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NATION BUILDING IN THE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA: AN APPLICATION OF THE PYE MODEL FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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NATION BUILDING IN THE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA: AN APPLICATION OF THE PYE MODEL FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

A MONOGRAPH

by

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Dr. Lucian W. Pye developed a model for political development which he used to analyze the problems of nation building in free Asia. This model is examined to determine its usefulness in understanding the problems in nation building in other parts of the world. The model is applied to the experience of the Republic of Guyana. Dr. Pye's model is based on the crisis approach to political development. Political development in his view involves a series of five crises which arise and recur in a fixed sequence. These crises listed in sequence are: the Crisis of Identity, the Crisis of Integration, the Crisis of Penetration, the Crisis of Participation, and the Crisis of Distribution. Each crisis is examined in terms of the nation building experience in Guyana. Each crisis applies, however they do not appear in the sequence expected by Dr. Pye. The pressures of time telescope the crisis which complicates the use of the model.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
LIST OF TABLES	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
DESCRIPTION OF THE MODEL	1
THE GEOGRAPHY OF GUYANA	3
THE HISTORY OF GUYANA	7
THE POPULATION OF GUYANA	22
APPLICATION OF THE PYE MODEL TO GUYANA	23
CONCLUSIONS	28
BIBLIOGRAPHY	30

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Guyanese Electorate - 1915	15
2.	Guyanese Population - 1970	22

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	Geographical Areas of Guyana	5

INTRODUCTION

In 1964 Dr. Lucian W. Pye developed a model for political development for the purpose of analyzing the problems of nation building in free Asia. The purpose of this paper is to determine the validity of Dr. Pye's approach when used in other parts of the world. Specifically, this paper will apply his model to the problems of nation building in the Republic of Guyana.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MODEL

Dr. Pye's model is based on the crisis approach to political development. He views the process of political development as involving a series of five crises, or problems, which must be solved if modernization is to occur.[1] In addition, he believes these five crises arise and recur in a fixed sequence. The series of crises listed in sequence are: the Crisis of Identity, the Crisis of Integration, the Crisis of Penetration, the Crisis of Participation, and the Crisis of Distribution.

The first crisis in nation building deals with the problem of the peoples gaining a sense of common identity as citizens of a common political system. This involves the way in which the citizen identifies himself as an individual with respect to his identification

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[1] Marian D. Irish (ed.) World Pressures on American Foreign Policy (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 162.

with the political system or the nation. His understanding of his identity within the political system becomes the key factor in his distinction between the "we" and "they" in his political life.[2]

The crisis of integration is concerned with the method and extent to which the various population elements of the nation are interrelated with each other and with the national governmental system. The root cause of this crisis is the relationship of the social structure of the country to its political system. In developing nations which contain different ethnic groups or isolated tribal units, this crisis involves the problem of relating these groups to the national system.

The crisis of penetration concerns the ability of the central government to increase its impact on the social, economic, and political problems of its citizens by reaching down into the structure and effecting programs in these areas. If modernization is to occur, the central government must possess the ability to penetrate the substructures of the society in order to carry out its policies and programs.

The crisis of participation deals with the need to gain orderly involvement of increasing numbers of citizens into the political process. This problem necessitates increasing the base

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[2]Ibid.

from which civil servants may be selected and offers a wider range of citizens positions of direct participation in the governmental process.

The crisis of distribution involves the government's control over the outputs of the political process, that is, who is to benefit from public policy. Specifically, this crisis deals with the rewards of the political system and who is to receive them.

In order to analyze the nation building process in Guyana in terms of Dr. Pye's crises model, it is necessary to understand the character of that country and its early development under British Colonial rule. A brief review is therefore provided.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF GUYANA

Guyana is a small tropical country on the northeast coast of South America. Its area is approximately 83,000 square miles which is about the size of the United Kingdom.[3] The Atlantic Ocean borders it on the north, Venezuela on the West, Brazil on the south and southwest, and Surinam (formerly Dutch Guiana) on the east. Its present population of approximately 700,000 is only about 1% of that of the United Kingdom. The apparent population density of only eight

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[3] Luman H. Long (ed.), The World Almanac 1970 Edition (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1969), p. 526.

persons per square mile is misleading because more than 90% of the population lives in a narrow coastal strip of less than 1000 square miles. The true population density of the inhabited area is about 500 persons per square mile which is comparable to the population density of the United Kingdom.

