

Beyond the great silence
Slavery Legacy, Heritage and Tourism in Suriname

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"The executioner always kills twice - the second time with his silence"

Elie Wiesel, Nobel Peace Prize Winner

1. Introduction

1.1 Background and problem definition

Tourism is generally referred to as the fastest growing industry in the world of today and plays an important role in the lives of many people around the globe. This phenomenal growth - in the coming decennium almost a billion international trips will be made (WTO)- influenced mostly by forces of globalisation and major changes in leisure needs of contemporary societies, is not only visible in this steadily growing amount of tourists and related economic developments, also its diversification and branching has expanded significantly. Increases of ecotourism, sustainable tourism, cultural heritage tourism and all kinds of special interest segments are clearly visible, and a growing number of host countries and communities are improving tourism related conditions to cater for and benefit from these travel needs. Global changes and shifts in opinion and valuation of cultural heritage among others, have contributed to a firm development and diversification of cultural tourism, of which slavery heritage tourism will be the central focus of this study.

Inspired by the work of Dann and Seaton (eds. 2001) *Slavery, Contested Heritage and Thanatourism* which sheds a light on a theme that refers to the desire of tourists to visit sites associated with war, atrocities and other places of human suffering, this study reflects on a number of concerns and dilemma's expressed in this volume, especially related to slavery. The authors point on a remarkable gap in the presented articles and state (Dann, 2001: 24):

"There is an overall absence of data on the actors' perspectives within the slavery heritage force field. There is, for example, no ethnography that engages with black views on slavery heritage..." This thesis aims to contribute to this debate, focusing on Suriname, the former Dutch colony in South-America. In chapter 2 these challenges of thanatourism are reflected upon in detail.

The year 2004 is marked by UNESCO as year of the commemoration of Slave Trade and Slavery in the world. This demonstrates the global shared consensus that slavery as one of the worst crimes committed against humanity, a doom which caused millions of black Africans severe torment – and unfortunately still exists today in the world - needed more attention. Breaking the great silence and repairing humanity's memory loss of the past centuries regarding slave trade and slavery, became an international issue (Box 1).

This tragedy is, however, strangely missing from history books, and therefore from the memory of humanity. By applying a rigorously scientific approach in its Slave Route project UNESCO hopes to make a unique tragedy a universal issue, and enable it to assume its rightful place in the world's history books. It will be a reinstatement of historical truth, of course, but above all, a recognition of the fact the fight for democracy and human rights is first and foremost a fight for memory, since any tragedy which is covered up and disavowed may recur and , in the words of Bertolt Brecht, feed 'the fertile womb that bore the vile beast' , It also means giving the historicity of the Africa continent its due since, beyond the Afro-pessimism born of short-term memory, none of the major problems currently facing Africa is wholly unconnected with the brutal blood-letting and untold violence of the transatlantic trade in African slaves: not economic underdevelopment, nor a certain culture of violence, nor the disintegration of society and family in this part of the world

Box 1

Doudou Diène – UNESCO Slave Route Director

However the institution of slavery goes back to more than 10.000 years, or as Vink (2003) pointed out is "World's oldest trade", it is the Transatlantic Slavery which is a charged object and much expressed in trauma and taboo. This slavery in the New World, by Dr. Maarten Luther

King portrayed as “black holocaust” forcibly dislocated an estimated 12 million Africans, in order to serve the great European powers, including the Netherlands.

The Netherlands and Suriname, previously known as Dutch-Guaiana, have a long, intense and burdensome relationship since 1667. As a part of the “Peace of Breda”, a property deal was transacted in which the Dutch swapped New Amsterdam (present-day New York) for the English territory in Suriname. After the first incorporation by the “Zeeuwen” from the province of Zeeland, the plantation colony of Suriname was co-owned by the Dutch West Indian Company, who were the providers of the human cargo from Africa, and the city of Amsterdam. At the end of the 18th century the colony had around 600 plantations, mainly for the production of sugar and coffee, and until the 1773 Amsterdam stock crisis, Suriname was one of the most prosperous plantation colonies in the Americas. The existence of the colony depended heavily on slave trade. Because of continuous slave resistances and escapes, and due to low births of slave children on the plantations, fresh “labour” supply was permanently needed. The runaway slaves, Maroons, formed guerrilla bands and attacked the plantations frequently, freeing slaves and destroying plantation properties. For almost a century armies of mercenaries tried to capture runaways and protect the plantations with little success, which finally affected in peace treaties between the colonial government and the different Maroon clans. On July 1st 1863 slavery was abolished in all Dutch colonies. For the aim of this research a lengthy narrative on this theme is less relevant. A short overview however is needed to understand the historical context on which this thesis builds forth. Chapter 3 deals with the historical and socio-political context of the slavery discourse in the Netherlands.

During the post-emancipation years, but mostly around the period of Suriname’s independence in 1975, many Surinamese migrated to Europe, to the motherland (the actual Surinamese population is estimated on more than 300.000). Confronted with social and racial problems, descendents of the former Dutch Caribbean colonies residing in the Netherlands succeeded to put national policy forcefully under pressure during the recent years, in order to make the suppressed history of slave trade and slavery in the Netherlands visible and debatable: “to break the silence”. They vigorously urged recognition of Dutch slavery legacy as inherent part of national history and the erection of a national monument as memorial and a national institute. Through efforts of the National Platform for the History of Slavery (NPHS) preceded by Barryl Biekman, a spirited personality with 30 years experience in the women movement, a Slavery Monument was unveiled, while a dynamic monument, the Netherlands Institute for Slavery Legacy, NiNsee, was created in 2002 to conduct activities around research, education, documentation and presentation about the Dutch slavery past and its consequences. (NiNsee 2002) These realizations were the result of many debates, meetings and lobbying actions. The discourses related to this process and geared at both white and black fractions in Dutch society will be analyzed.

Why analyse discourse? First, discourses play a key role in processes of political change (Hayer 1995), and an analysis could explain how the slavery discourse has influenced policy. Second, an analysis could confirm or demystify what previously was seen as rational. Third, the ways in which descendants of African slaves perceive their heritage should be understood, in order to develop effective and sustainable tourism policies. The analysis of slavery discourse influences the development of cultural heritage policies. Discourse, as Mowfort (2003) notes, is a useful concept in emphasising how the subject of slavery is talked about and how it is represented to others. A Discourse analysis (Hajer 1995) refers to the examination of all those factors that influence the way in which African-Surinamese conceive the slavery problem. Hajer argues that

not only analysis of what is being said is important, but also the historical, social and institutional context needs to be included. The outcome of this analysis is revealed in Chapter 4.

Slavery Heritage is not only a matter of victims and suffering, but also of survival and triumph. In chapter 5 the conditions for representative and slavery heritage tourism processes in Suriname will be discussed, based on issues brought forth in chapter 2 and the analysis of slavery discourse provided in chapter 4. Finally in the last chapter some conclusions and recommendations with regard to Dutch-Surinamese relations and Tourism Policy Developments in Suriname will be drawn.

For the purpose of this study some delineation and limitations were required.

In the first place, preference is given to the conduct of research under black Surinamese people residing in the Netherlands. The reason is that almost half of the Surinamese live in the Netherlands. Further their influence in developments “back home” is significant, while they make up at least fifty percent of the travellers visiting Suriname. Secondly, debates and actions regarding slavery discourse were supported by all African-rooted groups in the Netherlands, of which from Suriname, Ghana, Dutch Antilles. In this context though, only Afro-Surinamese are referred to.

1.2. Research Objectives

This study aims at one branch of heritage tourism that focuses on the slavery heritage. It makes an attempt to analyse and position the different conceptions and opinions of African Surinamese in the Netherlands regarding their slavery legacy and tries to enhance insight into the slavery discourse between 1998 and 2004, while it attempts to examine the factors that influence the way in which Afro-Surinamese conceive the slavery problem with regard to heritage tourism developments. It will hopefully contribute to the development partnership between the two countries and add to insights connected to heritage tourism policy development.

The Central Research Question for this study is:

What are the major issues and dilemmas concerning the representation of slavery heritage for tourism motives in Suriname? The related sub questions are:

What are the challenges regarding slavery heritage tourism?

What is the historical, social and institutional context of the slavery discourse?

What is the perception of Afro-Surinamese descendents of slavery heritage?

1.3. Methodology

Methods and approaches of several disciplines are joined in this research, because of the multi-faced character of the problem area which requests combined knowledge. As such, insights of history, sociology, social psychology, political sciences, tourism studies and African Diaspora studies are utilized to give response to the research questions. The literature study which provided a theoretical framework for this thesis in above mentioned fields was completed with various articles and reports published in the past seven years, added by websites, newsletters and chat pages of organizations, groups and individuals involved with Suriname and slavery history. Key informants were interviewed using a semi-structured technique, while some personal informants provided additional, but important facts and backgrounds.

The Discourse Analysis methodology developed and applied by Hajer(1995, 2004) forms the scientific basis for in this study. This methodology draws on the discourse-theoretical perspectives conceptualized by Michel Foucault and social-psychologists such as Harré and

Billig. Hajer notes that however Foucault's theoretical concepts are a valuable source for the study of discourse formations in politics, there is still a conceptual gap between Foucault's abstract work and the study of concrete political events. In the social sciences discourse analysis emerged in the context of the wider post-positivist interpretative tradition. In fact it has deep historical roots in the analysis of ideology, rhetoric, sociology of science and language philosophy (1995).

In Hajer's thesis discourse analysis primarily aims to understand why a particular understanding of – in this case - slavery legacy, gains dominance and is seen as authoritative, while other understandings are discredited. This is taken on to the ways in which certain problems are represented, differences are played out, and social coalitions on specific meanings somehow emerge. Discourse is here defined as specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorizations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities.

Building on this methodology, an analysis is applied to examine all those factors that influence the way in which the problem of Slavery legacy is conceived. Hayer (1995: 44):

Analytically we try to make sense of the regularities and variations in what is being said and try to understand the social backgrounds and the social effects of specific modes of talking. First by analyzing in which context a statement is made or to whom statements are directed.

Not only analysis of what is being said, but also the institutional context, co-determines what can be said meaningfully. Hayer argues that discourse analysis is not only essential for the analysis of subject positions but also for structure positioning. In the discursive process actors are not absolutely free, but are perceived as holders of specific positions, entangled in webs of meaning.

In this study three important elements in the analysis of a discourse are applied: story lines, discourse coalitions and metaphors. The concept of story lines is introduced by Davies and Harré, but Hajer (1995) interprets story lines as a generative sort of narrative that allows actors to draw upon various discursive categories to give meaning to specific physical and social phenomena. The key function of story-lines is that they suggest unity in the bewildering variety of separate discursive component parts of a problem like Slavery. The underlying assumption is that people do not draw on comprehensive discursive systems for their cognition, but that these are evoked through story-lines. As such story-lines play a key role in the positioning of subjects and structures. A story line provides the narrative that allows the scientist, historian, environmentalist, politician or whoever, to illustrate where his or her work fits into the jigsaw. Story lines are seen as the discursive cement that keeps a discourse-coalition together.

Discourse coalitions are formed between actors that for various reasons are attracted to a specific set of story lines; groups in society that share similar ideas. Discourse coalitions are defined as the ensemble of:

- a set of story lines
- the actors who utter these story lines
- the practices in which this discursive activity is based

A metaphor in this context is seen as a part of a story line and a narrative of social reality, which enriches or fortifies the story line. Story lines have a tremendous importance for organizing social interaction and a medium through which actors try to impose their view of reality on others, suggest certain positions and practices, and criticize alternative social arrangements. (Hajer 2004)

The analysis process consisted of the following steps:

1. Desk research: aiming to gain knowledge concerned with the methodology and relevant concepts.
2. General orientation, in order to identify key informants and relevant documents. This was enabled with the assistance of three “helicopter” actors (Hayer, 2004), media specialists, active in Dutch television, radio and web-hosting, who had an overview of the field. The desk research and the general orientation resulted in the conceptualization of some relevant themes and issues, which were finally narrowed down and brought to five discourse categories (chapter 4).
3. Interviews:
 - First a list of thirty key-persons was composed, which was screened with the “helicopters” and delineated to twelve individuals. The final list of key informants had the following composition: NPHS(2), NiNsee(1), Museum Network(1), 30 June/1st July Committee(1), Maroon society(1) Media(1) Sankofa Foundation(1), Moravian Church(1) Artists(2) and Social/Cultural Mediator(1). Also other considerations played a role in the final selection of key informants, such as: age; urban/plantation/Maroon origin; gender; residency (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Den Haag and Utrecht); one interviewee was of Euro-Dutch background (autochtoon) and one person was not available.
 - With key informants (appendix 1), who have actively contributed to “breaking the silence” of the slavery legacy, or who have/had a key role in Afro- Surinamese movements or establishments. The interviews were conducted in order to gather additional information and to get better understanding. But, also confronting and disturbing issues were brought above. The subject of slavery heritage tourism was instigated by the interviewer at every occasion.
 - With personal informants, who gave additional feedback and valuable insights. This information was achieved on several occasions and by e-mail and telephone.
4. Document Analysis (appendix 2)
5. Identification and analysis of:
 - Story lines, discourse coalitions and metaphors (clarified in the previous paragraph)
 - Key incidents: important experiences or events that influenced discourse, or reversely.
 - Discursive affinities: arguments and story lines that vary in origin but have similar conceptualization of relevant themes or categories.
6. Interpretation of findings.
7. Re-check and evaluation.

In conclusion may be remarked that to improve this research a methodological triangulation, for example by a survey based on interviews “on the street”, in order to have more “grass-root feedback” would be justly, but due to time limitations the implementation of such was not possible.

2. Tourism, Contested Heritage and Slavery

This research concentrates mainly on the development of heritage tourism as a branch of tourism with focus on slavery legacy. Tourism, conceptualised as a global process of commodification and consumption involving flows of people, capital, images and cultures, (Meethan, 2001) has branched of considerably during the past decennia. This diversification has been explained by several scientists mainly as consequences of the dynamics of globalisation. Indeed, the study of tourism can hardly be undertaken without touching on its relationship with globalisation, but for the purpose of this research, this chapter will only focus on three areas: heritage and its meaning for tourism, thanatourism and slave history, and contested heritage.

2.1. Heritage and Tourism

The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) defines heritage tourism “as an immersion in the natural history, human heritage, arts, philosophy and institutions of another region or country”, and has recognised that heritage and culture have become a component in more than forty percent of all international trips undertaken (Timothy 2003) This does not imply that heritage tourism is a new concept or a leisure activity of the contemporary affluent world citizen. Far from that, it is the oldest form of tourism and existed even in ancient times. European traders, sailors and adventurers travelled to see the Great Pyramids and the Nile; Silk Road travellers in Asia visited ancient civilisations and the ancient city of Djenne in Africa was a highly recommended location.

In the middle ages many Korean travellers visited places with literary aesthetics and legendary value(Lee 2002), while the Grand Tour of Europe moved between ancient cities of culture to see castles, cathedrals and artistic works. Butler denotes how travellers taking the Grand Tour in modern times are very different from early travellers. (Timothy 2003)

Table 1. Comparisons between Grand Tour participants past and present

Characteristics	Early Tourists	Modern Tourists
Length of trip	Months to several years	Few days to a few weeks
Nature of experience	In-dept learning	Shallow experience
Places visited	Many and for long periods	Few and for short periods
Activities engaged in	In-depth learning	Shallow experiences
Purpose of the experience	Education (development)	Enjoyment (prestige)
Level of knowledge	High (informed on cultures)	Low (some preparation)
Market size	Limited to elite (small)	Large (open to masses)

The Grand Tour, popular with the wealthy upper-class elite of Europe as a educational and culturally refining experience, included visits to historic cities as Paris, Turin, Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome and Naples(Towner 1985). The people who engaged in this travel phenomenon also varied over time. The early travellers were English aristocrats but by the late eighteenth century the Tour was popular among lawyers, physicians, bankers and merchants. By the mid-nineteenth century, the tour was popular among early American tourists. In contrast, modern day versions of the earliest travellers to Europe, only visit the major cities as part of a larger holiday, where the focus is more on pleasure than learning. Within the context of modern tourism, there is justification to argue that heritage tourism has formed part of what is known as special interest travel. But, before heading for the shape and significance of heritage tourism, an analysis of the concept of “heritage” is required.

First of all, clarity should exist in the use of the terms history, heritage and culture. Very often associations are made between these three complex conceptions. Many people incorrectly interchange heritage and history. Timothy (2003: 4) explains that: *“History is the recording of the past as accurately as possible in so far as it can be accurate given present-day limitations of knowledge. Heritage is part of our past too, but it includes a range of aspects such as language, culture, identity and locality, to name those that have assumed a degree of importance”*. Cassia (in Timothy 2003) made the differences clear by stating that history as a scholarly activity is a means of producing knowledge about the past, and heritage is a means of consumption of that knowledge. Thus, history is what a historian regards as worth recording and heritage is what contemporary society chooses to inherit and to pass on. Lowenthal notes (in Timothy 2003: 265) that:

“What heritage does not highlight, it often hides. Heritage shapes an embraceable past through the celebrating of some aspects of a heritage, and forgetting others”. Basically, heritage presents the things we want to keep (Hall, 2002).

