

Ethnic Relations Commission

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**Conclusions of the Ethnic Relations Commission on  
Application of the Indian Arrival Committee**

*The Ethnic Relations Commission,*

*Acting under section 212D, paragraph (p), of the Constitution of Guyana,*

*Considering all the information at its disposal concerning the application of the Indian Arrival Committee,*

*Having deliberated on 30 December 2004, 12 January 2005 and 2 February 2005,*

*Adopts the following conclusions on the matter:*

**Conclusions**

1. The application to the Ethnic Relations Commission (“the Commission”), initially dated 29 September 2003, was submitted by Mr. Evan R. Persaud, executive member and member of the steering committee of the Indian Arrival Committee (“IAC”). The application raised issues of ethnic relations within the mandate of the Commission arising from a publication entitled “The Cycle of Racial Oppression in Guyana” authored by a Dr. Kean Gibson.

**The facts as presented**

2.1 Dr. Gibson, a Guyanese national, resident in Barbados and engaged as a senior lecturer at the Faculty of Humanities and Education at the University of the West Indies (“UWI”), Barbados, authored a publication entitled “The Cycle of Racial Oppression in Guyana”. The publication, styling itself as a piece of academic work, was published in 2003 by University Press of America.

**The application to the Commission**

3.1 The initial application to the Commission advanced that the publication in question peddled and spread racial hatred in Guyana between its principal ethnic groups. In support of this contention, the application argued that the publication had as its central theme that Hindus in Guyana were oppressing Afro-Guyanese. As almost all Hindus are Indo-Guyanese, the publication could thus readily be interpreted to suggest that Indo-Guyanese were oppressing Afro-Guyanese. The publication was considered to be “extremely disturbing” given the falseness of the claims advanced, coupled with the impression of academic scholarship conveyed. As a result, the application requested the Commission to conduct an inquiry including a public hearing with a view to condemning what it described as race hate propaganda and to removing the publication from circulation.

3.2 By subsequent correspondence of March 2004, the Indian Arrival Committee detailed 48 extracts from the publication which it attacked variously as historically false, racist, inflammatory and written with the intent of inciting serious racial strife in Guyana, including violent attacks on Indo-Guyanese. The extracts in question are listed in Annex 1 attached to the present Conclusions.

## Procedure followed by the Commission

4.1 At its meeting of 24 January 2004, the Commission decided that the application would be most appropriately dealt with under section 212D, paragraph (p), of the Constitution of Guyana, which provides that the Commission may “investigate on its own accord or on request from the National Assembly or any other body any issues affecting ethnic relations”. In procedural terms, the Commission decided, in the light of the particular circumstances of the present application, to accede to the request of the IAC to undertake a public hearing, with a view to clarifying the substance of the application.

4.2 Accordingly, a public hearing was held, spanning 12 sessions between 14 April 2004 and 17 May 2004. The Commission took oral evidence from 17 persons, received written submissions from 16 persons and organisations and received 13 additional documents regarded by submitters as relevant to the issues before the Commission (see Annex 2 attached to the present Conclusions). Transcripts of the hearing are a matter of public record and available for consultation at the offices of the Commission. The Commission expresses its gratefulness for the assistance it has derived from the evidence tendered by all parties at the hearing.

4.3 In order to ensure fundamental fairness between the parties, the Commission invited Dr. Gibson, by registered mail directed to UWI as well as her last known residence in Guyana, to respond to the issues raised by the application. Dr. Gibson did not respond to the Commission’s invitation.

## The conclusions of the Commission

5.1 Before reaching the substance of the matter, the Commission must decide whether it is appropriate for it to consider the issues at hand. The Commission considers it important to set out, firstly, that it views its mandate to enter into matters that have occurred since the entry into force of its mandate contained in Law No. 11 of 2002. In the present case, the publication in question having been published in 2003, the Commission considers that the subject matter of the application is, as a matter of timing, properly before it.