Geographically, Guyana is divided into five areas which are shown in Figure 1.[4]

Area I is a narrow coastal belt five to ten miles wide which extends almost 200 miles from the Essequibo River on the west to the Surinam border on the east. This area contains the large portion of the country's population, its two major seaports, and nearly all of the land which is under cultivation.

Area II is a secondary belt inland from the coastal plain which varies in width to a maximum of approximately 100 miles along the Surinam border. Except for small areas along the river, most of the land in Area II is quartz sand and will not support agriculture. The land does, however, contain important mineral deposits. The bauxite deposits in this area are particularly significant. The population of this area (approximately 60,000) is concentrated around the mining industries in McKenzie.

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[4]US, Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, British Guiana: Its Agriculture and Trade, ERS-Foreign-45. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), pp. 1-5.

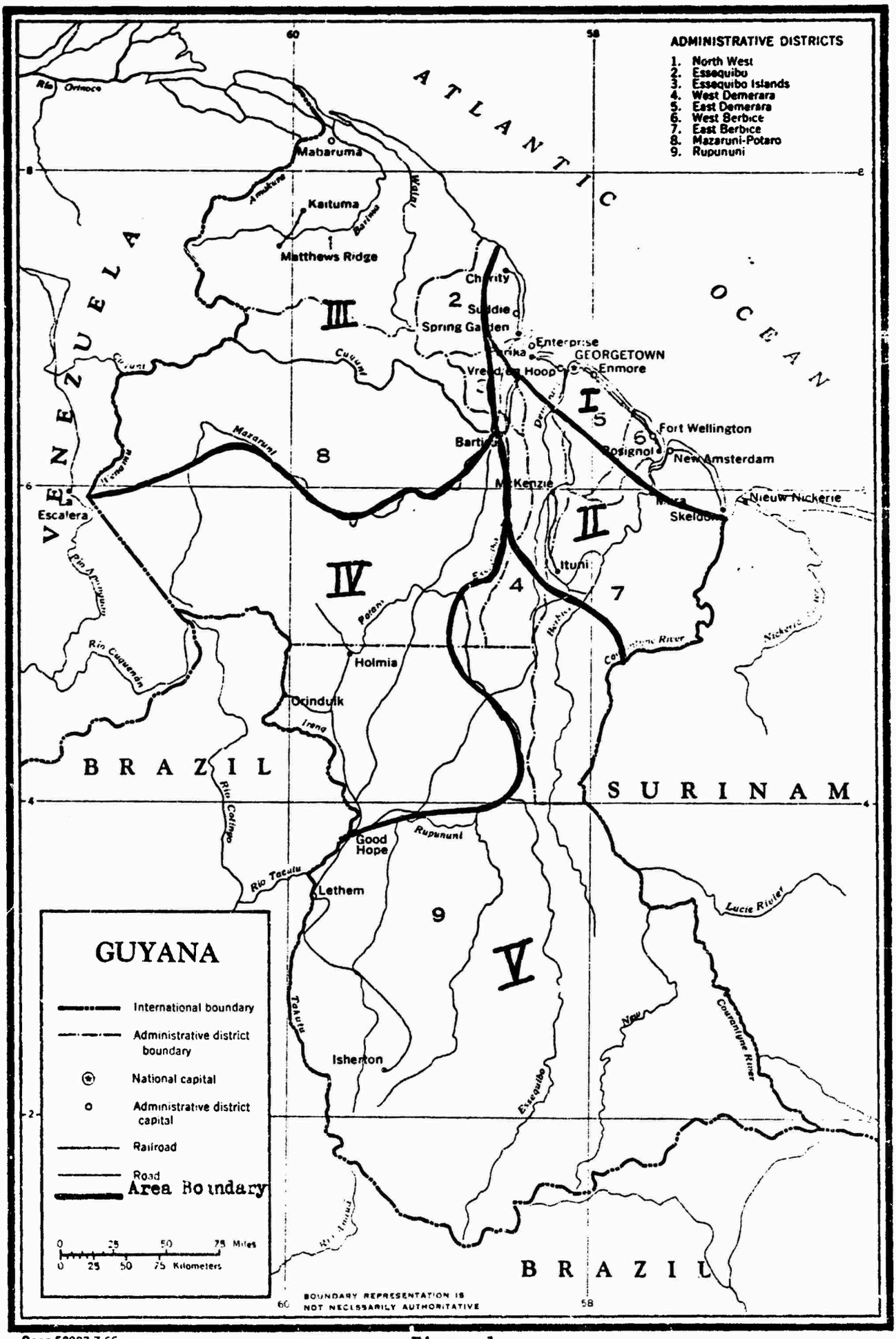

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Figure 1.
Geographical Areas of Guyana

Area III is heavily forested, has poor rocky soil and is believed to contain significant mineral deposits. An important manganese deposit was opened by the Union Carbide Corporation in the mid 1960s in this area. Exploration and mining are hindered by an almost complete lack of roads in this area.

Area IV is an inaccessible sharply stepped plateau. It is also heavily forested, has many high waterfalls, and evidences considerable mineral wealth. At present, this area is only partially explored and is virtually undeveloped. The expected mineral deposits together with the potential for developing hydroelectric power provide great promise for this area.

Area V is a grassy plain with light forest cover. It shows little evidence of mineral wealth and little potential for development of its agriculture. It does, however, support low density cattle grazing.

The inadequate exploration which has been conducted to date and the few soil and mineral surveys which have been performed indicate that Area V cannot be significantly exploited; however, Areas III and IV offer excellent possibilities for long-term exploitation in mining, lumbering, and in hydroelectric power development. The successful development of these interior areas is, however, completely dependent on the development of an adequate transportation system to support development of the natural resources.

THE HISTORY OF GUYANA