The associations between heritage and culture are often made because there is an obvious link in that heritage is part of cultural landscapes of the past and present. Tahana and Opperman (Timothy, 2003: 4) defined cultural attractions to *“range from historical monuments to handicrafts or artefacts, from festivals to music and dance presentations, and from the bustling street life of a different culture to the distinct lifestyle of indigenous people”*. The terms “cultural tourism”, “heritage tourism”, “ethnic tourism” and “arts tourism” are almost interchangeable in their usage, with limited consensus whether or not people are talking about the same thing. Richards (in Timothy, 2003) views culture as comprised of processes (the ideas and ways of life of people) and the outcome of those processes (buildings, art, and artefacts). With cultural tourism involving cultural products, and contemporary culture, he argues that cultural tourism encompasses both heritage tourism, defined as being related to artefacts of the past, as well as arts, that is related to contemporary cultural production.

Insights in the inventive nature of cultural and heritage tourism are provided by Hollinshead (1999) by examining the meaning and value of tourism as maker of peoples, places and pasts as it trades in culture, heritage and history to privilege some manufactured versions of the past while it helps silence or disenfranchise others. Historical truth and myth in heritage tourism are projected against the multi-social possibilities of a society. He argues that an increasing proportion of historians now view historical truth as a sort of narrative literature that needs to be understood for its quiet but powerful didacticism as much as for its relevance to proven events in and of the past.

Myth is generally presented as something apart from, or in opposition to history. Many see myth as fake, while history is seen to be always genuine. However, as our understanding of the production of historical truth becomes fine tuned, it is becoming hard to separate myth from history. Both myth and history are subjective accounts, and one could argue that certain peoples around the world are becoming increasingly possessive about their myth and their history. Myth and history can solidify to become pillar features of cultural identity (Hollinshead 1999). Almost everything can be history, but historians tend to have strong beliefs about what is worthwhile to be named history. The history is embedded in a certain cultural and political dominated milieu and its meaning as heritage is formed and stabilised through discourses in a given community. Focusing on the meaning of heritage tourism, several scholars have come to the conclusion that a large part of tourism is very much concerned with the manufacture and maintenance of preferred visions and images of the past. Tunbridge and Ashworth (Hollinshead 1999) see

tourism as a vital ideological means by which certain elements within a population, state or nation are able to mainstream their own account of received heritage and peripheralise the alternative narratives of others. They identified the different meanings and dimensions of heritage as (Hall 2002, Timothy 2003):

- A synonym for any relict physical survival of the past
- The idea of individual and collective memories in terms of non-physical aspects of the past
- The product of modern conditions that are attributed to, and influenced by, the past
- All cultural and artistic productivity produced in the past or present
- Elements from the natural environment that are survivals from the past, seen as original, typical and appropriate to be passed on to future generations
- A major commercial activity, loosely recognised as the heritage industry, that is based on selling goods and services with a heritage component

This varied explication of heritage demonstrates its broad linkages with identity, power and economy.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) seeks to encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of outstanding value to humanity. This is embodied in an international treaty called the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, adopted by UNESCO in 1972. UNESCO differentiates tangible and intangible heritage. The “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage” defines the intangible cultural heritage as the practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills, that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. By linking history, culture and the land where people live, a range of heritage sites emerges that include a mix of tangible and intangible elements:

- Historic buildings and monuments
- Sites and landmarks of important past events, like battles, peace treaties
- Traditional landscape and indigenous wildlife
- Language, literature, music, oral history, story telling and art
- Traditional events and folklore practices
- Traditional lifestyles including food, drink , clothing and sport

Heritage and tourism have developed as symbiosis, nurturing each other constantly, while providing economic advantages, but Meethan (2001:101) claims the following regarding national identity: *“There is more to heritage and authenticity than either the need to conserve, or the need to commodify the past for tourist consumption. Heritage can also serve a didactic purpose in educating or fostering a sense of nationhood, or a more locally sense of belonging for consumption by both “insiders” and “outsiders”, as well as simply providing some form of diversion or entertainment. The increasing commodification of heritage does not diminish this fact, nor does it render heritage inauthentic, rather it indicates that the production and consumption of heritage is closely tied to the broader issues of politics, the economy and other forms of cultural distinction, and can serve more than one purpose”*. Heritage is important in peoples’ lives, as the growth of the tourism industry demonstrates. The significance and value that lie within heritage are not in how it is defined, but how it is used to create meaningful experiences for tourists and local people, while promoting conservation values.

2.2. Thanatourism

The portrayal of heritage to tourists as demonstrated in the previous paragraph is undoubtedly related to politics and power, and reflects in many locations what some observers refer to as, “collective amnesia”. This deliberate forgetting of some aspects of the past whereby entire societies elect to disregard, exclude or suppress certain aspects of history because they are uncomfortable and embarrassing, is termed by Ashworth as “disheritage”(Timothy, 2003), in which some social or ethnic groups are written out of the script of history. This societal memory loss has resulted in many diverse heritages throughout the world being excluded from conservation and interpretation, and hidden from the tourist gaze. These circumstances have long existed in the treatment of the heritage of descendants of African slaves in the Americas, Caribbean and Europe. For centuries black heritage has been suppressed and hidden from public view. Since the abolition of slavery, the issue has been an embarrassment and the more politically powerful white majority has elected to keep the African legacy and their horrified past at a fair distance. The disgraceful and inhumane treatment of blacks did not end with abolition, but continued well into the twentieth century in many places and persisted with racism and segregation.

The development of black heritage attractions started in the USA some decennia ago; while in Britain and the Netherlands it is for only some years that this lacuna was breached. In 1994 the Maritime Museum in Liverpool, UK, had mounted the first major permanent exhibition to narrate the history of the British slave trade, while Dutch museums started in 1999 with the preparations of exhibitions on this issue. Seaton (2001, 108) studied the differences between UK and USA with regard to slavery heritage tourism by phrasing: *“Why are there differences in scale and pace of development in the two countries? And, why were the slavery sites in the US more developed touristically than in UK cities that had provided the economic foundations for the development of slavery? He concludes: The contrasts in the status of slavery heritage in the two countries can be seen as a function of differences in physical evidence, the dissimilar position of slavery in relation to historical national discourses, as also to variation in the numbers of black people and their relationship to slavery in the two countries”*.

Slavery tourism is contextualized within a frame work of thanatourism, a sub-set of the wider heritage tourism field discussed in the previous paragraph. It is also labelled as “dark tourism” (Dann 2001) or “dissonant heritage”. It comprises *heritage staged around attractions and sites associated with death, acts of violence, scenes of disaster and crimes against humanity*. These three “labels” are not quit synonymous, as Dann points on, but for the purpose of this study these disparities will not be of great relevance, and the concepts will be utilized indifferently. The problems identified by him are: What ethical issues have to be confronted and resolved if such sites are to be memorialised? Who should control the forms of heritage development at dissonant sites? Whose past should be privileged? How in pluralistic societies with diverse ethnic mix, is it possible to narrate histories that include all constituent variants equitably?

Thanatourism poses a fundamental question about the relationship between history and heritage. Some scholars in the past have tended that heritage should be a transparent translation of history. This view is not shared by Dann (2001, 26-27), who states:

“First, history is not a final, completed and given reality that can be unproblematically mined and processed into definitive heritage. It is an evolving construction, determined by value-laden choices of the historian and, as such, is likely to change through the revelation of new information and alternative perspectives. Thus, if heritage is always a selection of history, and history itself is a construction, then it is possible to envisage heritage as a selection from a selection. Second, whereas heritage has to operate within constraints, history is not so obliged. The ideal of history is the

disinterested and comprehensive recovery of the past outside of any restrictions of audience or time, and its documentation occurs in a manner whose worth is ultimately determined by its internal coherence and research quality guaranteed by peer assessment. Heritage differs in several ways from this situation. Most importantly, it has to take in account the sensitivities of the present. Unlike historians, whose main and only task should be the analysis of the past, the heritage promoter must consider how the past “plays” in the present. Once history is moulded to heritage and committed to being represented as public spectacle, questions about its effects on potential target groups and stakeholders are impossible to avoid. Finally, while history ultimately aims for a comprehensive recounting of the “world of the past”, heritage is always only a discourse about a comparatively small slice of that past, one which relates to given communities in particular places and at specific times”.

The heritage of African Diaspora has received considerable focus during the past years by the tourism industry. Slavery as a “tourist attraction” has become an important “asset” in many countries under which U.S.A., Ghana, Gambia, Jamaica, Barbados. Several American plantations, complete with slave quarters of yesteryear, have become tourism heritage sites of today (Dann 2001). Plantation houses, mansions, Great Houses and gardens that took thousands of slaves years to construct, are now part of the tourist gaze. Colonial Williamsburg, with its 138 original 18th and 19th century buildings, and 27 million visitors from 1932 to 1984 is among Virginia’s top tourist attractions. The story of the underground railway is being told through the creation of a black heritage trail in Brant County, Ontario, which played an important part in the smuggling of slaves into Canada. This symbiotic pattern of past slavery and present tourism can be found wherever in the world the former was practiced. Dann mentions: Cidade Velha , on the Cabo Verde Island of Santiago, once the centre of 15th and 16th centuries Portuguese trade, where evangelization of slaves took place prior to their shipment to the New World, that shows remnants of the rituals in the Cathedral. The Port City of Bagamoyo still features the old prison for slaves before they were taken out to the waiting dhows, as well as the sombre collection of shackles, chains and whips (Dann 2001).

Cape Coast and Elmina Castle in Ghana, the important Dutch “Golden Age” properties, are among the most successful heritage tourism sites in Africa and contribute increasingly as UNESCO World Heritage Sites to Ghana’s economy. To attract visitors and the much-needed foreign exchange earnings that they contribute to the treasury, Ghana has promoted since 1994 for example, the Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST). Aiming at visitors from Europe, Ghana attracts tourists interested in viewing those monuments that testify to the imprint left by European traders and colonial powers, while from the Americas, and especially among Africans of the diaspora, come those tourists making the emotional journey in search of a past deeply rooted in Africa (Essah 2001).

In the Caribbean the link between tourism and slavery is very pronounced. Plantation Dinner Shows, Plantation Hotels, Festivals and visits to Maroon Villages as well as city walking tours are often linked to slavery history. Nevis has an island history as colourful as any in the British West Indies -according to a travel writer – with dozens of old sugar plantations, some turned into inns. Popular and exclusive are the eighteenth century Richmond Great House in Tobago, the Rawlings Plantation in St Kitts, the Jalousie Plantation in St Lucia, the Sugar Mill Hotel in Tortola and Villa Nova, a five-star resort hotel where Sir Winston Churchill and Queen Elisabeth II stayed in Barbados, to mention some examples. Jamaica, with attractions round Rose Hall Great House, where the White Witch, Annie Palmer, met a violent death at the hands of her slave lovers; In Haiti visitors can take in contrived voodoo shows, complete with intermissions, where spirit possession is guaranteed and synchronized according to the schedule

of the tour bus (Dann, 2001). There are however some critical dilemmas related to the portrayal of slavery heritage, which will be addressed in the next paragraph.

2.3. Critical factors, representation and ethics

Before examining the several points of critique and problems concerning slavery heritage and tourism it is essential to reflect briefly on the conceptualization of African Diaspora.

The expression has been and is still used to describe a wide array of studies, courses, programs and productions. For almost a century numerous scientists across the disciplines have been utilizing the framework to study slavery and the life of black people in the world. The black experience was investigated by studying a wide spectrum of cultural objects including literature and arts. One of the first scholars to begin a dialogue on the diaspora was Shepperson, who viewed the diaspora as a great movement or migration of people which was a major part of world history and conceptualized as the study of a series of reactions, to the imposition of the economic and political rule of alien peoples in Africa, to slavery and imperialism (Wilson 1997). Shepperson presented some interesting reasons why the study of African Diaspora was important. First, those who wanted to do African history but did not reside in Africa can do now diaspora studies. Secondly, study of the diaspora has an educational value. It should be part of history courses. Thirdly, the study of the diaspora would help to legitimise African history and reveal Africa's role in universal history. Harris conceptualized African Diaspora as, the global dispersion (voluntary and involuntary) of Africans throughout history; the emergence of a cultural identity abroad based on origin and social condition; and the psychological or physical return to the homeland, Africa (Wilson 1997).

Morehouse, (2002) at the other hand argues that in order to understand the terrain of African Diaspora research and analysis, we must first decide whether it is a concept, a framework, or paradigm, or an ideology. Every worthy slavery study must necessarily address institutional practices and constraints, identify formation, and cultural practices along a diasporic continuum. She advocates using "African Diaspora" as a framework for understanding the history and literature of a population that has been dispersed, and adds that the African Diaspora framework is a burgeoning new field of inquiry with polyvalence and a myriad of new theorems. The African Diaspora framework will be the port of departure of this study to understand the violence of the slave trade and slavery, and the consequences for the descendants. In the consideration of the following critical factors related to slavery heritage tourism this framework will be relevant.

The first problematic area in the portrayal of slavery heritage is connected to the epistemological perspective of domination. The critique which suggested that the determination of slavery heritage was mainly by powerful business institutions, their commercial agenda and the mainly white audiences they targeted was modified by Dann (2001: 20), who explained that the domination perspective is caught in a double blind: *"If slavery heritage is not memorialized, it can be read as suppression; if it is commemorated, such heritage may be construed as unethical"*

It is clear that not all sites or developments fit this critique. A number of sites are not private enterprises, and profit is not their central purpose (exhibition centres, museums) while it cannot be said that all are catering exclusively to white consumption.

The next critical issue, connected to the first regards the "disinheritance" and the manipulation of narratives of slavery for ideological and commercial reasons. The deliberate forgetting or ignoring of certain aspects of history, because they are embarrassing and uncomfortable, or because broader society and its leadership desire to achieve some ideological objective is often

observed. (Teye, 2004). Butler (2001) pointed on this issue and noticed that plantation managers, or people in charge, have excluded slavery deliberately in their tours and narratives, as they have attempted to construct a fictitious history, thus corresponding to the unconscious desire, including the hope that slavery did not happen, especially in that location. Hollingshead (1999) argues that societies repress individuals' instincts to be free, and considers it as the tragic cost of civilisation, as it can be carried out via the repression of certain heritages or the subjugation of certain pasts, just as it can be more overt and direct forms of power and dominance.

The issue of representation is also addressed by Havisser (2004: 1-2) who points out that African Diaspora heritage and cultural tourism partnerships require clear definitions of acceptable values representative of the host societies, including an established code of ethics. He remarks: *Threats from multinationals in exploitation of heritage tourism are frequently heard. Reason to challenge the tourism industry to create viable ethical standards related to African Diaspora heritage presentations, with respect for local communities while also offering a satisfactory tourism experience. It is crucial to understand that the trans-cultural harmony which is promoted by tourism cannot be based on economic profit alone, but must also be based on respect for the values and decisions of host communities. The topic of human enslavement is an emotional and painful issue; however we must confront its existence for the education of the human condition, both in history and at present. Yet where do we draw the line to separate education from exploitation?*

Havisser (2004:3-4) discusses a preoccupation with the current tourism industry trajectory towards a popular acceptance of the concept of exploitation of African Diaspora heritage for economic profit in priority to education. He indicates this hybrid as follows: *“The very concept of a “Slaveryland” as an entrepreneurial enterprise is a blatant insult to many, yet ironically it is also a potential attraction to others, with the separation not always delineated by ethnic background. Heritage is being seen as just another profit-making product, like the sun and sea. Therefore customs, traditions, rituals and festivals can be changed, minimizing their importance, or transformed to suit the expectations of the foreigners, thus diminishing the true nature of the actual heritage, in what has been called Reconstructed Ethnicity”.*

There is also a concern at the other hand that some museums and educational programs for African Diaspora heritage have become simply memorials to victims, with shackles, cages and objects of abuse as the primary display focus (Havisser 2004). Hereby the accurate broad perspective record of events and daily life-ways in the diaspora are being superseded by sensationalism, personal agendas, and a thirst for the horrors of the past. It is Havisser's opinion that factual accuracy can never be sacrificed to personal opinion and political correctness. He recognizes that often the overcompensation by descendants of enslavers is as much a threat to accuracy, as under-representation of the descendants of the enslaved.