5.2 The Commission must also consider the scope of its mandate to consider issues that arise outside of the territory of Guyana. In the present case, the Commission observes that the author of the publication is Guyanese, that the publication in question is publicly available in Guyana and there is a possibility of a real effect on Guyanese society. In these circumstances, notwithstanding that the publication was authored and published abroad, the Commission considers that there is a sufficiently real connection to Guyana for it to consider the substance of the matter.

5.3 In the light of these considerations, the Commission considers that it is proper for it to proceed to consider the substance of the matter.

### *The Merits of the Application*

#### *- The applicable legal framework*

6.1 The Commission observes, at the outset, that the application raises important issues of fundamental rights. On the one hand, the right to freedom of expression, including the particular strength of that right in the context of academic work, must be balanced against limitations on that right deriving from protection of the rights of others. This balance is reflected both in the Constitution of Guyana and in international human rights treaties, by which Guyana has accepted to be bound. As a public body exercising public powers, the Commission is bound by these principles which are set out below and its conclusions on applications such as the present must be in accordance therewith.

6.2 Under Part 2, Title 1, of the Constitution, entitled “Protection of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms of the Individual”, section 146, subsection (1), of the Constitution guarantees each individual’s freedom of expression, subject to two qualifications. Firstly, such freedom can be limited by certain laws reasonably required to protect the rights and

freedoms of others (see section 146, subsection (2), in conjunction with section 40, subsection (2)). Secondly, under section 146, subsection (3), of the Constitution, “Freedom of expression does not relate to hate speeches or other expressions, in whatever form, capable of exciting hostility or ill-will against any person or class of persons”.

6.3 The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, by which Guyana is bound, also protects, in article 19, paragraphs 1 and 2, the rights to hold opinions without interference and to freedom of expression. Paragraph 3, however, provides that these rights may be restricted by law where necessary, in particular, for “respect of the rights and reputations of others”. Article 20 of the same Covenant provides that “Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law.”

6.4 The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, to which Guyana is also a party, echoes this approach when it provides, in article 4, that “States parties condemn all propaganda and all organizations which are based on ideas and theories of superiority of one race or group of persons of one colour or ethnic origin, or which attempt to justify or promote racial hatred and discrimination in any form, and undertake to adopt immediate and positive measures designed to eradicate all incitement to, or acts of such discrimination”. Article 6, for its part, provides that “States parties shall assure to everyone within their jurisdiction effective protection and remedies, through the competent national tribunals and *other State institutions*, against any acts of racial discrimination which violate his human rights and fundamental freedoms contrary to this Convention” (emphasis added).

6.5 In accordance with these constitutional and international treaty provisions defining the scope of an individual’s freedom of expression, the Commission observes that, in Guyana, two legal provisions that restrict freedom of expression of individuals, being necessary to protect the rights and freedoms of others, are of particular significance. On the one hand, section 2, subsection (1), of the Racial Hostility Act contains a criminal offence of excitement of hostility or ill-will on grounds of race,<sup>1</sup> while, on the other, section 139D, subsection (1), of the Representation of the People Act contains a criminal offence of causing racial or ethnic violence or hatred.<sup>2</sup>

- *The role of the Commission*

6.6 Against this background, the Commission considers it important to delineate the parameters of its role and function in the context of an investigation under section 212D, paragraph p, of the Constitution and its conclusions thereon. It observes that it is not called upon to determine whether the publication in question amounts, beyond reasonable doubt, to a criminal offence contrary to Guyanese criminal law, as set out above; that issue would be for the Director of Public Prosecutions (“DPP”), in the first instance, to determine. In an appropriate case, however, the Commission would recommend that the DPP take up a particular issue for consideration. Nor is the Commission to decide whether there has been a breach or not of the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution, that function being constitutionally reserved for the High Court. Again, however, in an appropriate case, the Commission may recommend that a matter be advanced to the High Court for a decision from this perspective.

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<sup>1</sup> Section 2(1) of the Act provides:

“A person shall be guilty of an offence if he willfully excites or attempts to excite hostility or ill-will against any section of the public or against any person on the grounds of their or his race-

(a) by means of words spoken by him in a public place or spoken by him and transmitted for general reception by wireless telegraphy or telegraph; or

(b) by causing words spoken by him or by some other person to be reproduced in a public place from a record; or

(c) by means of written (including printed) matter or pictorial matter published by him.”

