ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA

Office for the Caribbean

SURINAM PLAN FOR HINTERLAND

DEVELOPMENT

Some Comments and Proposals

Prepared

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C O N T E N T S

DEVELOPMENT OF SURINAM HINTERLAND

I - BACKGROUND

Introduction

1.   This paper is the outcome of discussions with Officials of
the Surinam Government and impressions gathered in the course of
brief visits to some camps of Bush Negroes in Paramaribo, to some
of their colonies in Victoria Vilpalm Estate and Brokopondo, and
above all, to some of their villages such as Langa Tabbetje,
Nazon and Apatau in the Marowijne Valley during the period 6 to
18 May 1974. The primary purpose of the visit was to help the
Surinam Government, particularly the Ministry of Rural Development
and Decentralisation, in preparing a plan for development of Bush
Negroes in the hinterland.

2.   A necessary pre-requisite for preparing any plan for any
area or people - more so for a primitive group such as that of
Bush Negroes - is a clear comprehension of their social system;
their needs and problems and the ways and means they employ to
satisfy and solve them; their native and acquired potentials and
resources and the manner in which these are used and augmented;
their matrix of inter-personal relationships among themselves and
with outsiders. It is the understanding of these and various
other related elements and processes of the social system that
brings into sharp focus their capabilities and limitations -
dormant or apparent - and gives a meaning and relevance to their
behaviour and patterns of living. Such understanding also instils
realism into the planning process and reduces the dangers either of
romanticizing the idyllic simplicity of primitive life styles, or
presenting the plans in an aura of beneficence. It is on this
premise that the background perspective of the planning effort in
Surinam is being reviewed.

Spatial and Historical Perspective

3.   The Government of Surinam has been concerned, consistently,
about development of the country in general, and the hinterland
in particular. Attempts at planned development have been directed

towards this objective from 1954 onwards through the infrastructural phase (1954-1965) to the pre-industrialisation phase (1966-1975). One basic premise governing the planning process in Surinam has been what is known as "the spreading principle" signifying a policy of distributing the benefits of prosperity over the entire country. This concept relates directly to Surinam's peculiar geographical, socio-cultural, economic and political setting. The principle is sound, but the performance leaves much to be desired.

4. Two major geographical features have checked the southward flow of population - the range that borders the southern part, and the almost impenetrable lowlands lying between the rivers Corantijn in the West and Marowijne in the East. This is reflected in the evolution of the spatial and demographic dimensions of Surinam's socio-cultural and economic life. Of the entire country covering approximately 160,000 sq. kms., the populated centres occupy only about 4,800 sq. km. of which Paramaribo and its vicinity alone account for 4,400. Roughly, 70% of the population lives within a radius of 55 kms. in the coastal belt where almost all commercial, industrial and educational activities of the country are concentrated. This population concentration acutely aggravates the process of urbanisation, and slows down development of the interior - the extensive hinterland forests, which occupy 80% of the land area but hold merely about 40,000 people, mainly the Bush Negroes and the Amerindians. The coastal plains beyond which the early settlers did not find it either necessary or expedient to penetrate, and which now maintains the bulk of the country's population, consists of an approximately 558 kilometers long strip, 16 kilometers wide at the eastern border and 80 kilometers wide at the western border. The national statistical average of population density as 2.2 persons per sq. km., therefore, suggests a much wider dispersion than is in fact the case.

5. While being part of South America geographically, Surinam has remained an enclave with almost no contact with its neighbours; Brazil on the south, Guyana on the west, and French Guyana on the east. This derived from the psychology, traditions and practice of "looking over the ocean" to the mother country which appeared to be an El Dorado. The mother country nurtured the colony on subsidies from the time of its

conquest in 1667 through the ascendancy and decline of plantation
prosperity acquired on enslaved and/or indentured labour. In
response to the growth of "ethical liberalism", various administr-
ative measures were initiated from 1861 onwards to reanimate the
colony; and a significant landmark in this direction is typified
by the Government Regulation of 1865 which decreed that Surinam
would be allowed to run its own affairs. There was, however, no
substantial change in the dependence of the colony on the mother
country.

