

6 October 1973

Ray—

Things are beginning to settle down into something approaching manageable chaos. My course on Iran turns out to be largely graduate students, many of whom have had experience in Iran, but what really makes it is a number of Persians (plus an Afghan and an East African Ismaili) who are sitting in. We're just setting up tutorials: looks like I will be running two: one on the Caribbean and one on Urban America.

Re. the trip this summer: interesting and fun, but did nothing very intensive:

GUYANA

Elections: I really got there too late (a week before the elections) to work my way into any local community. One solution would have been to go see Cheddi Jagan immediately, but as I was picked up at immigration (given a two day visa) and was still thinking Persian (where the slightest anti-government hints are heavy), I decided to hold off. I had to use Frank Pilgrim's good offices to get a three week visa. Pilgrim, by the way, is off to Lagos (for a year?) to organize a Black Culture Exposition. In any case, things do seem relatively clear. What is striking (to a Persian) is the degree of politicization and sophisticated criticism of government policies in economic terms among all classes of society; widespread allegations of fraud, mismanagement, illegality and simple class exploitation; and yet, freedom of speech and press. For some reason, I ran into very few PNC supporters.

As to the elections themselves, I suppose there is little I can add to what you probably know. But just as a check list:

Pre-Election Allegations [*in the Graphic and the Chronicle]

- *a) the problem of accurate registration lists: some people being listed several times; others not at all; non-existent people, etc.
- *b) clerks in the Consulate in Surinam were marking ballots (PNC) for voters
- *c) in Trinidad 18-year old PNC supporters were given ballots
- *d) harrassment of PPP activists by the police, constant "searches for guns", refusal to allow detainees access to lawyers
- *e) Mirror (PPP) newspaper harrassed over its newsprint supplies
- *f) fears that since postal balloting and indeed regular balloting is entirely in the hands of PNC functionaries (including the Guyana Defense Force) that there would be simple stealing of PPP votes and substitution of PNC votes (as in previous elections) without any means of checking: the Government even in the face of court order kept postponing publication of voter lists
- g) patronage pressure and economic blackmail
 - of wage laborers: you get jobs in return for signing PNC proxy ballot)
 - of businessmen: tax investigations; squeezing profits via the price controls on imports

- h) PNC activists going around house to house trying to get people to sign PNC proxy ballots
- i) use of political blackmail and cooption
blackmail, e.g. Kit Nascimento, former PPP racist who said he would never willingly be ruled by sons of slaves and who spit in the face of a black girl, now is a hatchetman for Burnham, allegedly because Burnham has some "dirt" on him
abortive cooption: Burnham tried to get an endorsement from, and place on his ticket, the leader of the Muslim Community, Yakub Ali —Yakub Ali indignantly refused to be bought, or to tell people how to vote (says Burnham, had he played straight and honest could easily have gotten Muslim support, but with relatively open discrimination not only against East Indians but also specifically against Muslims, he has lost a good chance). Burnham got another Muslim to stand for Yakub Ali. It is alleged that his inclusion of 3 Muslims in his cabinet is an attempt to split the Muslims away from other East Indians (since under Jagan, there were no Muslim Ministers).
- j) one Muslim Anjoman election was packed with pro-Burnham men and when a Burnham majority was inside, the police were used to exclude PPP people from entering; a pro-Burnham leadership was elected, but the rank-and-file disaffected: the Muslim orphanage, e.g., in Georgetown has been disbanded and the children taken to the Corentyne.

Incidents

- a) violence: the usual fights at political meetings, with charges that black provocateurs were acquitted while E. Indian provocateurs were convicted in court
25 June - death of two National Defense Forcemen: they were on a motorcycle and were pinched between a truck driven by a PNC E. Indian and a car driven by an E. Indian. The original police report had it as an accident, but the rumor network immediately had it as a plot by PPP East Indians against black PNC troopers, the rationale for such a plot being that it would polarize voters along racial lines, and help an E. Indian majority. There was talk of burning E. Indian houses, but Burnham sent people out to cool things off, by arguing that to carry out such a plan would do exactly what the alleged plot intended. For some time thereafter there were half hourly jeep patrols on the road out past LBI.
- b) radio broadcasts by Jagan and Burnham
Jagan: in the last of a series of 5 broadcasts, Jagan called for counting of ballots at the polling places where poll watchers from both sides could be present; he and the other opposition parties asked for a UN team to be sent as observers
Burnham: the following night immediately challenged Jagan's suggestion as tampering with honest elections, and announced it would be an offense to obstruct at the polling places with a penalty of \$1000 plus one year in jail plus debarment from political participation for 5 years. The PNC is dedicated to democracy and is opposed to a one party state; it is the opposition which has called for a one party state and totalitarianism.