Dann (2001) does not only express his concern about the representation of history, but also the representation of blacks themselves. Interpretation of slave experience is a heavily contested field, and the societal memory loss has resulted in many diverse heritages throughout the world being excluded from conservation and interpretation, and being hidden from the “tourist gaze”. Situations critically indicated with: “distortion of the past for tourist purposes”; selling of “staged authenticity”; “literally and figuratively black holes in the interpretations and narrations” and “blends of facts and fiction” are not seldom perceived at slavery heritage sites. He argues that there is a general failure to acknowledge the contribution of Afro-Americans and a significant omission of the roles they played, and continues (Dann, 2001:16): *“There is an additional dilemma that, by providing the whole truth about Afro-American history to an*

overwhelmingly white audience, the presumed ensuing alienation among the latter could result in lower attendance figures”

Other commentators criticize this form of tourism as to be founded on perceived similarities between tourism and slavery, such as Harrigan (Dann 2001: 54) who observes:

“This new industry” could be organised along traditional lines. Like sugar, it was based on expatriate capital and locally labour intensive; it had a structure of local demands based on foreign needs; it perpetuated absentee landlordism under a new guise in which the outside shareholder replaced the colonial planter; it required the usual expatriate management, a new kind of house-slave and substantial numbers of field-slaves.

Dann (2001: 21) accentuates a striking aspect which will be vindicated in chapter 4:

“An unexpected view posed in discussion against the conventional wisdom that slavery should be commemorated and narrated, was the idea that many black people might oppose slavery heritage development, having no desire to be permanently situated within historical discourses that construct their identity within a self-definition whose main feature is servitude. Seen in this light, slavery could represent a twofold historical disablement- a source of dramatic suffering in the past and psychological liability in the present”.

The souvenir sector related to African Diaspora heritage tourism sites is a critical concern, of which Goings (2001) remarks that it used to promote and institutionalize racism and notes that the slave-like images of mentally deficient, indolent, though happy blacks in the stereotypical figures of Aunt Jemima and Uncle Mose, while predominant from post-emancipation to the 1950s, have not entirely disappeared today. Havisser (2004:3) points to the fact that from Bahia to Cartagena to Havana, one can buy tourist souvenir statues of enslaved Africans in chains, and raises the questions: *“Is this the direction we want to go for pride in African Diaspora heritage or perhaps somewhere-someday to pay a fee and be put into shackles? How far can a host society let its values go, before it crosses the line between educational-entertaining presentations of the African Diaspora, to become a regression to the degrading exploitation of African enslavement history for profit”?*

2.4 Contested and Dissonant Heritage

When societies are complex and multidimensional in ethnic and social terms, there is bound to be some degree of dissonance and contestation regarding the treatment of heritage. As demonstrated earlier in this study, heritage is by its very nature a political phenomenon. There is a clear linkage between the construction of heritage as an expression of national identity and the political and cultural economy (Meethan 2001). In the past – and still today- most heritage developments excluded the past of the powerless and minorities in society, favouring in stead the events, places and artefacts of aristocracy and ruling supremacy (Timothy 2003). Space can be subject to a variety of interpretations, or “readings” concerning its symbolic significance and questions always arise regarding which aspect or strata of society will be restored, preserved, or reinvented. Meethan (2001) argues that heritage encompasses a variety of definitions and interpretations, some of which may well be more openly contested than others. In each case though, heritage is also a means of defining the individuality and authenticity of places, cultures and people and, as such, is a socially constructed means of distinction. As conservation and interpretation are used to spread messages, dissonance and contestation are commonly created between groups that share the same heritage. Dissonance, in the context of heritage is defined as “discordance or a lack of agreement and consistency” (Tunbridge in Timothy 2003).

Three types of contested heritage are identified by Olsen (Timothy 2003).

The first involves two or more groups claiming the same overlapping heritage. Same places have different meanings for different groups, and each group believes that its view is correct, while that of the other is not. A former sugar plantation in the Caribbean with its majestic plantation house may be proudly regarded as testimony of thoughtful enterprise by a certain European family, but the same plantation holds another, rather negative meaning for the black families in the Caribbean, whose ancestors were de-humanized at this location. This category of dissonance occurs when competing paradigms of social understanding allocate different meanings to the same artefacts, places and events (Timothy, 2003). One of the “hottest” contested heritage locations in the world is Jerusalem. Its holy sites are claimed by Jews, Christians and Muslims. Tunbridge phrased it as: *“One person’s landmark may be an object of hostility to another”* Also with natural heritage strongly opposing views can exist. The Niagara Falls, for example, which is divided by the US and Canadian border, shows contrasting landscapes, due to different political views and meanings of the place. The US side is notorious for its derelict and dirty industrial landscape owing to the long-term practice of factory construction adjacent to the Falls, while the Canadian side of the border is known for its parklands and well-groomed scenery owing to its designation as a provincial park in the 1880s. Several observers explain the ideological differences that have created two divergent heritage landscapes in essentially one location. For Canada, Niagara is like a welcoming front entrance. For the US it is like a dark, back alley, an appropriate place for dioxin and nuclear waste (Timothy, 2003).

The second is a division within one group over what aspects of heritage to emphasise and share with the public. The example of a women’s league in a small California town, that wished to commemorate the prostitutes who worked there during the gold rush with the dedication of a memorial plaque is clear. The city counsel opposed the action because members were ashamed to share that portion of their past with outsiders (Timothy, 2003). In urban areas especially, the heritage values tend to be those of whichever social group in power. The dominant group does not necessarily have to be the majority, but it typically moulds the city according to its unconscious bias. This results in dissonances between various ethnic and religious groups regarding their heritage representations. This is the case in some Canadian cities where the French-Canadian approach to history is somewhat different from that of the Anglo-Canadians.

The third form is indigenous versus colonial, which really refers to two different groups with parallel heritages, often leading to questions about which, or whose heritage should be preserved. For instance, to non-indigenous residents of Zimbabwe, Matobo National Park is an important historic site because it is the final resting place of Cecil Rhodes, the British founder of Zimbabwe. To indigenous Zimbabweans, however the park is important because it is the final resting place of Mzilikazi, a famous Ndebele leader (Teye, 2004). Politically dominant groups usually marginalise the heritage of disadvantaged people. This is very much the case with colonial-colony relationships where in most cases colonialism suppresses a nation’s right to a national heritage. This is even stronger for indigenous groups that are relegated to the margins of society. The colonial-colony relationship should not be limited to the historical motherland-colony link, but also regarded in the post-colonial era, in which local, mostly urban aristocracy “replaced” the colonialist, and continued the marginalisation of indigenous people.

Relating the previous categorization of contested or dissonant heritage to African Diaspora and Thanatourism, it is obvious that many problems and questions are bound to rise associated with historical truth, blame and guilt. Havisser (2004) argues that the problem is not with the use of heritage in tourism, rather assertions of the relationship of power between guests and hosts when dealing with such sensitive emotional and political issues as the African Diaspora and slavery.

Heritage development is a form of appropriation in the sense that it is always owned and staged by someone about some subjects, which means that it inevitably excludes or marginalizes others. Seaton (2001) suggests that heritage may have to accommodate and reconcile the concerns of at least four contemporary groups: owners/controllers, subjects, audiences and communities. With his Heritage Force Field Model (fig. 2) he explains, by representing heritage as the product of a “force field”, how these four distinct groups potentially operate in a milieu of power over time. The Force Field Model seeks to depict how social actors and stakeholders involved in the heritage development, and the political and temporal environments in which they interact, may produce a more complex configuration of influences than the assumption of the two-cornered fight between truth and falsehood.

The owners/controllers: Often the institutional agents behind a heritage development.

They fulfil an allocative and operational function, even though the two roles may not necessarily be separated. If they are divided, then the allocative controllers are financial backers and the operational controllers comprise managers and support specialists whom they may employ to research, design, build and furnish the attraction.

The subject groups: The subjects about whom the narrative is told.

Exactly how they are constructed within heritage narratives will depend upon their involvement and participation. They may be represented or misrepresented (from their own perspectives) not just by what is included, but through silences.

The host communities: The residents located near the heritage site.

Like the subjects of heritage, they are most likely to approve an attraction if they have been involved in its development, if they approve of the subject groups and narratives within it, and are willing to accept its visitors.

The visitor groups: Virtually all heritage sites, those related to thanatourism as well as others, must command a market, since even the most publicly subsidized attraction comes under fire if it is seen to have too few visitors. The market holds permanent power to shape heritage and attraction development, that is often ignored in the more puritanical critiques voiced by custodians of “authenticity” opposed to any form of popular translations of heritage stories.

The interests and goals of the four groups may produce a wide permutation of different relations and alignment, ranging from harmony through common interest, to hostility through unresolved conflicts of interest that may lead to contestation or opposition to a heritage development, or even spoliation, once it is in place. (Seaton 2001) The least contentious kind of heritage is one where the allocative/operational controlling group behind the development is itself the sole object of the narrative, is staging it within its own spatial community, and expects its main visitors to be from the surrounding area. (a small local museum, established by voluntary effort within a village, would be a good example) Between these two extremes there are an infinite number of permutations of interaction within the Force Field.

Figure 1. The Heritage Force Field (Seaton 2001)

Owners/ Controllers *Goals/ interests of Institution? *Goals/ interests of financial backers? *Goals/interest of animators-researchers, creatives etc * Other groups/interests (e.g. governmental)?	Power and Time	Host Community * Their relationship to heritage narrative and subject groups, and to owners/controllers? * Their participation in, and benefit from heritage development * Their acceptance of visitor numbers
Power and Time	Heritage Development	Power and Time
Subject Groups *Their benefit from narrative? * Degree of participation? (Whose story? Whose blame? Whose heroic narrative? Whose exclusions/silences?)	Power and Time	Visitor Groups *Their relationship to subject narratives/silenced narratives? *Their relationship to and with subjects, owners/controllers and host communities? *Their tastes, aesthetic, historical etc?

Seaton (2001) concludes that the nexus of power and interests between the four main groups is dynamic, not static, and its configuration may change over time. Subject groups who have been excluded, marginalized or subordinated in previous narratives may increase in social power to change the way that they are represented; audiences may alter their tastes, rejecting what they formerly liked and demand more dynamic displays; owners and controllers may modify their goals and intentions. Heritage is as much a product of present perspectives as past events. The result off all these impacts over time is that heritage is never a stable, finally completed process, but a constantly evolving process of accommodation, adjustment and contestation.

Conclusion: In this chapter it is demonstrated that the development of slavery heritage tourism is a sensitive mission, which faces many challenges and embodies several dilemmas. The determination of what is and what is not to be perceived as heritage is the first, followed by, who decides upon its development, how should it be implemented, what story should be told, what are the consequences and who should it benefit, are major issues. The appliance of the “Force Field Model” supports the accommodation of the different stakeholders in the so contested heritage area. The following chapter will focus on Suriname and its slavery heritage, emphasizing the contexts of slavery discourses in the past as well as the present.

3. Slavery Discourse, Past and Context

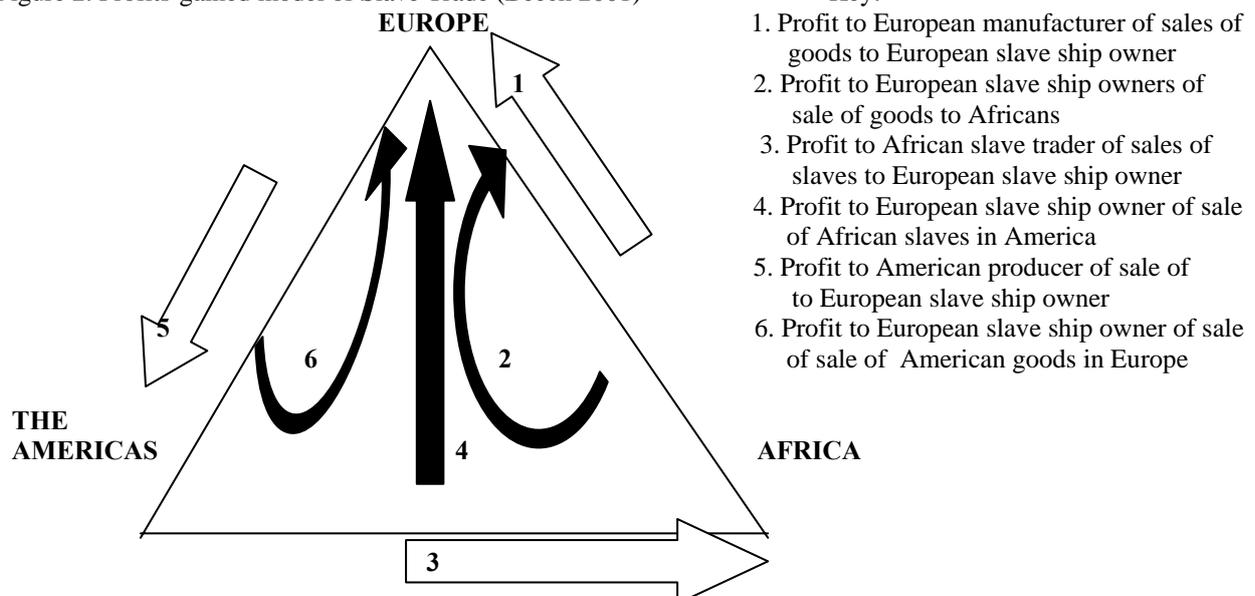
Introduction

The history and role of the Netherlands in the slave trade and slavery, and issues related to African Diaspora have been studied very limited in the Netherlands compared to Britain and the USA. During the recent two decennia more studies have been published focusing on these themes. The “Zeeuws Archief” (2004) which is in the process of organizing a conference in June 2005, named “Slavery from within”, remarked in its preparatory document for this event that the increasing one-sidedness of slavery studies is its complete domination by the Anglophone Atlantic world, with regard to the nationality of the researchers as well as the slave societies they research. As a consequence, the US South and the British West Indies seem to have become almost icons or benchmarks in the study of slavery. They point on that the geographical imbalance is confirmed by a quick scan of book titles in the online Central Library Catalogue of the Netherlands, which also reveals that the imbalance is slowly increasing over the years. This aspect is even more present for studies carried out by Surinamese, which hardly exceed the number of fingers. Nevertheless, the growing interest for these topics during the past decennium is promising and encouraging many issues to be unfolded.

3.1. Atlantic Slave Trade and Historical Overview

The Dutch engaged in slave trading from the second half of the 16th century to the early 19th century. The Dutch West Indies Company held a monopoly on the important triangular trade route Europe-Africa-Americas. Textiles, weapons, metal and alcohol were shipped from the Netherlands to the west coast of Africa and sold there to finance the purchase of slaves; the slaves were taken from Africa to the Caribbean and sold there; the money from the sale of slaves went to the purchase of sugar and other American commodities; which in turn were sold in markets in Europe. The trade was private business, but the Dutch Government and especially the cities of Amsterdam and Middelburg benefited importantly. The aspect of the profitability of slave trade has been a much debated topic (Emmer, 2000; Marshall, 2000; Oostindië, 2000; Stipriaan 2000) and an important question related to this was: If it was not profitable why did it last three centuries? In the next chapter this aspect will be elaborated.

Figure 2. Profits-gained model of Slave Trade (Beech 2001)



Beech(2001) provided a model based (fig. 3) on profit flows in relation to the foregoing point, showing that Europe benefited doubly with trade of manufacturers and shippers.

The Netherlands, who were relatively late in this branche, had a modest part in the world slave trade and shipped around 540.000 slaves to the Atlantic region, mainly Suriname and Curacao (Dors, 2000; Emmer 2000). This was around five percent of the shipments estimated by Lovejoy (in Marshall, 2000) between 1450 and 1900 (Table 2).

Period	Amount	Percentage
1450- 1600	367,000	3,1
1601- 1700	1.868,000	16
1701- 1800	6.133,000	52,4
1801- 1900	3.330,000	28,5
Total	11.698,000	100

From the 16th century on, the provinces of Holland and Zeeland profiled themselves as an important trading power, competing first the Portuguese, and later on, Spaniards, British and French in the East- as in the West-Indies. Mainly the cities of Amsterdam and Middelburg (Zeeland) were the great centres and ports which boosted with the Mid-Atlantic triangle. At present there are still some tangible traces

visible in public spaces of Amsterdam and Middelburg (Jong, 2003, Zeeuws Archief). Both cities were also co-owners of Suriname until the late 18th century.

As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, Suriname became a plantation colony mainly for the production of sugar and coffee, and in smaller amounts, cacao, cotton and timber. It depended heavily on slave labour and an estimated 340.000 African slaves were imported in Suriname, mainly from the Coast of Guinea, between Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria, but also from Congo and Angola. (Buddingh, 1995). Table 3 from Stipriaan (1993) gives an overview of the slave population between 1752 and 1862.