6.   The Idenburg Plan (1908) which stipulated that the colony
should meet from its own resources the costs of administration
and other direct expenses, indicated a swing away from subsidy-
orientation. There was a strong view that "subsidy serves as a
pretext for enforcing reactionary measures and depriving the colony
of a large part of its autonomy". But difficulties attended
implementation of the Idenburg Plan; on the one hand general
resentment and resistance, and on the other demands for its severe
application. Simultaneously, increased stress was being placed
on promotion of welfare and economic progress through State action.
These various pressures crystallised in the constitution of the
Bos Welfare Commission (1911) to investigate the economic and
financial situation of the country and to advise on improving it.

7.   The Bos Commission recommended improvement of (technical)
education, wider infrastructure (road construction) programmes,
soil and agricultural research, and the stimulation of greater
labour productivity through higher wages and better social services.
Similar conclusions were reached by the Surinam Study Syndicate
eight years later.[1] The recommendations were not implemented and

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[1] The Surinam Study Syndicate was an independent
private body set up in 1919 by Governor C.J. Staal.

the popular frustations became more evident. [2]

8.   It is against this background that in 1948 Surinam started
exercising "limited autonomy", and the "Staten" (the legislature)
acquired a representative status. This was enlarged in 1954 by the
Charter for the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, which provided autonomy
for Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles except in matters of defence,
foreign affairs and nationality. By their resolution 945(d) of 15 December
1955, one year after the announcement of the Charter of the Kingdom, the
United Nations recognised these territories of the kingdon as being "no
longer non-self-governing". From then onwards, the Kingdom has given
evidence of striving to meet the popular hopes and aspirations which had
stimulated the constitutional change. The situation of the Bush Negroes
attracted special attention.

Bush Negro Group as a Social System

9.   The Bush Negro society came into being as a rebel group of
runaways who banded themselves together to escape the tyranny of their
masters on the plantations, and made their abodes in dense inaccessible
forests of river valleys. Understandably, the motivation was to seek and
find protection from detection and remand. In the organization of their
society, the Bush Negroes did not group themselves together on the basis
of their West African tribal connections; in fact, they had no choice and
opportunity to do so in their circumstances. Instead, the fugitives
formed groups according to the plantations they escaped from, and sub-
divided themselves into matrilinear exogamous clans named "los", [3] which
grew out of the villages that emerged where groups came together. Although

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[2] Seven years later, 1926, Governor Staal observed in his minutes,
"Surinam is still waiting for Dutch capital, knowledge, energy. Surinam
is waiting for the Dutch National Action. National: not on account of
the investment of the Dutch guilder but on account of the Dutch heart in
Dutch Guyana".

[3] 'Lo' is probably an African word. In Ibo and Yoruba dialects, it
means house, village, agglomeration; in Ewe - to join together. (Afrikanische
Relikte and Indianische Entlehungenn in der Kultur der Bushnegers Surinam:
G. Lindblom; Wettergren and Kerber; Goteborg 1924, pp. 19-20).

aware of their African descent, they were no longer sharply conscious of the differences between original tribes. Hence, their oral tradition starts with the "loweten"[4]/ - the time of escape from the plantations.

10. The consciousness of their common African origin and the necessity for adjustments to the changed conditions of local environment, moulded the emergence of certain norms and values which became patterned into standards of behaviour and inter-personal relations among the Bush Negroes. These norms manifested themselves in taboos and traditions, the conformity to which was approved and rewarded, and deviance disapproved and even punished. The preservation and continuity of their existence as a group thus depended on adherence to norms which became known as "rules of the game".

11. To maintain these norms institutions were evolved to operate the elements and processes and knit them into a social system. Within the institution, individuals were accorded functions, roles and responsibilities. There emerged a ranking order, a constell-ation of status-roles, and a power structure, to invest the necessary levels of authority for making and enforcing decisions, for regulating communication within and outside the group, and for co-ordinating activities and linking them in an organic inter-dependent relationship. This structure has served for defining the boundaries of individual action and for maintaining decorum in social behaviour. In this way a hierarchy of leaders and followers grew up in and around a cluster of functional positions.[5]/

4/ "Djuka Society and Social Change": Sylvia W. de Groot, Van Gorcune and Comp. N.V. - Dr. H.J. Prakke and H.M.G. Prakke, Assen, 1969, p. 14.