<sup>2</sup> Section 139D(1) of the Act provides:

“Any person who –

(a) makes or publishes or causes to be made or published any statement; or

(b) takes any action,

which results or can result in racial or ethnic violence or hatred among the people shall be liable on conviction on indictment to a fine of one hundred thousand dollars together with imprisonment for two years.”

6.7 In the Commission's view, its role in reaching conclusions on an application and investigation such as the present, seen in the light of its overall mandate to contribute to the betterment of ethnic relations in Guyana, is to assess whether on the totality of the evidence before it an act or omission complained of will harm or otherwise do injury to the state of ethnic relations in Guyana and, in consequence, to make appropriate recommendations. It is this assessment, measured against the standard of balance of probability which is the measure of proof in civil law, which this Commission, comprised as it is of representatives of all sectors of society, is uniquely well-placed to make.

- *The Commission's analysis of the instant matter*

6.8 Applying this test to the current facts, the Commission points out, at the outset, that the publication in question has not, contrary to some fears, provoked any significant worsening in ethnic relations in general, or resulted in individual acts of racial violence or hostility in particular. Given the inflammatory nature of a number of the statements made (see, in particular Extracts 15, 16 17, 19, 25, 31, 34, 40, 42 and 44 set forth in Annex 1 to the present Conclusions) the Commission considers this a reflection of the maturity of the Guyanese society and a credit to the ethnic groups making it up.

6.9 Nonetheless, the Commission cannot exclude the possibility that, in the future, the publication in question may be utilized, either on its own or in combination with other materials, to provoke or aggravate an inflamed state of ethnic relations in Guyana, particularly at a time of otherwise heightened tensions in the country. To this end, the Commission considers it of value to place its considered views of the publication on formal public record, in the form of these Conclusions, in order to reduce the prospects of any ethnic group seeking to advance credible arguments in the public arena based upon it.

6.10 The Commission stresses that the author of the publication has advanced no facts whatsoever for the contention advanced that there exists an organized, systematic plan of oppression by Hindus/Indo-Guyanese of the Afro-Guyanese citizens of this country. Nor, in the public hearings undertaken by the Commission, was any evidence advanced to this effect, and the Commission is not otherwise aware of any evidence which would so suggest. The Commission emphasizes that the absence of such evidenced in foundation of the thesis maintained by the author reduces the arguments advanced to mere hypothesis, supposition and opinion, unsubstantiated in fact and reality.

6.11 The Commission also adopts the views expressed by a number of individuals who have given evidence both in favour and against the publication at the public hearing held, who pointed out that the work fell seriously short of the standards applicable to a work purporting to be the exercise of academic research. The Commission agrees that the publication's methodology is deeply flawed and profoundly unscientific, with a failure to pay due regard to the extensive literature available, a selective reading of the sources cited and misinterpretation, whether deliberate, willful or negligent, of information on the public record. In consequence, in the considered view of the Commission, the work must be regarded as wholly lacking in academic character and as representing nothing further than the personal views, unfortunately distorted and regrettably prejudiced, of a private individual.

6.12 The Commission is of the hope that, in the light of these Conclusions, the publication in question may be safely set aside by the different groups of Guyanese society as representing a private, ill-informed view that displays no grounding in reality, and cannot in good faith be advanced by any ethnic group as a basis for position or argument in public or political debate.

- *Recommendations of the Commission*

7.1 In order to diminish the likelihood of future reliance on this publication or of a repetition of a similar incident, the Commission recommends:

(a) that academic institutions take special care to ensure that academic publications of their staff comport with the highest standards of academic endeavour, particularly in the

field of ethnic relations, taking due care to ensure that opinions ventured are based on a full factual record; in this respect, the Commission declares its willingness to provide any advice in the area of ethnic relations that may be appropriate; and

(b) that in the interests of greater ethnic harmony, public institutions carrying a copy of the publication withdraw the publication from general public circulation in the light of the present Conclusions; alternatively, a copy of this decision should be lodged with any copy of the publication retained by any public institution.

