperation to inject fresh impetus to high-quality development for Guyana.

Even during the pre-oil era, China had already been among Guyana's strongest development partners. The largest infrastructure works in the country were carried

out by Chinese companies, including the national airport, the Arthur Chung Convention Centre and the Marriott Hotel. There were significant investments in mining, forestry and retail. With the advent of oil, Chinese infrastructure and commercial undertakings are rapidly expanding. The companies being identified to construct Guyana's new hotels, hospitals, bridges, roads and other infrastructure are selected through competitive international bidding, and most bids are won by Chinese companies. For large and complex projects, the technical work has to be performed by Chinese professionals, even as Guyana trains and improves its local expertise. Such projects play a vital role in Guyana's ambitious efforts to modernize its transport, health and hospitality infrastructure.

The threat of aggression from Venezuela, and the violation of Guyana's sovereignty and territorial integrity, has lately become increasingly disturbing, and has prompted some leading countries, notably the United States, to express solidarity and support for Guyana. The United States has pledged to protect Guyana against this threat, as was announced by Secretary of State Marco Rubio during his March visit to Guyana. This has prompted a number of unofficial commentators here to demand that China take a stand on Venezuela's illegitimate claim, and to publicly declare its support for Guyana. The President of Guyana has gone as far as to say that Guyana must give preference to friends who are willing to come to its defence.

However, observers have pointed out that China's support and solidarity for Guyana has never been in question, and that the relationships between the Governments, the respective ruling parties and the peoples of China and Guyana remain solid and steadfast.



Rajnarine Persaud - Guest Writer

Janet Jagan: Reflections



I thank the Cheddi Jagan Research Centre for giving me the opportunity to share some thoughts on former President Mrs. Janet Jagan.

Janet Jagan stands tall among the great women of history. This acknowledgement was made by the prestigious TIME Magazine when it cited her as one of 16 of the most 'rebellious' women in world history. She is ranked among the likes of Joan of Arch, Golda Meir, Angela Davis and several others who are now regarded as icons on the global historical stage.

According to research done by Professor Patricia Mohamed and documented in her book 'Janet Jagan: Freedom Fighter of Guyana' Janet had a rebellious streak as a young woman growing up in Chicago, United States. She would go places unknowing to her parents, taking flying lessons without the knowledge or permission of her parents, and no less significant breaking racial and cultural stereotypes by marrying the young Guyanese dentist Cheddi Jagan. This latter decision did not go down well with her parents. Her father even threatened to shoot the young Cheddi after he learnt of the affair but all in vain as Janet stood her ground in defiance of her parents. She followed her husband to Guyana, leaving one of the richest and most powerful country to an unknown British colony where poverty reigned Supreme.

But her greatness went way beyond her early rebellious streak, according to the TIME Magazine. Armed with

a Marxist-Leninist vision of a future society, she found common cause with her husband Cheddi and together they will defy the mighty imperial Britain and the country of her birth, the United States for the cause of an independent and dignified society.

Like her husband Cheddi, Janet could have lived a fairly decent and rewarding life. She was studying for a degree in nursing but she abandoned her studies to serve in the US militar but gave them all up to join her husband for a new life in the colony of British Guyana, a manifestation of her devotion to what she perceived to be a bigger cause.

This husband-wife combination, a rare phenomenon in world history, has changed the political dynamics of Guyana resulting in the creation for the first time a genuine nationalist movement in the struggle for an end to colonial rule, internal self-government and ultimately political independence for Guyana.

The formation of the Political Affairs Committee (PAC) in 1946, a mere three years after the return of Dr. Jagan from studies in the United States and the arrival to the colony of his American-born wife speaks volumes about their commitment and resolve to change the colonial status quo and build a socially and economically just society along socialist lines.

I submit that it was precisely for that reason that the Jagan's were despised by western vested interests who saw in such a society an end to their privileged status.

What the Jagan's did in effect was to upset the colonial apple cart based on unbridled exploitation of our resources and by extension the Guyanese people.

The first major upset took place when Dr. Jagan won a seat in the legislative assembly at age 27. In his words, 'we the people have won, now the struggle will begin. Janet also contested the election but lost because of strong hostility from the churches, the right wing media and anti-communist hysteria. However, she won a seat in the City Council which both Dr. Jagan and Forbes Burnham contested and lost.

Cde. Janet served as a member of the Guyana Elections Commission where she stood up against rigged elections, all of which were documented in her publication, Rigged Elections in Guyana.

Mrs. Jagan's greatness was manifested in the several 'firsts'; the first female Executive President of Guyana; among first women to enter Parliament, the first woman Deputy Speaker among several others.

But it is her love for people I would say is her most defining characteristic. So many people have been touched by her kindness, kindness some would say to a fault. She cared little about material possessions.

Her main strength I think is her ability to organize which contributed greatly to the PPP being such a formidable political force.

I think one of her greatest attributes is her discipline. She never fail to carry out her tasks, as editor of Mirror, or as Editor of Thunder, she ensured that deadlines are ways met. I remember when we were both columnists for the Mirror newspaper. She always encouraged me to keep on writing, sending me handwritten notes from time to time. She was a good writer, having written several children's stories and articles too many to mention. She believed that 'the pen is mightier than the sword.

Cde. Janet was also a lover of the arts. She would buy art pieces from local artists more out of financial considerations rather than the artistic quality of their work. She established the Castellani House, former home to Forbes Burnham in the lawns of the Botanic Gardens. It is her kindness, her generosity of spirit and her love for people that I believe was her more enduring traits. I think everything she did was triggered by love, especially for the poor and the downtrodden. This explained why

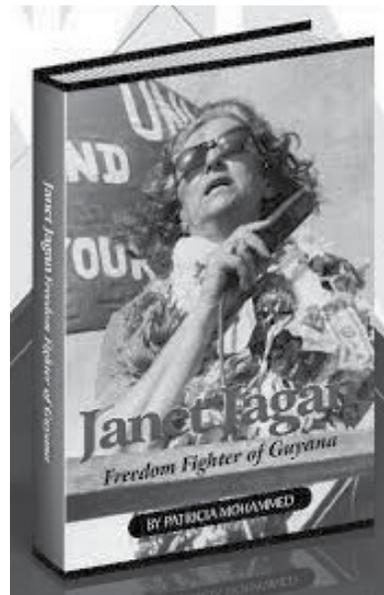
when she was Minister, she transformed the elitist golf course to what is now the national recreational park in Georgetown.

There is so much more that can be said about this illustrious daughter of her adopted Guyanese soil but I will stop here because I know there are others who would have known and associated with her in ways much profound than me.

I will just like to end by saying that it was indeed an honor to have known her. She lived a life of dignity and commitment to the cause of a better Guyana for all; a truly remarkable woman who even though attacked, jailed and 'demonized' by the political opposition, bore them all in strides, without malice or ill-will, a true testimony of her love for the people of Guyana. She suffered many adversities in her long and eventful life such as being jailed on trumped up charges, being maligned by the PNC, being robbed of two years of her 5-year term although winning by the biggest margin of victory and

by no means least, the passing of her husband and companion for 54 years, the late and great Dr. Cheddi Jagan, widely regarded as Father of this nation.

Like her husband Cheddi, she will be remembered as a revolutionary and freedom fighter who dedicated her entire life for the cause of the Guyanese people and for humanity as a whole.



For those who are interested in learning more about this iconic personality, I recommend that you get a copy of Janet Jagan: Freedom Fighter of Guyana' by Professor Patricia Mohamed, a fine piece of writing.

Thank you.



Hydar Ally is the holder of a Master's Degree in Political Science from the University of Guyana. He is the Author of two Publications, "Insightful Views on Guyana" and "Pragmatism or Opportunism: Guyana's Foreign Policy Behaviour". He is also Chairman of the Cheddi Jagan Research Centre.

Modernising the South



Socio-economic development of the Global South is in the interest of all mankind. It is important to accelerate progress throughout the world. It can become a major contributor to the welfare of the whole world.

This is not recognised universally and as a result two approaches have emerged towards advancing progress in the Global South.

On the one hand we observe the attitude of the United States and the former colonial powers in Europe towards the Global South. Their position is to try to take control of the resources of the South to enrich the multi-national corporations and to develop their own societies.

This position is deeply rooted in history.

Recall that for centuries countries of the south were colonies or semi-colonies. Decision about "progress" were taken thousands of miles away from their shores.

The colonial powers saw that these territories in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean as sources of raw material and cheap labour. They never had any interest in the people and brutally exploited them even re-introducing slavery at one stage.

During the period of direct rule, things were simplified. The countries of the north controlled every aspect of life. Government, judiciary, etc were all staffed by personnel from the colonial metropole (mother-country). No democracy existed since the head of the state was a Governor from either Britain, France, Spain, or Holland. Of course, that form of relationship led to people

resisting and so began many struggles led by National Liberation Movements. Those struggles resulted in the winning of political independence for the people of the colonies.

A new stage began after independence. We are aware that Imperialism never gives up anything without a fight. Concessions made were as a result of tremendous struggles of the peoples of the South.

To maintain control of the colonies Imperialism now with the United States as the main imperial power taking over this position from Britain and other colonial powers.

They devised various systems to perpetuate the exploitation of the human and natural resources of the former colonies.

After the Second World War, at Bretten Woods they created the organisations to control the global south. The bodies established then are very formidable to this day. Here I am speaking about the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The control of these organisations are firmly in the hands of the United States and some of its allies in Europe.

The control of the economy of the Developing world were done by those two institutions. Countries are made to accept economic programs dictated by those banks. The main content of those programmes was to have the main economic activity in the hands of foreign companies. Governments are told that they should have nothing to do with business/ economics.

All the programs were geared to create favourable conditions for the exploitation of their natural resources and the exploitation of cheap labour.

As a result, the developing countries in the Global South are actually net exporters of capital to the developed north. It is estimated that the net flow of capital from the South to the North was some one hundred and fifty trillion dollars over the last fifty years.

The mechanism used to extract so much wealth from the south included Interests on debt, repatriation of profits, unfair trade practices (selling at high prices and buying cheap) among other means.

In the meantime, conditions in the global south are extremely grim. Poverty is extremely high, people are mostly underemployed or unemployed. Social infrastructure such as Education, Health, Housing are all in terrible states. This leads to migration and brain drain. The physical infrastructure are also in extremely poor state, insufficient roads, mostly unpaved, etc leads to general underdevelopment.

This is the state that Imperialism keeps creating and re-creating to keep the countries well prepared for exploitation.

The second approach to the Global South is one that has been pursued by the People's Republic of China (PRC) from the time of its formation.

China has always regarded itself as being from the South. This is not just a geographical statement but also a philosophical position. The leadership of the PRC has always based its policy and its relations with the developing world on the principle of solidarity, mutual benefits and the promotion of win-win cooperation.

This is not a recent position. I can recall when China was still economically relatively weak, its help to the struggling peoples were always meaningful.

One of the most important projects of the 1970s was the railway that linked Zambia to the ports in Tanzania. This project was completed in 1976.

It was this that allowed Zambia to break the blockade imposed on it by Apartheid South Africa. This played a very important part in the eventual destruction of the racist regime in South Africa in particular and Southern Africa in general.

As China progressed it shared its prosperity with the rest of the third world. The PRC invested in many poor countries that could not get loans from the World Bank and the IMF. Many of them were regarded as "Credit Risks."