5/ Examples of functional positions are such as: the "Granman" (the Paramount Chief), the "Kapten" (the village Chief), the "Bassia" (the minor Chief), the "Wisiman" (the magic man), the "Obiaman" (the medicine-man), Kisiman (the Coffin-maker , a funeral priest), etc.

These functional positions signified specific roles which were perceived by the incumbants in terms of expectations they aroused in others in the community. A combination of these perceptions and expectations determined the duties and functional responsibilities of the roles in the social system, and stipulated the manner of their performance. So, the decisions taken in the "Gran-Krutu" - the general council - were binding; and the command of the "Granman - the Paramount Chief", inviolable. There is thus, the working mechanism of a comprehensive social system which holds the Bush Negro society together.

Administrative Interest in Bush Negroes

12. In the historical background of rebellion to emergence of the Bush Negro groups and the reconciliatory counter-measures of the Government, it was considered expedient to leave the former alone as if they belonged to "a state within a state". They were looked upon by the Colonial administration as a "disturbing" element, having no productive value. They did not pay taxes, abided by their own religious and political views, and avoided administrative jurisdiction.

But while these fugitives did not unite to carry out a large scale organised uprising as happened elsewhere in the Caribbean (Berbice, Haiti, etc.), they did, nevertheless, throw off the yoke almost simultaneously in one or two plantations, gathered in the forests, plundered and harassed the plantations in revenge. The number in these "maroons" increased gradually[6/] and compelled the administration to adopt reconciliatory measures[7/]. A pass system was introduced to regulate the traffic in goods

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[6/] They were estimated as 6000 in 1738, 7000 in 1786 and about 8000 in 1863 when slavery was abolished.

[7/] Governor van Sommelsdijk (1683) had succeeded to silence some Indian slaves at Para Creek and some Bush Negro groups at Coppename by making peace with them - just as the British did with the runaway groups of Negroes in Jamaica in 1739. Attempts initiated by Governor Mauricius (1742-49) did not succeed until Governor Crommelin (1761) concluded the Treaty on the Jamaica pattern.

and men and a "Post-holder"[8] was appointed to enforce the stipu-
lations of the "treaty".[9] The relations between the "Post-
holder" and the Bush Negroes were enshrouded in mutual distrust
and the latter thought that despite arms and ammunitions, the
whites had not succeeded to vanquish them and were driven to the
necessity of offering a treaty. In the view of the Bush Negroes,
the Post-holder exercised very little authority and acted merely
as an informer.

13.   Perhaps the first real departure was the appointment in
1919 of a "Post-holder", to work on an experimental basis among
the Aucaners (Djukas) with the dual functions of educator and
representative of the administration.[10] This role was quite
different from that of his administrative predecessors of
seventeen sixties. He used to perform maintenance functions and
his status and relationship with the District Commissioner was
not clearly defined. On the other hand, the Post-holder of the
twenties of the Current Century derived his support from and
reported to the District Commissioner who was the _prima donna_
of administration.

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[8] A "Post-holder" combined the duties of a military man
and a representative of the Government, lived among the Bush Negroes,
preferably in the village of the Granman, who undertook to send
some of his closest relatives as Ostagiers (hostages) to
Paramaribo and surrender the runaways.

[9] According to the terms of the treaty, the
Government agreed to send gifts to Bush Negro Chiefs
periodically and restricted their movements.

[10] William Frederick van Lier was considered suitable for
this assignment because of his background and interest in Bush
Negroes. His plans were viewed by some as utopias of a visionary
imbued with zeal and sincerity of purpose; but others considered
them as unnecessary and inexpedient.

Since that time despite desires expressed and promises made, not much was done for the Bush Negroes and their condition remained, more or less, static, except where, if at all, the District Commissioner took some personal interest in them. He was still the _Legatus Domini_ whose role and function was dictated by convention despite the apparent erosion of his authority in the wake of constitutional changes of 1948 and 1954.

14. Creation of the Ministry of District Administration and Decentralisation in 1970 with the function of extending and supervising the work of District Commissioners in all the districts in the country, (except the central one of Paramaribo) has given importance and urgency to the development of the interior and uplift the Bush Negroes; and has, perhaps, enlivened the interest of District Commissioners.

15. But the primary stimulus seems to have emanated from the interest the Government has now taken in integrating the mass of Bush Negro Community with the larger society of Surinam and in opening out the hinterland for fuller use of its potential and resources - both natural and human in national development.