Year	Sugar	Coffee	Cocoa	Other	Paramaribo	Total
1752	19,008	16,029		534	2,264	37,835
1774	16,584	37,179		3,071	3,089	59,923
1795	12,232	26,710	4,209	2,204	2,800	48,155
1813	10,108	21,968	5,692	3,717	2,599	44,084
1836	17,659	12,942	6,545	2,590	7,143	46,879
1854	17,884	5,584	4,550	4,396	6,401	38,545
1862	19,789	3,892	2,551	4,714	5,538	36,484

Source: L. van Stipriaan (1993)

When the Dutch overtook the power in the colony, there were already some free blacks, who had gained there freedom from the British plantation owners. Gradually the amount of free blacks increased. Table 4 shows the free population of Suriname (excluding Maroons) During slavery years there were 4 categories of free blacks in the country: a) the manumitted blacks and there siblings (ex-slaves who were bought free by their owners) b) ex-slaves who were recruited for military service in the "Negro Free Corps" or "Redi Musu". c) the Maroons and d) a group of free black labourers in the 19th century (Hoogbergen and Ten Hove, 2001)

Year	Total free population	Free blacks and colored	% of free blacks and colored on total population
1762	2,730	330	12
1781	2,900	821	28
1791	4,260	1,760	41
1805	5,400	2,889	53
1811	5,500	3,075	55
1833	6,996	4,951	70
1861	16,386	14,200	86
1862	17,162	15,000	87
1863	49,132	47,000	95

Source: W. Hoogbergen and O. Ten Hove, (2001)

The reputation of slave holders, Jews and Dutch, in Suriname was quite negative. John Stedman(1988), an English officer, serving in Suriname at the end of the 18th century, wrote an extensive book with drawings about life in the colony and the harsh slavery conditions and punishments. The extreme cruelties in the Dutch colony were internationally known. In slave communities in the West Indies, rebellious slaves were sometimes threatened by their British masters with: *“I’ll send you to the Dutch”* and Voltaire mentioned in his novel *Candide* explicitly about the harshness of the Surinamese slavery (Dors, 2000, Stipriaan 2000). The resistance of the slaves on the harsh plantation conditions was diverse, from suicide, sabotage, escape, to revolt, fire-raising and manslaughter. As the country had an immense forested interior, many slaves escaped the plantations and (re)joined with other escaped groups or sometimes mixing with Indigenous tribes. Here formed their there own free Maroon communities, encouraging other slaves to revolt (Buddingh 1995, Hoogbergen, 1985).

The loss of slaves was the major problem for the colonial government and plantation owners. From the initiation of the colony until the year of slavery abolition in 1863, “punishment expeditions” executed on a yearly basis, to capture and kill escaped slaves. The colony was a major platform of guerilla wars. (Box 2). In 1778 a military cordon (defence system) also named “Cordonpath” was completed in order to effectuate the military defence, which was formerly performed by dispersed posts engaged in the protection of plantations against Maroons. The cordon had a total length of 94 km and stretched from Jodensavanna in the Suriname River to Willemsburg North-East and further North to the coast. Around 1000 armed forces were constantly involved, manning 20 military posts and guard houses situated along the cordon. These posts had names such as: Gelderland, Utrecht, Friesland, Buuren, Soestdijk, Brunswijk, Breda, Overijssel , Dieren, Voorburg, Maastricht, Oranjewoud etc. etc. (Anda 2004).

In the 19th century the slavery conditions improved steadily, which had several reasons. First, the British abolition movement had successfully lead to the prohibition of slave trade in 1808 and the abolition of slavery in all British territories in 1833. Second, Suriname came under British rule again between 1799 and 1816, a period in which new laws were laid down addressing the treatment of slaves. Third, a growing influence of German Moravian missionaries in the country, initially opposed, had significant effects on living conditions of blacks (Fontaine, 1985).

Box 2 Maroon Wars

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, numerous small-scale military expeditions were mounted, sometimes at the personal expense of particular planters, but these rarely met with success, for the Maroons had established and protected their settlements with great ingenuity and had become expert at all aspects of guerrilla warfare. It was between the 1730s and 1750s, when the colony had become the theatre of a perpetual war, that these expeditions reached their maximum size and frequency. Most expeditions were fruitless. Indeed, by the late 1740s the colonists were finding the costs overwhelming, as typical expeditions were costing “more than 100.000 guilders each” and had to traverse “forty mountains and sixty creeks” before reaching the Maroons’ hidden villages. By this time it had also become clear to the colonists that the expeditions themselves were contributing to further marronage, by making known to the slaves both the escape routes from the plantations and the locations of Maroon villages.

The increasingly costly warfare between colonists and Maroons, which by the mid-eighteenth century had lasted nearly one hundred years, culminated in the decision by the whites, during the late 1740’s, to sue their former slaves for permanent peace.

In 1760 and 1762 peace treaties were at last successfully concluded with the two largest Maroon peoples, the Ndyuka and Saramaka, and in 1767 with the much smaller Matawai. New slave revolts and the large-scale war of subsequent decades, for which an army of mercenaries was imported from Europe, eventually led to the formation of the Aluku(Boni) as well as the smaller Paramaka and Kwinti groups. Today there are six politically distinct Maroon societies in Suriname.

S. Price (1999)

In 1848 it was fairly clear that slavery would be abolished, but still it took fifteen years to effectuate this, due to timeless deliberations concerning the compensation of the slave owners, for which the Dutch Government had a budget of 10 million guilders. After 1863 still ten years of obliged work (Staatstoezicht) on the plantations followed, which gave the Government some space to find replacement for the slaves and contract other labourers (Buddingh, 1995).

With the abolition of slavery an important transformation process of Suriname started, whereas the immigration of large groups of indentured labourers from China, India and Indonesia changed its face entirely. The Afro-Surinamese community in the 19th century was much divided through color lines and education (see figure 7, pg. 37). As most of the large plantations changed hands or were abandoned after the abolition, and their production declined- due to international competition- many blacks started small farming plots, living in marginal circumstances in the rural areas. Most of them were Christianized, but mainly in rural areas they kept practicing their traditional African-based religion, which was firmly opposed by Church and Government. By the end of the 19th century many male blacks found jobs in the timber, rubber and gold industry in the hinterlands, which were the booming sectors at that time (Buddingh, 1995).

A lengthy deliberation on black life in the 20th century is for the purpose of this study not feasible. Some key events though, should be pointed on in order to understand the context of contemporary slavery discourse. In the next paragraph some of these events will be exposed.

3.2.Slavery Discourse in historical perspective.

Slavery discourse up to and including the 18th century was mainly based on Judeo-Christian conceptions, justified by the bible story of Cham who was cursed by his father Noach and condemned with his progeny to everlasting domesticity. With this, and some other New Testament fragments, the enslavement of Africans outside Europe was legitimized, and from that moment on “African” or “negro” was synonym for “slave” (Stipriaan, 2000; Sens, 2002). In the by Calvinism dominated Netherlands, slavery and Christianization were strictly divided, and - contrary to the Catholic Spanish and Portuguese colonies- the paganism of slaves created the

desired distance between masters and slaves. This paradox in attitude is highlighted by several scholars; Europeans were the first in world who abolished slavery in “own milieu”, but intensified it in extremes abroad (Stipriaan, 2000). In the country’s official Reformed Church, pastor Jan Willem Kals tried to break with the tradition of religious segregation in 1732 and wanted to Christianize slaves. This was forcefully opposed by his church board, who returned him to Holland with the words: “*Well reverend, let us convert those who have a skin and color like ours and let those damned children of Cham go to hell; they were created to plant coffee and sugar for us*” (Hassankhan, 1993:55).

During the last decennia of the 18th century the tide of public opinion started to turn, and mainly under influence of British Abolitionists and the French Enlightenment, slavery debates matured, but provocatively slow. Following the prohibition of slave trade by the British in 1808 and in the Netherlands in 1814, and the abolition of slavery in British and French colonies in 1833 and 1848, the Dutch abolition organization was initiated. After years of debates in Parliament about the costs of abolition, the compensation of slave owners and the future of plantations and properties, the slaves were granted their freedom. Reparations of any kind to the slaves were discussed, as they already got there freedom (Stipriaan 2000) Likewise, the cultural, religious and psychological backgrounds of the enslaved were never considered in these debates. The African slave was almost an amorphous and “invisible” object. There were though increasing protests noticeable against slavery, especially in literature, in the Netherlands. Nicholaas van Winter, Elisabeth Post, Petronella Moens, Teenstra and Martinet for example criticized the slavery system. A gradual process of abolition was often presented as solution, to prevent disastrous consequences for the plantations in the colonies (Sens, 2002)

An important, yet only recently studied and valued argument for the pressures on termination of slavery was the resistance of slaves in the colony itself. Resistance, marronage and guerrilla made the plantations unprofitable and unmanageable, while the costs to defend them increased without significant results. Slaves escaped from coastal plantations, fled into the forested interior, where they regrouped into small bands. The colonial government undertook massive efforts to eliminate this Maroon threat to the plantation colony (Hira, 1982; Hoogbergen, 1985; Price, 1996, Dragtenstein (2002). Maroons were thus the first free blacks in the country who showed cultural and heritage awareness as demonstrated by Richard Price (1983) who documented many accounts regarding Saramaka oral historical awareness, as well as (Landveld, 2002 and Pakosie, 1999)

The slavery discourse illuminated in this study relates to the period between 1998 and 2004. This demarcation however is mainly reasoned by the objectives of this thesis, e.g. to understand how Surinamese from African origin residing in the Netherlands perceive slavery history. Its starting point is July 3rd 1998, when the Afro-European Women Movement *Sophiedela*, presented a petition to the Dutch government, which was a result of a consciousness-building conference: *Women and traces of Slavery* (Biekman, 1999). It is obvious that historically this event can not be de-contextualized. In a balanced and holistic approach, the evolution of Surinamese black consciousness was entwined with the anti-colonization movements and developments of the past decennia, nationally and internationally.

3.3. Socio-political and Institutional Context

The earliest representations of awakening black awareness in urban Suriname are found in Christian religious practices in Paramaribo. First it is imperative to note in this context that the Moravians – originated in Herrnhutt, Saksen- who arrived in Suriname in 1735, effected a steady growth in the Christianization and education of slaves. Their influence on slavery discourse in the country, as previously mentioned was significant, as the amount of slaves under their spiritual care increased from 600 in 1810 to 27,490 in 1863 (Fontaine, 1985). Contrary to the Dutch reformed Church, the Moravian Church became a black congregation, which also provided education to the majority of ex-slave children. This influence however, indeed brought some changes in slaves' living conditions, but was based on Christianization and de-Africanization, aiming at acceptance of their slavery burden.

By the end of the 19th century reverend Carel Rier started the Baptist Church and urged blacks, who he referred to as Ethiopians, to have more national and cultural awareness. His demand also influenced the brothers Johan and Rudolf Rijts, who abandoned the Moravian Church and started the “Nimrod Movement” in the early 20th century, which aimed at looking after the spiritual and material interests of “full-blood negroes” in the colony. The brothers headed the Surinamese division of the UNIA – Universal Negro Improvement Association – which was initiated by Marcus Garvey in Jamaica. Garvey, the spiritual initiator of the Rastafari Movement, preached black pride and influenced blacks all over the America's to return to Africa. The Rijts brothers had initially success with their preaching in the streets of Paramaribo, but after pressures of the church and local residents they were imprisoned and detained in a psychiatric institution (Verhees, 2000).

The politically most influential black personalities and anti-colonialists of the 20th century were Anton de Kom and Eddy Bruma. De Kom left Suriname for Holland in 1920, where he was active in the Dutch Communist Party. He returned to Suriname with his family in 1933, but as he was already stigmatized as communist agitator, he was not allowed to hold meetings. He opened a small open air consultation office in his front yard, where people came to see and listen to him. Especially to rural Hindustani and Javanese labourers, who saw in him the incarnation of *Gusti Amat*, a legendary Javanese king, who came to Suriname to save them, Anton de Kom had great appeal. He was jailed short after his arrival at Fort Zeelandia, after he had protested against the closure of his office. As the news of his arrest spread all over the country, his followers gathered in front of the Government Palace requesting his release. When they refused to disperse, the police fired at them, killing 2 persons and leaving 23 wounded. De Kom was banished from the country and a year later he published his book “We, Slaves of Suriname” in Holland, which became the icon of the nationalistic movements in Suriname (Buddingh, 1995) Eddy Bruma, lawyer and politician, was the initiator the Afro-Surinamese cultural movement *Wi Egi Sani* (Our own heritage) and gave a strong impulse to black consciousness and the anti-colonial developments. His objective to promote the use of the local Surinamese language was considered as a revolutionary move.

Not only slave history, but also colonial policy has contributed to the development of the identity of Afro-Surinamese. The colonial cultural policy of elimination of all African elements after the abolition had left deep wounds in Surinamese society and was unmistakably perceptible until the first half of the 20th century. Everything that was related to African heritage was fundamentally denied, even by those involved (Martinus 1999) The socio-cultural suppression and “illegitimazation” through centuries of everything that was of African Heritage, had caused much self-contempt. Many blacks came to regard their own culture as inferior and degrading.

The situation as described above did not count for the several free Maroon communities, living in the forested hinterlands, which did not mean that Maroon culture and religion were perceived as less negative; they were much stronger rejected because of their unvarnished African character, but the same cultural oppression could not be effected on these groups, living in their free territories, as in the rest of the colony. Skin tone differentiation as consequence of the cultural policy played a significant role in the social stratification within the Surinamese society. Before the abolition it was already set, but after 1863 skin tone became a major background for social mobility. Being civilized meant acting as and looking like a European. The community was classified on the basis of the skin tone, and every colour nuance had a name (Helman, 1975).

Although similar to racial stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination, skin tone bias is distinguished by its focus on the physical characteristics of individuals within a racial category. This tendency to differentiate based on skin tone within a racial category emerges in a number of countries around the world (Maddox 2002). The multi-cultural character of the country (figure 7) added to this complexity, while variable and Africa-discouraging socio-cultural policies influenced black identity developments essentially. Before 1863 segregation was experienced: slaves were not – or limited- allowed to Christianity, marriage and even to wear shoes. Up to the nineteen thirties a policy of stimulating Dutch culture (vernederlandsing) and assimilation was the key concept: compulsory education was introduced in 1873 and the Moravian schools which provided education before 1863 in the local Surinamese language had to educate in Dutch, while the use of the local language was prohibited. African religious traditions were illegal from 1872 to 1972 as part of the de-Africanization policy and all blacks should be Christianized. From the 1930's to fifties “indonisation” (verindising), a policy based on Dutch experience in Indonesia was the central theme, aiming at the socio-cultural enhancement of Javanese and Hindustani population. After that period the “brotherhood policy” (verbroederingspolitiek) aiming at tolerance between ethnic groups was fundamental (Ramsোধ, 1984; Buddingh, 1995).

The political context in the Netherlands regarding minorities, the multi-cultural society and integration had a significant influence on the way the slavery discourse has developed. The struggle of Surinamese to identify themselves and to be seen as equal and their on-going struggle to promote and position themselves in the Dutch society has lead to the initiation of various interest societies and organizations dealing with social, political, cultural and religious aspects. Starting with the first society promoting Surinamese interests, *Ons Suriname* in 1919, an inventory carried out in 2001 by the University of Amsterdam revealed 887 organizations with Surinamese interests (<http://www2.fmg.uva.nl/imes/surinamers.xls>).

3.4. Breaking the silence

After a century of silence and collective amnesia regarding the Dutch share in slave trade and slavery a lively discourse was injected in the Netherlands. As demonstrated in the previous paragraphs, several historical and socio-political processes preceded this development. Growing awareness and changing world views e.g. globalization, created the essential conditions to face the past and to require attention for the shared slavery legacy. Of no less importance to this process were the contributions of academic studies in Surinamese historiography, sociology and anthropology during the last decennia done by Beeldsnijder, Dragtenstein, De Groot, Heilbron, Hira, Hoogbergen, Lamur, Oostindie, Price, Stipriaan and Willemsen – to mention a few, while literature of authors like Cairo, Helman and McLeod contributed significantly to

Afro-Surinamese and Dutch historical awareness. In this regard it is worthy mentioning the inputs of the Museum Network for Slavery Legacy that started in 1997 to bring slavery to the forefront, as follow up of the successfully accomplished exposition *Wit over Zwart*, held in the Royal Tropical Institute in 1990.

The petition presented by *Sophiedela* in 1998 is considered as the key action which brought the issue of Dutch slave trade and slavery and its consequences on the political agenda. As a result the National Platform for the History of Slavery (NPHS) was founded in 1999 in order to break the silence surrounding this shared history and to develop action plans in dealing with this unfinished chapter. Eighteen organizations were associated with the NPHS, which became the government's interlocutor in the process (NiNsee, 2004). Formal and informal expressions of regret by Netherland's Royal Prince Alexander, ministers and parliamentarians confirmed that the issue of slavery past was brought to a national level. The NPHS action program was followed by museum exhibitions, debating meetings, awareness manifestations; the creation of virtual productions, websites, newsletters, genealogy clubs, media programs, theatre and music creations, and so on, all related to African heritage and slavery.