Vignettes

entrepreneurial
spirit

a) An E. Indian dry-goods stall renter in Starbroek Market. We met on the Demarara Ferry, and he offered to drive me to Windsor Forest in his van. He is the son of an immigrant Hir (cowherd) from Bihar and was born in a loj (barracks for indentured servants). He always dreamt as a kid of getting a piece of land and growing everything he or his friends could desire. His father before going to work would always touch some soil to his forehead in respect and he himself, believing in karma, finds agriculture the best way of life for through agriculture you help others as opposed to business where you exploit them. You will pay for such exploitation. He is a businessman himself now, so I asked him about obeh. Sure, he said, there is plenty around, and like business it is all in Indian hands. He would not do it himself as he believes you end up paying for such things (karma, next life), but it is easy—you take some sandalwood and some ? and burn them together to give off a special odor and you can fool any Negro. He agreed sadly (at my suggestion then) that his business activity was a retrograde step in terms of his karma. He did raise rice for a while but could not make enough: he has seven kids (one is studying accounting in London, another is studying Spanish in California; another is studying Spanish at U. Guyana). So he got a shop—provisions—in front of his house. There used to be a market in front of this [Uitvlucht] but in 1964 the sellers were beat up, and the Indian shopping center has since relocated. His produce shop is still there (run by his wife). Most of the produce comes from Indian producers on the islands (Wakenaan and Laguan). He contrasts Negro and Indian buying habits—the former in bulk by the week, the latter in pinches and quarter pounds each day. After 1964, he got into dry goods in Georgetown, beginning as a peddler. Now he has a stall, paying 60¢/day (collected weekly). He imports cloth mainly from the U.S., also Japan but their prices are high, and secondarily from Italy and Europe. Everyone who deals in controlled items (of which cloth is not one) works the black market since the Government controls allow you a level of profit on which one cannot live [the same complaint is voiced in the Chamber of Commerce magazine]: you get a stiff fine for overcharging and police traps are set, and in court you cannot win before a black magistrate. Things have become so shaky in the import business that suppliers will not send you consignments without first receiving a bill of credit. The new Carifta-Common Market agreements are not to Guyana's advantage: bulk shipping to Jamaica and Trinidad and repacking at higher prices for the other Caribbean areas so that apples from America sell competitively with Guyanese mangoes, and Canadian tinned meat balls are cheaper than Rupununi meat. Burnham spends his money on a new (2 year old) Vreed-en-hoop—Parika asphalt road rather than opening up the interior. There is unused estate land which Burnham won't give E. Indians to develop. He kept repeating that if the Government would give him a little capital—say \$10,000—he could easily develop 100 acres. Burnham keeps talking about opening up the interior, but it would be the Indians who would do it, and since the Indians do not trust him, it won't happen.

He is virulently anti-black. They are stupid, of which their buying habits (above) were only one example. Contrast their living styles: in housing schemes Negroes and Indians were given similar plots plus G\$2 thousand—the Negro houses are unpainted shacks on the ground, nothing is planted; Indian houses are gayly painted, often on stilts, occasionally a temple, often flags representing Hanoman's conquest of Ceylon, always vegetables and fruit trees, often flowers. A British economist once came through here, and G. asked him: Take a man who makes G\$21 a week, he has 8 kids and a wife and himself to feed, and he is able to save a bit—how does he do it?—answered the economist: he is a better economist than I. Yet the Indian estate workers do not earn more

and still they live relatively well. For each penny earned, save a quarter penny, G.'s father told him. He took me on the old road past some areas of rioting in 1964—Indians always get the worst: Indians may be more thrifty, better entrepreneurs (they bought out the Portuguese, the English, and the Chinese; when they came as indentured servants, trade was in Negro hands, but Indians soon bought them out, partly because Indians work long hours, while Negroes work short hours, partly because Indian wives work too, while Negro women don't), but Negroes are better fighters (partly because they're bigger, partly because they have guns via the Guyana Defense Force which is largely black—were it only cutlasses, Indians could fight back). He showed me houses which have fencing on the windows, plots where houses used to be, houses which were X-ed (exchanged). In Parika we saw some road work, Government work: i.e. the bosses are black, the laborers E. Indian; the price of a job is buying a PNC party card, paying PNC dues out of your wages, and voting PNC by proxy. He showed me a building where Negroes congregate to drink and work themselves up before a riot. G. commented on his own behavior of saying to the blacks we passed in his own area, "Neighbor, neighbor," but he would not trust them a loan or rent post factor (money first). He says he has never had a black friend. He does not believe that even educated blacks are capable: Dr. Busia came on the commission to investigate the 1964 riots and came down as any ordinary black man on the side of the blacks. Indians say, "Neighbor, neighbor" but then "sell" the Negroes (I.e., make a killing on them in trade). He pointed out a vocational school built in a Negro area—Indians are afraid to send their kids there.