16. The sporadic attempts to "civilise" the Bush Negroes and plan for their development achieved little, and all that remained was the wish to lift up these tribal communities from their primitive socio-economic patterns. Not many connected with administration have known them well; perhaps it was not deemed necessary. Thus, the various plans made for their development were peripheral in conceptual framework, and scarcely practical of implementation. If plans for their development are to be realistic, the Bush Negroes have to be viewed as a part of a social system. It is only with an understanding of their social system that one can make a plan of development for the Bush Negroes which is both relevant and practical. And it is in this background that administrative measures taken by the Government, and responses made by the Bush Negroes need to be understood.

II - SUMMARY AND ASSESSMENT OF THE INITIAL PLAN

Initial Plan for Hinterland Development: Summary and Comments
Bases of the Plan

17. Basically, the Initial Plan for Hinterland Development has
been motivated by the egalitarian ideals of the liberal ethic,
the thread of which runs through the political and administrative
history of Surinam. But the immediate stimuli perhaps, derived
from the economic compulsions of ever-increasing migration to
urban centres, on the one hand, and the desirability of
developing growth centres in the hinterland for opening up vast
resources of untapped wealth in land and forests. Above all,
it is recognition of the logic of drawing the isolated elements
of the population into the main-stream of national life, and
enabling them to share in the making of the nation of which
they are a significant part.

18. The Plan is predicated on the consolidation of small
dispersed groups into larger integrated communities in such a
manner as to preserve the identities of different tribes in their
respective clan clusters and areas. The tentatively contemplated
central points for various tribes are:

SNO.	Tribes	Location
1.	Paramaccaners	Langa Tabbetje
2.	Aucaners (Djukas)	Drie Tabbetje/Godoholo Wanhatti
3.	Saramaccaners	Goejaba
4.	Matuariers	Poesoegroenoe
5.	Aloekoes	Cottica a/d Lawa
6.	Kwinties	-- --

It is envisaged there would be construction of rural
townships in these locations. In the townships most of the modern
amenities of living are to be provided - electric and water supply
systems, sanitary conveniences, health and educational facilities,
accommodation at par with their average requirements, opportunities
for recreation, and employment in agriculture and industry. A
model layout for housing has been prepared. It is also envisaged

that an agricultural area of about 1000 hectares would be provided near
the township to facilitate cultivation of food crops and fruits.
Training would be provided in soil management, crop-husbandry, and live-
stock rearing. Agricultural produce in excess of what is required by the
residents themselves would be disposed of through marketing co-operatives.
A system of collective and co-operative farming would be introduced and
practised, and innovations in agricultural production encouraged.

Assessment of the Initial Plan

19. The "Initial Development Plan" is still at the stage of being
a proposal under examination within the Ministry of Rural Development
and Decentralisation. Although relatively comprehensive in its coverage
and layout, it lacks some elements essential to its implementability.
Normally preparation of such a plan is preceded by an inventory of the
needs and problems, resources and endowments, handicaps and impediments,
manpower and leadership potential, institutions and organizational frame-
work etc. The content of the Plan does not give the impression of having
been built up from such a survey of the needs and potentials of the
hinterland. Neither does the plan in its present form reflect the extent
to which the social systems in Bush Negro communities is a key element
in its application. On the administrative side, the financial implications
of some activities are still to be evaluated, and decisions need to be
made about the source of funds for financing the plan.

20. Conceptually, it

   (i)   deals with related primary activities and is
         intended to serve as a plan for "growth
         centres";

   (ii) recognises that the minimum scale of
         operation for providing various social
         services requires a population base
         larger than that of the dispersed
         communities;

   (iii) assumes that various infrastructures
         are inter-related and inter-active
         so that one begets the other in the
         process of development. It is, therefore,
         necessary to build up a nucleus of basic
         desiderata of services;

(iv)   accepts that viability depends not only on the size of the population base but also on its stability (for example the maintenance of a hospital or a school or a market is a case in point);

(v)   Implies that provision of infrastructural minima will automatically animate social and economic regeneration irrespective of levels of adjustability among the beneficiaries;

(vi)   takes for granted an acceptance by any of what is considered good by thoughtful planners in terms of science and technology;

(vii)   attempts to draw a mass of human resources into the main stream of social and economic life of the nation; and

(viii)   finally stresses the inter-relatedness of social and economic aspects of folk life and culture.