The history of Guyana is best understood in terms of the history of its diverse people.[5] Almost 95% of its population are descendents of the immigrant workers that were brought to the region either as slaves or as indentured servants during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The recorded history of Guyana goes back to 1498 when Columbus sailed along the coast during the last of his three voyages.[6] During the next one hundred years, little attention was paid to the area. The record resumes in the last decade of the 16th century when Sir Walter Raleigh mapped the coastline of Guyana while searching for El Dorado, the mythical city of gold. Shortly after Raleigh's visit, Dutch explorers also mapped the coastline and established friendly contacts with the primitive Amerindian natives. As a result of these contacts, the Dutch established a settlement on an island in the Essequibo River in 1616. The colony was placed under the direction of the West Indian Company of the Netherlands in 1621 and was administered by this group of Dutch commercial concerns for the next 170 years. During the early part of that period, the

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[5]William B. Mitchell and others, Foreign Area Studies, Area Handbook for Guyana (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 29.

[6]"Guyana," Encyclopedia Britannica (1968), 10, 1054A.

Dutch attempted to enslave the Amerindians but their efforts proved uneconomical. Their failure resulted in their acceptance of the Amerindians as allies rather than subjugated natives.[7]

The early Dutch settlements engaged in the cultivation of tobacco, cotton, and coffee; however, the production of these crops on a commercial basis was hurt by competition from the southern American Colonies. As a result, the Dutch administrators gradually shifted to the cultivation of sugar cane.[8] By the first quarter of the 18th century, the rapid growth of sugar production caused a shift in population toward the coastal strip.

The promise of fertile, virgin lands in the coastal strip was attractive to the English planters of the West Indies. By 1760 the influx of English into the area was so great that they constituted a majority of the population in the Demerara settlement (see Area I, Figure 1).[9]

In 1781 war broke out between England and Holland. The British immediately occupied the Dutch settlements along the coastal strip. A few months later the French allied with the Dutch resulting in French seizure of the area. The next two years the French ruled

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[7]Mitchell, op. cit., p. 31.

[8]Ibid., p. 31.

[9]Ibid., p. 32.

the coastal area before turning it back to the Dutch in 1784. The Dutch did not hold the area long, however, because the French Revolution acted as the catalyst that produced a complete British takeover.