G. does not agree completely with Jagan. Jagan is an outright communist and we just do not have the connections and experience to nationalize: we should rather require foreign capital to ~~be~~ spend a certain amount of the profits here. If Jagan were to win, there will be violence, but if Burnham wins things will carry on. The solution is new leaders: things have become too polarized under Jagan and Burnham along race lines. But when pressed, he also suggested a coalition between Burnham and Jagan (had their early coalition carried on, that would have been a disaster like Cuba), and a dictatorship to force people to do what needs to be done; and in any case, as a first step, the equalization of E. Indians in the police and defense forces.

He is an Arya Samaj priest and hopes to go to India for the 1975 Centennial celebrations, knows Hindi and a bit of Sanskrit.

2) E. Indian hire-car driver on the election: A young woman and the driver were discussing the election, she claiming to be PPP, and he chiding her: then you are a communist. They turned to me and demanded an opinion which I sidestepped by saying I was against most governments in power, which they liked, and got us off onto Nixon and Watergate. She got off, and I then asked the boy if he was really a PNC supporter, which question loosed the floodgates: Sure, the PNC is a fine party. It is the only party which can govern the country, which can keep at stability. A government which can create riots can stop them. Yesterday Burnham told a meeting that he did not need the Defense Forces to stop riots, he had the Party. A party that can terrorize, that controls the flow of goods and services, sure that is what makes a good party. Never mind that people don't like the policies. Burnham doesn't talk about economics input and output, the huge national debt; he talks about giving people water and other basic necessities that every government must provide. He is a great manipulator—and was even when a student in London (my father was in London at the same time and says Burnham was always ready to point out how to use demonstrations). He is utilizing the East Indian split between Hindus and Muslims. The Jagan Government had more black ministers than East Indian but it had not one Muslim. Burnham screamed about this. His Government has 3 Muslim Indians . . . When I as a taxi driver go into town with receipts to the

the government office, I have to wait until the black clerks finish their crossword puzzles or chess games. Solution may be revolution this time, but there is probably an insufficient base for a successful one. Why vote, I asked. It is a constitutional response, the question is whether Burnham will get 2/3 this time or not. 2/3 would mean one party rule. ...~~xxxxxx~~ This is probably the most corrupt government in the world—a Minister was caught stealing \$2 million, 1.5 for Burnham and .5 for himself—he was merely put in charge of a lesser post, the Electricity Board) until the affair blew over, and then was made Minister again.

3) E. Indian taxi driver. Burnham is great, sure. He can build the University, roads, he gets loans—don't know if he will ever repay the loans—but could Jagan get all this? And if Burnham is not returned he will just take his money and go away. His is probably the richest prime minister in the world. (This taxi driver has been driving for 30 years, 7 in Georgetown. He drives a Toyota Corona de Luxe, his second, and he swears by it: great car—he has had it two years, put 40,000 miles on it, and not even a tune up, he has never changed anything in it, no filters, nothing! Has a daughter doing a nursing degree in London; another works in a hospital in Chicago.)

4) Against a fence of the Promenade Gardens, a black kid in his twenties wearing shades tried the line on me: "Spreken Sie Deutsch? Oh you look like a German friend of mine." His name was Stevie and he was waiting for a G\$10 box of grass from Jamaica or Columbia. He had been in the States and was expecting some musician friends down from Oregon. Says he plays the drums and bass fiddle. He was with a laconic friend from Surinam. Says he: Man, there's no consciousness here: if somebody was to kill the Man, there wouldnt be anybody to take over. The Man goes around unarmed and raps with the people, he can talk to them. Things is so fucked up, man, people don't know what's going on. Stevie was real cool, willing to sell, share, or just rap. Another young black came up and was introduced—I ran into him again later:

5) Extremely articulate, speaking to me in polished English, but claims to be self taught, couldnt afford to go to college. He says he is an accountant with a shipping firm based in Holland. Claims not to be on salary, but paid only when there is a ship in port; there was supposed to be one in today, but it is delayed for a week and a half. He has no food at home for wife and two kids. He gave me a history of Guyana's political ~~and~~ history and economy. Burnham is shrewder than Jagan and can manipulate and tell what people are thinking with his legal mind. But "cooperative republic" is prostitution, a sham. He bans 160 food import items on the grounds that this will help the balance of payments and stimulate domestic production: but we see no evidence of the latter, and re. the former, we've got a debt of \$500, million and now way to pay it back. There is 30% unemployment. The sugar industry is still in British hands, even if there are now peasant cane farmers, the factories are in British hands. Solution?—new leaders who would damp down the racial antagonism. But we are all waiting to see what will happen on Monday—the 2/3 majority wanted clearly indicates a desire for a one party state. And Dr. Reid said as much to a member of the opposition. Way out of the cul-de-sac may be revolution—not from below—but an army coup. There are a number of army officers unhappy with Burnham.

6) Young black guy came into the Ministry of Home Affairs while I was waiting for Mr. Leila (to get my visa extended), wearing a jacket with peace insignia, jeans, etc. He said he was an ex-policeman, now living in the States and learning to be a mechanic in California. He was back trying to collect salary owed him, and swore he would not be pushed around by this bureaucracy and corrupt government. He would scream and they would put him in jail, but he was convinced his American employers would get him out. Very bitter about Guyana.