21.   The heart of the matter however is that improvised clustures of population can only form themselves into cohesive groups if they are centred around some core of activities, which are continuous and perennial in employment generation. Seasonal activities, such as agriculture tends to be particularly in primitive and developing societies, is not sufficient to provide the cohesion for large population clusters. If agricultural activities are to form the basis of larger communities of the Bush Negroes, more detailed appreciation of their existing agricultural practices is necessary. For example, in the customary division of labour between male and female the male has had very little to do with growing of crops after he had cleared the provision ground. This implies that supplementary activities for the working, productive age groups of men needs to be an essential element of the plan. In this it needs to be complemented by leisure-time activities. To really become growth centres, these places need the cohesion that can only be supplied by a range of integrated activities, and the feasibility of the plan will depend on the extent to which they are elaborated.

22.   Since an important objective is to take the Bush Negroes from what they know to what they do not but ought to know, the crop patterns suggested also need to have a bearing on the existing agricultural practices and crop-rotations. The switch from "shifting" cultivation to settled cultivation is a large jump and needs to be programmed. It should not be expected that the Bush Negroes - even the enlightened among them - can achieve it merely because it is asked of them. The transition has to be organised in the continuous manner of a planned process, so that it gains spontaneity along with understanding. What is considered as good and beneficial to the Bush Negroes may not necessarily be perceived by them in that way, particularly if it bears no relation to their social framework.

23.   Weaning the Bush Negroes away from "shifting" cultivation, cannot succeed unless the rationale is comprehended in its total socio-economic perspective. They practise "shifting" cultivation because it yields the highest output for the least input of labour and care in cultivation. The male clears a provision ground and leaves the planting and cultivation to the female in the household. The only agricultural implements they possess are what is required for digging. They do not herd or breed livestock. In fact the only animals they maintain are the dogs which help them in hunting. They do not, therefore, have any source of power for use in agricultural production; that is the mules or bullocks, or buffaloes that are used elsewhere in the world in similar conditions. They know nothing of applying manures to their crops, as the humus provided by the litter of leaves in the bed of the forest suffices for two to three yields. These factors determine the kinds of agricultural implements used and the cultivatory practices followed. "Shifting" cultivation among the Bush Negroes is both a cause and an effect of their living conditions.

24.   The logic of settled agriculture and stable farming in place of "shifting" cultivation, implies an adoption of fundamental changes in the household economy. It involves changing the tillage practices, the keeping of livestock, use of manure and adoption of methods of plant protection for combating pests and diseases. The introduction of new crops and an unfamiliar crop-rotation also implies some knowledge of

crop-husbandry. Further, settled cultivation is inevitably accom-
panied by a range of related activities requiring both technical
and organizational know-how which the Bush Negroes do not possess.

25.   Some serious social factors are also involved, land
ownership for example. Within the pattern of "shifting" cultiva-
tion there are codes observed among the Bush Negroes by which
provision grounds are deemed to belong to a particular clan or
family or person, and succession is determined by well recognised
social norms. By bringing them to an improvised cluster of
population, these norms will have to be transferred and reworked
with meticulous care taking into account variations that may exist
from one tribe to another. In making new allotments of land,
relative levels of wealth may need to be considered to minimise
disruption of the social pattern to which they are accustomed.

26.   Settled agriculture would also imply that in due course
arrangements would be required for marketing of surplus produce.
It may even be necessary to devise farm support schemes as
incentives for stabilising agriculture. This contrasts directly
with the Bush Negroes in their own way selling their produce to
local shops in the neighbourhood or at Albina. The introduction
of administratively organised marketing, whether co-operative or
any other type, has both economic and social implications. If
in fact co-operatives are formed for marketing, they would need
to be legitimised by common consent in the Gran Krutu before they
could be utilised effectively. It is when the new arrangements
have social acceptance that they would become service
institutions. Those institutions which in their operation or the
services they offer correspond to a higher level of technology
may be slower of acceptance; and this may apply to co-operatives
meant to offer better seed, implements, chemical fertilizers and
pesticides.