Given under the seal of the  
Ethnic Relations Commission,  
in three (3) original copies,  
this 5<sup>th</sup> day of February 2005  
[C.K.]

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[A copy of these Conclusions is available upon request from the offices of the Commission located at 66 Peter Rose Street, Queenstown, Georgetown. The Conclusions will also be reflected in the Commission's next Annual Report to the National Assembly.]

## Annex 1 : Extracts of Impugned Publication

1. “I noted at the time that there was a similarity between European racism and East Indian racism as practiced since 1992 in that both appear to be quite pernicious...” (page 1)
2. “The study brings to the fore the problems associated with Hinduism – a religion that sanctifies racism – and a rise in Guyana of what one social commentator describes as “neo ethno-supremacists.” Hindu racism has always been a closet problem in India, but now it is an open problem in countries where East Indians were taken by the British.” (page 2)
3. “The study brings to the fore the problems associated with Hinduism – a religion that sanctifies racism – and a rise in Guyana of what one commentator describes as ‘neo ethno-supremacists’. Hindu racism has always been a closet problem in India, but it is an open problem in countries where East Indians were taken by the British.” (page 2)
4. “There has been ‘European oppression’, ‘African oppression’ and currently ‘East Indian oppression.’” (page 4)
5. “In fact the British took East Indians to South Africa to act as a buffer to advancing Africans.” (page 18)
6. “Jagan’s supporters began a campaign of slandering and dehumanizing the Burnham supporters. The verbal onslaught went from village to village until entire communities became contaminated with racist campaigning. These actions not only reflected East Indians repressed hatred of Africans, but this was the beginning of the racial disturbances that culminated in racial and communal violence from 1961-1964.” (page 24)
7. “Hindu practitioners in Guyana can say that they belong to any caste which can give them status within the group. None would belong to the Shudra caste since this caste is now reserved for African-Guyanese.” (page 25)
8. “The caste system is based on the dualism of good and evil.” (page 25)
9. “In the Hindu scriptures, the caste system is called “Chatur Varna,” meaning “four colour” – it is colour like Western racism.” (page 2)
10. “... [T]he important implication in the application of caste to Guyana lies in the definitions and restrictions placed on the Shudra caste who are black, and for the purposes of power, the definitions and restrictions can justifiably be applied to all non-Hindus who are objectively black in colour, or for whatever reason, can be perceived as being outside the pale of humanity.” (page 26)
11. “Apart from caste, there are other features of Hinduism that are relevant to the creation of a racist state in Guyana.” (page 28)
12. “Hinduism allows utmost freedom of thought – one is free to choose the material side or spiritual side of life or both, and all are treated with equal respect. It is an ideology, therefore, which not only gives free rein to our instinct of self-preservation, but is an ideology where selfishness is rewarded.” (page 28)
13. “So not only was a divine-sanctioned racist ideology available for Jagan to exploit and thus absolve himself from blame, but it would have assisted the Colonial Government in keeping the society divided.” (page 29)
14. “As noted above, the verbal and physical violence for political purposes began in East Indian communities among themselves in order to enforce a separatist system and a system of conquest based on Hindu ideology – a system of conquest that had always been Jagan’s dream.” (page 29)