In July 2000 the first national commemoration of Dutch Slave History was organised by the Government in coordination with the NPHS. The efforts of the NPHS resulted in the National Institute for the Study and Legacy of Dutch Slave Trade and Slavery NiNsee) in June 2002 and the unveiling of the National Slavery Monument (figure 6) in Amsterdam on July, 1st 2002, an impressive sculpture by the Surinamese sculptor Erwin de Vries. The unveiling took place in the Oosterpark in the presence of Her Majesty Queen Beatrix. "*It took 137 years to have a national commemoration of this day in the Netherlands*" Barryl Biekman (2002) said in her address at this occasion. In the Netherlands, 1 July is now the National Commemoration day of the abolition of slavery.

Figure 3. National Slavery Monument, Amsterdam



Conclusion

Slavery heritage and the discourse related to it can not be isolated from its historical, social and political context. The break of silence was not a momentum, but evolved in a process imbedded in a perspective of suppression, domination and struggle. Considering all these circumstances is therefore essential in order to understand the discourse on slavery. The analysis presented in the following chapter will demonstrate how relevant issues are perceived in the Afro-Surinamese community in the Netherlands.

4. Discourse Analysis

Introduction

After having studied relevant literature and discourse data, some specific themes emerged which were classified using five discourse categories. These categories also formed the framework for the interviews with the key informants. In the following paragraphs these categories will be discussed, with their connected story lines and metaphors, and related to the different discourse coalitions, their representatives as well as their discursive contexts. The Discourse Categories are: 1. *Recognition, Excuse and Reconciliation*; 2. *Representation*;

3. *Racism, Image and Trauma*; 4. *Reconstruction* and 5. *Reparations*. This classification has emerged mainly for research analytical purposes, for in the discursive reality they were not separately considered or addressed by the participants. Slavery legacy is essentially approached in a holistic way. Figure 4 gives an overview of the discourse categories, positioned in the left column, and the story lines and metaphors related to them, arranged by discourse coalition. Basically three discourse coalitions are identified and labeled with the terms *sensitive, moderate and radical*. These terms should not be regarded as true natural nor etymological representations of these coalitions, and their attributed story lines and metaphors should not be seen as strictly confined or restricted to them. The construction of a coalition is nurtured by the similar ideas, concepts and positions, and story lines its members have as Hajer (1995) points out. Many discursive affinities were recognized, which made the identification of discourse coalitions rather complicated. A lot of opinions had some affinity and were rooted the same, but the way they have been exposed and the aspects they accentuated made the difference.

The basis for a discourse coalition is primarily formed by story lines, and not by interests. In this case however- it would be rather naïve to negate it- , the subject of the discourse, “slavery”, is such a profound, emotional and deep-rooted one, that it historically and basically reflects two opposing parties involved: the victims, black descendants of colonized slaves at one side and the victors, white descendents of colonial slave owners at the other. The actual reality, confirmed by this analysis though is that there were no strongly opposing black and white fractions or coalitions perceived, and that depending on the discourse category; most meanings were dispersed through blacks and whites. An exception on the aforementioned finding is the category *Racism, Image and Trauma*, which indeed for its emotional and experiential relationship, demonstrated a more dualistic set of opinions. At the other hand a significant observation is related to the perceived disparity among the descendents of slaves. This analysis confirms a minor disunity amongst black people. Biekman (2003) touched on this point in a speech; with an understatement she made clear that it took some efforts to develop cooperation between African-rooted organizations, but she was pleased that in order to reach this goal “ all noses were directed to one course”. Seemingly for the sake of the short-term goals (national recognition of slavery past and a monument) a “political” collective, a “coalition” was created, which collapsed soon after major events. At the event of the unveiling of the monument itself- an important key incident- some contrasts were visible, when a large part of the crowd was not allowed to approach the “official” spot where the queen and high-rating officials were completing formalities. Some spectators were indignant and felt discriminated and oppressed at this event, which in fact was aimed to contribute to understanding and harmony. A key informer even indicated this event as an anti-climax, arguing that the suppressed anger had opened more wounds. The organizers, the NPHS, apologized for the incidents and blamed the local authorities of Amsterdam for the unnecessary hard police interventions. The aspect of disunity of Afro-Surinamese surely needs more research, but for this study it is not taken into account. However,

some argue whether this dispersion is due to the slavery ethos of “divide and rule”. In the next paragraphs the most striking story lines and metaphors will be highlighted.

Figure 4. Discourse Categories, Discourse Coalitions and Story Lines

Discourse Categories	Discourse Coalitions and Story Lines		
	Sensitive	Moderate	Radical
Recognition, Excuse and Reconciliation	Recognition of slavery history is enough. Regrets accepted Slavery monument demonstrates reconciliation and regret. Long ago, why open up wounds Nothing will change with excuses Excuses irrelevant, insignificant	Regrets accepted, but too late Recognition first step Excuses from Dutch heart; Reconciliation is the next step. Slave Monument as symbol “United in Freedom”	Excuses, not made by the head of state. No regrets perceived. Not visible in policy and history education Monument does not express sorrow of blacks No excuses, but forgiveness
Representation	Moderate historical events In context of that time Current representation reasonable Africans sold Africans; betrayal A matter of priorities	Multiple perspective Black views were suppressed Black Holocaust	If there is collective pride, there is collective guilt The Dutch were barbaric Misrepresentation of blacks
Racism, Image and Trauma	Making it open to discussion Racism is not an effect of slavery Blacks are accepted in multicultural community Trauma exaggerated	The pain is still felt De-traumatisation Slavery is interlocked with racism De-tabooisation Trauma processing has more importance than reconciliation	White superiority claims Arrogance of whites prevents understanding for trauma Lack of respect for black people
Reconstruction	NiNsee, as dynamic monument Knowledge and expertise centre More attention for common heritage Change in imaging	Revaluation of history education NiNsee only first step Research oral history More transfer of knowledge	Need for own Surinamese media network for image-building NiNsee important but depends on subsidy
Reparations	Absurdity! No reparations needed, Suriname receives development aid Who should receive? Blacks also were slave owners	Self-reparation essential Use resources to built awareness and self-confidence Focus on shared slavery heritage Human suffering can not be repaired with money	Reparations essential to show regret and reconstruction efforts Only slave owners were compensated The Dutch wealth originates from slavery era Suriname is a Dutch creation. Dutch have a debt to pay

4.1 Recognition, Excuse and Reconciliation

Obviously this category appears as a fundamental one, due to the fact that nationally and internationally the growing awareness and the pressure to “fill the black hole” of slavery history was at hand. Contrary to the common “consent” in all coalitions for “Recognition”, which also could be considered as the fundamental reason for national politics to put it on the agenda, “Excuse” and “Reconciliation” were perceived as heavily contested issues through the discourse.

At the event of the presentation of the publication “*Facing up the past*” in 2001, Netherlands’ Minister Van Boxel of Urban Policy and Ethnic Minorities was satisfied with the developments and spoke about a great success with the national recognition of the slavery history and its consequences, and in Durban he expressed the following: *This World Conference in Durban is in our view a necessary moment to state to all people that racism and discrimination must be eradicated.*

But we can only be credible if we recognize the great injustices of the past. We express deep remorse about the enslavement and slave trade that took place. But an expression of remorse as such is not enough and cannot be used as an excuse for not taking any action in the present. It is important to take structural measures that have effects for the descendants of former slaves and next generations (Boxtel, 2001). Some informants pointed on the differences in political statements, arguing that recognition had less consequence than excuses. Probably, excuse would be followed up by requests for reparations.

In order to highlight the difference between “recognition” and “excuse” in this context, the next example of Biekman (2000) is clear, as she stated in her speech at the event of July 1st 2000, to be very happy that after 137 years the first national commemoration of slavery abolition was held, a mark indicating a new phase in the process of recognition and sharing slavery history of the Netherlands. In this speech she also stated, that excuses should not be extorted or commanded, but that a sincere gesture from the Dutch heart would be appreciated with more significance by the descendants. Close analysis showed that “excuse” was not perceived as a “hard” issue –likely a result of internal negotiations within the NPHS- nor was this so for “reconciliation”, which was perceived as a following stage in the process of recognition. It is obvious that Biekman can be considered as principal agent of the *Moderate discourse coalition*, which does not include that all issues reflected upon in the slavery discourse are moderated!

In the *Sensitive* coalition, opinions seemed quite reassured about the actual recognition, while the regrets were accepted, excuses were not needed and the erection of the slavery monument was viewed as an act of reconciliation. The *Radical* coalition in contrary, showed little confidence in the process of recognition and demanded excuses and an expression of forgiveness by her Majesty the Queen. Van Boxtel’s expression of “remorse” was not considered to be enough. An implementation of structural measures to benefit the descendants was perceived as central issue. In a public debate at “De Balie” (Lousco, 2002), Amsterdam, a participant expressed : *“It irritates me that the Dutch use double standards. Maxima is obliged to take distance from her father’s history, even when she is not responsible, but the Dutch government itself refuses to do so and to make excuses to us! And secondly, a gesture in the form of money, should be made just as with the victims of World War 2”*. This last issue concerning reparations will be elaborated on in paragraph 4.5. Strong advocates of the *“Radical Coalition”* are among others found in the Committee 30 of June /1st of July, actually headed by Franklin Esajas. The committee had firmly opposed the proposals for a monument. In their opinion the *Suriname Square* in Amsterdam was a monument itself, as this traditionally was the location since 1993 were yearly ceremonies were held to mark the abolition of slavery. Another major critique was that the Dutch Government and the NPHS in fact undermined their cause, by stimulating a process which was not rooted in black community. This is a point much related to Hajer (1995) noticed that thee environmental movement was haunted by the dilemma of whether to argue on the terms set by the government or to insist on their own mode of expression. In the latter case of course they risk loosing their direct influence and therefore they often barter their expressive freedom for influence on concrete policy making. The committee 30 June/July 1st moderated its standpoints to some extent and started talks with NiNsee aiming at future projects.

Pointing on the discursive affinities in this category, it is clear that for all coalitions recognition is a basic aspect. However, it is the expression and the value of this recognition which is different in the opinions; for example: the *sensitive* see the monument as a sign of recognition, excuse and reconciliation, but the *moderate* perceive the monument as a symbol of unity, and not as a token for reconciliation, while for the *radical*, though they are at ease with the growing

recognition, the monument does not express any meaning. An informer added: “*The monument is the symbol of shame for the whites and not for us!*”

4.2 Representation

This category includes representation and portrayal of slave trade, slavery and its consequences in Dutch history and in educational presentations. There are several issues regarding this conception: under- representation, incorrect representation and ignorance of slavery and black people in history books e.g. educational history presentations and others. A significant metaphor used at several occasions (Dors, 2002) was a quote of Ellison (Box 3) to underline the collective amnesia and the dehumanization of slaves in history.

Box 3 Prologue to “The Invisible Man” from Ralph Ellison

No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allan Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood-movie ectoplasms. I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids-and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible: understand. simply because people refuse to see me.

There was a strong critique that the moral aspects were moderated or avoided in the historical representations of slavery history. A firm and heated debate of NPHS representatives with Prof. Emmer (key incident) about his book *De Nederlandse Slavenhandel* (Emmer 2000) was reported, in which terms like arrogance, white superiority and euro-centrism were used. The criticism was not only about the portrayal of the role of the Dutch concerning slave trade, which the NPHS perceived as too mild and moderating, but also the cruelties during the slave regime, the dehumanization and branding of slaves, the dislocation of family life, the numbers of slaves who died during the middle passage and on the plantations, the tardy process of abolition, the compensation of slave owners, the profits made and the role of “Africans who sold Africans”. Marshall (2000: 242-243) wrote in his critique on Emmer’s book regarding the financial benefits of the slave trade: “*If it is true that the Dutch have not earned much from slave trade and slavery, than this makes to my opinion, the human and moral tragedy even more absurd and bigger. Misery upon misery, which seemingly did not benefit any party. To my idea it is mysterious that the Dutch, who identify themselves as the “Homo Economicus”, have continued a loss-making business for such a long period. If there were no economic motives for this business, what other motives were there? It is though conceivable that much money from the slave trade ended in what we now call the “black circuit”. As such it is comparable with the contemporary drugs trafficking business in which billions of dollars circulate. Nevertheless a few people will argue that the Netherlands or the Treasury has profited from this trade. However, the influence of this informal sector on the economy should not be underestimated*”. Other critiques on Emmer came also from Stipriaan (2002), Oostindie (2000) and Gomes (2001), who wrote that Emmer deliberately tried to moderate the Dutch role, as if it was not that bad, while he claimed that the slave trade was effectively good for the Africans, because if they would remain in Africa, they would be in worse conditions.

Historian Johannes Postma, author of *The Dutch Atlantic Slave Trade*, made clear in an interview that the Dutch indeed ignored consciously the slave trade and slavery, for when he did his graduation research in 1967, there were only 5 articles and one book about this topic. Further he concluded that slavery was without doubt the source of the kind of racism the world had experienced the past centuries. With regards to the historical cruelties, the narratives of John Stedman are frequently used in slavery discourse. Interesting metaphors nurturing these story lines were for example, the narrative of Susanna Du Plessis (Box 4) and the “Spanish buck” the hardest punishment method applied on slaves. The whip has undoubtedly left deep scars in the history of blacks.

Box 4. Susanna Du Plessis

H. Neus (2002)

The beautiful slave girl Alida worked as a house slave for her mistress Susanna Du Plessis, owner of the plantation Nijd en Spijt along the Commewijne River in Suriname. She caught the eye of her master. When he peeped at her breast one day, Susanna got so mad of jealousy that she supposedly sent for Alida, cut her breast off and served it at supper for her husband remarking, 'This is what you wanted, did you not?'

Susanna traveled one day with her slaves by boat to her plantation. A slave woman was also in the row-boat with her little child that cried continuously. Several times Susanna asked the mother to calm her little child. The mother tried to hush the child, with little success. Susanna said: "Give it to me, I will stop the crying" Then she held the child under water until it drowned. The desperate mother jumped into the river and died bitter.

The use of term holocaust was another point of dispute. This term originally used for Jewish extermination in WW2, was first used related to slavery by Martin Luther King, who utilized it to show the white North American majority the comparative pain of blacks. Biekman was consequently using black holocaust, which was criticized by Emmer and others, who argued that the aim of the Nazi's was to exterminate the Jews, but that slavery was not aimed at that purpose, for every slave was a commodity and did cost money, and nobody would exterminate an own possession. The *radical* coalition added to it that it was not only a holocaust, for the fact that it lasted three centuries, but that the Dutch were also barbaric in the same golden age which is celebrated so much for science and arts.

It is noteworthy, that contrary to the discourse category of *recognition, excuse and reconciliation* which showed important differences in opinion between the three coalitions, in *representation* there is a somewhat similar set of story lines between the *moderate* and *radical*, while differences in concepts with the *sensitive* are striking. A good example of this difference is provided by the well-known psychologist and writer Julian With, who challenged the role of Africans in his column *I'm black and not proud*, providing several accounts and examples of black betrayal, starting with the massive sale of race-fellowmen. This betrayal continued in Suriname during slavery times, as the appointed *Bassia*, a promoted slave who was the assistant of the slave owner in charge of controlling and punishing the slaves, showed no mercy for his fellow-slaves. He also made reference to the *Redi Musu*, a group of black soldiers who got their freedom as they assisted the colonial government with capturing Maroons during the guerrilla wars (With, 2004).

4.3. Racism, Image and Trauma

As a category these three concepts carry almost all the mental and emotional load of slavery history. They also cover the most debated and articulated aspects or "burdens" that people in the African Diaspora wrestle with, and therefore a careful approach of these topics is of eminent importance. There is hardly any article or publication that touches the aspect of black people without references to racism, image or trauma. In fact, the essence of the slavery discourse is found in this category, which is undoubtedly linked with identity. This black identity is formed and shaped through every individual's conception and treatment of racism, image and trauma. Often African people have the attitude that any other person, who is not black is unable to understand and feel the problems and frustrations they are facing; an aspect which creates difficulties in finding conditions and effective solutions for problems contextualized in the framework of African Diaspora. Another concept which could be attached to this category is "taboo", the main cause for discrimination and xenophobia. As Stipriaan (2000) points out, historical taboo has been an unconscious mechanism that originates out of instinctive fear.