Now China has emerged as a very powerful country economically. It has now proposed several revolutionary programs that have captured the imagination of peoples everywhere.

In 2013, President Xi Jinping made the now famous

Belt and Road Initiative. This is a breathtaking proposal. This project tends to link several countries by roads, ports, railways. It includes building projects that would facilitate economic progress including energy initiatives.

The investments in these projects are intended to accelerate economic progress in a very sustainable way. It entails a trillion U.S dollars of investments to establish a vital infrastructure, which were sorely lacking in the developing countries. The absence of those physical projects was a fundamental reason for the underdevelopment of our southern hemisphere.

The scale of the project is very exciting. Already more than one hundred and fifty states have signed up to be part of this massive modernisation push.

The BRI is bringing together peoples everywhere and integrating countries' economies in a way never done before. At the same time, it is contributing to the sovereignty of the various states, allowing them to participate as equal partners.

It is apposite at this point to compare the projects undertaken by the PRC to those done by Imperialist states.

While I have tried to show that the projects in the BRI help to promote wealth creation it is designed to allow states to add value to their products and to breakout of the vicious cycle of underdevelopment, there is another important consequence of these projects, that is it brings people closer to each other.

It is apposite at this point to show the qualitative difference between Chinese investments in the global south as compared to the U.S and European states.

As pointed out above, the Chinese investments are all oriented in building a much-needed infrastructure for the South. This as was noted promotes economic activities, encourages valued added and sustainable growth. These investments are indispensable for overcoming backwardness.

Western investments in the south have always been geared to exploit natural resources of the states. In the Caribbean for instance, Guyana, Suriname and Jamaica have been major producers of bauxite for more than a century. We still do not produce aluminium. This is largely because the West NEVER developed our energy potential therefore processing is done in one or more of the imperialist states.

The same could be said of other minerals such as gold, diamond, manganese etc. In agriculture too we are mainly producers of raw materials. Example Sugar is still in its raw stage while we import industrial sugar.

It is here that we have to look for the real reason for the attack of Western powers towards China. In order to keep their historical position in the third world they must try to stop China from building win-win cooperation and

mutual respect. This is how they hope to keep the Third World poor, heavily indebted and dependent. Thus, the hostility and slander towards Chinese partnerships, is intensified.

In order to overcome the mindset of the West, China continues to hold out its hands of friendship and to offer cooperation instead of cutthroat competition.

On March 24, 2024 President Xi Jinping made a speech at the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris. Here he returned to his theme of Global Civilization Initiative and a global community with a shared future. He said "... We need a mind that is broader than the sky as we approach different civilisations... We should encourage different civilisations to respect each other and live in harmony, so as to turn exchanges and mutual learning between civilisations into a bridge promoting friendship between peoples around the world, an engine driving human society and a bond cementing world peace..."

So, comrades, let me conclude by saying that the difference between the Western Imperialist and the Chinese Socialist approaches to several global issues are profoundly philosophical.

The Western approach is based on the philosophy of domination and control of the world resources and economies. It pays little or no attention to various cultures and norms. Its goal is to impose its systems and

values on all mankind.

That leads them to be extremely aggressive, imposing sanctions, blockades and even going to war to get their own way.

The Chinese approach is one of promoting mutual benefits in economies and international trade, in respecting cultural differences, seeking to understand each other better and promoting peace and friendship among the various civilisations.

I am convinced that the approach of the Chinese leadership is the only viable way. I believe that this approach will resonate even with many of the large capitalist in the Western world who want an environment conducive to doing business.

The struggle to promote the goals set by China would not be easy, will meet resistance from those who crave hegemony and domination. However, the examples are becoming more profound, and masses are breaking away from domination as we see in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Finally, the Global South is putting an end to neo-colonialism and the former colonies are playing a greater role in International relations largely due to the possibilities that have opened up due to China's new approaches to global issues.



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Presentation at Symposium co-sponsored by the University of Guyana and the Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

I am honored to make a presentation on the subject 'Cheddi Jagan and his Contribution to Higher Education in Guyana'. I wish on behalf of the Centre to thank the University of Guyana for facilitating this activity. This is one of several activities planned in commemoration of the birth anniversary of former President Dr. Cheddi Jagan who was born on March 22, 1918. He passed away also in the month of March, the 6th of March 1997.

It is not without significance that this Symposium on Dr. Jagan's contribution to education is taking place right here at the University campus in the month of April when the Act to establish the University of Guyana was passed by the Legislative Assembly and assented to by the then Governor Sir Ralph Grey. The University of Guyana is the premier tertiary institution in Guyana. It is today internationally recognized and accredited and its graduates are integrally involved in the economic transformation that is taking place in the country.

The contributions made by Dr. Jagan to Education are multi-faceted but because of time constraints I will limit my presentation to his contribution to university education, more particularly that of the establishment of the University of Guyana which is the flagship educational institution in the country.

Dr. Jagan was passionate about the establishment of the University of Guyana. This was evident from the numerous correspondence and engagements he had with leading academics all over the world. In this he was ably supported by the then Minister of Education Cedric Nunes and several others including Dr. Harold Drayton who became Deputy Vice-Chancellor when the University opened its doors on October 1, 1963. However, the groundwork for its establishment started much earlier since the late 1950's. In fact so much preparatory work was put in the planning process that a UNESCO mission which visited Guyana in 1962 to conduct an education survey expressed great surprise that so much planning could have been completed in a

mere three years. In fact, the initial projection was to commence classes in 1962 but that date was not possible because of the then volatile domestic situation and the need to give adequate notice to then University College of the West Indies.

There were other challenges as well, including an unsupported political opposition which dubbed the institution 'Jagan's Night school' because its modest beginnings at Queen's College. The negative perceptions of the University fueled by the political opposition regrettably permeated some sections of the student population. According to Dr. Drayton, during an outreach visit to one of the leading secondary schools in the city, only one student expressed an interest in attending the University of Guyana! Several local and regional newspapers which included reputable US journals carried items critical of the University and made all manner of derogatory and unfounded remarks were made. One such remark was that the university was set up as a training ground for 'communist' infiltration!

Criticisms came also from some senior functionaries of the Education Ministry which questioned the capacity of the government to absorb the projected 150 general degree graduates each year and the ability to ensure the maintenance of high academic standards especially with respect to the degree programs.

There was also lukewarm support from some leading academics at the regional level including visits by two high powered delegations one from Trinidad led by the then Pro-Chancellor of the University West Indies Dr. Eric Williams and the other from Barbados led by Minister of Education Cameron Tudor. They both attempted to prevail on Dr. Jagan not to proceed with the establishment of an independent university, all to no avail as Dr. Jagan stood his ground.

Despite the distractions, the University of Guyana Ordinance was passed by the Senate on March 18 and by the Legislative Assembly on April 5, 1963. Legislative

Assemble amendments were agreed to by the Senate on April 9 and the Ordinance assented to as ' Ordinance No.6 of 1963 by the Governor Sir Ralph Grey on April 18, 1963. The inaugural ceremony was held with great pomp and ceremony attended by top dignitaries which included the Governor Sir Ralph Grey and Forbes Burnham, then Leader of the Opposition. Unfortunately, due to overseas commitments Dr. Jagan was not present at the opening ceremony but he was represented by the Deputy Premier Brindley Benn who delivered a speech on his behalf. It is remarkable that the University was successful in commencing classes on October 1, 1963 having regard to the tense political situation that obtained during the preceding months.

Despite the naysayers, the overall response to the University from the student population was overwhelming, an indication of the thirst that existed for higher education at that time. Of the 680 applicants, 179 were admitted in the three faculties of Arts, Social Sciences and Natural Science. The policy of the then PPP administration in setting up the University was 'to create an intellectual nucleus, partly as a centre around which some systematic definition of the national goals could take place but also as a defense against the persistent attacks from outside colonial and reactionary ideas which developing societies were so vulnerable to.' Another objective was to train high and middle level personnel in adequate numbers. The undertaking of research to aid the governance process was also high on the government's agenda.

Dr. Jagan wanted a University that was aligned to the developmental aspirations of a developing nation; a University with a progressive outlook. He wanted University graduates who are not simply competent in their jobs but who are also rounded personalities imbued with a high sense of nationalism and social responsibility. The University on its part was expected to identify with community and change the perception of the University as an 'ivory tower'. In his inaugural speech which was delivered by Deputy Prime Minister Brindley Benn, Dr. Jagan referred to the need to help create a national consciousness and a national identity. The establishment of UG was also seen as an important element of democratic renewal.

The first Chancellor of the University was the distinguished Guyanese scholar Edgar Mortimer Duke while the first Principal and Vice-Chancellor was the world-famous British mathematician and Educator Dr. Lancelot Hogben. The Deputy Vice Chancellor was Dr. Harold A Drayton who played a key role in the organizational and administrative work.

It is significant that this activity is taking place on the 28th anniversary of his passing when free university education

has been announced by the PPP/C administration of which Dr. Jagan was a founding member. This no doubt would have been music to his ears were he alive since it was Dr. Jagan who envisioned and established the University of Guyana in September 1963.

As is popular knowledge, the establishment of the University of Guyana was the brainchild of Dr. Jagan. It was indeed a bold and innovative step, given the fact that Guyana at the time was still a British colony. Indeed, it was the first University to be established in the world in a country that was still under colonial rule. There was the University of the West Indies with Campuses in Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Barbados but no country had its own university. Many scoffed at the idea and some Caribbean leaders attempted to persuade Dr. Jagan not to proceed with that idea but to no avail. Dr. Jagan was determined to have the University established and there was nothing to stand in his way.

There were three main considerations that led to the establishment of the University, in no particular order of importance.

The first was philosophical and ideological which spoke to an egalitarian society based on Dr. Jagan's vision of a society in which there is equality of opportunity for all Guyanese to realize their full potential in terms of their intellectual and cultural development. The colonial education architecture was incapable of realizing such a vision based on high levels of poverty and income inequality.

As mentioned earlier prior, prior to the establishment the University of Guyana, there were no independent university in the Anglo-phone Caribbean. The University of the West Indies (UWI) was for all practical purposes a branch of the University of London. It was not until 1962 when Jamaica became independent from Britain that the University became a fully-fledged regional

Another reason for the establishment of the University was financial and economic. Apart from the fact that only a limited number of Guyanese benefitted from University education, there was very little value for money as many who graduated failed to come back and serve the country in their area of specialization. Between 1948 and 1963, a sum of \$1.8 million was paid to the UWI but there were only 97 graduates from Guyana averaging a mere six or so per year. Even more worrying was the fact that of the 97 graduates, 56 of them did not return to serve the country with their newly acquired skills.

The third factor which influenced Dr. Jagan's thinking in the setting up of an independent university was the need for a critical mass of skilled brainpower to man the country's development especially in the context of an emerging independent nation; skills which could not be met by the University of the West Indies. Several

major developmental projects were envisaged by the PPP administration which would have required a critical mass of skilled personnel which could not have been met only from overseas training.

The University of Guyana experienced several challenges after Dr. Jagan's PPP lost power to the PNC-UF coalition in 1964. According to Vice-Chancellor Dennis Irvine, the then PNC regime, unknowing to him had set up a committee to work on the mechanics of integrating the University of Guyana with the University of the West Indies.