27.   The choice of crops is another aspect which deserves
attention at the stage of planning. The Bush Negroes are
familiar with wild rice cultivation and with cultivation of
ground-nuts and beans. They would need to be educated to cultivate

irrigated varieties of rice. While it may not be difficult for them to take up new varieties of familiar crops in some cases training would be a necessary pre - requisite, as in the cultivation of irrigated varieties of rice. The transition, however, would need to be by stages from the familiar gradually moving on to newer unfamiliar crops, which as in the case of many fruit trees, require greater care, protection and nursing and take a long time to reach maturity. The Bush Negroes are familiar with bananas, plantains, coconuts and mangoes, so that fast yielding fruits such as papayas may only require introducing and demonstrating new varieties. The plan consequently would need to deal in detail with the sequential development of agricultural production according to levels of difficulty.

Education

28. It is evident that the education component in the plan is of vital significance. It needs to be set in terms the Bush Negroes can comprehend. It also needs to be convincing enough to take them through the entire spectrum of perceptive grasp of new ideas. It must incorporate techniques for attracting awareness, stimulating interest, encouraging trial and evaluation so there can be final adoption. For the Bush Negroes this involves time and effort in an entirely new direction which initially should be in a familiar setting. The educative process has to link their effort with memories and practices of the past, some of which have hardened into tradition. The Plan must, therefore, build up from their experience and expand in scope by demonstrations of methods and results.[11]

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[11] The Director, Ministry of Rural Development and Decentralisation agreed and appreciated this need and contemplates establishment of information Centres for education purposes as initial steps in the process. The education component must go deeper than dissemination of information and needs to be on a continuing basis.

The demonstrations themselves need to be undertaken in stages if the adoption of new innovations is not to become infructuous. It may be necessary to lay out demonstrations first of single factors individually, and then gradually of double, triple and multiple factors collectively. In this way the impact of an individual factor or group of factors may be identified beyond doubt, step by step. This experience would prepare the learner to see discernibly the benefits of the new techniques. Such demonstrations of improved variety or techniques, would have to be done side by side with the common local practice. By its very nature the education component requires time, energy, perseverance and sympathy. In this respect the Plan needs to provide for an agency manned by competent hands capable of working with understanding among the Bush Negroes.

29. Stress was laid earlier on the importance for cohesion of the larger community, of activities supplementary to agriculture. Besides providing opportunities for agricultural development, the Plan should detail the kinds of industries that can be linked to the main activities. The objectives of the supplementary activities would be to augment income, provide employment and sustain work on local resources. Prima facie, establishment of small industry for timber craft - saw mills, logging plant, etc. appear to be in order. The available geological survey of the areas does not reveal the existence of mineral resources. The Bush Negroes already have a high reputation for wood-based handicraft, especially carved household furniture, door panes and decorative panels. Establishment of facilities for diffusing these skills especially to youth groups would be in keeping with their own traditions. Provisions also need to be made to cover leisure-time activities. The Plan could deal with details of this aspect.

30. The proposals for housing in the Plan would benefit from some further considerations, especially in the context that the layout should grow from an understanding of the needs of those for whom it is made. Several attempts in various parts of the

developing world at housing shifting populations, have failed because of
inadequate appreciation of needs and living habits. In some cases housing
erected by Governments at considerable cost have remained unoccupied;
and when finally occupied, alterations have been made at will by occupa-
nts to suit their needs. The experience in Surinam with housing in the
Brokopondo area occupied by residents of Afubaka Dam site was not
dissimilar.

The pattern of the houses of Bush Negroes leaves the ground
floor space open to serve a variety of functions. It is sitting place
for recreation, storage space, or working area for the preparation of
foodstuffs. The first floor, supported on pillars and largely made of
timber, is the living space. Adoption of this design for the planned
resettlement may raise construction costs; but in order that least
resistence occurs, a blending of their existing designs with modern
amenities would be desirable. The "Krutu Hoso" should be such in space
arrangement and design as to make them feel at home in the new settlement,
thus providing a sense of "continuity in change".

31.   Similarly, the habits of fishing and hunting have to be taken
into account and blended into a life-style with settled agriculture.
The Bush Negroes obtain the bulk of their food from the forest or river.
Any surplus beyond what is needed for fresh consumption is cleaned,
dried and treated for preservation. In the contemplated agro-industrial
settlement hunting for food should not be a necessity and this aspect of
their lives would be differently adapted.