After being defeated by the French in 1795, the Prince of Orange fled Holland to seek refuge in England. Holland became the Batavian Republic which allied itself with France. The British immediately sent an expeditionary force from the West Indies to occupy Guyana. Six years later the colony was returned to the Batavian Republic for a short period until the war between Britain and France was renewed. The British again seized the colony but this time the occupation proved to be permanent.[10]

During the early years of English rule, the sugar industry was rapidly expanded. By 1810, Guyana (then British Guiana) had established itself as a major world exporter of sugar. The nature of this expanding industry had a significant effect on the early development of the Guyanese society. Large numbers of workers were required to support the large sugar cane plantations. Although the coastal strip provided an adequate supply of land, the plantation owners were forced to look elsewhere for a cheap source of labor. The African slave trade was active during the early years of British rule and offered the most logical solution to the problem. The planters eagerly seized upon it. By 1830, the slave trade has reached its

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[10]Ibid., p. 33.

height and the African slave population of Guyana had reached 100,000.[11] Although slavery solved the labor force problems on the sugar plantations, it created many problems which would later impact on nation building. Slave revolts caused the plantation owners to live in constant fear of the vast slave population. Repression of the slaves, while costly in human suffering, was even more costly in the destruction of the traditions, institutions, and customs of the enslaved. They were deprived of their language, their religion, and their communal patterns because the British believed these elements of their heritage constituted a threat to the authority structure of the plantation system.

In 1833 the British Parliament abolished slavery. This law took effect on August 1, 1834, and provided for a four-year transitional period during which the individual slave would be paid, housed, and clothed in exchange for his work. Final emancipation was scheduled for August 1, 1838.[12] Instead of using this period to conciliate the enslaved field workers so that they would remain on the plantation after final emancipation, the plantation owners attempted to obtain as much work as possible during the time that remained. As a result, the African slaves were further alienated

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[11]"Guyana," Encyclopedia Britannica (1968), 10, 1054B.

[12]Mitchell, op. cit., p. 36.

from the plantation system and left the system in mass as soon as they were able. By 1842, agricultural production had dropped by three fifths. Rather than remain on the plantations, the former slaves as groups or individuals bought large portions of the abandoned plantation land and settled in villages nearby. This movement reached its peak in 1848 when approximately 44,000 former slaves were living in approximately 100 such villages with only 20,000 remaining on the large sugar plantations.[13] This trend had lost its momentum after 1850, however, because the settlements lacked the capital or the organizational ability required for successful maintenance of the land. Steady deterioration of these small plantations led to intervention by the colonial government after 1850 in order to assist these small communities in administering their local affairs. These assistance programs led to the creation of the departments of public works, local government, and health which became the foundation of the present national administrative system.[14]

The emancipation of the slaves and their subsequent mass exodus from the plantations resulted in a severe shortage of inexpensive labor needed in the highly competitive sugar cane industry. In order to solve their dilemma, the planters instituted

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[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid., p. 37.

the indenture system. Early efforts to recruit Portuguese from Madeira and Negroes from the British West Indies proved unsuccessful. However, in 1844 an arrangement was worked out with the Calcutta government of India and a large influx of East Indian indentured laborers began. By 1917 when the indenture system was finally abolished, 238,960 East Indians had migrated to Guyana under indenture contracts.[15]

Living and working conditions under the indenture system were nearly as severe as they had been under slavery. However, unlike the slaves, the indentured laborers were not owned by the planters and they did have certain civil rights. They had the right to return to India after the completion of their five-year contract and they were provided protection for their traditions and beliefs. As a result of this second right the East Indians formed a coherent ethnic community which isolated the East Indians culturally from the rest of the Guyanese society. Most of the East Indians who remained in Guyana after their contracts expired remained on the sugar plantations. By 1891, of the 100,000 East Indians in Guyana, approximately 70% worked on the sugar estates while only about 5% lived in the towns.[16]

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[15] Ibid., p. 38.

[16] Ibid., p. 39.