15. “The language and sentiments expressed in the extracts are indicative of Hindu definitions and designated treatment of the lower caste Shudras – language and sentiments which applied to Guyana indicate not only that African-Guyanese are outside the pale of humanity, but that the divine treatment for the inherently pure race and are thus entitled to rule.” (page 31)
16. “One of the first acts of an oppressor is to redefine the enemy so that they will be looked upon as creatures warranting separation, suppression and even eradication. Thus from the outset of their tenure in political office, the agenda of the PPP has been one of domination and destruction of African people which the caste system of Hindu ideology legitimizes.” (page 39)
17. “It is at the time of general elections, a time of war, that East Indian racism can be at its most virulent.” (page 41)
18. “The PNC operates on a multiethnic ticket and this may be due to the fact that they are not the ethnic majority. Probably due to the fact that the PPP is the ethnic majority, and combined with Hindu racism, the PPP operates on a ticket of voting for your own caste by instilling fear in their supporters about Africans.” (page 21)
19. “In a letter to the Press, one Lloyd Smith attributes the overabundance of gun licenses to the Administration’s response “to the demands of its support power base in the population.” One would need guns to “kill black man” and “kill black dogs” – the East Indian gods destroying the African demons.”
20. “The destructive approach to governance and development of the nation first began within East Indian communities in 1955, continued through the PNC era and is still going on at the present time.” (page 49)
21. “East Indians, justify corruption by dividing the practice into “good thieving” and bad thieving” “Good thieving” is done by East Indians in that they use the money for a good purpose such as purchasing a home or maybe starting a business. “Bad thieving” which is to be condemned, is done by Africans since they spend the money in rum shops.” (page 53)
22. “GIFT also solicited questionable and unverified claims of assaults on Indians during riots on January 12, 1998, guaranteeing to keep secret the identities of respondents who are alleging physical and sexual attacks by Africans. The information was presented at the launching of the organisation . The information collected by GIFT was a breach of the laws of Guyana since it is offense to conceal knowledge of criminal acts from the police. Thus they were usurping the powers of the police. The collection of this kind of data was an attempt to have “facts” indicating the inferior character of Africans and thus justify East Indian supremacy and the eventual partition of Guyana.” (page 58)
23. “The fundamental difference between ACDA and GIFT is that whereas the former sees their function as looking after the interest of their own group and living well with those of whom they share the same space, the latter sees itself as looking after the interests of their own group but also with the ultimate aim of destroying the Africans with whom they share the same space. Not only is GIFT therefore a racist organization, but the difference between the two organizations is based on culture.” (pages 58-59)
24. “The TSS is therefore a coercive arm of the state working both to keep the peace and prevent crime among East Indians and thus maintain the racial order.” (page 60)
25. “Nazi aim was to beautify the world through violence and thus went from the mass murder of German mental patients and the physically disabled to the mass murder of Jews. The extra-judicial killings in Guyana are not simply a matter of reminding Africans of their place on the social ladder, but to eventually wipe them off the face of the earth so only the civilized will occupy Guyana. Africans are demons and Guyana has to be cleansed of them. The killing of demons is legitimized in the Hindu scriptures.” (page 60)