According to Dr. Irvine, he managed to persuade Prime Minister Burnham through a combination of sound argument and threat of resignation to abandon any further pursuit along these lines. The University also experienced political interference, lack of academic freedom and severe underfunding to a point where the physical infrastructure was in a run-down state and the University found it difficult to recruit and retain qualified staff. By the turn of the 1980's the situation had deteriorated sharply due in part to a prolonged economic crisis which impacted adversely on the University in terms of budgetary allocation and the ability of the University to pay decent salaries to staff; to effect critical repairs to infrastructure and to buy books and other teaching and research material. There was a severe shortage of space. The initial buildings in 1969 were based on a student enrolment of around 1000. Enrolment by 1980 had increased to twice that amount but student accommodation by no more than 20%. The refusal to appoint Dr. Walter Rodney to teach at the University of Guyana by the PNC-appointed Council remain a lasting stain on those responsible at the time.

In closing I wish to quote from Dr. Irvine in a presentation he made on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the University of Guyana.

' I had helped to build an international reputation for UG and even to have it held up as a model of a University in a developing country. But all this was beginning to fall apart and it was time to move on. I left at the end of 1982. There was so much more I felt I could have done under different circumstances but I saw nothing to suggest that the circumstances at the time were likely to change for the better. On the contrary, my perception was of

gloomier days ahead and the subsequent events were to justify my pessimism. So I accepted with resignation the end of an era.

With the return of the PPP/C to power on October 5, 1992 under the leadership of Dr. Jagan, much greater emphasis was put on the University. As Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, I represented the Ministry on the University's Council for several years and I saw first hand the progress made over the years.

Had Dr. Jagan been alive today I think he would have been pleased with the enormous strides made by the University both in terms of the expansion of course offerings and greater accessibility to university education. He would have been pleased with the establishment of the Berbice Campus and the introduction of the Guyana Online Academy of Learning (GOAL) in which hundreds of Guyanese are benefitting from tertiary education. He would have been particularly pleased with the decision taken by the current PPP/C administration to make University education free to all students.

I thank you.



Hydar Ally is the holder of a Master's Degree in Political Science from the University of Guyana. He is the Author of two Publications, "Insightful Views on Guyana" and "Pragmatism or Opportunism: Guyana's Foreign Policy Behaviour". He is also Chairman of the Cheddi Jagan Research Centre.

The Uninterrupted Continuing Struggle for Democracy



For millions of people across the world President Biden's address to the Democratic Convention in Chicago would have signaled at least in terms of Western democratic models, the <force majeure> for human civilization. As he himself is reported to have observed, "I have made mistakes" whilst exhorting the masses of enthusiastic neoliberals as well as quite a few radicals/sceptics that America holds the keys for the world.

Fukuyama's End of History or a New Transitional World Order

Biden's endorsement of Kamala Harris though a political formality, also poses the question and dilemma of whether the Netanyahu group will expand eco-political controls in major United States 'centres' and invoke Fukuyama's 'end of history' in advancing the Zionist utopia.

Here in Guyana the collectivist PPP/C leadership has extolled the virtues, the (added) values and the vision of the IAA exemplified over the past four years since August 2020.

In reality it is precisely this trend, the transformative national phenomenon that comprises both the hopes and expectations (as well as the opposites of risks – i.e. both reference points of Mao Zedong's Contradiction) based upon conflict and its resolution, antagonism and

accommodation.

Generation X identified in some spaces with post-millennium iPhones have developed into a relatively new social formation. One that displays almost all the traits of the <New Proletariat> that made impacts during the 1980s and subsequently.

And it is in societies of the South as well as Communist China that generation X have demonstrated potential/s supportive of democratic changes. In France and Brazil, Colombia and Ethiopia, Ecuador and Kenya as well as Bangladesh, events in these as 'clusters' confirm the evolution of the generation X internal to the democratic process.

Here one should not underestimate the influence of Greta Thunberg within those territories where rightwing and neofascist cabals have made electoral gains.

Likewise, the extremism of Mr. Donald Trump who consistently displays racist, anti-asylum/immigrant and anti-establishment ideas and beliefs.

To refocus on the structures and linkages articulated by President Ali as well as Vice President Dr. Jagdeo in recent pronouncements. In the first instance Dr. Ali's four-year Anniversary Address and also the 'charge' delivered to the National Toshios Conference is based on people's empowerment.

There is the old adage; give a man a fish...when it is better to teach him how to fish.

PPP/C <seniors> have for the most part crafted an app wherein the ultimate goal - or means towards - is to enhance, to expand and to grow by delivering more goods and services to the People. However, the process of the transformative infrastructure has proven complex even as the working people derive in cases substantial disposable income increases whilst others benefit from incremental subsidy sustained grants of a micro-financing or materials for (re)construction.

These <material> inputs do not reduce the COL as index but certainly bolsters the disposable or cash-in-kind assets of segments of working people. As incentives for agriculturalists the administration has expanded technical and field support especially for non-traditional farmers. The determining role of the commodities/services market has been recognized by the government as well as other stakeholders, above all the private sector. At this level it is worth noting that the political opposition refuses to accept that the country despite being ranked as the “fastest growing in the world...”, retains all the contours of an agriculturally based one.

Both the traditional ‘commodification’ of grains (rice/sugar and the non-traditional agrarian/processing sectors) remain up until mid-2024, the largest generation of employment.

Despite tech advances, mechanization and other scientific refinements to the productive process, demands from supply/market nexus for food security categorise 2024 Guyana as a predominantly agro-based export-oriented country.

[See Growth with Guyana/Agriculture Investment Prospects 2023/moa#agriculture.gov.gy/:pp2,3,11, “Vision 25 by 2025”. Also, pp10-12 for items “Agriculture, forestry and fishing-projected growth”. As a natural phenomenon Hurricane Beryl and its aftermath will occasion regional impacts on the projected scope and outcomes].

The opposition also fails to appreciate the fiscal policies of the IAA. The fact that the C-tax on fuels and fuel-oils have been comprehensively addressed to ensure that consumers do not have to bear increased costs is ignored by the opposition.

The pattern set by opposition to the Amaila Falls and other extractive sector projects remains vigorously unaltered.

The kind of innovations placed or crafted for public good/s such as local <farmers market> in several parts of the country is yet another indicator that the political opposition is not genuinely interested in substantive food security that holds firm the <Prospect For Prosperity> (PFP).

The <Guyana model> one touted as a First in terms of comprising as a regional food supplier – mainly of semi

or unprocessed items – , continues to resonate despite the vagaries of Climate challenges and cyclic trends that require a degree of de-risking.

Although these facts may not have been conveyed by the mainstream media the realities are quite evident; particularly when one witnesses the socialization and gravitational pull of mega-events and concerts that are supported by ordinary folk.

The fact also that there remains a target group of vulnerable Guyanese who deserve improved income/pensions entitlements has not been overlooked by the PPP administration.

PPP/C budgetary allocations commencing from that of the “extraordinary” of 2020 have all sought to address the problematic as set out in the Third United Nations Decade for the Eradication of Poverty (2018-2027).

It is also important to note UNDP+ perspectives outlined by Dr. Ramesh Ganpat (2002); Dr. Ashni Singh (in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper – PRSP), as well as the formulations associated with Dr. Bharat Jagdeo during the negotiated transition from the global category of a Highly Indebted Poor Country, or, the qualification Enhanced HIPC Initiative which witnessed an elevation to an emergent development country.

Equally important given the socio-political relevance of community/sub-regional consultation and recommendation from stakeholders, would be the ACDA conference paper compiled by Professor Thomas during March 1997.

The ensuing dialogue and debate involving ROAR’s Ravi Dev specific to ethnic marginalization was published in the local mainstream Stabroek News during the months of march to September 2001. (Ramesh Ganpat 2002, p4). Dev’s Ethnic Security Dilemma (ESD) as well as the subsequent to the ACDA event (...the Buxton Proposal on Oil Wealth re-distribution) must also be analysed against the ongoing trends of pro-growth, pro poor template of the PPP and its Transformative programme.

Manifesto assurances not only reflect this priority concerns but actual results prove that over the transition from the APNU Green State there has been a gradualist but discernible improvement in terms of socio/welfare disbursements, allocations, reduction/abolishment of tariffs or service charges for essentials – water and electricity provided to senior citizens.

This particular PPP/C policy has served to clearly distinguish its pro-growth, pro-poor, pro-development programmes and projects from what was implemented under the administration of the APNU Good Life.

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anniversary of 1762 Berbice Slave Revolt. Benn urged unity of the people..."maximise benefits of country's wealth...if we are too weak in the realisation of unity the capitalization of wealth will not be achieved".

- GT 18/8/24, p10, for ROAR column, Ravi Dev; 'eschew the Divisive Narratives". The Indian Rights leader cites the <Ethnic Security Dilemma> and African historical fear of being swamped and subordinated by Indian Guyanese if the latter got into office, as well as the actions of (GECOM Region officer Mingo) in the tabulation of Region Four ballots "when international observers and ambassadors insisted he was pulling a flagrant sleight of hand".
- Dev also cautions against the "memory warriors who insist only their narrative is valid".

Stabroek News (SN)

- SN 12.8.24, letter pp 7, 20, Steven Jacobs, "The will to change and improve financial fortunes of the M&CC is lacking" as well as letter, Alonso DeArmas, "central government involvement in city affairs is about stepping in where Council failed.'
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The Struggle for Recognition: Honouring the Courage of Sugar Workers and Dr. Cheddi Jagan's Indomitable Leadership

The history of the Guyana Agricultural and General Workers Union (GAWU) is a powerful testament to the resilience of Guyana's working class. It embodies a tale of solidarity and courage against oppression, symbolising a relentless pursuit of dignity. At the heart of this narrative lies the monumental struggle for recognition of field and factory workers within the sugar industry — a battle fought with determination by thousands of ordinary workers, inspired by the extraordinary leadership of Dr. Cheddi Jagan, one of our nation's greatest visionaries.

As we reflect on this historic chapter, it is vital to retell this story — not only to honour those who sacrificed so much but to reaffirm the unwavering principles of justice, democracy, and workers' empowerment that continue to steer GAWU's mission.

A Legacy of Exploitation

To truly grasp the struggle for recognition within the sugar industry, we must first acknowledge the challenging conditions that persisted throughout its

history. For many years, sugar production under colonial rule was marked by intense exploitation. Workers, many of whom are descendants of African slaves and Indian indentured labourers, endured long hours of hard labour for very little pay.

The estate system was strategically designed to prioritise profits for foreign corporations and plantation elites, leaving workers powerless and divided. Even when there was some semblance of representation, it often felt more like a mere formality. The Man Power Citizens Association (MPCA), which claimed to advocate for sugar workers, increasingly more and more aligned with the interests of employers rather than genuinely fighting for workers' rights.

During the 1940s, a growing chorus of workers across the sugar belt voiced their urgent need for genuine representation. They sought a union that would stand by them and champion their cause rather than work against them. It was in this context that GAWU, in the form of the Guiana Industrial Workers Union (GIWU), emerged. It became an authentic voice for the sugar workers.



Dr. Cheddi Jagan: Champion of the Working Class

Dr. Cheddi Jagan, a dentist by profession and a revolutionary by spirit, was at the heart of the growing movement. Dr. Jagan dedicated his life to uplifting the poor, oppressed and voiceless. His belief in the power of the working class was not just rhetoric; it was deeply personal, forged from his humble upbringing among the sugar workers of Port Mourant.