During the last half of the 19th century, several reforms were instituted in education which further polarized the Negro and East Indian cultures. Until 1852 all of the country's elementary schools were run by the London Missionary Society. In 1855 an educational ordinance was passed which provided full governmental financial support of the schools but left them under the ownership and management of the Christian Churches. In addition, the ordinance made religious education compulsory. In 1876, a second ordinance was passed which required every child to attend elementary school; however, the law also exempted the East Indians from attending the Christian schools. The Negroes consequently were the chief beneficiaries of these educational reforms. By 1890 only 10% of the East Indian children were attending school. The Negroes, on the other hand, took advantage of these reforms to escape the farms and plantations. As a result of this trend, by 1900 the Negroes dominated the skilled trades, the lower level civil service positions and the teaching profession. These basically urban type jobs provided a source of employment for the better educated Negroes in the towns and cities.[17]

The development of the rice industry in the 1890s provided the East Indians with a means of escaping the large sugar plantations. Soon many small rice farms were established by the East Indians. By

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[17]Ibid., p. 38.

1905 sufficient rice was being produced to permit export. Shortages of flour on the world market during the First World War accelerated this trend and helped to make rice farming a profitable business. By 1911 half of the East Indians had deserted the sugar estates in favor of the small independent rice farms. The indenture system was terminated by 1917,[18] however, its termination did little to change the ethnic separation which had become deeply rooted during the second half of the 19th century.

Institutional reforms during this period were both superficial and slow in contrast to the transformation which took place in the society. This was due in great part to the resistance to change provided by the Negro professional class and the Portuguese business community which had been expanding gradually over the years. The broadest changes were made in 1891 when an executive council was created. This council assumed the executive and administrative functions of the Court of Policy which had been both an executive and a legislative organ of government. Voting rights were also expanded in 1891 by lowering the annual income qualification. The internal power structure, however, remained in tact and government continued to be by the rule of the plantation owners. In 1909 a minor reform provided further expansion of voting rights. The

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[18]"Guyana," Encyclopedia Britannica (1968), 10, 1054B.

election process remained of little real importance to the actual governmental process because only 4,312 citizens were involved. Table 1 below presents data on the eligible electorate for 1915.

Table 1 - GUYANESE ELECTORATE - 1915[19]

Ethnic Group	% of Electorate	% of Male Population	% Registered as Voters
Negro	62.7	42.3	6.8
Portuguese	11.4	2.9	17.7
British	17	1.7	46.1
East Indian	6.4	51.8	0.6

The changing economic forces which the 20th century brought began to undermine the traditional plantocracy of Guyana. The significant decline in sugar production, the rapid expansion of rice production, and the initiation of bauxite mining stimulated the formation of several indigenous business and commercial groups. These groups caused widespread resentment of the continued domination by the plantation owners. In response to this conflict, the British government revised the constitution of British Guiana in 1928. It was made a full Crown Colony and placed under the tight control of an appointed Governor. The revision also created a

[19]Mitchell, op. cit., p. 41.

Legislative Assembly which replaced the old Combined Court mentioned above. Voting rights were again expanded to give women the right to vote although the property qualifications for all voters were unchanged. The political reforms produced by the changes in the constitution produced a revised power structure which remained in effect until 1943.

An important aspect of the new power structure was the fact that candidates ran for election as individuals, not as members of a political party. Each candidate attempted to appeal to the interests of only a limited electorate. The major campaign issue was the candidate's ability to influence the British executive rather than any policy questions.

During the 1930s several significant changes took place in the Guyanese society. The most important of these was the slow emergence of the East Indians from their position of isolation. The increase in East Indian participation and interest resulted from their improved financial position as a result of the expanding rice industry and from an expanding group of East Indian intellectuals. Ayube Eden was a notable example of this new class of intellectuals. In 1937 he organized the first labor union that catered to the needs of the East Indian workers in the sugar industry. This effort which created the first large scale organization for Guyanese workers sparked unionization in other areas and was the beginning of a

rapid expansion of labor organization in Guyana. This movement was of particular importance because it represented the only systematic effort to mobilize the Guyanese masses. Organized labor proved itself of great importance as a political force once the move for democratization began in Guyana after World War II.