Post Election: Burnham gets 2/3, Jagan and Opposition refuse to take seats and begin civil resistance. Civil Resistance began with a boycott scheduled to coincide with the Commonwealth prime minister's meeting in Ottawa. PPP people discovered a circular among civil service heads that people absent should be reported (and then presumably fired), so civil servants were told not to boycott. Starbroek and the other major markets were closed till 10:30 am the first day, until police moved in and told people their stalls would be taken away unless they opened, so they began to open (some people allegedly did have stalls taken away). The newspapers crowed over the failure of the boycott as if it were a failure due to non-response: they ran a picture of Derek Jagan going to court with the caption that the brother even of the leader of the opposition was going about work as usual, whereas in fact he was attempting to gain access to arrested PPP people. Janet Jagan reviewed with me cursorily some of the things that represent hard evidence: mass arrests, clumps of ballots thrown away—in one case official stamped the ballots in the wrong place and so all the poll watchers signed a statement that the ballots were still valid, but when the box was opened there were no such ballots; Granada TV crew did another expose. . .

Muslims: I talked to Yakub Ali the head of the Sunnis, and then made friends with the Ahmaddiyya people. The latter are very much in the minority, say they represent the young rationalists. Apparently the Ahmaddiyya propaganda got to Guyana via the ~~Surrey Mosque~~ Working Mosque in Surrey under Khwadja Kamal-ed-din who published the Islamic Review. Also the first ~~English~~ English Qur'ans which got to Guyana stimulated discussion where they conflicted with the the older Urdu translations. Two of the issues: should women be allowed to attend mosque (in Guyana the Sunnis do not allow them), and is the birth and death of Christ miraculous (he was born and died like any other mortal according to the Ahmaddiyya). The Ahmaddiyya itself has split in two: an organization which claims the baraka of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to be handed down to his grandsons, in a traditional pir form of organization, i.e. that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was really a participant in divinity; and an organization that claims Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was merely a mojadid (renewer) of religion, with headquarters now in Lahore. The latter organization is the predominant one in the Caribbean, although at the beginning there was confusion and the Ahmaddiyya group of Guyana actually helped pay to bring a missionary of the other faction. The Lahore-headquartered faction (Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaati Islam) has 15 mosques in Guyana; the other faction (Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission) has one in Berbice—its strength is in Africa. They claim not to have any paid missionaries, but in fact they have a full time missionary. A missionary also came from Ghana and was effective in converting some blacks. Elijah Mohammad's son also came through and was really turned on to this non-ethnic Islam—but his father has shut him up. There are rumors that there were some West African Muslims brought as slaves—hence Muslims are still called Fula (fr. Fulani). I did track down a very vague trace of such a possibility in Paramaribo: a few Muslim names in the Census of 1863 freed slaves, but Mohammad might have a son Christian, so what the names mean is dubious at best. In Surinam the Ahmaddiyya are the Majority & the Sunni the minorit

Anthropologists

There are quite a number running around loose: Betty Lanham (the Japanese expert, culture and personality, claims to have taught at U. of Guyana) arrived on the same plane as I did. She claims to be doing a contrastive study of Japanese and Guyanese child rearing; she does not want to have to invest too much time in Guyana (sic!); not terribly communicative or helpful. Victor O'Connell, I met on the plane from Georgetown to Paramaribo—he's a former priest who claims to have run the Catholic schools all over Guyana and hence to have lived in every community of Guyana (sic). He turned out to be a pretty nice guy, has just finished his Ph.D. under Freedman at Oxford (not of the E-P clique, "on Guyana" whatever that means, teaches in Canada now. But the most interesting one was Dennis Bartels, from Alberta, who is doing a study of LBI, both the Negro and E. Indian moieties. There's another Alberta student in Guyana, whom I did not meet, a native Guyanese, who is doing a comparative study of a plantation in Berbice and one in Western Surinam. And there was a rumor of the impending arrival of six Philip Singer students.

Re. Windsor Forest, I did not meet the Edinburgh fellow, though he is supposedly still in and out (out while I was there), but Bartels says one of the things he is finding is the breakdown of Indian joint families towards more of a nuclear and matrifocal pattern correlated with the crunch in the rice growing economy.