He recognised that political independence would be meaningless without economic and social justice. Dr. Jagan knew that the sugar workers—the backbone of the colony's economy at that time—needed to be organised, educated, and empowered to shape their futures. Therefore, the struggle for union recognition became not merely an industrial dispute, but an essential part of the greater fight for national liberation and democracy.

The Struggle Intensifies

By the 1960s, GAWU had significantly strengthened its presence, tirelessly organising workers estate by estate in their quest for better working conditions. Yet, the recognition as the bargaining agent for sugar workers remained out of reach. The estate owners, bolstered by strong political allies, hesitated to acknowledge GAWU, fearing its potential for change and its association with Dr. Jagan's vision for social transformation.

In their struggle, estate management resorted to a range of tactics, including intimidation, victimisation, bribery, and the strategic use of company-aligned unions to weaken workers' solidarity. Those brave enough to support GAWU faced serious consequences: dismissal, blacklisting, and harassment. Kowsilla a/k Alice lost her life on March 06, 1964 supporting the workers at Leonora Estate during their struggles.

Dr. Jagan played a pivotal role during this trying period. Although he held the title of Leader of the Opposition after 1964, his commitment to the workers' struggle remained unwavering. He dedicated himself to visiting sugar estates, addressing meetings, writing in the press, and collaborating with GAWU leaders to inspire and strategise.

His presence brought a sense of hope and strength to the workers. Here was a leader who connected with them personally, deeply understanding their hardships not just from afar, but through his own experiences. His message resonated powerfully: "Unity is strength, and only through collective action can the workers secure their rights." This sentiment echoed in the hearts of many, sparking a determination to continue the fight for fairness and dignity.

The 1975 Recognition Poll: Triumph of the Workers

After years of pressure, protests, and persistent advocacy, the then-Government finally agreed to conduct a recognition poll among sugar workers in 1975. This was a critical turning point as GAWU received 97.8% of the votes cast.

The poll would allow workers to freely and secretly vote for the union they wished to represent them: the GAWU or the MPCA. For GAWU and Dr. Jagan, the poll was an opportunity to expose the MPCA's hollow legitimacy and secure a mandate rooted in the true will of the workers. Leading up to the poll, GAWU intensified its mobilisation efforts. Workers were educated about their rights and the importance of choosing a union that genuinely represented their interests. Despite facing intimidation from estate management and pro-MPCA forces, sugar workers stood firm.

The results were emphatic: GAWU overwhelmingly won the recognition poll. For the first time, the majority of sugar workers had a union of their choosing, one committed to defending their interests without fear or favour.

Dr. Jagan hailed the victory as a significant milestone in the struggle for workers' emancipation. It validated decades of organising and sacrifice and marked a new era of collective bargaining and workers' empowerment in the sugar industry.

The Significance of Recognition

Recognition was not merely symbolic; it transformed the lives of sugar workers and reshaped industrial relations in Guyana. With recognition, GAWU negotiated better wages, improved working conditions, safer workplaces, and more humane treatment for workers.

Workers found their voice in the halls of power, becoming active participants in shaping their working lives instead of passive recipients of management's dictates.

This victory held profound political significance, strengthening the broader struggle for democracy and justice in Guyana. It demonstrated that change is possible through unity and determined struggle.

Dr. Jagan's Indelible Legacy

Throughout his life, Dr. Jagan remained a steadfast supporter and friend of GAWU and the sugar workers. Even as political fortunes shifted, he never wavered in his commitment to the working class.

Dr. Jagan's contributions to the recognition struggle went beyond mere advocacy; he provided ideological clarity, strategic vision, and moral inspiration. He connected the daily struggles of sugar workers to the larger fight for a

just and equitable Guyana.

It is no exaggeration to say that without Dr. Jagan's leadership, the victory for recognition might have been delayed or derailed. His faith in the working people, unyielding commitment to righteousness, and ability to inspire courage in the face of adversity were vital to GAWU's triumph.

Lessons for Today

As Guyana undergoes rapid economic changes with new industries and an influx of investment, the lessons of the recognition struggle resonate more than ever. We are reminded that:

- Workers' rights must be vigorously defended, regardless of the industry.
- True representation comes from organisations rooted in the daily realities of workers' lives.
- Solidarity and unity are the most potent weapons against exploitation and injustice.

As General Secretary of GAWU, I reaffirm our union's commitment to these principles. We will carry forward the legacy of those who fought for recognition and continue Dr. Jagan's work in building a society where

every worker is respected, protected, and empowered.

Conclusion: Honouring the Struggle, Building the Future

The struggle for recognition in the sugar industry stands as one of the most significant chapters in Guyana's labour movement. It is a testament to the courage of thousands of sugar workers who refused to accept injustice and to the leadership of a man devoted to their upliftment.

As we commemorate 50 years since the historic recognition poll, we pay tribute to those brave men and women and to Dr. Cheddi Jagan, whose vision, sacrifice, and love for the working people continues to guide us.

The march for a better tomorrow is never-ending. As long as there are workers to defend and a greater greed of employers to confront, GAWU will stand strong—inspired by the past, energised by the present, and determined to build a better future for all.



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Carrying Forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and Jointly Building a Community with a Shared Future for Mankind

President Xi Jinping address to the conference marking the 70th anniversary of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in Beijing, China on 28th of June 2024.



Distinguished Guests,
Diplomatic Envoys,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Friends,

Seventy years ago, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were officially initiated. It marked a groundbreaking and epoch-making achievement in the history of international relations. Today we gather here to commemorate its 70th anniversary for the purpose of carrying forward these principles under the new circumstances, building together a community with a shared future for mankind, and providing a strong driving force for human progress.

At the outset, on behalf of the Chinese government and people and in my own name, let me extend a warm welcome to all distinguished guests and friends present here!

In the course of the modern history of human society, handling well state-to-state relations, jointly maintaining world peace and tranquility, and promoting development and progress for humanity have always been big topics on the minds of all nations.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence answered

the call of the times, and its initiation was an inevitable historic development. In the wake of the Second World War, national independence and liberation movements swept across the globe, and the colonial system around the world crumbled and collapsed. At the same time, the world was overshadowed by the dark clouds of the Cold War and menaced by the rampant clamors that “Might is right.” Newly independent countries aspired to safeguard their sovereignty and grow their national economy. New China followed the principle of independence, actively sought peaceful coexistence with all countries, and endeavored to improve its external environment, especially in its neighborhood. Against this backdrop, the Chinese leadership specified the Five Principles in their entirety for the first time, namely, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. They included the Five Principles in the China-India and China-Myanmar joint statements, which jointly called for making them basic norms for state-to-state relations.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were born in Asia, but quickly ascended to the world stage. In 1955, more than 20 Asian and African countries attended the Bandung Conference. They proposed ten principles for handling state-to-state relations on the basis of the Five Principles, and advocated the Bandung spirit of solidarity, friendship and cooperation. The Non-Aligned Movement that rose in the 1960s adopted the Five Principles as its guiding principles. The Declaration on Principles of International Law adopted at the 25th Session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 1970 and the Declaration on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order adopted at the Sixth Special UNGA Session in 1974 both endorsed the Five Principles. With their inclusion in important international documents, the Five Principles have been

widely recognized and observed by the international community.

Over the past 70 years, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have transcended time and space and overcome estrangement, showing robust resilience and everlasting relevance. They have become open, inclusive, and universally applicable basic norms for international relations and fundamental principles of international law. They have made indelible historic contributions to the cause of human progress.

First, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have set a historic benchmark for international relations and international rule of law. They fully conform with the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter, with the evolving trend of international relations of our times, and with the fundamental interests of all nations. In addition, they stress the importance of mutuality and equality in handling state-to-state relations, thus highlighting the essence of international rule of law, i.e. the intercorrelation of rights, obligations and responsibilities of all countries. The Five Principles provide a whole set of basic norms for peaceful coexistence among countries across political, security, economic and diplomatic domains. They constitute an unequivocal and effective code of conduct for all countries to follow in promoting the spirit of international rule of law and finding the right way to get along with each other.

Second, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have served as the prime guidance for the establishment and development of relations between countries with different social systems. When following the Five Principles, even countries that differ from each other in social system, ideology, history, culture, faith, development stage, and size can build a relationship of mutual trust, friendship and cooperation. The Five Principles offer a new path toward peaceful settlement of historic issues and international disputes, triumphing over obsolete, narrow-minded, antagonistic and confrontational mindsets such as bloc politics and sphere of influence.

Third, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have been a powerful rallying force behind the efforts of developing countries to pursue cooperation and self-strength through unity. They mirror the deep thoughts of developing countries about improving their future and about reform and progress. Inspired and encouraged by the Five Principles, more and more countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have voiced and extended support to each other, stood up against foreign interference, and embarked on an independent path of development. The Five Principles have also boosted South-South cooperation, and improved and further developed North-South relations.

Fourth, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have contributed historic wisdom to the reform and improvement of the international order. The Five Principles were initiated with the purpose of protecting the interests and pursuits of small and weak countries from power politics. They categorically oppose imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and reject belligerent and bullying practices of the law of the jungle. They have laid an important intellectual foundation for a more just and equitable international order.

Having traversed an extraordinary journey of 70 years, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are a common asset of the international community to be valued, inherited and further promoted. At this moment, I recall with deep admiration leaders of the older generation who jointly initiated the Five Principles. I also wish to pay high tribute to the visionaries from all countries who have been promoting the Five Principles with perseverance over the years!

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Friends,

The baton of history is passed from generation to generation, and the cause of human progress moves forward from one era to another as mankind seek answers to the questions of the times. Seventy years ago, our forefathers, who experienced the scourge of hot wars and the confrontation of the Cold War, concluded that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were the crucial way to safeguard peace and sovereignty. This answer has withstood the test of international vicissitudes, and has become more appealing rather than obsolete. Seventy years later today, challenged by the historic question of "what kind of world to build and how to build it," China has answered the call of the times by proposing a community with a shared future for mankind. Today, this Chinese initiative has become an international consensus. The beautiful vision has been put into productive actions. It is moving the world to a bright future of peace, security, prosperity and progress. The Vision of Building a Community with a Shared Future for Mankind carries forward the same spirit of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Both are rooted in traditional Chinese values such as "Be kind to your neighbor," "Seek amity through integrity," and "Promote harmony among all nations." Both attest to China's diplomatic tenets of self-confidence, self-reliance, justice, protection of the disadvantaged, and benevolence. Both demonstrate the broad vision of the Communist Party of China to contribute more to humanity. Both manifest China's firm resolve to follow the path of peaceful development. The Vision of Building

a Community with a Shared Future for Mankind is the most effective move to sustain, promote and upgrade the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in the new circumstances.

The Vision captures the reality that all countries have a shared future and intertwined interests, and sets a new model of equality and coexistence for international relations. China believes that all countries, regardless of their size, strength and wealth, are equal members of the international community. They have common interests, common rights, and common responsibilities in international affairs. All countries should join hands to overcome challenges, achieve shared prosperity, build an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world of lasting peace, universal security, and shared prosperity, and realize peaceful coexistence with greater security and prosperity for mankind.