The British recognized this trend in its modification of the Guyanese constitution in 1943.[20] Again, qualifications for voting and holding office were reduced. The Second World War intervened, however, and the implementation of these reforms was postponed until 1947. That year also saw the first general elections since 1935. As had been the case in earlier elections, campaigning was dominated by the independent candidates rather than by political parties. During this election, Cheddi Jagan, a young East Indian dentist, emerged as a political figure. After his election to the Legislative Assembly in 1947, he started a campaign to gain independence for Guyana. His efforts were significant because they marked the beginning of political involvement of the masses and provided a new popular political force which would shape the future of the emerging nation. In order to obtain his goal of independence from the British, Jagan formed an alliance with Forbes Burnham, a Negro judge, who was a leader of the African segment of the society. The alliance led to

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[20]Ibid., p. 43.

the formation of the first national political party, the Peoples' Progressive Party (PPP).[21] With its goal of independence, this young party was able to rally the general support of the people in spite of their ethnic differences. The extension of voting rights insured the accomplishment of this goal in the election of 1953. Unfortunately, once independence was assured, the old ethnic fears and suspicions were reignited and the Peoples' Progressive Party split along ethnic lines in 1955. Initially both elements of the party claimed the name Peoples' Progressive Party but in 1957 the electoral defeat of the Negro element caused Forbes Burnham to relinquish his claim to the old party name and he formed a new party, the Peoples' National Congress.

As the Legislative leader of the PPP, Jagan became the Premier. With the departure of the Negro element, the PPP became firmly Marxist and as such Jagan viewed the economic and social structure of Guyana as the root causes of the country's many problems.[22] The programs that his government undertook benefited primarily the East Indian segment of the population which served to consolidate their support of the PPP. These programs dealt primarily with land settlement. During the period from 1957 to 1960 nearly 90,000 acres of reclaimed land were distributed primarily to East Indian farmers.

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[21]Ibid.

[22]"Guyana," Encyclopedia Britannica (1968), 10, 1054B.

In 1960 a third political party, the United Force (UF), came into being. It was organized by Peter D'Aguiar, a wealthy Portuguese businessman, who was opposed to communism, socialism, and the racialism of both the PPP and the PNC but very strongly advocated a free enterprise system. Although the UF has never been a real threat to the other two parties, it has played a significant role in the political life of Guyana through its coalition with the other parties.[23]

Jagan's plan to mold the East Indian community into a united political force became very apparent in the colony's 1961 election campaign. During that election, the unofficial party slogan of the PPP was "apanjaht" or "vote for your own kind."[24] This ethnic appeal to the East Indian voters was reflected in the results of the election. The PPP won 20 of the 35 seats in the assembly. The first major task facing the Jagan government after the election was the 1962 budget. The new budget which was designed to increase public revenue to support his amibitious development program met with violent opposition and finally led to severe rioting. These riots clearly demonstrated the political weakness of the Jagan government which represented only a minority of the total population. The disorder grew

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[23] Mitchell, op. cit., p. 187.

[24] Ibid., p. 177.

out of several areas of antigovernment sentiment: the commercial element felt that Jagan was a threat to their interests, the general fear of a Communist takeover, the animosity of various labor leaders, and the dissatisfaction of a large element of civil servants over unresolved grievances. Rioting continued on and off during much of the spring and summer. Although 160 people were killed and millions of dollars worth of property was destroyed, the most tragic result of the rioting was the tensions and animosity between the Negroes and the East Indians which they seemed to foster. By October 1963 domestic disorder had reached such drastic proportions that the leaders of the three parties (Jagan, Burnham, and D'Aguiar) agreed to give the Colonial Secretary complete authority to act as arbitrator and unilaterally settle all disputes. As a result of this move, new elections were called for December 1964. Jagan's actions to block these elections caused further violence and in May 1964, the British Governor declared a state of emergency and assumed full powers of government.

As Jagan had expected, the PPP lost the election when the PNC and the UF formed a coalition. On December 14, 1964, Forbes Burnham became the new Premier. Initially the PPP refused to assume the twenty-two assembly seats they had won of the total of fifty-three. However, on May 18, 1965, they finally took their positions in the new assembly.