SURINAM - fascinating place! Initial reaction was that it was infinitely more civilized than Guyana (which hits you at every step as a nakedly exploitative, extractive, crab clawing place), but by the time I left and had heard a bit more about the local politics, I figured the civilization was a veneer function of colonialization and as soon as they get independence things will rapidly go the way of Guyana. There is already the same polarization of black versus Indian (Javanese do not provide a buffer any more than do the Chinese: Chinese are too few even if rich, tightly knit, [much more so apparently than in Guyana or Jamaica: they gamble exclusively among themselves for very high stakes; they import women illegally from Hong Kong slipping them through Cayenne and up the Merawinje River and then down through the bush into Paramaribo]; Javanese as yet are too low, and non aggressive, though finally a very small middle class is emerging, are still out in the country rather than forming a large urban proletariat). So the same polarization with Indians dominating business and behind-the-scenes politics while blacks are pushing for control of the civil service. Politically the Creoles are split into factions, one of which is usually willing to opt for the trappings of power through coalition with the Indians. Creoles and Bush Negro are two entirely different categories: the latter are stereotyped—mark this: not as hill billies—altho hicks as bright and hard working and so are in demand in contrast to the stereotype of the Creole: lazy, spendthrift. No protestant ethic alliance between Bush Negro and Hindustani can emerge tho because of the scarcity of jobs: tremendous emigration to Holland, where if you cant get a job at least there is a welfare system. First day I was in Paramaribo, Suralco had just signed new agreements with Surinam and their spokesman gave a radio broadcast complimenting the local negotiators for hard bargaining and Suralco for being a good corporate citizen: Surinam got an increase barely covering the ~~xixx~~ rate of inflation! Religious welfare agencies (e.g. Muslim orphanages) get grants not from the Surinam Gvt but from Holland. Racial polarization extends to football where the teams are either black or Hindustani. I saw a game between Curacao and the Surinam best Hindustani team (Jai Hind of all names!): the spectators were predominantly Hindustani.

But culturally Surinam is like the fount of which Guyana is but spray. I canoed two days up the Merowinje as far as Stoerman's Island, and saw if only superficially Bush Negro and Amerindian villages. I stayed with a Yazdi Zoroastrian-Bahai and was drawn into the local Bahai circles (expatriate Dutch and American) and was told about Bush Negro villages taking up Bahaiism. I saw a Javanese Jarang Kapang, which is a uniquely Surinamese adaptation to Japanese dance of a winty-cumfa type possession. I bought a wajang (shadow play puppet). Ate everything from salt fish to curry to paitjil (spiced peanut butter on greens) and popped rice (in Iran the best part of the rice is the crust at the bottom of the pan; the Javanese don't eat this but pop it first). Went to a Hindu wedding. Took ~~the~~ South America's oldest and the world's slowest train to Bronsweg where a section of the Sarramakaner Bush Negroes were resettled in a tin shanty town after their previous living area was drowned by the lake for the aluminum works.

Muslims

Javanese are Shafi, and Hindustanis Hanafi, but more importantly, they don't agree on the direction of prayer and so don't pray together. Ahmadiyya here is 42 years old and is the larger moiety of the original Islamic organization. The Sunni broke away over the issue of allowing women to go to the mosque and the status of J.C. The Sunni have currently been split by a wiley Pakistani maulana who was invited on a grant from the Dutch to run an orphanage-cum-school; he wanted to install other members of his family in other jobs of this institution and the Sunni leadership tried to send him back to Pakistan, but he stayed and the community has split with the Sunni leadership refusing to go to their own mosque. The Ahmadiyya have been split into factions but are finally getting it together to do some building of their own. They have 15 chapters and are building a new central ~~mosque~~ mosque next to the Jewish synagogue.

People

(a) A young Dutch ballerina of workingclass origin who has been in Surinam two years and became a Bahai there through a friend from New York. She is now "married" to a Hindustani and has a child by him. He has lived in Holland, the husband, going there when he was 18. Before he left, his family forced him to marry so a woman would be in the house to help his mother. He is an only son—there are two other illegitimate sons, but apparently they do not count. Partly through her recounting of her experiences and partly through my querying about joint family among Hindus, three points: (1) children should contribute to parents' households, but in this case at least, this does not mean additional pooling of funds; rather the attitude is to have children so that when they grow up they will support you (i.e. income remains stable, they instead of you work). To this family Charlotte seems rich and she has given her ~~father's~~ husband's father a boat and motor to encourage him to fish, but he merely uses it for pleasure. (2) Her husband's first wife is still around and lives with his parents. She says she has told him she wants him to make a choice: either her or me. But he is not yet "strong enough" to make the decision, for to divorce the first wife would require paying back her parents, etc. (3) Charlotte seems to derive the strength to put up with the two wife situation from Bahaiism's teachings about the ladder of adversity and how different cultures exist without any people being therefore inferior. She says that it is a myth that the races live in harmony and intermingle: they live apart in tension. Two out of three people have no work. People go to Holland where if they can find a month's work, then they