The Vision responds to the world's prevailing trend of peace, development, cooperation and win-win, and opens up new prospects for peace and progress. China calls on all countries to bear in mind the future of humanity and the wellbeing of the people, and uphold their essential commitment to equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. We should all champion the common values of humanity, promote global governance that features extensive consultation and joint contribution for shared benefit, and cultivate a new type of international relations. We should all work together to implement the Global Development Initiative, the Global Security Initiative and the Global Civilization Initiative, advance high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, and deliver more benefits to all peoples.

The Vision keeps pace with the historic trend toward multipolarity and economic globalization, and inspires new ways to achieve development and security. China has been working together with all sides to take profound and real measures to build a community with a shared future for mankind. We have together enabled the Vision to make historic achievements—expanding from bilateral to multilateral, regional to global, development to security, and cooperation to governance. This has guided and boosted the efforts for an equal and orderly multipolar world and a universally beneficial and inclusive economic globalization. It has given the international community broad prospects of peace and stability, and presented the world with more prosperity and development.

Looking at the past and future at this critical moment in history, we believe our exploration for the betterment of human civilization will not end, and our efforts for a better world will not end. No matter how the world evolves, one basic fact will not change. There is only one Planet Earth in the universe, and the whole mankind

have one common home. Our shared future depends on Earth. We must take good care of it, and leave a happy land for our future generations.

The future beckons with promise, and challenges must be tackled. At this historic moment when mankind have to choose between peace and war, prosperity and recession, unity and confrontation, we must champion more than ever the essence of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and we must always strive tirelessly for the lofty goal of building a community with a shared future for mankind.

We need to uphold the principle of sovereign equality. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence center on the principle of sovereign equality. And on that basis, they promote equal rights, equal opportunities and equal norms for every country. They reject the big subduing the small, the strong bullying the weak, and the rich exploiting the poor. An equal and orderly multipolar world means every country can find its place in a multipolar system and play its due role pursuant to international law, so that the process of multipolarization is stable and constructive on the whole.

We need to cement the foundation of mutual respect. Countries must make equality, mutual respect and mutual trust the ground rules of engagement. They should show respect for different historical and cultural traditions and different stages of development, for each other's core interests and major concerns, and for the development paths and systems independently chosen by people of all countries. We must jointly uphold the "golden rule" of non-interference, and jointly oppose acts of imposing one's will on others, stoking bloc confrontation, creating small circles, and forcing others to pick sides.

We need to turn the vision for peace and security into reality. The past and present have enlightened us that all countries must shoulder their common responsibility for peace, and commit to a path of peaceful development. They must work together to seek peace, safeguard peace, and enjoy peace. In today's interdependent world, absolute security and exclusive security are just not viable. The China-proposed Global Security Initiative is aimed to advocate the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security. It strives to achieve development and security through cooperation, and put in place a more balanced, effective and sustainable security architecture.

We need to unite all forces to achieve prosperity. An ancient Chinese philosopher observed, "The benevolent treat others with love, and the wise share with others benefits." As a Latin American saying goes, "The only way to be profitably national is to be generously universal." An Arab proverb has it, "With unity, the fire grows; without unity, the fire extinguishes." In the era

of economic globalization, what is needed is not gaps of division but bridges of communication, not iron curtains of confrontation but highways of cooperation. China has been advocating a universally beneficial and inclusive economic globalization, promoting high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, and endeavoring to deliver on the Global Development Initiative. Our goal is to benefit all with the opportunity of development, to diversify development paths, to help all nations share development fruits, to encourage common development and prosperity for all countries in the global village, and to turn win-win into a solid consensus.

We need to commit to fairness and justice. Without them, power politics will be the order of the day, and the weak will be at the mercy of the strong. In face of the new developments and challenges, the authority and central role of the United Nations can only be strengthened rather than weakened. The purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter are never outdated, and they are getting ever more important. China advocates the vision of global governance featuring extensive consultation and joint contribution for shared benefit, and China believes in true multilateralism. Our goal is that international rules should be made and observed by all countries. World affairs should be handled through extensive consultation, not dictated by those with more muscles.

We need to embrace an open and inclusive mindset. All countries are on board the same giant ship. It carries on it not only aspirations for peace, economic prosperity and technological advancement, but also the diversity of civilizations and the continuation of the human species. In history, different civilizations helped each other prosper through interactions, and brought about great progress and prosperity for mankind. This has left us with splendid chapters of mutual reinforcement and mutual learning among various civilizations. The Global Civilization Initiative proposed by China is aimed at increasing understanding and friendship among peoples and promoting tolerance and mutual learning among civilizations. The world is big enough to accommodate the common development and common progress of all countries. It is entirely possible for different civilizations to prosper together and inspire each other through mutual learning on an equal footing.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Friends,

The past 70' years have proved time and again that an effective way for countries to meet challenges together and create a better future is to enhance unity, cooperation, communication and understanding. Of all

the forces in the world, the Global South stands out with a strong momentum, playing a vital role in promoting human progress. Standing at a new historical starting point, the Global South should be more open and more inclusive, and join hands together to take the lead in building a community with a shared future for mankind. Together, we should be the staunch force for peace. We should promote peaceful settlement of international disputes, and participate constructively in the political settlement of international and regional hotspot issues. Together, we should be the core driving force for open development. We should restore development as the central international agenda item, reinvigorate global partnerships for development, and deepen South-South cooperation as well as North-South dialogue. Together, we should be the construction team of global governance. We should actively participate in reforming and developing the global governance system, expand the common interests of all sides, and make the global governance architecture more balanced and effective. Together, we should be the advocates for exchange among civilizations. We should enhance inter-civilization communication and dialogue, and strengthen experience sharing on governance. We should deepen exchanges in education, science, technology and culture as well as subnational, people-to-people and youth interactions.

To better support Global South cooperation, China will establish a Global South research center. It will provide 1,000 scholarships under the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence Scholarship of Excellence and 100,000 training opportunities to Global South countries in the coming five years. It will also launch a Global South youth leaders program. China will continue to make good use of the China-U.N. Peace and Development Fund, the Global Development and South-South Cooperation Fund, and the Climate Change South-South Cooperation Fund, and will work with interested parties to set up a tripartite center of excellence for the implementation of the Global Development Initiative, so as to facilitate growth in Global South countries. It will renew the China-IFAD South-South and Triangular Cooperation Facility, and make an additional Renminbi contribution equivalent to US\$10 million to be used to support agricultural development of the Global South. China is ready to discuss free trade arrangements with more Global South countries, continue to support the WTO's Aid for Trade initiative, and renew its contribution to the WTO's China Program. It welcomes more Global South countries to join the Initiative on International Trade and Economic Cooperation Framework for Digital Economy and Green Development. Between now and 2030, China's import from fellow developing countries is expected to exceed US\$8 trillion.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Friends,

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence has been written into China's Constitution long before. They are the bedrock of China's independent foreign policy of peace. At present, China is working to build a great modern socialist country in all respects and achieve national rejuvenation through the Chinese path to modernization. On this new journey, we will continue to champion the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, work with all countries to build a community with a shared future for mankind, and make new and greater contributions to safeguarding world peace and promoting common development.

China's resolve to stay on the path of peaceful development will not change. We will never take the trodden path of colonial plundering, or the wrong path of seeking hegemony when one becomes strong. We will stay on the right path of peaceful development. Among the world's major countries, China has the best track record with respect to peace and security. It has been exploring for a distinctly Chinese approach to resolving hotspot issues. It has been playing a constructive role in the Ukraine crisis, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and issues relating to the Korean Peninsula, Iran, Myanmar, and Afghanistan.

China's strength is an increase of the prospects of world peace.

China's resolve to develop friendship and cooperation with all countries will not change. We will actively expand global partnerships based on equality, openness, and cooperation, and commit to expanding shared interests with all countries. China will promote coordination and sound interactions among major countries, and work to foster major-country dynamics featuring peaceful coexistence, overall stability, and balanced development. In its neighborhood, China will adhere to the principle of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness as well as the policy of developing friendship and partnership with its neighbors. It will seek to deepen friendship, trust and common interests with its neighboring countries. With developing countries, China will stay committed to the principle of sincerity, real results, amity, and good faith, and take the right approach to friendship and interests. It will strengthen unity and cooperation with developing countries and safeguard our common interests" China will practice true multilateralism, and take an active part in the reform and improvement of the global governance system.

China's resolve to promote common development across the world will not change. High-quality development of the Chinese economy will provide strong impetus to



world economic growth. Modernization achieved by 1.4 billion Chinese people means the addition of a new super-large market larger than all developed countries combined. China will only open itself ever wider to the outside world. Its door will never close. We are planning to take, and in some cases already taking, major steps to further deepen reform across the board and expand institutional opening up. We will build a business environment that is more solidly based on market and rule of law and is up to international standards. "Small yard with high fences," decoupling, and severing industrial and supply chains simply run counter to the tide of history. They will do nothing but harm the common interests of the international community.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Friends,

A forerunner of Chinese revolution wrote a century ago, "The course of history is never smooth. It is sometimes beset with difficulties and obstacles. Nothing short of a heroic spirit can help surmount them." Today, the historic baton of advancing world peace and development has been passed to our generation. Let us take the 70th anniversary of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as a starting point, shoulder the historic missions, and forge ahead together to build a community with a shared future for mankind and usher in an even better future for humanity.

Thank you.

Speech Delivered at the Funeral Service of President Desire Delano Bouterse of Suriname on Jan 4th, 2025

I extend deepest sympathy to the widow, family and to the leadership of the NDP on behalf of President Irfan Ali, Vice-President and General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party (PPP) Bharrat Jagdeo and on my own behalf on the passing of President Desire Delano Bouterse.

I felt compelled to be here today because of the close personal working relations I have had with the late President.

Over the years that we have been meeting, that is sometime before and during my time as President of Guyana, he and I forged friendly relations. Indeed, working with him was one of the bright spots of my difficult presidency.

I supposed that this was because of the fact that we had common views on many regional issues and our desire to forge closer people to people links within CARICOM and our two peoples in particular.

I know that he was very fond of Guyana and had very intimate knowledge of the country. He knew the nooks and crannies of Guyana.

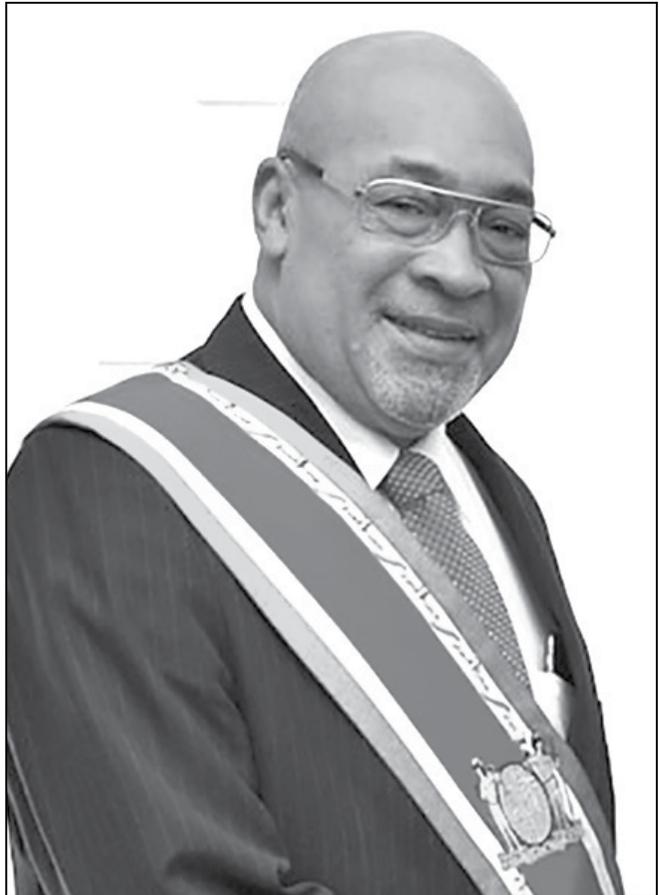
President Bouterse burst on the local political scene in 1980. Since then, he played a central role in the socio-economic and political life of Suriname, the Caribbean Community and made his mark internationally,

Today, I wish to briefly reflect on what motivated him, what drove him and gave him the energy he was so well known for.