On May 26, 1966, Guyana became an independent state under the leadership of Forbes Burnham.[25] During his first four years of office, he was able to hold his coalition government together and maintain domestic peace in the new nation; however, racism remained a dominant problem.[26] In the latter part of his first term, Prime Minister Burnham obtained passage of a law which allowed overseas (absentee) electors to vote during national elections. Nearly all of the 66,000 out-of-country electors were Negroes. Burnham intended to use their votes to swing the coming election in his favor. During the election of December 16, 1968, Burnham learned that this precautionary measure was unnecessary because he received an absolute majority of the votes at home.[27] Since his reelection, Prime Minister Burnham has attempted to win the support of the East Indian community. On February 23, 1969, he declared Guyana a Cooperative Republic. Although Guyana remained in the British Commonwealth, all other ties with Great Britain were ended. Beyond symbolism Burnham intended the change to accomplish three things: first, to win back the Negroes who lean toward the black power movement; second, to undercut his political

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[25] John Paxton (ed.), The Statesman's Year-Book (1971-72) (London: Macmillan London, Ltd., 1971), p. 494.

[26] The New York Times, June 25, 1967, p. 31.

[27] The New York Times, December 22, 1968, p. 5E.

enemies on the far left; and third, to draw support from the East Indian community and at the same time eliminate their emotional ties with Great Britain.[28]

THE POPULATION OF GUYANA

A study of the population trends of Guyana is particularly pertinent to a discussion of the problems of nation building in that country. The people of Guyana are atypical of Latin America. They are non-Latin and they are English speaking. The vast majority of the population are descendants of either African slaves or East Indian indentured laborers.

A breakdown of the population is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2 - GUYANESE POPULATION - 1970[29]

East Indians	---	50%
Negroes	---	31.5%
*Mixed	---	12%
Amerindians(indigenous)	---	4.6%
All Others (Europeans and Chinese)	---	1.9%

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[28] The New York Times, November 23, 1969, p. 26.

[29] Luman H. Long (ed.), The World Almanac 1970 Edition (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1969), p. 256.

*The mixed population is primarily creole or mulatto, resulting from the intermarriage of Negroes with all other races except the East Indians. The British government banned the intermarriage of East Indians with any other race throughout the period of colonial rule.

During the past several decades, the rate of population growth among the East Indian element has exceeded that of any other racial group. With 50% of the population, the East Indian bloc represents approximately 45% of the electorate. It is expected that by 1975 the East Indian population will exceed 55% of the total population and will comprise a majority of the electorate.

APPLICATION OF THE PYE MODEL TO GUYANA

Consideration of the history and national experience of Guyana in terms of the Pye model for nation building leads the observer to conclude that the model can be applied to countries outside of Asia. Let us examine the model with respect to the Guyanese experience.

In Guyana the crisis of identity must be considered in two parts based on the two major ethnic groups in the population. The Negro element of the population was the first to identify as citizens of the common political system. Several conditions and circumstances helped them to identify themselves early as the "we" rather than the "they" in Guyanese political life. The first of these was the destruction of the traditions, institutions, and customs of their

slave ancestors by the fearful plantation owners. The second was the compulsory education which they received following emancipation which enabled them to qualify for low level civil service positions in great numbers.

The East Indians were never slaves. As a result, they were permitted to maintain their own coherent ethnic community. In addition, they were exempt from the mandatory Christian education provided by the Colonial government. As a result, they could not qualify to take positions in the government. The problem of identity for the East Indians was aggravated by the turmoil of breaking with the traditional social and psychological order inherent in the family-centered institutions which they had preserved from their Asian heritage. They had long been accustomed to living with each other without assuming that they should have a common sense of community identity. The East Indian element of the population finally gained their identity as citizens of the political system when the leader of their community, Cheddi Jagan, led them in the campaign for independence.

The crisis of integration in Guyana has not yet been satisfactorily solved. The intense hatred which divides the Negro and the East Indian communities prevents the interrelation which is required for effective nation building. Each group is able to fully identify with the national government only when it holds the reins of power. The animosities which divide the two communities originated over a century ago when the arrival of the East Indian indentured laborers

prevented the freed slaves from obtaining fair wages on the sugar plantations. As the years passed, the basic differences in the cultures and religions of the two communities have tended to deepen the gulf between them. There is little hope that these basic differences can be totally erased in the near future. Although the present government has made a concerted effort to establish programs which will ease the tensions between the two communities, considerable time is required to complete the integration task. It appears that national leaders which come from outside these two major factions would have a much better chance of success in this task.