<p>Box 5 Orashon di un neger (Papiamentu)</p> <p>Si mi drenta den Bo Gloria, Señor Hesus; http://www.waterkant.net no ta nada Si Bo dunami un krùk o un stul di oro O si Bo dunami un karson òf un bistí largu Señor Dios, basta Bo salba mi alma. Ma Señor Hesus; si por akaso...</p> <p>Si, si por akaso, ku nan ta ayá tambe... Señor Dios Todopoderoso - pa ta presis Dunami anto kabei suave I un kara smal i blanku.</p> <p>Mi ta mashá satisfecho ku mi kara pretu Mashá kontentu tambe ku mi kabei peper Pero si mi bai shelu, Señor Hesus Pa ta presis Dunami anto kabei suave I un kara smal i blanku.</p> <p>Dos bes e fièrnu ta parsemi un poko di mas Esaki no ta meresé ni un kachó Anto, si mi ta drenta den Bo Gloria, Señor Hesus Solamente pa ta presis Dunami anto kabei suave I un kara smal i blanku.</p> <p>in La Cruz, 26-6-1963 Van Putte-de Windt (2000)</p>	<p>Prayer of a negro</p> <p>If I enter in Your Glory, Lord Jesus It does not matter If You would present me a stool or a golden seat Or if You would give me pants or a long dress Lord Jesus, as long as you save my soul. But Lord Jesus; if by chance...</p> <p>If, if by chance, they are also thére Almighty Lord- to be precise Give me then sleek hair And a slim and white face</p> <p>I am satisfied with my black skin Very content with my frizzy hair But, when I go to heaven, Lord Jesus To be precise Give me then sleek hair And a slim and white face</p> <p>Two times hell would be to much for me This, not even a dog deserves Then, if I enter Your Glory Lord Jesus Just to be precise Give me then sleek hair And a slim and white face</p>
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The eminent scientist Henri Dors (2000) made clear in his speech: *“Dutch citizens from African origin reject or deny clearly every moderation of slavery history. This is perceived from their reality, their perception, their experience and vision on the past. Tthe consequences of an inhuman system that has lasted almost three centuries are manifested in their reality of today”*. This vision is a central theme in this category.

Several studies have demonstrated that slavery put black people in the most traumatic experiences imaginable, and these affects of trauma have been handed down generation after generation. African people were depersonalized by slavery which caused trauma, often followed by negative self-image and self-esteem. (Box 5) Even after slavery officially ended, nothing was done to help Blacks recover from the trauma resulting from it. This aspect is a much debated one and many studies, especially in the US are related to racism and trauma.

An essential contribution to the discourse is from the historian Van Stipriaan Luïscius, who apart from his numerous publications on Surinamese historiography, emphasized on the concept of *mental heritage* (Stipriaan, 2000; Bijnaar, 2004), arguing that not only tangible and intangible heritage are derived from history and historical events, but also a mental heritage. Mental heritage concerns visions of one of the other and often leading to prejudices, stereotyping, wrong imagery and xenophobia. *Trauma and taboo* are both linked to mental heritage of slavery.

The PTSS concept is based on the theory of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), which is firmly accepted by the psychiatric establishment. It's now taken as a given that there are people who will need treatment for the ongoing damage they suffered psychologically from the trauma of experiencing or witnessing life-threatening events such as military combat, a terrorist attack, natural disaster, serious accident or a violent personal assault, including rape.

People afflicted with PTSD often relive the experience through nightmares and flashbacks. They may have difficulty sleeping, be irritable, have outbursts of anger, exaggerated startle responses and feel estranged from others. Their ability to function in social, work or family life is also impaired. This includes having trouble holding down a job, marital problems and difficulties in parenting.

It is not new to look at this trauma theory in a collective way. It is applied to people as a group, such as the Indigenous Peoples or Jewish Holocaust survivors, who suffered historical injuries.

There is argued that people of African origin are badly affected by past centuries of slavery in the Americas because the original enslaved Africans were never treated for the severe trauma of being degraded, beaten and abused, seeing relatives whipped, raped and killed, being forced to breed and having their babies taken from them, and all the other unspeakably horrible things that occurred during slavery.

There is argued that you don't have to be the direct victim of a horrible occurrence to be traumatized by it. Attitudes and behaviors resulting from trauma can be passed down from generation to generation without people even being conscious of doing it. Survival techniques developed during slavery have been carried down inter-generationally, even when they were no longer needed, to the detriment of the Black communities. Symptoms of Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome are for instance visible in the various problems between Black men and women today, which have their origin in slavery. The "Crabs in a Barrel Syndrome" as it's been called, is a leftover from coping mechanisms begun when some enslaved Africans were made over-seers of others working in the fields

Source: D. Lamb (2004)

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, a clear dualistic set of opinions and story lines appeared in the category of *racism, image and trauma* based on experience and black reality. This category shows a closeness of story lines between *moderate and radical* with many affinities. The proximity of opinions was clearly displayed by the frequent use of the metaphors *Negro and Zwarte Piet*. References in this regard were often made to Al Peterson, who found many listeners at his presentations during the past years (appendix 5). The *sensitive* in contrary usually moderated the social conditions and traumatic aspects to some extent. A significant difference of interpretation between *moderate and radical* is the issue of “de-tabooization”. Biekman (1999, 2001) for example made several statements in her public addresses explaining strongly that in order to aim at a balanced society with respect for each other, the problems associated with trauma and taboo should be tackled effectively and said: *“Also Dutch white people have taboos connected to slavery, and to break through this barrier educational programs and information about blacks have be developed. We first have to deconstruct all the wrong imagery in history and after that we should reconstruct society in order to create equal chances for all”*. Emphasis in the *moderate* coalition was more on the “healing” trajectory, while in the *radical* coalition representatives accentuated reparations as solution for the mental position of black people.

In much discourse data the imaging of African people during the past centuries was an important aspect which was pointed at. The imaging of blacks through all kinds of media is often regarded responsible for the continuation of racism, prejudice, stereotypes and xenophobia. At several occasions reference was made to the exposition *Wit over Zwart*, which likely contributed to a growing awareness in the country. The problem of self-image was also highlighted in relationship with trauma and many participants indicated several historical events, as well as social and religious politics to be the cause. A key informer expressed the problem related to self-image and trauma as follows: *“We are made white en in affect schizophrenic, we wear*

masks and are heavily troubled". Image-building was generally perceived as important aspect by all coalitions.

However, two sets of "exceptional" opinions have been observed. One is Julian With, who argued that trauma could not be attached to slavery experience, as in his conceptualization, only someone who has experienced a tragedy personally can be burdened with traumatic symptoms. Is Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome a mental disorder or simply another excuse for mal-behavior? (Box 6) He disagrees that racism is caused by slavery, but wrong imagery which has been created of blacks is indeed related to slavery. But, blacks themselves have contributed to this (interview).

The second, regards historian André Pakosie(2001) who was already mentioned in this study. In his article he forcefully stated that for the "Ndyuka" Maroons, the slavery history does not play a role for several ages already (Box 7). His strong reaction on the topic of traumatic effects of slavery was clear: "*Maroons do not have any trauma because of slavery history, because we have dealt with it centuries ago, when our ancestors fled slavery repression and fought the colonizers*". He added to his statement that "*Biekman has to speak for herself; if she has a trauma, than this regards the creoles in the coastal area, because they accepted the humiliations of the whites*". This view is not shared by all Maroons, therefore a separate discourse coalition was not created. An informer added albeit: "*If Maroons have a trauma it is because of the city blacks who have marginalized them*". Landveld (1989, 2002), With (1975, 2004) and many other writers of Maroon tradition have consistently aimed at the discriminatory attitudes of urban blacks.

Box 7. Commemoration Day of the Maroons

Since 1974, Maroons celebrate "Loweman Dei" on October 10th, in commemoration of the day the first peace treaty was signed in 1760 between the Dutch colonial power and the Ndyuka. The 1760 treaty had been used as a model by the Dutch and other Maroons for subsequent treaties with the Saamaka (1762) and Matawai (1767). In 1974, at a time when national independence was imminent and a subject for heated discussions, André Pakosie took the initiative to draw attention to an important historical model: the Maroon Peace Treaties. In the middle of the 18th century, Maroons forced the colonial power to accept the first free black nation in the Western Hemisphere. Maroons referred to this historic event to remind the inhabitants of Suriname that freedom had been won before, albeit for a smaller segment of the total population.

By: Andre Pakosie (2002)

4.4. Reconstruction

This category shows a general understanding between all discourse coalitions. Differences in opinion are relatively narrow and the highest affinities regarding the need for reconstruction are perceived. A central position in the reconstruction concept related to slavery history is the establishment of NiNsee- The National Institute for the Study and Legacy of Dutch Slave Trade and Slavery. Together with the erection of the slave monument, NiNsee was set up as a dynamic monument. Critiques on the establishment of NiNsee, mainly focused on its financial support by the Dutch Government. This was expressed by some of the *Radical* coalition, who were doubting the real agenda and willingness of the Dutch Government. This concern seemed justly, as the Council for Culture in the Netherlands refused to approve to the budgetary subsidy requested by NiNsee. This attitude was indicated by Campbell, president of NiNsee, as to be shameless and confirmed the persisting denial and disrespect for the slavery legacy (Campbell 2004). At the other hand all coalitions valued heritage awareness as an important

An issue which was strongly accentuated was related to the instruments of reconstruction. In the view of Esajas the implementation of a Surinamese controlled media network would deliver more effect in the aim for black image-building. Media could contribute to slavery heritage awareness, and was seen by him as a vehicle for the enhancement of self-respect. This should be an important target beside the NiNsee. The NiNsee is a knowledge and expertise centre in the field of the history and heritage of the Dutch slave trade and slavery. It is distinguished by its unique interpretation of the shared heritage of Dutch slave trading and slavery and is intended to be the most complete and accessible point of contact for all Dutch people on the subject of slavery. The NiNsee conducts activities in four domains: Research, education, documentation and presentation. In short follows an overview of the objectives (Willemsen, 2004).

Research into the history of the Dutch slave trade and slavery has been conducted until now primarily from a Eurocentric perspective. The NiNsee wishes to investigate the history of slavery from the perspective of those transformed into slaves and their descendants. Points of attention include gender, children in slavery or the personal lives of slaves. The research also focuses on the modern heritage of the colonial history through 'oral history'. Orally transmitted stories are an invaluable source of knowledge. A great many stories are circulating in Suriname, the Antilles and also in the Netherlands that must still be documented.

The Dutch Education system still devotes very little attention to the role played by the Netherlands in the transatlantic slave trade and slavery. This means that the average Dutch citizen has a limited knowledge of this history. In collaboration with relevant governmental organizations, the NiNsee will develop educational programs intended for the normal education system.

Hundreds of meters of documentation on the history of the Dutch slave trade and slavery have been stored in various libraries and archives in the Netherlands for centuries. However, there are also a number of depositories containing relevant items from the Dutch slave trade in Suriname and the Antilles. The NiNsee will draw these collections to the attention of interested parties on-line through its web site www.ninsee.nl. To achieve this, the NiNsee will work closely with libraries, archives and other relevant documentation centers. This will make information on the history of the Dutch slave trade and slavery accessible to researchers, students and interested parties anywhere in the world.

The history of slavery is a charged subject. This charge is expressed in two ways: trauma and taboo. A consequence of this ambivalence is that there is ambiguity in the slavery debate on issues such as the scope of the slave trade, the seriousness of the system of oppression or the nature of the contemporary inheritance. The presentation domain will accept any debate. It intends to stimulate and confront, without being self-satisfied. This domain is also the place where this ambivalence and ambiguity can be expressed, allowing everyone to see a reflection of their own unique vision. Simultaneously, the presentation domain is where the heritage of the Dutch slave trade and slavery is kept alive with semi-permanent and varying exhibitions and virtual presentations (Willemsen, 2004).

In the policy of NiNsee a strong partnership is foreseen with museums in Suriname in order to develop local expositions. This will be executed with cooperation of Dutch institutes like "Wereldmuseum Rotterdam" who have recently exposed the "*Legacy of Slavery*" exhibition. Arrangements are made to set up this exposition very soon in Suriname (Rooy, 2003).

4.5. Reparations

The topic of *reparations* has lead worldwide to heated debates. Global Conferences against Racism and Slavery in several parts of the world have called on this issue and lawyers in the US and elsewhere are trying to force reparations from governments and multinationals on committed slavery charges. This issue had not reached a mature level (yet) in the Dutch slavery discourse, but on every forum and discussion board numerous individuals gave their opinions on this theme.

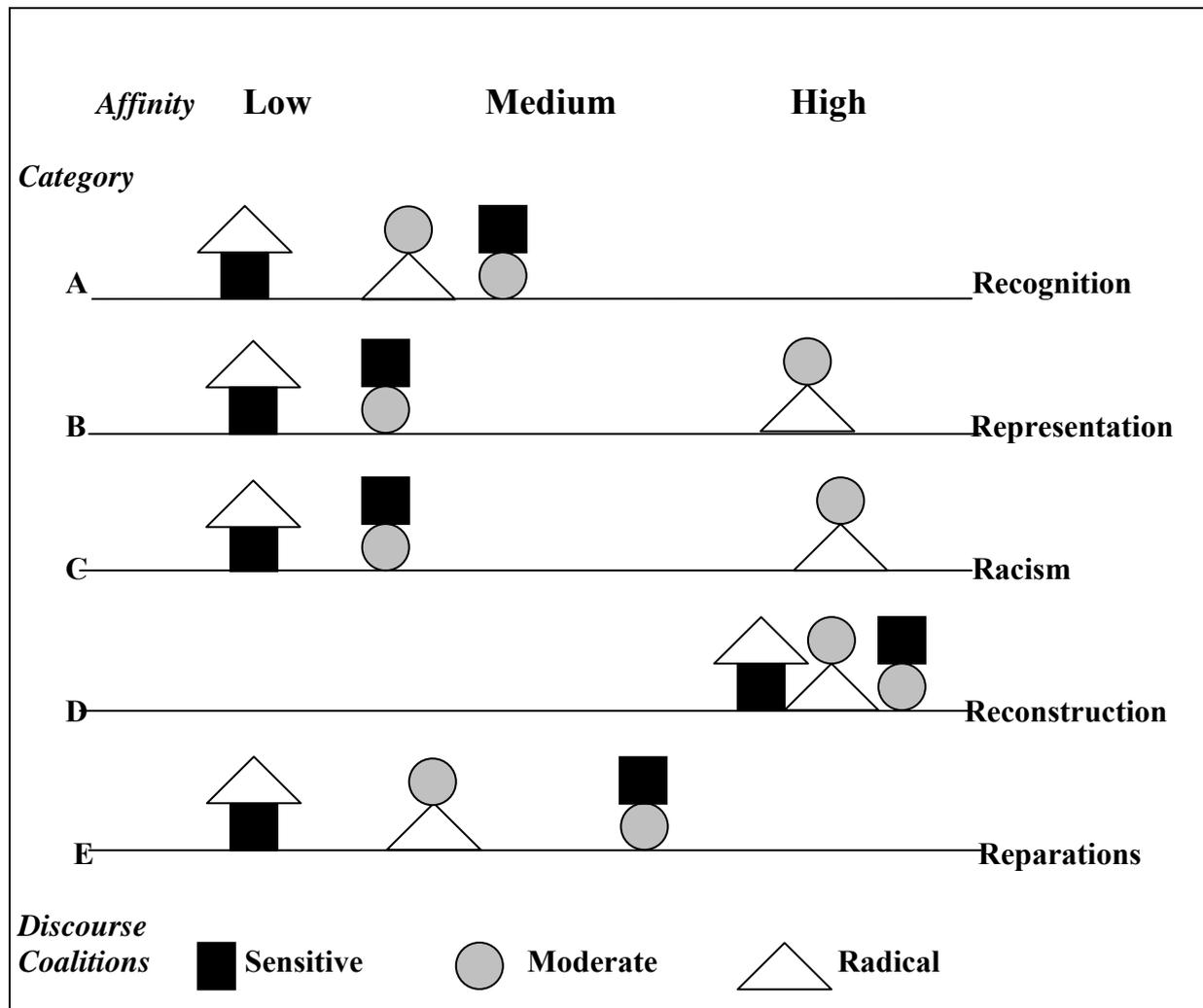
There were however some significant differences between the discourse coalitions studied in this category. First of all, the *sensitive* are clearly negative with regards to reparations. Story lines are related to questions as how it will be calculated, to whom these compensations should be paid, and how to deal with the Jewish and British slave owners. One argument to perceive reparations as an absurdity was the fact that blacks also owned slaves. An interesting metaphor in this regard is the story of *Elisabeth Samson*. After twelve years of intensive research Cynthia McLeod (1996) reveals the remarkable character of Elisabeth Samson. Through her own endeavors, Elisabeth managed to become the richest woman in Suriname in the mid-eighteenth century. Elisabeth was a black woman who wanted to marry a white man in 1764 and was refused permission by the colonial government. Interesting is that Pakosie (2002) and others, challenged this narrative and stressed that Elisabeth was a slave owner and exploited black people, thus she should not be regarded as historical representative of black women. This is an example of what is mentioned in chapter 2 of this study, regarding the differences between history and heritage. Elisabeth was a historical personage, whose heritage value is highly contested.