Firstly, he was a nationalist who took independence seriously. For him independence meant more than just a National Anthem and a Flag. He wanted not just the form but more importantly he strove for the substance of Independence.

He laboured to break the bonds of dependency forged through centuries of Dutch colonialism. He sought to make his country free from economic subjugation. This is a goal that we are still striving for in the region.

The second thing that stood out about him was the fact that he was a strong regionalist. He was a great supporter of CARICOM. He worked hard to promote



unity of the people of the region. He recognised that we had good conditions to build this togetherness, based on our common history and struggle.

During my Presidency, we almost always stood together on regional and international issues.

The third aspect of his personality that I would like to note was his close affinity with working people. Here I am speaking of his ties within Suriname and abroad. He was always very comfortable in the company of the toiling masses.

I could have seen that close up when we were together at many regional and international occasions.

I strongly believe that it was those traits of his that were most responsible for the vicious attacks he was subjected

to from the old colonial master and imperialism generally. Anyone who still believe that the main Imperialist states have any morality left I invite you to look at what is happening in the Gaza and on the West Bank of Jordan River as we speak!

This is not a war as the mainstream media tries to portray. It is a genocide against an almost helpless/ defenceless population.

As of now, already more than 45,000 people are confirmed killed, 70% of whom were children, babes and women of child-bearing age. Thousands more are dead and buried under millions of tons of rubble. Tens of thousands more have died from wounds inflicted by Israel's bombs and bullets. Thousands other have succumbed because of the lack of medicines, and the simple necessities of life.

As we speak babies are dying from the cold, having no where to go but the open places, the lucky ones in flimsy tents.

Hospitals are being systematically destroyed. Hundred of medical workers, doctors and nurses have been murdered, some while they were tending to patients. Doctors and other medical personnel are being arrested, tortured and killed in Israel's prisons.

The fascist apartheid regime has been using everything against the poor Palestinian civilians. Pure drinking water is unavailable, electricity and fuel have been cut off and food is barely enough to keep skin and bone together. The conditions are really unimaginable.

Corpses are rotting on the roads and toilets facilities are totally absent.

There are some of the conditions that the people are forced to endure.

Two other groups of persons have been marked for death. They are journalists and UN Humanitarian workers. More than four hundred persons in those groups have been deliberately killed.

This genocide is being supported by imperialism. The US, UK, Germany and the Netherlands have been supplying hundreds of billions of dollars in military equipment to this fascist regime. The bombs, bullets, warplanes, tanks have been generously provided by the West.

Only a few days ago the Courts in the Netherlands have dismissed a case brought by some non-government organisation in Holland to stop the Government from sending arms to Israel.

They are also providing diplomatic protection for the regime. Days after the genocide began, a motion was put to the UN Security Council for a Humanitarian pause in the attacks. The US vetoed it. Since then, the main imperialist state has vetoed five more cease fire proposals.

They have put their whole intelligence apparatus at the disposal of Israel. Just two days ago we found out that the UK did hundreds of flights over the GAZA gathering information to provide to the apartheid regime, to kill Palestinians.

It is these same forces that are conducting a proxy war against Russia. Fighting Russia to the last Ukrainian. The motive here is to dominate the world, to put its resources at the disposal of the US.

It is these same decadent, morally bankrupt politicians that persecuted President Bouterse during his lifetime. Their character is soaked in the blood of the innocent Palestinian children and those of others in many other countries.

It is time that CARICOM leaders take a lead to stand up against the obvious inhumane conditions in the Gaza. They must let their voices be heard in the service of justice and life it-self.

CARICOM leaders should call for the Expulsion of Israel from the United Nations for the genocide it is committing and for destroying international institutions, including the UN itself, the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

This is not a radical proposal. Apartheid South Africa was suspended from the UN for far less crimes that Israel is committing. Like South Africa we must show our humanity and lead! President Bouterse would have supported such a stance!

In conclusion, let me say that Desi' Delano Bouterse was a warm and fun loving person. He loved music, he enjoyed a good drink and music. Indeed, he was a good singer in many languages. His favourite English song was "My Way." Maybe because that song captured a lot of his personality.

He will be missed! Once more deepest sympathy to his Family and Party.



Editor's Note:

As an added feature the Thinker would be introducing Cheddi Jagan's Fight for Guyana's Freedom as documented in the West on Trial, chapter by chapter, in future issues.

Growing Up: Chapter 1

As I look back in my past, one thing stands out most vividly, a perpetual struggle for survival and freedom.

I know very little about my ancestors in India. I presume they were no different from the millions of other peasants to whom it did not matter whether their country was ruled by a Hindu Raja, or a Moghul Nawab, or the British government. I have no doubt that like most other peasants, they were exploited by zamindars (landlords) and were ground down by poverty. Whatever might have been their struggles against the zamindars or the British Raj it would appear that there was no rebel like me on my family tree.

All that I shall ever know about my parents before they reached British Guiana is what is stated in the records of the now defunct Immigration Department. They came from Basti in Uttar Pradesh, about sixty miles from Allahabad, Jawaharlal Nehru's birthplace. They were born in small villages in remote areas of the district. Births were not recorded in India at that time, so the dates of their births are unknown. My father's age on arrival in British Guiana was given as two years and my mother's as eighteen months.

The original group which was later to become my family circle in British Guiana was rather small; just five persons in all - two grandmothers, father, mother and an uncle on my father's side.

Both of my grandmothers came as indentured immigrants in 1901 on the sailing vessel Elbe. They were "bound" by five-year contracts to different sugar plantations, or "estates" as they were called, in the county of Berbice, the most eastern of the three counties which make up British Guiana. My paternal grandmother went to Albion and my maternal grandmother to Port Mourant, three miles away. Women were required to work during the first three years, but for the rest of the period, during which they were required to reside on the plantations, they were under no legal obligation to work. My grandmothers, however, like all the other women who came to British Guiana during the 79 years of Indian indentured immigration, from 1838 to 1917, had no choice but to work throughout the five years. Every penny was needed.

Plantation life in British Guiana was hard. At a very early age, my parents had to join their mothers in the cane fields, my father at Albion and my mother at Port Mourant. They both worked in the creole gangs. My mother relates that she had to work from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. manuring sugarcane in the fields for 8 cents (approx. 2p) per day, and also three times per week from midnight to 6 a.m. fetching fine bagasse into the factory for 4 cents (1p) for the 6-hour period. Her total take-home pay was about 60 cents (12 ½p) per week. She often recalls how difficult those days were: 'Bhaiya, ahwee proper punish' (Brother, we really suffered). My mother has a way of calling me by the all-inclusive term "brother", a common practice among Indians.

My mother was a short, quiet, thrifty and deeply religious woman, who took care of budgeting our family's life. She endured long suffering with infinite patience. From my mother I learnt the elements of finance.

At about the age of fourteen my father moved to the cane cutting gang and my mother to the moulding gang. The cleaning of trenches was allotted as an additional duty, particularly to women. My mother's earnings increased to 20 cents (4p) per day, and my father's were 36 cents (7½p). But the hours continued to be just as long. The normal practice for workers in this category was to wake up about 4 o'clock in the morning and trek from three to five miles on foot for task assignments.

My parents were married in 1909, when my father was about ten years old and my mother slightly younger. It was still the custom in those days for Indians to marry at a very early age. However, they continued to live separately with their respective parents until about the age of sixteen, when my mother moved in, as was the custom, with her in-laws. (My father's mother had re-married.)

For my mother, this was a step toward a slightly higher status - midway between a room in the plantation range and a separate home. Home in this case meant a small house of two rooms, with two windows and a door, a mud floor and a troolie grass roof. Khatiyas (plaited ropes on wooden crossbars and legs) and boards were the improvised beds.

My mother continued to work until I was about

nine years old. By that time, there were already four children in the family. I was the second child and was born on March 22, 1918; my elder brother had died at the age of eight months. Because my father had earned a reputation of being the best canecutter, he was promoted at the age of thirty to "driver" - a foreman of a gang. (The term "driver" which dates back to the days of slavery and the whiplash, has now been modified to that of headman.) But his pay was still low; at first no more than 50p a week (G\$2.40). After many years he became head driver, but even then he did not earn very much.



My father had a small pocket but a big heart. He was bold and flamboyant and had a county-wide reputation as a great sportsman, particularly a t cricket, horse racing and betting. He was a tall, fair skinned, impressive looking man with a picturesque and the largest moustache in the county. Any leadership qualities I have, I acquired from my father.

On his retirement at about fifty owing to broken health, he was given the princely sum of G\$4 (83 ½p) a week as an ex-gratia pension!

My mother never went to school, but my father was slightly more fortunate. Even so, he had to leave within three years, before he was ten, in order to go out to work. My grandmother could not afford to keep him in school. The sugar planters, concerned with the production of more sugar at less cost, kept wages so low that parents were unable to educate their children, who in large numbers remained more or less illiterate.

The planters frowned upon education because they held the view that an educated worker would soon become dissatisfied with his status as an agricultural labourer. What they needed, above all, was a cheap and abundant supply of agricultural labour. Bookkeepers, storekeepers, dispensers, engineers, and foremen could easily be found from among the freed Africans and the Portuguese.

Government officials, too, more often than not, saw things in the same light as the planters. An Immigration Agent General (an official in whose care the welfare of

the workers and their families was placed) recorded in his Administration Report for 1912-13 that it was a privation to prevent children under the age of nine years from being employed on what he called "light work", such as carrying earth, ashes, manure, and he added that "this is not only a benefit to the parents but also a source of pleasure to themselves". The Swettenbam Circular which was issued in June 1904, relieved Indian parents completely of their obligation to send their daughters to school.

My parents were Hindus and deeply religious, my mother even more so than my father. In the early days my mother used to attend the Hindu Temple at Port Mourant and take part in many of the festivals and functions that are part of Hinduism. Hinduism is, of course, not such a formalized religion as many others. One could say it is a way of life. If you are born of Hindu parentage, you do not have to take part in institutional practices to maintain your status as a Hindu. Although my father attended few of the functions, he was as staunch a supporter of his religion as any other person on the plantation. He wore the churki, a bunch of hair between four and six inches long in the middle of the head, which is roughly as significant to a Hindu as a beard is to a Muslim.