can stop and collect welfare. Conflict thus is being caused in Holland as well since there is a shortage of jobs there too. Some men in Surinam have guns, and many youths carry knives; drinking is a problem: it is to prove masculinity, i.e. to finish the ~~the~~ bottle, not just to get high. Racial tension like here she has never experienced: she worked in a multi-racial troupe in Holland, but only here did she really become conscious of her color. By and large, however, she is charmed by Surinam: people here have rhythm, but the cliché means more to her. She has to teach them that dance is not merely showing off the body, but is communication, as expressive as painting a picture. She is trying to put together a semi-professional group of high-schoolers paying them fifty guilders a week if they work out three times a week. The last performance she had ten boys and ten girls, a gratifying turn-out. She tries to incorporate the local folk dances: East Indians have only two here out of the vast number in India; Amerindians have only a few, mainly ceremonial; Bush Negroes have a few more, also mainly ceremonial. She takes seriously—more or less—the folklore she is learning, comparing cumfa cleansing of the soul with psychoanalysis (not on the meta-level of the mechanics of therapeutics, but on the belief level that what psychoanalysts suggest is the truth), and taking seriously an obeahman's suggestion that she wear a gold chain against certain troubles to the point of arguing with him on the basis of her Bahai beliefs that troubles are the road to achievement and so she should not wear the chain (the obeah man's reaction was: "You are very strong."); though this latter action may have been merely to deal with her Hindustani husband's belief in the obeahman. The husband gets quite worked up if she steps over his hunting gun. . . .

(2) A 30yish dark Creole has been involved in a number of occupations: currently he works for W.H.O. and his wife works at a soda fountain. Previously he has bought watches and shirts in Cayenne to sell in Surinam, has worked for the Development Ministry out in the bush, and a construction outfit. He claims to be a socialist of the Jagan variety, but is vague about precise meanings of all this. He is however a good guide to who owns what around town: e.g. that the owner of the Hotel I was staying in began as a tailor who made the best stud shirts and pants around, so all the young men went to him; he expanded into 4 dry-goods-cum-tailor shops, a hotel and bar, etc. (This man is a Ahmadiyya and so I met him through that channel as well). Or what the rich Jew Ferandez owns (the Pepsi franchise, the soda fountain chain, a department store, four cinemas, etc.) And so on. He is also a good guide to folklore: he himself makes a tea of lemons and weed ("snake leaf") which is a cure-all but especially good for a hard prick. He has bought a French herbal mix (Tisane) and concludes it is not as effective as his own. He tells the following anecdote as a first hand witness: he was working in the bush on this airstrip. The crew's foreman was always after women, and since the Bush Negro women are bare breasted he took this as an invitation and began playing with the Bush chief's wife. After a day or two the Bush chief came and said quietly, "Look, don't do that." The foreman paid no attention, so the Bush chief quietly threatened that the foreman would have to carry his balls. One day soon thereafter the foreman's balls began to swell. They swelled so that not only was he in great pain, but he needed help to go to the bathroom and indeed had to pick up and carry his huge balls which when he stood erect, hung all the way to the ground. All the crew members went to the Bush chief and pleaded with him; finally the chief consented to cure the foreman. He came and with a few crushed leaves cured him: a drop ingested and the rest as a salve.

(3) A Suriname Creole family making it into the middle class. She is 75% Amerindian and part Negro and part Dutch: her maternal grandmother was an Amerindian and lives in a village with good swimming. Her father she says sired 24 children by 4 wives. The man she lives with, whom she calls husband, but she does not use his name, says that her father had eight kids by his first wife and eleven kids by his second wife plus many more by five outside women. This husband was sired by a Jewish Surinamese father and borne by a black mother. The father went off to the States, and as far as he knows he has no siblings though there is a rumor that a sister might exist; he is R.C. He sells and repairs business machines; says he works on a 5% profit margin, an agent for Facit. He plays the electric organ, and the house has a nice stereo system. Each of them has their own car. It's a two story house, with the master bedroom airconditioned. They don't live badly at all. Various consumption shortcuts: through his business he can get electronic equipment and the like. She gets food from the wives of the men in the Ministry—she'll go out into the bush occasionally, and will be given ginger, or rather be sold stuff at prices less than half what she could get things for in the Paramaribo market. Other members of the family provide further network and are also making it: e.g. one of her brothers teaches in a vocational high school, and on the side runs a carpentry/construction firm; he also ~~buys and rents houses~~ builds and rents houses: at the moment he has eight houses valued at a 250,000 guilder investment with 700 guilders/month return. Another brother is experimenting with truck gardening: tomatoes at the moment.

These guys' analysis of the Surinam situation: Hindustanis got ahead in business because they planned to return to India and so they lived poorly and saved; the second generation then used the savings to invest. Creoles did not have such plans to return to Africa and so spent their money on day to day living. Business however is dominated by four big firms (Kersten, Fernandes, Kirpalani and DeVries); next come the Chinese and then the Hindustanis. Surinam is getting reamed by its colonial status: Surinam produces six times the amount of rice needed locally but it is all exported to Holland and local demand is met by importing rice from California, Brazil and Guyana. Similarly coffee and cheese is processed in Holland and so made cheaper for Dutchmen than for Surinamers. Not only then do the business middlemen make a killing and so support this colonial system, but there is a tremendous bureaucratic superstructure: for 400,000 people one does not need 39 parliamentarians and eleven ministers—all these people do is travel abroad and waste money. The last good government was in 1953 when all the planning was done for the period up through the present. Then came Pringle, smart but a showman, which is costly. Possibly independence will channel investment (based on U.S. or World Bank loans) into productive areas, not like the Dutch funds now into non-productive roads, etc. But the real problem is that the population is too small to form a viable market for local industry: industries which have been started close after a year or two: labor is too expensive to be able to export. The only hope is to find more bauxite and form a local company so the profits remain in the country rather than flowing out to Reynolds, Suralco and Builliton.