26. “Within Hinduism if a Shudra intentionally reviles twice-born men or criminally assaults them, the limb with which he offends shall be cut off – thus African crimes against East Indians in Guyana are seen as a break against the natural order not only because of greater value placed on the lives of East Indians, but because it is a challenge to their conception of themselves as the superior race and who are therefore entitled to rule.” (pages 60-61)
27. “The result of a Hindu dualist structure in Guyana is that there is no moral obligation to the nation, only an obligation to ‘our caste’.” (page 61)
28. “In my view they are unaware that the economy is sinking but they are unconcerned because their moral obligation is to “our caste” – and as long as “our caste’ is apparently benefiting then all is well in the state of Guyana. Their primary agenda is to create and reproduce a racial order based on based on racial criteria. Everything else is secondary.” (page 63)
29. “An ideology that has no moral obligation to the nation and which gives free rein to our instinct of self-preservation means that change is not feasible as long as the PPP remains in power. The break down of law and order is necessary to facilitate and maintain the creation of a racial state based on racial criteria.” (page 64)
30. “During his tenure as President he was allegedly given kerosene to drink while in attendance at an East Indian wedding held at his official residence.” (page 65)
31. “Africans are aware that attempts are being made to enslave them by the language used to define them, attempts to pauperize them, and attempts to decimate them by the extra-judicial killings, but they are unable to articulate the ideology that is ruinous to them (footnote 1). The major reason is that there is no conversion element within Hinduism. Whereas, Christian churches are open to all, the Hindu temples are not so one does not know what adherents to the Hindu faith are told by the Pandits in the temples, although participants may tell you (footnote 2).” (pages 67-68)
32. “For Hindu practitioners the caste system is a secret known only to themselves and it tends to ‘double-speak’ by the Presidents.” (page 68)
33. “The restrictions against the Shudras provide the PPP with a legitimate cover for corruption in that a Brahmin can take by fraud or force the money of a Shudras; it provides them with a legitimate cover for pauperizing Africans in Guyana in that a Shudras must not acquire wealth because this would cause pain to the Brahmin; it provides a legitimate cover for extra-judicial killings in that a Shudra can be slain at will; it provides them legitimate cover for looking after the needs of their own kind in that the Shudra are so reviled that they are outside the pale of moral influence; it provides a legitimate cover for paternalism in that a Brahmin is entitled to whatever exists in the world – the whole world is his property and others live on his charity. In essence, the caste system legitimizes the oppression and exploitation of others.” (page 68)
34. “Africans are defined in Guyana as ‘harataki’, that is ‘demons’ whose sole aim in life is to commit every kind of atrocity against East Indians.” (page 69)
35. “There is nothing irrational in the continuation of destructive practices because of the notions of good and evil – if the demonic Africans can do these acts, then they who are good can do them also, especially if they will lead to the destruction of evil and the creation and reproduction of a new racial order. Thus not only is there an inherent logic to their discourse, but it is a logic based on relations of power and legitimized in the Hindu scriptures.

The similarity between Western and East Indian oppression lies in the dualism of good and evil – a division which makes the creation and sustaining of oppression rational.” (page 70)

36. “In both Western and Hindu racist ideology there is a demarcation of space. In both, space is linked with race and race with humanity.” (page 70)

37. “In both Western and East Indian racism in Guyana there is idea of unpeopled land inhabited by beasts and who are an obstacle to development, rather than capable of development themselves and whose extermination or at least clearing away is a prerequisite for civilization.” (page 71)
38. “Hodge summarizes the main causal relationships of Western dualism and group oppression in and by Western societies, causal relationships which I have found to be similar to Hindu racism as practiced in Guyana.” (page 74)
39. “Once the people are identified by ‘race’, the other are forced into the bottom of the hierarchical structure of these societies. The control of the societies is meant to remain in the hands of the good. The other, in Western dualism, are permitted to rise slightly from the very bottom of the hierarchy, but only to the extent that they adopt the value-orientation of Western culture. In Hindu racism as practiced in Guyana, the other are never to rise from the bottom. In both, racism therefore becomes an established form of group oppression in the societies.” (page 74)
40. “There are similarities between Hindu racism as practiced in Guyana and Nazism. Hitler took over existing European racist ideas and practices and converted them into a comprehensive programme for a racial new order.” (page 74)
41. “The Hindus in Guyana have taken Hindu racist ideology as it applies to India and transformed it to apply to Guyana.” (page 74)
42. “Hitler regarded the Jews as the racial group who were the greatest threat and thus constituted the largest single group of victims and were persecuted in a most brutal and intensive manner. Their existence was in conflict with the Nazi dream of beautifying the world. Africans have the same distinction in Guyana. They are seen as the greatest threat to East Indian existence. African existence conflicts with the karmic dream of a state under Hindu hegemony.” (pages 74-75)
43. “The presence of Hindu racist ideology outside of India is being seen in some societies where East Indians were taken by the British.” (page 75)
44. “The focus of the Colonials and the current East Indian – dominated government is the creation of a racial order which means the domination, subjugation and exploitation of the other ethnic groups. But the current East Indian government is different from the Colonials in that the latter concentrated on eugenics, and similar to the Nazi in that there is a plan to systemically persecute and decimate the group they perceive to be the greatest threat to their existence.” (page 77)
45. “There are a few people in Guyana who are of the view that power sharing is a way out of the current impasse. This is not a view that is taken by the PPP nor the present PNC directorate. The position of the PPP government is understandable given Hindu ideology.” (page 77)
46. “But with an East Indian majority armed with a divine-sanctioned color-coded racist ideology combined with the fear of being a victim again and away from the benefits to be accrued from the White Racial Contract - far greater political influence, cultural hegemony and the psychic payoff of knowing that one is a member of the Herrenvolk (footnote 1) – it therefore means that the struggle in Guyana will be prolonged and destructive, and Guyana’s underdevelopment will continue.