As a boy, I remember attending many Hindu festivals - Holi, Deepavali, Kalimai Puja and Ram Leela. At that early age, their religious significance was lost on me, but they were fun, particularly the Holi celebrations. I remember spending weeks with others collecting all the dead trees and pieces of wood we could find to help build the Holi, and then in the early morning of the appropriate day taking part in burning the heap and roasting corn-on-the-cob. There was a particular superstition that corn roasted in the Holi fire would cure toothache.

One particular event I shall always remember took place at the death of my paternal grandmother. My father had to lead the religious ceremony which, in accordance with the Hindu custom, was performed on the thirteenth day after her death. He had to shave his head completely, with the exception of his churki, and as the eldest son of the family, I had to do the same. I did not relish the thought of going about shaven-headed, but I had to do it to please my parents. I did not have a churki, but a bunch of hair was left by the barber to form one which I cut off as soon as the rest of my hair had grown.

What was most interesting about this function was the feeding of the mahapatar, a priest belonging to the lowest division of the Brahmin caste, who officiates principally at such ceremonies. I recall the experience of rubbing his bulging abdomen so that he could consume more food. But food was not all. Gifts of various kinds - a cow, blankets, an umbrella, etc. - were showered upon him. These were necessary for the soul of the dead in

the period between death and reincarnation.

The plantation appeared to me as the hub of life. Everything revolved around sugar, and the sugar planters seemed to own the world. They owned the canefields and the factories; even the small pieces of land rented to some of the workers for family food production belonged to them. They owned the mansions occupied by the senior staff, and the cottages occupied by dispensers, chemists, engineers, bookkeepers and drivers. They owned the logies (ranges) and huts where the labourers lived, the hospitals and every other important building. At one time they also owned and operated a rice mill. Even the churches and schools came within their patronage and control.

The plantation was indeed a world of its own. Or rather it was two worlds: the world of exploiters and the world of the exploited; the world of whites and the world of nonwhites. One was the world of managers and the European staff in their splendid mansions; the other the world of the labourers in their logies in the "niggeryard" and the "bound-coolie-yard". The mansions were electrically lit; the logies had kerosene lamps. It was not unusual to hear it said that the mules were better treated than human beings, for the tables had electric light. It was not that electricity could not have been taken to the workers' quarters and residences. The owners could easily have generated more electricity at very little extra cost to satisfy the needs of all. But electricity, like so many other things, was a status symbol.

There is an interesting story about mules being treated better than the workers. Years ago, on first arrival, a director of one of the foreign sugar companies took his wife on a familiarization tour of the estates on the East Bank of Demerara. "What's that?" the good lady asked. "That's a mule stable," replied the husband. After a while, as the drive continued, she remarked: "My goodness, you have an awful lot of mules."

Sitting at the apex of this world was the plantation manager. At Port Mourant, the premier plantation in Berbice, the manager during my boyhood was J. C. Gibson. His reputation extended far and wide; he was czar, king, prosecutor, and judge, all in one. Almost everyone looked upon him with awe and fear. The roadside parapet and timber rails of the bridge across the main trench which drained the water from the estate to the sea constituted a regular meeting place, a kind of social centre. Young and old alike sat on the rails, but not when Gibson passed. As soon as he was spotted half-a-mile away, we either had to scamper away or be prepared to do obeisance.

Between these white and non-white worlds there were distances -social (inhabitants of these two worlds did not associate) and physical (the mansions were out of

bounds). There was also a psychological distance. I recall vividly my great curiosity about the manager's mansion. I wanted to know what it felt like to be inside the gate. I wanted to know what was going on inside. The opportunity came one Christmas when I must have been about eight or nine years old. I joined the creole gang and went to share in the largesse of the manager. The manager's wife, Mrs. Gibson, stood at the window of the top floor of this imposing mansion. She threw coins down to us and enjoyed seeing the wild scramble for the pennies. The plantation hierarchy had an unwritten but nevertheless rigid code. Managers and overseers could have sex relations with non-white women, but intermarriage was strictly forbidden. These women were not considered good enough to be wives of whites. Although sexual intercourse between white members of the staff and non-white women was looked upon with disfavour by the Immigration Department, in practice the plantation system was so organised that nothing could be done to prevent it. The head of the Immigration Department was always known as Crosby (after James Crosby, a one-time exceptional holder of the post), but was powerless to help. Various subterfuges were used to avoid detection. When a child was born of an illicit relationship, the name of a driver or some other non-white employee, suitably rewarded, was given as the father of the child when the birth was registered.

Rum-drinking, gambling, dancing, horse and mule-racing, and cricket were the principal pastimes of the whites. Cheating - padding of the paylists -was also practiced on an extensive scale. Plantation life gave me the opportunity of seeing at first hand the raw deal which the labourers received. No doubt these experiences were the factors which led to my early interest in social and economic questions, and brought me later into political life.

Between the worlds of employers and employees was the middle stratum of shopkeepers, pandits, parsons, teachers, dispensers, bookkeepers and drivers, all of whom depended for their status and social position on the patronage of the manager. They could be penalized at any time if they lost favour with him.

My father was at the lowest level of the middle stratum. His position was the source of a real dilemma to him. He felt himself one of the exploited, but as a driver had to carry out the orders of his exploiters. I recall how this grieved him. His way out was publicly to carry out his duties while privately advising and urging the workers on the courses of action open to them.

Having attained the position of driver, my father had no further avenue of promotion, For the unwritten law was that none other than a white man could hold the post of overseer. This was a cause of frustration and bitterness

as he had to train white men who did not know the difference between young sugarcane plants and grass.

My father proved his competence at work and at play. In many ways he demonstrated that he was a man equal to, and sometimes better than, those placed above him because of their white skins. The overseers above him were a boorish lot who were barely tolerated by other expatriates in better positions. With little pretensions to education or culture, their social life was restricted to the narrow confines of "wine, women and song". Often they had to turn to drivers and others for company, and at their own pastimes of drinking and cards my father soon outpaced them. He drank more than most, but retained a cool head, and it was not unusual for him to make more money from gambling at cards than from his earnings on the plantation.

These were the ways in which he sought "to break out" of his environment – an environment which arrested his development and which eventually crushed him.

Like most people of the labouring class whose privations began in infancy, disease began to affect my father's health when he was about fifty. However, because he was a man of fine and indomitable spirit, he died fighting to the very end. He refused to agree to the surgeon's decision that his gangrenous foot should be amputated. This might save his life, he was told, but this argument was of no avail; he did not wish to live as a cripple.

The decision against amputation was apparently compounded of many factors, of which two predominated: firstly, folklore - a "half-a-foot" man was an object of derision and fear among children and my father did not wish his grandchildren to be told that he was such a person; and secondly, religious belief - call it superstitious folklore if you wish. Somehow, amputation of a leg did not fit in with the reincarnation theory, a belief that after death the soul enters the body of a newly born child. All of this was told to me rather incoherently when I pleaded with him to agree to the amputation.

If my father could not break out of his environment himself, he sought to do so through me. He saw to it that, the opportunities of which he had been deprived were made available to me. He well knew what the lack of formal education meant, so he made sure that I attended school.

My first school was the Port Mourant Primary School, run by the Anglican Church. The duration of my stay at this school was short. I attended only up to the first standard. One of the reasons I understand was ill treatment. It might well have been that my parents were all too sensitive about the head teacher's cane. To them, I was the golden boy – my elder brother had died at the age of seven months. But no doubt the fact that the head-teacher of the new school was the best among the head

teachers of the three schools in the area was the main reason for my transfer.

Most of my primary school days were spent at the nearby Rose Hall Scots School. The headteacher, J. S. Ralph, proved to be a friend and counsellor, took a keen interest and later advised my father to send me to R. N. Persaud's private secondary school in Port Mourant, the only secondary school of its kind in the area. I spent about two years there. In those days, secondary schools were not only few in number but the fees were quite high. I have never forgotten this and the memory of it was clear in my mind when in 1961 while I was Premier, we arranged for the initiation of a comprehensive system of free secondary education.

Then came what was at that time regarded as a major decision. In 1933, at the age of fifteen, my father decided to send me to Queen's College, the government secondary school for boys in the capital city of Georgetown, about a hundred miles away from home, a great distance in those days of very poor roads and slow transport.

My self-confidence was to receive a sharp blow on my arrival in Georgetown. At Port Mourant I had been a big fish in a small pond, a king in my own kingdom. There I was a leader. Emulating my father, of whom I was very proud, I developed leadership qualities very early. I headed my own cricket team and played most of the other games successfully. Kusti (wrestling) allowed me to demonstrate my talents as the best fighter at Anker-ville (a section of Port Mourant) and the nearby areas. And prowess at games involving marbles, bows and arrows earned for me the reputation of a banker in buttons, marbles and arrows.

Georgetown was different. There I was a country boy in a big city, a tiny "patwa" in a big pond. At home I had felt the social distance between my parents and even shopkeepers. Here I was suddenly thrown among the sons of "famous" people.

The second blow I received was at the hands of the Principal of Queen's College, Captain H. Nobbs, an Englishman, who placed me in Form II. Two weeks of Form II convinced me that I was wasting my time. I was doing work which I had already covered at Port Mourant. A verbal battle with the Principal resulted in my transfer after two and a half weeks to Form III. At the end of that year came a double promotion. Then, at the end of my second and third years, I passed both the Oxford and Cambridge Lower and School Certificate examinations. These achievements, coupled with a cricket batting record for the college third-eleven team, completely restored my confidence, a pattern of experience which was to be repeated in my later life.

Though Queen's College was a challenge, in many respects it was a disappointment. On the one hand, it was

very remote from the life and experience of a boy such as myself; and on the other, it was involved in training a fortunate few, quite without relation to Guiana and realities.

I soon found myself in conflict with the ways in which I had been brought up and with the kind of things I had been doing. At Port Mourant, poverty was intense --- I didn't wear shoes until I was about twelve. From an early age I had to undertake various jobs to supplement the family income. As the combined income of my parents from work in the fields was inadequate even to meet the barest necessities of life, our family diet was not only very simple and modest but also monotonous, consisting of the same items over and over again. Rice and dhal (split peas), occasionally roti (a form of bread) and fish were the principal items. Beef and pork were taboo to us as Hindus. So simple was the diet that I used to look forward to the occasional Saturday night treat of sardines and bread, or cheese and biscuits, with which my father returned from his weekend sprees, either at the "overseer quarters" or at that poor man's club, the village rumshop.