In the *moderate* coalition reparations were not perceived as sums of money to compensate harm done in the slavery era, but emphasis was laid on self-reparations and awareness-building of descendants of slaves, while a strong linkage was made with reconstruction, with the objective to conduct programs funded by the Dutch government, aiming at the reconstruction and development of tangible, intangible and mental heritage. A key informer expressed it as follows: “*As long as we hanker after forgiveness and reparations we keep ourselves imprisoned by these desires and we remain in a victim role*”

The *radical* coalition advocated reparations. Arguments were based on historical facts that slave owners were compensated and that Suriname was a creation of the Netherlands. A general opinion was that reparations should not be considered as compensation to individuals, but that this should be implemented through projects in the Netherlands as well in Suriname. At the other hand reparations were perceived as most important gesture of regret, excuse and reconstruction.

Noteworthy is the study and forthcoming publication *The Dutch Best Kept Secret* of the economist Armand Zunder, who challenges the fact that the Netherlands did not benefit from the exploitation of slaves. He calculated a total debt generated between 1671 and 1863 of 202 billion Euro’s, using a newly developed arithmetical model. One of his findings is that the plantation owners did not make much revenue, but that the banking corporations were responsible for 59 % of the turnover. Zunder argues that a formal confession of guilt and a compensation for committed harm are necessary. He has set up a *Wiedergutmachung*-institute and aims for reparations of around 20% to Suriname. (<http://www.dwtonline.com>)

Figure 5. Discursive Affinity Diagram



Concluding: the presented discourse analysis exposed some significant issues related to the views of slavery legacy and could be summarized as follows:

- There are no plain black or white discourse coalitions, but a general permutation of opinions is perceived
- There exists a variety of opinions and interpretations among Afro-Surinamese
- The category *racism, image and trauma* (mental heritage) is essential and emotionally loaded, and is strongly connected to black experience.
- Maroons seem to have less stronger trauma burdens regarding slavery.
- Discursive affinities (figure 5) diverge, related to the different thematic areas of the slavery legacy. The lowest affinities are found between the *sensitive* and *radical* coalitions; between the *moderate* and *sensitive* coalitions the affinities fluctuate: they are higher related to reconstruction (D) and reparations(E), but lower for the categories representation(B) and racism(C); between the radical and moderate some fluctuations also appear: affinities are higher regarding representation (B), racism (C) and reconstruction (D), but lower concerning recognition (A) and reparations(E)

- Coalitions differ most on the issues of recognition and reparations, but the difference with regards to recognition is mainly caused by the items excuse and reconciliation. In general the act of recognition is agreed with.
- The reconstruction theme is in general agreed upon and shows the highest discursive affinity between all three coalitions. It is interpreted as a process to renew slavery heritage representation and to rebuild black self-image.

In the next chapter the consequences of this analysis related to slavery heritage development in Suriname will be reflected on.

5. Slavery Heritage and Tourism in Suriname

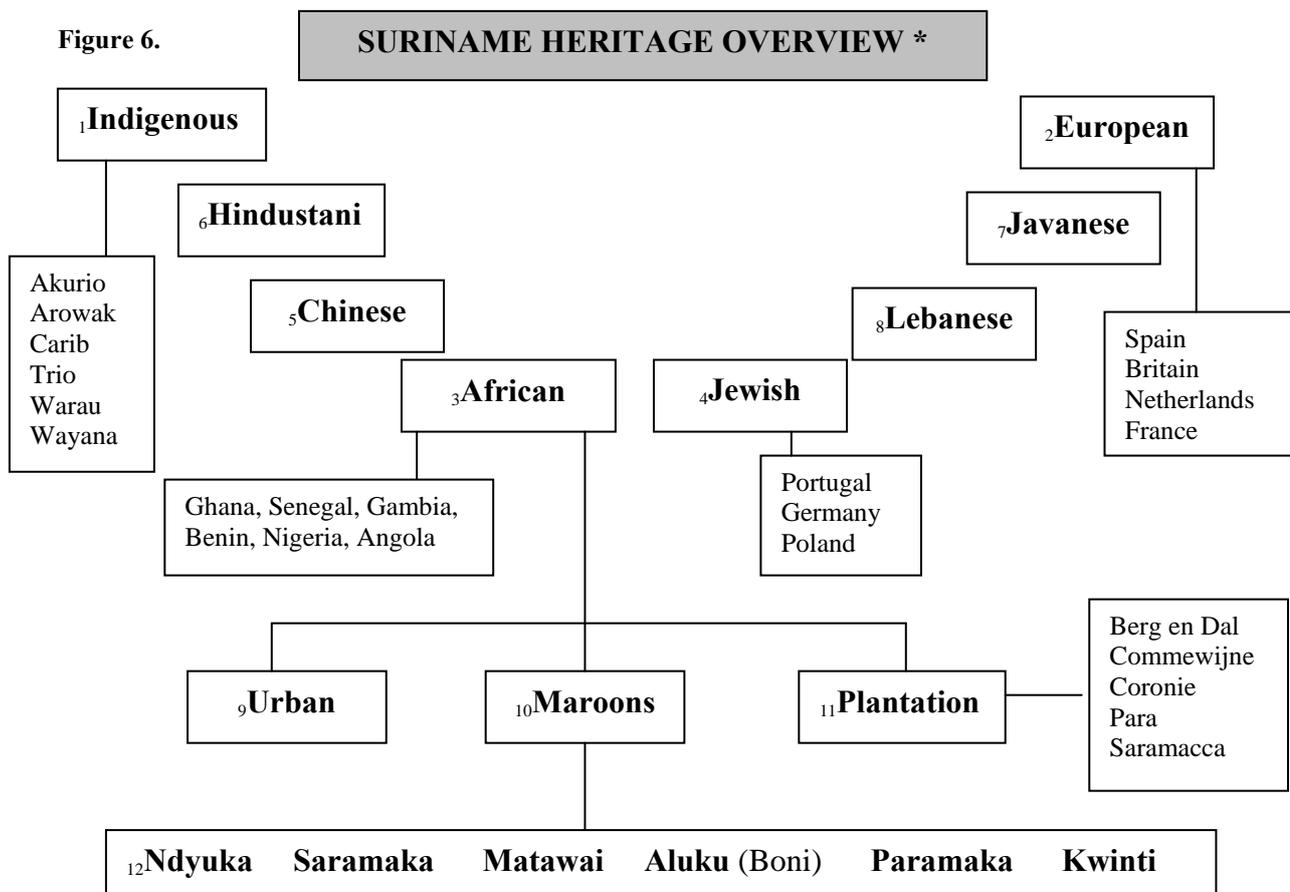
“Emancipate yourselves from Mental Slavery” - Bob Marley, Redemption Songs 1980

Introduction

Suriname hosts a plural society and is regarded as one of the most mosaic countries in the world, when one would relate the ethno-cultural diversity to the size of its population (Figure 6). Transformation of heritage into tourism attractions as demonstrated in chapter 2, demands careful guidance, especially when societies are multi-dimensional in social, ethnic, historical and cultural terms. Contestation is inevitable and policies should reflect well-thought and sustainable efforts in avoidance of political conflicts and societal unrests. Slavery heritage is more complex as it is an issue charged with trauma and taboo. The differences in opinion between discourse coalitions regarding several issues such as “representation” could influence these developments to great extent. At the other hand the general agreement regarding reconstruction of slavery legacy, as expressed by the different coalitions, creates conditions for slavery heritage tourism.

Due to the focus of this study a comprehensive analysis of all heritage contributors within the country is less important, but the following breakdown of the African descendents in figure 6, is relevant for a better understanding of the dispersed positions showed through the discourse analysis. Unmentioned in this figure – for visual clarity reasons – are the religious backgrounds of the different Afro-Surinamese groups, which presumably play a (medium) role in the way slavery heritage is perceived. Moravians, Catholics and people practicing traditional African religion may have different views attached to slavery discourse.

Figure 6.



Key:

1. *Indigenous (Amerindian) pre-Columbian communities*
 2. *European colonists: Spanish (1530) British (1651) Dutch (1667) French (1682) Spanish were the first to occupy the territory, but no remnants are left.*
 3. *African slaves (between 1530 and 1826) mainly from West-Africa Gold Coast. Also a small amount of recruits in the 19th century, hired to serve in the colonial army.*
 4. *Jewish colonists and refugees (between 1660 and 1942)*
 5. *Chinese indentured laborers and immigrants (from 1853 on), initially from Macao and Canton*
 6. *Hindustani (East Indians) indentured workers from British India (between 1873 and 1916), mainly Hindus from Uttar Pradesh and Moslems from Punjab.*
 7. *Javanese indentured workers (1890-1939) from Indonesia, mainly from Java.*
 8. *Lebanese immigrants (1890) mainly Christian Syrians*
 9. *Urban descendants of African slaves and free (manumitted) blacks, mostly referred to as Creoles (westernized and of mixed blood) and mainly living in the capital of Paramaribo.*
 10. *Maroons, descendants of rebel and runaway slaves living in the hinterland forests with strong African based traditions.*
 11. *Plantation or rural creoles, descendants of slaves who remained living on plantations after the abolition.*
 12. *Six recognized Maroon tribal societies*
- *Intermarriages and (forced) migrations of the past decennia have affected and reduced the divisive lines between groups. Total population: 487.024 (census 2004)*

In this chapter, first a critical analysis and some examples of actual tourism developments in Suriname concerning the slavery heritage will be provided. Secondly, a Slavery Heritage Construction Process (figure 7) will be discussed related to the findings of the discourse analysis. Thirdly, a Maroon Community Museum development will be pictured through the force field model (figure 8), and fourthly the critical issues and dilemmas concerning the representation of slavery heritage in Suriname will be summarized.

5.1. Distortion of the past and tourism

The tourism sector in Suriname is still in a stage of immaturity. During the past decennium a growing awareness of the national Government is observable regarding the country's potentials to develop a sustainable tourism sector and some structural conditions have been created to enhance the country's image. Although figures are not available, there is a general believe that the sector grows rapidly. The extension of the weekly flight capacity between Amsterdam and Paramaribo from 3 in 2002 to 6 flights in 2004 may be an indicator of growing interest for the country. Traditionally, focus has been on ecotourism and most tour operators catered for nature experiences in the overwhelming and pristine rainforest. A limited amount of cultural heritage attractions was usually part of the tourist gaze. This was understandably so for several reasons. First, the abundance of the unique natural heritage was far more accessible than cultural ones. Second, Suriname just as other Caribbean countries, did not have the wide spread of castles, ancient buildings and museums to put its culture on display in quite the same way as Venice or Prague, as observed by Patullo (Dann, 2001) Third, and most important, was the ignorance and disrespect for own history and heritage, as the main focus of the majority was directed at Europe and the Netherlands, the Motherland. Major changes in the appreciation of the cultural legacy happened only within the last three decades, after independence in 1975. Intangible heritage exposures, folklore, local cuisine and performances of dance and play were increasingly part of tourist experiences as ancillary attractions. There has however consequently been a selective interpretation of the past based on collective amnesia regarding slavery, resulting in a flattened caricature of reality and a "feel good" sentiment for tourist's sake.

The break-through of African heritage representation in tourism was strengthened by a Ndyuka Maroon resident of the Koffiekamp village, Cyriel Eersteling (1996), who founded “Safari Tours” in 1980 and promoted river adventure tours to several Maroon settlements all over the country. Eersteling did not only provide adventure and survival, but being active in movements aiming at the preservation of African heritage, he presented narratives of Maroon history to visitors, proudly demonstrating the survival and victory of former slaves who fled plantation hardship and exploitation. To date there are five Maroon-rooted tour operating agencies, developing programs more or less based on Eersteling’s concept. This development is much in line with the findings of chapter 4 related to image and trauma and draws to the hypothesis that Maroons indeed celebrate their heritage much more than “urban” and “plantation” blacks.

Maroon heritage tourism is even though not without dilemma’s and challenges. Although, before reflecting on these, it is important to accentuate in this context that Maroon heritage tourism is not perceived here as a form of “thanatourism”, for it does not refer to “heritage staged around attractions and sites associated with death, acts of violence, scenes of disaster and crimes” – to use Dann’s (2001) definition. It is either a form of “Indigenous tourism” and its impacts should be addressed in conformity with this framework. Haviser (2004: 7) points on the following:

“With regard to synchronization of the tourism industry and local cultural integration, Machuca Ramirez makes a convincing argument when he presents cultural rights as human rights. He follows a document of the High Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, called the “Protection of the Heritage of the Indigenous Peoples”, in which three basic objections are noted as risks from tourism to cultural heritage. These objections included: 1. Attraction of foreigners into local communities without proper consultation about the cultures, customs and/or the growing influx of tourist impacts; 2. Degrading commercial images of the local peoples; and 3. Hidden aspects of coercion from exhibiting living peoples and communities as a tourism attraction. This last issue was clearly indicated to me during personal interviews with Saramaka residents of interior Suriname, while conducting a study of tourism in the area. These proud maroon-descendant peoples were angry and horrified when foreign tourists would travel to their village and openly walk through their yards taking pictures of them bathing or during intimate family contexts”.

There are indeed many concerns regarding the interests of owners, host communities, subject groups and visitor groups related to Indigenous tourism. In this perspective a full breakdown of this subject will not be provided, but some interesting questions though are: How active are tour operators contributing or not to the “distortion of the past” for touristic purposes? What narratives are provided? What part of history is presented? To what extent are presented heritage issues negotiated with the community and its leaders? It is clear that there is still a lot of research to be done in this regard.

As indicated before, the dissonance of heritage is undoubtedly an aspect which has to be regarded with much care in development programs. In 2001 the Surinamese and Dutch Government signed an important agreement to cooperate in conserving the shared cultural heritage (Appendix 4 gives an overview of the prioritized projects). The policy aims at three sectors: the built heritage, the museum department and the archive branch. This agreement is much applauded and perceived as a demonstrated willingness of the Netherlands to fortify institutional conditions and repair colonial sores. Indeed, many contributors to the discourse analyzed in this study have pointed to the conservation of slavery heritage characteristics for identity and educational purposes. The question rises even though to what extent projected activities will lead to these targets. They may aim to stimulate the conservation of common cultural heritage, though this is not a guarantee that mentioned objectives will grant the

sympathy of all co-actors or stakeholders in the force field. Heritage can indeed serve a didactic purpose in educating or fostering a sense of nationhood, but a distortion or exclusion of the slavery past will affect the aim of “de-traumatisation” and self-reparation, as pointed on by several discourse coalitions. In the following three examples some critical issues will be shown concerning the portrayal of slavery in heritage development and tourism.

Fort Zeelandia, the 17th century garrison in Paramaribo, was overpowered by the Dutch (Zeeuwen) and taken over from the British. It played an important role in the dominance of the colony and the slave trade. Slaves were sold and branded at the fort; criminals, rebels and captured runaway slaves were tortured and executed here, but also nationalists and early revolutionary activists such as Otto Huiswoud, one of the first black communist leaders active in New York, was imprisoned at this fort. Hindustani and Javanese contract labor protest leaders were locked, while the most influential black 20th century political activist, Anton de Kom (1981), was jailed at this location for months in 1933 before he was exiled to Holland. During WW2 Governor Kielstra jailed all German males older than fifteen years, under which missionaries and teachers of the Moravian Church, for a great deal at Zeelandia, while several of them were killed. After Suriname gained its independence, the fort was used by the military, who brutally executed fifteen opponents of the regime in December 1982. Nowadays, the fort is used as a national museum. It is evident that the heritage value of this location is not perceived similarly by all stakeholders or parties involved. All three types of contested heritage provided in chapter 2 are dealt with at Fort Zeelandia. Firstly, multiple groups share the same heritage, and wish their heritage to be accentuated: Maroons, Hindustani, European descendents, Moravians etc. Secondly, heritage divisions within one group, e.g. within the African group there are several factions: socialists, Moravian Church followers and relatives of the victims of military rule in the eighties who attach different meanings to the Fort as a heritage site. Thirdly, as parallel heritage, conflicting issues between the Dutch Government and the Surinamese might lead to funding problems for the conservation of the Fort. (Buddingh, 1990)

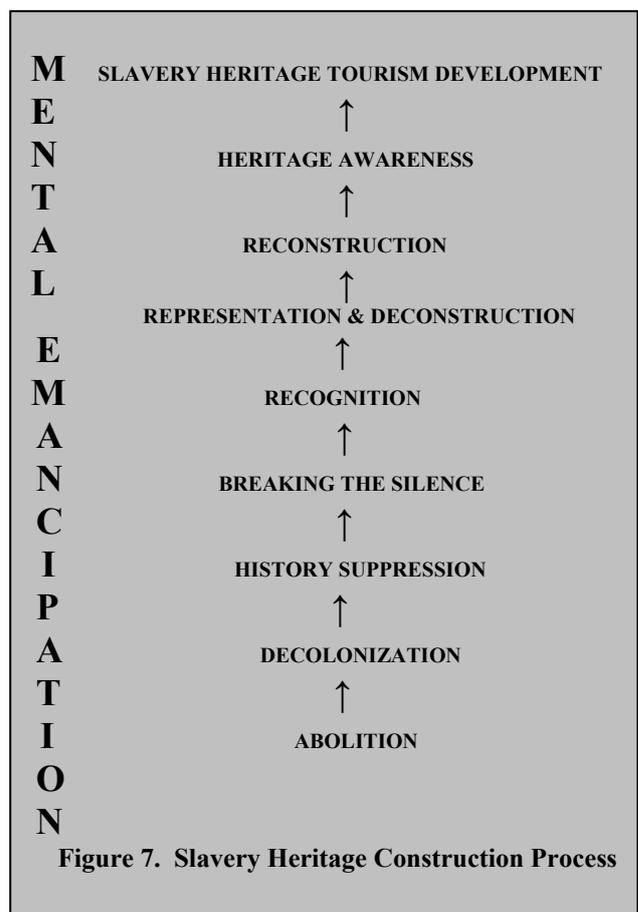
A second example of dissonance regards the rehabilitation and development of the former plantation “Jodensavanne”, which was one of the first settlement of free Jews in the America’s. Fleeing inquisition in Spain and Portugal, they migrated through Brazil and were granted free life and many privileges in the Dutch colony. The first synagogue in the Western Hemisphere “Beracha ve Shalom” was build at this plantation in 1667. Jodensavanne, with its two Jewish cemeteries and the ruins of the synagogue, represents an important part the history of the Jewish Diaspora. The managing NGO, “Stichting Jodensavanne”, developed plans for rehabilitation, tourism development and education, but rejection of nearby indigenous Amerindian communities, claiming land rights, retarded the projected developments. Indolence of the Surinamese government to resolve and secure indigenous land rights is still a problematic issue. At the same location another level of dissonance associated with the slavery heritage occurs. The Jewish colonists owned numerous plantations, mainly for the production of sugar, situated around the Jodensavanne settlement at the Suriname River. They had many African slaves as labor force, while they had an important share in the slave trade. Descendants of escaped slaves from Jewish plantations formed two major Maroon tribes, *Saramaka* and *Matawai*, who still use many Portuguese words in their local language (Landveld, 1989). The life of Jewish colonists is excellently pictured in the historic novel of Cynthia McLeod (1987) “Hoe duur was de suiker”, in which the challenges of the settlers, as well as the hardship and resistance of the slaves is portrayed. The slavery legacy is obviously missing in the interpretation of Jodensavanne by most tour operators visiting the site, slave history is almost neglected.