32.   One of the most necessary services to be provided is the health
and medical care for which adequately stocked and staffed "Polyclinics"
would be necessary in all settlements if Primary Health Centres of a
higher order service cannot be maintained at each place. The existing
conditions of living, the means of transport and communication, the amenities
available would scare away any trained staff just as it is so difficult
to attract and hold teachers of primary schools. It would be naive to
imagine that everyone in the medical or educational services would be
fired by a missionary zeal and spirit of dedication such as that of
Albert Schweitzer but conditions can be made such as can conduce to
motivate an average person. The Plan has, therefore, to take into

account the need for creating suitable conditions.

33.   Basic to the development of hinterland in Surinam is the primacy of road transport supplemented by better navigational facilities for river transport - both of which require urgent attention. In fact, this is the first requirement which would precede agricultural and agro-industrial development.

III – RECOMMENDATIONS

1.   The Plan has to be prepared and carried out by those who know the Bush Negroes well enough; those who understand them and their social system, their habits and environment, their idiosyncrasies and capabilities.

2.   It is necessary to view the Bush Negro groups as social systems so that all their modes of living are understood and interpreted in the total mosaic of their life-styles and not as isolated activities torn out of context.

3.   A proper survey should be conducted to provide an inventory of need problems, resources, potentials and handicaps. The demographic composition of the manpower resource is an important determinant of the quality of plan and so is the time element involved in planning and implementation.

4.   The selection of sites for the "growth centres" should be made on the basis of size, centrality and the level of services they can provide to their "spheres of influence".

5.   In the process of preparation of the Plan, an integrated approach to development of the Bush Negroes and the hinterland is essential so that the Plan takes into account all aspects of their life in their inter-relationships.

6.   All technical departments whose help, expertise and guidance would be required at different stages of Plan implementation also need to be associated with Plan formulation.

7.   The primary need is that of funds. It would be advantageous to have the Planbureau and its experts closely associated in the planning and funding of the project.

8.   The co-operation of the Bush Negroes should be enlisted at least in the form of paid labour for construction of roads, buildings and bridges, and above all, for clearing forests and preparing agricultural lands.

9.   The most important and urgent task for planning of the hinterland is to make it accessible. Roads and suitable related infrastructures

should be given very high priority.

10. As a step to follow the opening of the areas by roads, it might be worthwhile to start some small-scale labour-intensive timber industries which can be supported by local resources of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour.

11. In the Bush Negro society, which is matriarchal, women play a crucial role. It is, therefore, necessary to approach them to accept the change with understanding so that they can, in turn, persuade and influence the menfolk.

12. The Plan should include a programme of education through formal and informal means of communication suitable for adult illiterates.

13. An effort should be made to locate change agents among the Bush Negroes. Bush Negroes who work in Victoria Vilpalm Estate, Moengo, Albina, Paramaribo and elsewhere, could serve as nuclei of change in their respective groups and villages.

14. The system of education provided for the Bush Negroes should not be conventional in the three Rs alone. It should be "basic educated" related to their life-styles and should be primarily skill-oriented. In the plan for their development, provision for technical education appears to be a necessity.

15. The Bush Negroes are highly skillful in navigating the rivers and in plying river transport through the rapids. They can be utilised and trained for lumber-transport. This can provide them with a livelihood in an occupation in which they have a monopoly.

16. A channel of communication should be established between the Bush Negroes and the administration. It would be desirable to have an agency of workers - preferably chosen from amongst them on the basis of a combination of traditional authority and change-proneness wherever and to the extent possible.

17.   There is need for a co-ordinative mechanism to dovetail different
aspects of the Plan from the national to the village level. The Planraad
does not have an organic structural link below the national level and it
would be necessary and advantageous to have an Executive Committee formed
at the level of the District consisting of all District Commissioners, who
are still the repositories of the authority of the State.

18.   A plan such as the one for development of hinterland requires
co-ordinative effort continuously and with many agencies and individuals.
The need to have someone to perform this task cannot be over-emphasised.
He should be invested with sufficient status, competence and authority
to coordinate and liaise with various departments, District Commissioners
and technical officers.

19.   It might be worthwile to have two pilot experimental projects
in two different situations so that results achieved can be compared for
applying "the spreading principle" which is the basic philosophy of
approach to development in Surinam.