Some Africans are of the view that the PPP only understands violence, which is in keeping with the point made by Fanon about colonialism: ‘It is violence in its natural state, and it will only yield when confronted with greater violence’.”

47. “Guyana currently has a system of partial Proportional Representation which applies only to the vote count. The country probably needs a system of full proportional Representation whereby the seats in the Government will also be divided on a proportional basis as in the case of Italy. But even full Proportional Representation does

not guarantee a normal political climate since the fundamental problem is the Hindu racist ideology that is operating in the society and which will always be there.” (page 78)

48. “Inclusiveness may counter the exploitative nature of East Indian racism which means that it will be difficult for the PPP to accept an inclusive formula to the solving of the problems in Guyana.” (page 78)

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## Annex 2 : Extrinsic Evidence Adduced to the Commission

### Oral testimony

(in chronological order of delivery)

1. Persaud, Evan (for Indian Arrival Committee)
2. Dyett, Harry
3. Williams, Roger
4. Bascom, Colin (for JIG (United Kingdom), Campaign for Justice in Guyana (United Kingdom))
5. Misir, Prem
6. King, Lennox (for Pan African Movement)
7. Moore, Roger (for Clarence Ellis)
8. Hackett, Michael
9. Harry-Voglezon, Lin-Jay
10. Mooto, Savitri
11. Trotz, Raymond
12. Ramsaroop, Boyo
13. Aku, Aworo Oba
14. Moore, Roger
15. Bishop, Joseph
16. Bascom, Colin
17. Rambaran, Madan (for Guyana Hindu Dharmic Sabha)

### Written submissions

1. Bishop, Joseph (for F.L.A.G. (Forum for the Liberation of African Guyanese))
2. Colin, Bascom
3. Bascom, Colin (for JIG (United Kingdom), Campaign for Justice in Guyana (United Kingdom))
4. Dyett, Harry
5. Ellis, Clarence
6. Guyana Hindu Dharmic Sabha
7. Hackett, Michael
8. Harry-Voglezon, Lin-Jay
9. JIG (United Kingdom), Campaign for Justice in Guyana (United Kingdom)
10. King, Lennox
11. King, Lennox (for Pan African Movement (Guyana Branch))
12. Misir, Prem
13. Pan African Movement (Guyana Branch)
14. Trotz, Raymond
15. Moore, Roger
16. Williams, Roger

### Other documents provided by submitters

1. Habeeb, Moulana : *Islamic Perspective on Ethnic and Race Relations in Guyana* (undated)
2. Hackett, Michael : *An Investigation Into Racial Attitudes among Students of the University of Guyana* (2000)
3. Latin American Bureau : *Guyana - Fraudulent Revolution* (1984)
4. Misir, Prem : *Where is Racial Domination in Guyana? A Book Review of 'The Cycle of Oppression'* (undated), *Social Marginalization & Ethnicity* (2002), *Shared Governance/Power Sharing as Buzz Words* (2004)
5. People's Progressive Party/C : *2001 Manifesto – Let Progress Continue* (2001), *Constitution of the People's Progressive Party Preamble* (1998)
6. Rights of Children : *Celebrating Diversity* (2001), *Holding on to Friendships* (undated)
7. Singer, Philip : "Caste and Identity in Guyana" in Schwartz, Barton (ed.) : *Caste in Overseas Indian Communities* (1967)

8. Smith, Raymond & Jayawardena, Chandra: "Caste and Social Status among the Indians of Guyana", in Schwartz, Barton (ed.) : *Caste in Overseas Indian Communities* (1967)
9. Viswanathan, Ed : *What is Hinduism?* (undated)

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