Additional income for the family came from three sources five acres of rice, a few head of cattle and a kitchen garden at the rear of our house. I often had to take time off from school to work in the rice fields at both planting

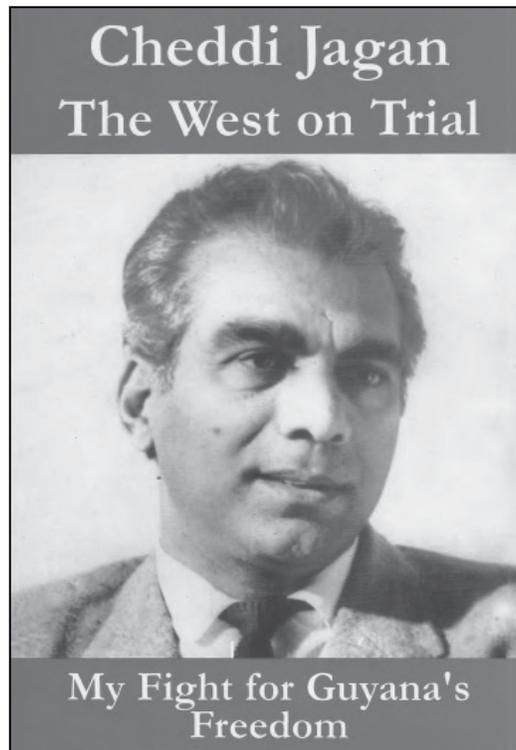
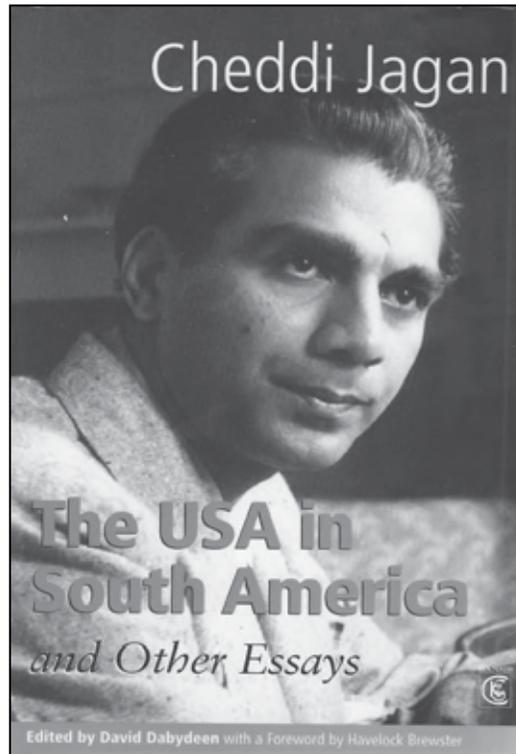
and harvest, and on Saturdays to help my father cut and fetch canes. Cutting grass for our cows, helping with the kitchen garden and at times even selling produce from the latter in the open-air plantation market, became part of my routine. My mother had been clever enough to give me a kind of incentive bonus: she allotted to me part of the kitchen garden and anything produced there was mine.

Any leadership qualities I have I acquired from my father. From my mother I learnt the elements of finance. While my father was bold and flamboyant, my mother tackled the more mundane and difficult task of balancing the family budget.

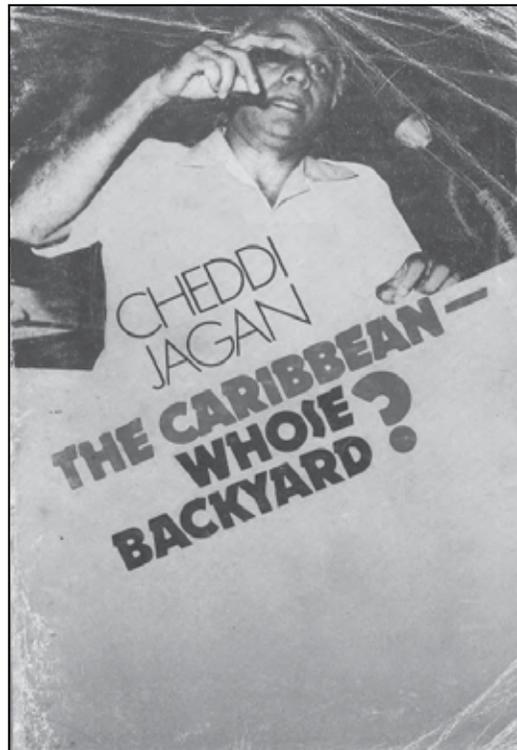
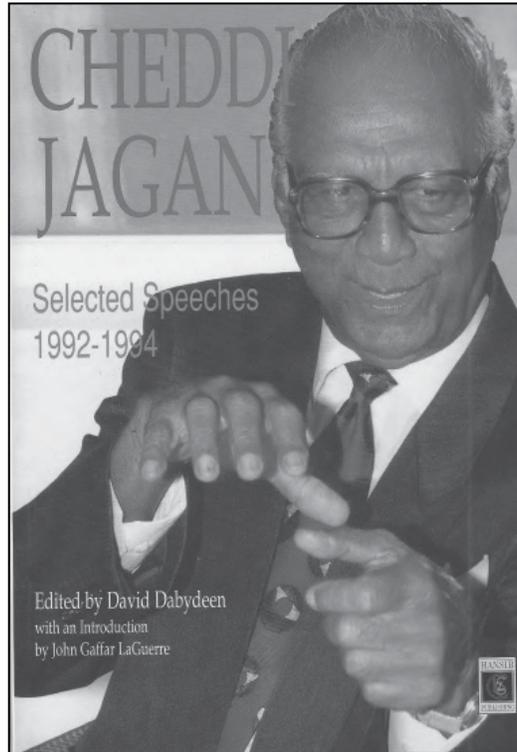


Dr. Jagan with his mother, brothers and sisters

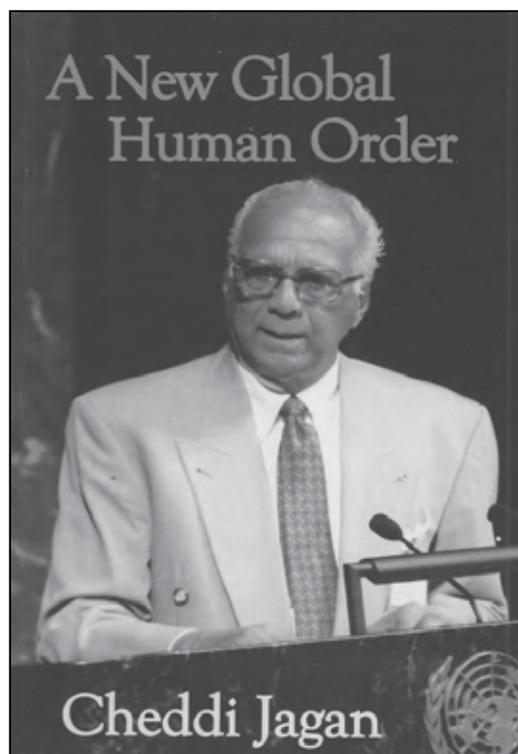
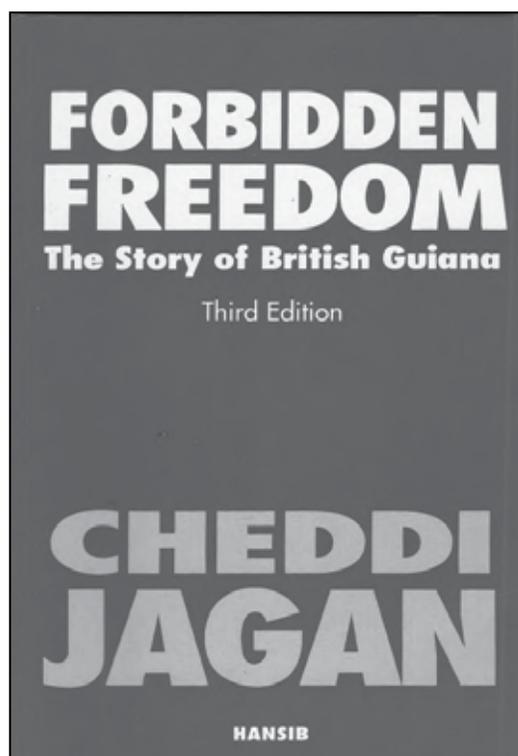
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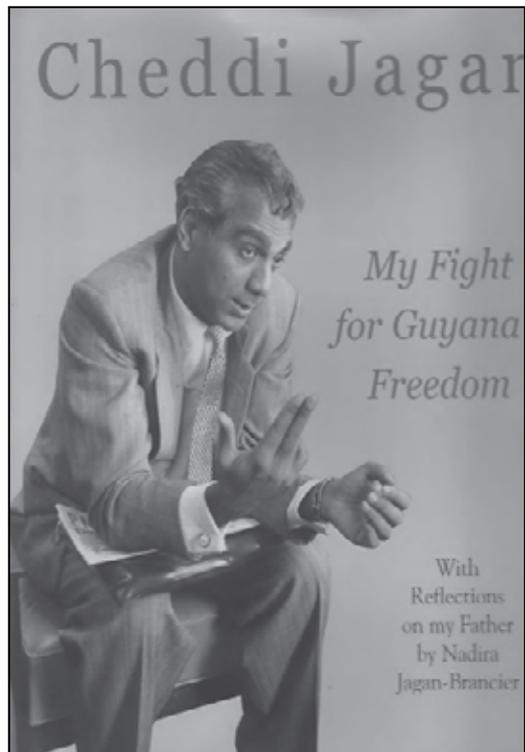
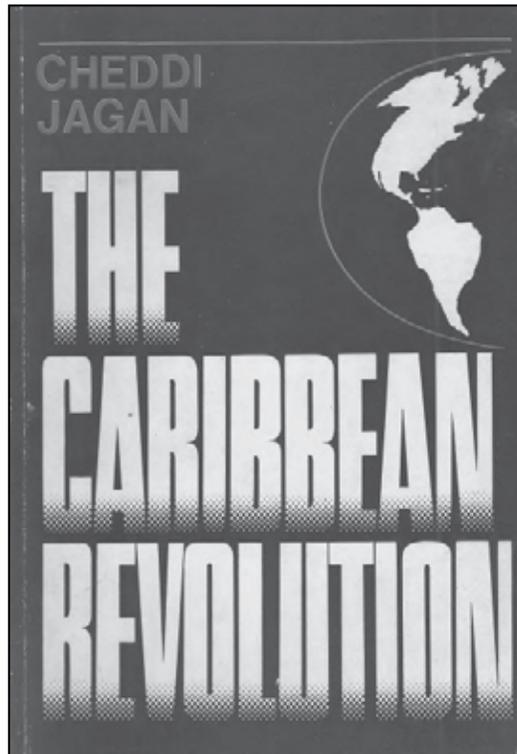
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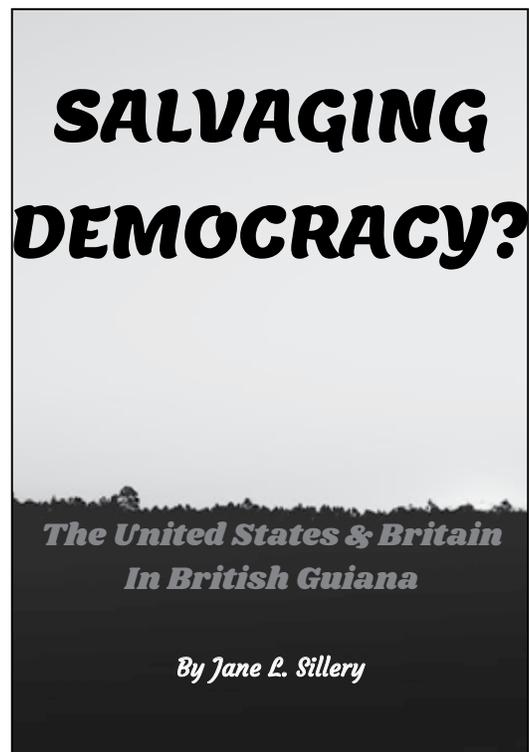
Publications by Dr. Cheddi Jagan



Publications by Dr. Cheddi Jagan



Publications



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

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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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