Anthropologists - there are about 15 or so in the current crop, not including a guy who dropped out of anthro at the New School and has failed in farming, in timber cutting, and now about to fail in shrimp boat renting. ~~The most interesting ones~~ The only ones I ran into are an interesting couple from Fla who are doing a study of a section of Paramaribo settled by ~~the~~ manumitted slaves who were used by the Gvt as mercenaries against the Bush Negroes. They seem to be getting a lot of first class stuff including some very detailed

social drama type stuff of the use of magic (wesi black magic here as opposed to obeah which here is white magic), sickness and cosmology beliefs. The husband, Gary Byana-Shute, says he's picking up a throwaway comment of yours about what needs to be done is to focus on men as articulation points or networks in the matrifocal system—and spends a lot of time in a rum shop where he has developed a set of drinking companions who it so happens are into a series of women-problem conflicts in which wesi, etc., is being used. Rosemary, Gary's wife, is a historian, but is doing political kinds of study at the macro-level, while Gary focuses more on the micro-level. They were around for the February strikes and at least Rosemary will stay for the elections in November which should also be violent and dramatic; Gary is debating going to the meetings in New Orleans (he's chairing a panel) or staying for the elections.

TRINIDAD - I did not do all that much exploring, but did some more swimming for which the Guyanas just are no good, drove around the island. Did contact the Muslims, particularly the Ahmaddiyya group which is vigorous and active. There are a variety of Muslim factions, one of which is ~~xxx~~ reportedly linked to Libya through U.S. connections (plenty of literature on their walls about the middle east struggle and the need to support Islam around the world—but I did not get to meet anyone who knew anything: the young man who was at the HQ was a religious teacher of sorts—i.e. on the Sunday school level—but was theologically uninformed and preferred me to talk to a higher up: definitely got the impression of being less open than the Sunni and Ahmadiyya, but as I say I did not pursue it). Everyone among the Muslims I talked to—3 of the 4 or 5 Islamic organizations—agreed that the Hossein festival has nothing to do with Islam (it is an offshoot of Moharram) but is something now being promoted by the Tourist Board as a small carnival: lots of drinking etc. There is one family in particular which supports the Hossein festival in St. James but I was unable to find out their name... with a bit of time it should not have been too hard. Might be fun to try to do a study of it, though for the next few years, Moharram will probably fall at the wrong time: ie. during spring semester. ~~The people I talked to included~~ The head of the Ahmaddiyya is a Pakistani ~~trained doctor - speaks with an~~ and Oxbridge trained doctor: and he knows a great deal, not only about Trinidad (his brother is a big wheel in the foreign service: Aziz is the family name?). He says that a number of Shiites may have come from around Lucknow (since most of the Indians are from around UP and Bihar, but also some from South India), but today people (as I found too) do not know what Shiism is, nor do they know what the festival of Hossein commemorates. An interesting development: there is a group of black Muslims called Ansar-ullah—these were originally converted by the Ahmadiyya missionary from Ghana (who also visited Guyana and Surinam) and were associated with the latter's organization; he, the missionary, gave them the name Ansar-Din (Helpers of Religion). But they have now disassociated themselves and changed their name (Helpers of God) and claim to be followers of someone in the states named Abu Daoud. The males pierce their nose and wear nose rings; females wear the burka. They still use the Ahmaddiyya Mosque, but are under investigation by the police in connection with several robberies and violent incidents. They do not appear however to be allied with Elijah Mohammad and the Black Muslims.

People complain that the standard of living is really deteriorating and fear that the state is going to (or already is) follow the Guyanese into a police state (viz. the Firearms Act of 1971 which relieved police of need for warrants in many kinds of cases & the Sedition Act & Summary Offense Act which restrict public meetings,), fear that Doc William's patronage-cooption system is breaking down.

JAMAICA -

Airy Castle - Not much has changed. Crossfield has gotten married again and has a two year old son. Harold Clarke is doing well in de Laurence consultations, but was suffering the need for a hernia operation. Linda Taylor has build herself a new house (her mother died about 1969). Mrs. Taylor's husband died, and she now has a new house too, up on the main road. Miss Levy's consort died (the one who raised pigeons) and she has moved in with the next man up the hill, and so is doing a bit better too. People seem to be willing to give Manley some time to prove himself, though they are quick to say nothing much has changed so far; e.g., there's been another unsuccessful coconut pickers' strike--they were unpaid during the strike, got an infinitesimal increase, while inflation is booming. The Ramage estate is still diddling around ~~xxx~~ with the idea of planting pimento, but sticking to tried and true bananas and coconuts, tho says Bukstrar (the manager) they are constantly being hassled with changing packing orders for the bananas.