The government of Guyana has been very active in its efforts to solve the penetration problem. Many programs have been instituted which have improved the ability of the national government to reach out into the society and effect, through formal administration, increasing numbers of social, economic, and political changes. These programs involve a very large segment of the population whereas the programs of the British colonial government had involved only a relatively small elite. As an example, a government agency called the Guyana Development Corporation has been organized to carry out industrial promotion and development.[30] Its function is to encourage a greater participation of private capital through assistance in the

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[30]William B. Mitchell and others, Foreign Area Studies, Area Handbook for Guyana (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 258.

form of loans, guarantees, and equity participation for industrial, agro-industrial and tourism ventures. In addition, the Private Investment Fund was established by the government to facilitate loans to the private sector of the economy for financing new industries and the expansion of existing industries. Industrial incentives are also provided for developing industries which include tax holidays, tariff concessions, subsidized rentals of sites, duty-free imports of plant equipment, and special concessions for investment in workers' homes. In order to reduce unemployment, the government has also placed emphasis on technical training in the Chritchlow Labor College, the Industrial Training Center, the Technical Institute in Georgetown, as well as in secondary school technical courses.[31] For the farmer, the government has continued the land settlement schemes which were originated under the pro-Communist Jagan government. To insure that the citizens are aware of these programs, the Guyana Information Service (a department of the Ministry of Public Information) maintains channels of communication between the government and the public by use of the press, radio, and government publications and news releases.

The problem of participation received little attention under the British colonial government. Colonial rule eliminated some participants while it opened the doors for others. The Negro

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[31]Ibid., p. 259.

community, as chief beneficiaries of the British-sponsored Christian school system, were the only element of the population which were able to qualify for positions in government. The East Indian community was exempt from the mandatory education by virtue of their religious and cultural differences and for the most part were allowed to remain uneducated. They were, therefore, not qualified to accept positions in government. In general, those who received a Western education and studied Western law often entered government service. The colonial period was, therefore, characterized by high restrictions on participation. Participation by the East Indian community had its beginning in the development of a small group of intellectuals during the 1930s. The first leader of this group was Ayube Edun who organized the East Indian sugar plantation workers into Guyana's first labor union. Cheddi Jagan emerged as their first political leader about ten years later. His campaign to gain independence for Guyana acted as the final catalist which brought about political involvement and participation of the East Indian community. In recent years, the government of independent Guyana has attempted to broaden the base of citizens who qualify for positions in government. The present government is making a concerted effort to encourage more East Indians to accept positions in civil service.

The final crisis which the government of Guyana faces is the crisis of distribution. The scarce financial resources of this small nation have limited the government's ability to use the

distribution of its benefits effectively in the nation building process. Welfare programs as seen in Western highly developed nations are nonexistent in Guyana. The outputs of the political process are provided on a very low level self-help basis. In the East Indian community, closely knit, interdependent family groups provide for all of the social welfare needs of that family. The Negroes lack this kind of close group support. They depend on a variety of fraternal or political associations for welfare support. Examples of such associations are the Sugar Producers Association and the Labor Welfare Fund.[32] In addition, some welfare assistance is available through a variety of cooperative societies. The government is developing cooperative farms for young people and consumer cooperatives in the cities in order to expand its abilities in this area. In addition, the government has taken steps to open the interior of the country to make land available on a large scale basis for cattle raising and mixed farming. Much of this land will be settled by the poor.

CONCLUSIONS

The crises which Dr. Pye has identified as those which must be dealt with if modernization is to occur apply to the nation building problems of Guyana. These crises seem to be telescoped

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[32]Ibid., p. 93.

in time much as they are where applied to nation building in Asia. This, however, is a natural reaction of a poor country which is trying to catch up in a world of rich and well developed industrial countries. Unfortunately, telescoping results in the inability to isolate and solve each crises in an orderly systematic way.

In his study of nation building, Dr. Pye has based the sequence of the five crises of nation building on the historical experiences of the industrialized nations of western Europe.[33] Although he believes that this sequence may be critical, he expresses doubt that it will apply in all cases. Guyana may be such a case. Although each of the five crises applies, it appears that the crisis of distribution may be solved before the crisis of integration and may in fact provide a partial solution to the crisis of integration.

Although the pressures of time complicate the use of the Pye model, it is an effective tool in understanding the problems of nation building in Guyana.

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[33]Marian D. Irish (ed.), World Pressures on American Foreign Policy (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 168.

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