Bahais - There are supposed to be some 3000 of them. Visited at length (much too much length--I really am begining to find these sincere missionaries a bit wearying) the local Iranian family: a Jewish-Bahai family from Teheran that had saved up 14 years to support themselves as "pioneers" in Jamaica. The only way they could get in Jamaica without any job was to give their occupation as "missionaries" (which of course is what they are, but, you understand, Bahatism does not have missionaries, etc.) These guys passed on the word to a Jamaican making it black Bahai who came by to see me and so we wallowed in a good deal more gibberish about religion, ethics and whatnot; tho in this case at least it was of interest to learn the background. His father was Bahai, and how that came about I did not learn; his own story is one of rebellion etc. He began as a Presbyterian and about age 10-11 became a Brethren: i.e., transformation from an apathetic church-goer to a real bible totfing believer: can't go to movies, can't buy a house (= storing up riches in this world). At this time, his brother wanted to become a Bahai, but he brought out his bible and convinced the brother that Bahai's claims were wrong. Ironically, later the brother became a Brethren, while he became a Bahai. Apparently one of the big attractions about Bahatism was its assertion of the worth of a black man, as apposed to the hypocrisy of Christianity about this (he waxed very psychological about this aspect of his youth); and what effected the transformation was the rigidity of the Brethren about whings he began to see as inconsistencies (had they been less rigid, he admits, he would never have converted): if it is O.K. to read the play Julius Caesar, and it is O.K. to view a [religious] film in church, and it is O.K. ~~xxx~~ to sit next to non-Christians on the bus, why then is it not O.K. to put these all together and be abae to go to a movie of Julius Caesar?

Chicago People - As I wrote, I saw Don and Derek and talked to Pat Anderson on the phone, but did not see either Hank or Andy. No one seems to have seen Andy for a long time, and did not know how to find him; but Derek's opinion was that Andy fell into a lot of bad breaks (black Americans are not researchers: white ones are; he must be a doctor because he's going around with health people; no, obviously he's out to do an employment survey for the Gvt because of the upcoming elections, therefore he better get us jobs, or else; why should we tell him anything about who our relatives in Kinggton are when it is unclear who he is; etc.) Derek seemed to ~~xxx~~ be looking forward to the planning job, hoping that in fact it would work out that he would have sufficient time (as well as freedom and funds)

to do research. He is, by the way, impressed with Rev. Henry—might also make an interesting study (the guy people in Airy Castle kept comparing to Paul Bogle so as to say it was reasonable to at least consider the possibility that I was a spy).

Ran into an interesting guy named Vincent Doiley—Prof. of Education Measurement at U. Toronto (Ph.D. London)—from around Linstead. His father made it by getting water, making ponds, and with the water being able to buy land. The old man died about five years ago, leaving a daughter and 2 sons. The daughter, originally slated to inherit most (since V. himself was set up as a professional, and the other prother was regarded as not too bright), but was disinherited for marrying into a family with a reputation for dabbling in obeah. The brother's wife is bright, but he won't let her have any say; so Vincent tries to bolster both her position and preserve the patrimony each time he comes down, by suggesting what the government is currently subsidizing should be planted, as a holding action till the brother's kids are old enough to take over.

Found myself relatively ~~immobile~~ immobile: there was not a car to be rented! Taking the bus out to Airy Castle or May Pen was an all day affair more or less, so just wandering around the island was a bit difficult, besides which of course, after 5 weeks of being on the move, I was in the mood for just enjoyng.

BOSTON

The caribbean ended in Boston: there was a Trinidadian Carnival on the Boston Commons with steel drum bands, crazy costumes, the whole bit—there are an awful lot of Trinidadians around Boston. And I saw "The Harder they Come" which apparently has been in Cambridge all summer and is still on.

Nor does it stop. John Haviland is an asst. prof. out of residence here this term; his wife did fieldwork in Surinam on the Chinese community. And I'm doing a tutorial with a black girl (American category; she's got an Afro but is no more than dusty) who would have spent the year at U.W.I. but for an illness in the family.

Sorry I didn't write before . . . but the summer was really so full of good things that somehow it did not seem right to write less than a long letter (which always in turn loomed like such a major undertaking that it kept getting put off). It is possible I may be through Chicago around Nov. 10th weekend—there's a Middle East Studies Assoc. meeting in Minneapolis ~~at~~ at which I'm supposed to be giving a paper (I'm living with the organizer of two of the panels: what can you do?). Hope all is going well in Chicago.

Give my regards to all in the Dept. and to Flora,

M. L. S.

Oct 15