The same approach of neglecting slavery history is existent at the recently renovated plantation house at Frederiksdorp, a coffee and cocoa plantation established in 1747, and privately owned by Mr. Hagemeijer, who invested much energy and passion in preserving the historical buildings. Co- financed with Dutch development aid under the previously mentioned program between the Netherlands and Suriname, the site was rehabilitated and developed for tourist lodging. The interpretation however of its history highlights mainly its role as regional police and health centre, which was years after abolition, and distorts its slavery context, while in its glory days under the German owner Knuffel, 185 slaves lived and laboured there. To validate this remark, an examination of 153 internet hits on “Frederiksdorp” revealed only two pages mentioning the fact that after the abolition of slavery the plantation stopped its production. Tourism to the plantations often focuses primarily on the mansions and lives of the wealthy landlords and slave owners. This is confirmed by Dann’s (2001) observation that the tourism industry has largely overlooked, or selectively drawn from the rich source of historical information, preferring instead to provide that sort of a-historical entertainment which it believes that its clientele enjoys.

In conclusion of this paragraph, a recent article in the Dutch newspaper *Algemeen Dagblad (AD)*, may serve well to demonstrate the issue of “distortion of the past”. The article (Appendix 5) named *Suriname Jungle Treasures*, has the intention to promote Suriname as a tourist destination and highlights several attractive locations. It is written for a Dutch public from the perspective of Suriname as a former colony. The historical and multi-cultural features, as well as Maroons (still using the former controversial term “bush-negroes”) are mentioned, but nowhere in its text are the concepts of “slavery” or “slaves” used, nor is any reference to the slavery past made. A clear example of suppressed and excluded slavery history, and a distortion of the past.

5.2. The Heritage Construction Process

The discourse analysis undertaken in the course of this study reveals some key issues which are of major significance related to slavery heritage development in Suriname. First, it is important to understand the central position of mental inheritance aspects which are crucially related to the recognition, representation, reconstruction and development of slavery heritage. Problems related to dehumanization, discrimination, negative imaging, traumatising, degradation, exclusion, marginalization, and destructive self-esteem were issues with great importance to discourse coalitions. The mental effects of slavery have been accentuated by all actors in the discursive process. Dealing with these effects with the aim to improve mental health, was considered as vital aspect of the reconstruction, which also was recognized as essential by all actors and showed the highest discursive affinities. Building forth on these findings, the process of slavery heritage tourism construction is represented in this study as a path of *Mental Emancipation* (figure 7).



It is largely conceived as a historical process, starting with the formal abolition of slavery, followed by a process of decolonization. The history and heritage of Africans in slavery were basically suppressed and collectively hidden. By breaking this silence, the awareness of under-representation increased and the demands for slavery legacy recognition intensified. This general recognition was for the majority of the discourse groups the leading ground to aim for the deconstruction of incorrect representation and imaging and the drive to urge for reconstruction of black portrayal. The focus of reconstruction is importantly on unprocessed past and mental improvement, and results in heritage awareness.

The integration of slavery heritage in tourism developments contributes undoubtedly - as the discourse actors in fact conclude - to the process of mental emancipation and mental stabilization. The mental significance of heritage development is part of its social significance, which refers to the *“personal and collective identity that people and society have with their heritage”* (Timothy, 2003: 13) The awareness of the value of slavery heritage is therefore closely related to the mental restoration of black people and the improvement of a sense of identity, and will grow proportionally with the transmission of its narratives to visitors and tourists. Slavery heritage, whether as a plantation site or as a museum, has an important role to play, not only with deconstruction of colonial notions of history, but also with the construction of cultural identity through exploration of and involvement in the reconstruction of untold histories (Cummins, 2003).

According to the discourse analysis can be concluded that the differences between the coalitions in categories such as excuse, reconciliation and reparations, are not significant with relationship to slavery heritage tourism development in Suriname. Contrary to this can be presumed that, due to strong notions for mental aspects and specifically the recovery of self-esteem, respect and identity, in connection to the powerful reconstruction aims, slavery heritage and tourism are perceived as viable development opportunities.

5.3. The Brownsweg Force Field

There are many examples in the world that show how heritage can be used, not only as a source of tourism revenue, but also as a means of recovering, or discovering aspects of history that may otherwise have been neglected, and shown in the previous paragraph, to stabilize mental health. An exemplary undertaking – and exception on the observations in paragraph 5.1. - is the foundation “Sweet Merodia” founded by the much admired writer Cynthia McLeod (1987, 1996), who researched Suriname’s history accurately and wrote several historical novels, illustrating plantation life and slavery conditions. The foundation operates a river boat, taking tourists and school children on plantation river tours, educating them broadly on Suriname’s history, including narratives on plantation life, slavery and marronage.

Box 8

The Slave Route Project is committed to supporting initiatives that identify and provide access to materials that support its evolving research agendas. Materials that document African and African American self-initiated activities and African-derived individual and group behaviors are a high priority. The project is also committed to fostering the preservation of significant documentary resources through upgrading the preservation conditions in repositories that house such original materials.

UNESCO

An excellent opportunity to nurture the developments of slavery heritage is provided through the UNESCO Slave Route Project (Box 8). It is though disappointing that since its launch, little initiative has been mounted by Suriname’s Government. At the other hand an initiative has been instigated in 2003 by STINASU – Foundation for Nature Conservation in Suriname -and its local partner TJUFANGA – a Saramaka Maroon Community Based Organization (CBO) in the Brownsweg (BW) settlement- to develop a Community Maroon Museum in Brownsweg, as part of an sustainable development program in the district of Brokopondo.

Figure 8. Brownsweg Maroon Community Museum Force Field

<p>Owners/ Controllers *TJUFANGA-owners/operational controllers *Saramaka Clan Counsel –content advise *Brownsweg Village Chiefs –content advise *Local District Government -infrastructural *STINASU – operational assistance *EU/CREP/IDB - financial backers *Museum Foundation -exhibition direction *Suralco –Energy and content support *Roman Catholic and Moravian Church *Ministry of Culture – content support *Local transportation, shops, arts and handicraft providers *Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam *UNESCO – Slave Route Project</p>	<p>Power and Time</p>	<p>Host Community – Brownsweg Community *Descendants of 18th century slaves were the ancestors of Brownsweg community members *Maroons, who were dislocated and moved from their original villages to Brownsweg *Economic significance, more jobs and income *Social significance: they feel proud to exhibit their heritage; it will fortify community partnerships *Engage other attractions in the vicinity Related items: *Limitation of visitors *Lodging of visitors/ community tourism</p>
<p>Power and Time</p>	<p>Heritage Development</p>	<p>Power and Time</p>
<p>Subject Groups- Saramaka Maroons *Maroon heritage *Co- residents *The exhibition generates pride and self-respect and confidence *The story of establishment of the Saramaka villages. *The tribal political system. *Ode to former Paramount Chief Agbago Aboikoni *Brownsweg settlement/Tjufanga</p>	<p>Power and Time</p>	<p>Visitor Groups *National and local visitors *Foreign tourists, mainly from the Netherlands *Caribbean * Brokopondo District community * STINASU visitor en route to Brownsberg, Atjoni, Afobaka *Ministry Education/Schools *Maroons from other tribes, clans and villages *Coastal residents *Suriname Tourism Board *Tour operators/hotels</p>

As an amenity area demonstration project the CREP-Caribbean Regional Environmental Program aims at resource protection, environmental awareness, community tourism enhancement and local livelihood improvement in the region. Funding for the initial phase is provided by the EU. The community museum is an example of one of the least controversial kinds of heritage development explained through the force field model: The community of Brownsweg is subject (Saramaka Maroon Heritage), host (in their village) and owner (they decide upon presentation and narratives), while only the visitor groups are from outside the region (CREP 2004). Using the force field model (Figure 8) the development of this museum is exposed.

The “Heritage Force Field” reveals to be a workable model to study, plan and evaluate heritage development. All relevant stakeholders and social actors- their objectives, inputs and benefits- can be exposed and accommodated in such a way that issues regarding contestation and dissonance could be traced and clarified appropriately in order to achieve sustainable development goals

The Host Community is from the Brownsweg settlement and surroundings. They are Maroons of the Saramaka tribe, who were forced to give up their former villages in the 1960-ties, when a hydro power dam was built, which resulted in the creation of an artificial lake called “*Affobaka*”. Great parts of their tangible heritage was lost due to this event, while their displacement to Brownsweg, where they had to live under new conditions, caused major psychological problems and community stress (Landveld, 1989). As a consequence many of them migrated to the city, while others tried to survive with minimal support of Government institutes, using local resources through forestry and gold-mining. Local livelihood has decreased further after the civil strife of the eighties and pressures on surrounding natural resources, mainly the *Brownsberg Nature Park*, managed by STINASU followed increasingly.

Community members established a CBO, *Tjufanga*, in 2002 in order to develop strategies and projects in partnership with STINASU and other organizations, aiming at enhancement of their livelihood. For the sake of completeness should be noticed, that the Brownsweg settlement is formed by seven former separate villages with their own history of origin and development, which disappeared in the Affobaka Lake. The formation of *Tjufanga* reflected the representation of all villages. During long deliberations some priorities for a sustainable development were set and community tourism was identified as a viable sector, which in connection with the nature park could contribute to the enhancement of local income. The development of a Community Maroon Museum was perceived as an own effort to portray their unique Maroon heritage. Two critical aspects which will need thoughtful negotiations are related to the location of the museum, taking in regard the existing infrastructure, local area use arrangements and accessibility for visitors, and the use limits. In these negotiations visitor groups and controllers need to be included.

The Subject Groups are: primarily, the community of Brownsweg; secondary, the Saramaka Maroon tribe and tertiary, the Surinamese Maroon population. Narratives will focus on their flee from slavery to freedom, the peace treaties, the heroes and the constitution of their tribe, their survival and victory. Maroon arts, folklore and lifestyle will take a central position. Details will have to be negotiated within the Maroon community on which aspects will and will not be exposed. Important though is their survival and victory, which they would like to expose, instead of the hardship of centuries ago. Subject groups aim to educate visitors about their unique heritage. An important goal also, is related to previous racist imaging of history that, prior to the slave trade, blacks were childlike, intellectually primitive. By promoting and exhibiting their artistic and intellectual heritage a correct response is given to the former mal-representation.

The Owners and Controllers have different objectives. Prime owner and controller is the Brownsweg community represented by *Tjufanga*, who will operate the museum. A training process will have to ensure proper input of human resources. The Saramaka Maroon Council plays an essential role as allocative controller in the determination of its content. This decision-making process regarding content is nationally supported by the Suriname Museum Foundation and the Ministry of Culture, while internationally UNESCO and the Royal Tropical Institute are included as support specialists for research and design. A partnership with the African museum of Curacao, *Kura Hulanda*, and the Maroon Museum in French Guiane could be helpful. Some

organizations support with operational aspects, such as STINASU, the Tourism Board and the Tour Operator Association. Other groups of interest such as Suralco, the Aluminium Company is a co-supporter regarding the history of the hydro dam and Affobaka Lake, while it is considered as one of the financial backers, together with the EU/CREP and the IDB, the Inter-American Development Bank.

The Visitor Groups can be differentiated as follows: local and national residents, and international visitors from the Caribbean, Netherlands and other locations. A special target group are schoolchildren, who will have an overall picture of the region and its population by visiting the nature park, the dam and lake, and the museum. As such the relationship visitor-subject group is diverse and measures should be taken to accommodate all parties involved. Attention should importantly be conducted towards management and marketing aspects, for the sustainability of the museum is considerably conditioned by the continuity of paying visitors.

It is clear that every field has its critical aspects and harbours issues which could raise conflicts. The different categories of controllers (finance, research, design, infrastructure, and promotion) related to this project have their own objectives and agenda. Efforts will be needed to safeguard community inputs, for de-motivation and sometimes spoilage could be the effect. In practice, many times community endeavours are overruled, but also good contributions from supportive institutes could be misunderstood.

The most important measure was the establishment of *Tjufanga* as a co-ordinating CBO that, having the blessing of all seven villages, could develop a strategy grounded in the community. Being owner, host and subject gave the ability to oversee and implement developments better. It is though a highly political issue. The National Government has not (yet) given supportive signals which would stimulate this development. One argument is based on “geographical” policy, in which the city and the coastal region, being an area with high population density, is preferred above the less populated region of Brownsweg. Evidently, local community determination besides participatory and anticipatory approaches using the force field model, will enhance the chances for success of this Maroon heritage development project.

5.4. Critical Issues and Dilemma’s

Finalizing this chapter, an overview of the major issues and dilemmas concerning the representation of slavery heritage for tourism motives in Suriname is appropriate.

Disinheritance is the concept used to cover some terms and aspects such as, collective amnesia, deliberate exclusion, suppression, disregard and distortion of the past. Several forms of disinheritance have been projected in this study regarding Suriname. Most visible issues are collective amnesia, connected to indigenous land rights, which are not granted by the government (the case of Jodensavanne); suppression, when slavery is deliberately not mentioned (as shown in the case of Jodensavanne or the article in AD), and distortion of the past, which refers to under-representation or selective information, in which the legacy of slavery is “forgotten” (the case of Frederiksdorp). This issue touches the heart of the slavery discourse, that was “*breaking the silence*”, in which all coalitions shared the same opinion. The silence should not only be broken within sphere of history books, but there was force advocacy to reconstruction of historical representation in museums and other heritage promoting sites.

Ethical concerns are expressed with “*why open up wounds?*” which points to the fact that subjects may feel embarrassed and affronted with slavery exposure. Images of cruelties raise

questions of morality concerning profit and human suffering. The issue of tourists taking pictures of bathing residents in Maroon villages was also exposed. The major concern in this regard is in the way blacks are pictured. A code of ethics in consent with all actors in the force field is vital to prevent conflicts.

Domination and control issues are both related to power and often connected to financial issues: who pays, stays and says? The actual Surinamese tourism sector is not highly influenced by multinationals, but at national and local level power settings influence developments. In the Maroon museum undertaking for example, the host/subject party could be forced to suppress a certain aspect of history, which is not in consent with other actors. This may change over time as power relations also change. A dilemma is unavoidable at the moment that values of heritage are differently interpreted. In some cases the gap will be unbridgeable as issues have fundamental values. A participatory approach is though an important condition for its development.

Mental issues have been addressed in previous paragraphs, indicating the central role they play. However, there are divergent religious believes among Afro-Surinamese actors - taking in account, the variety of opinions related to slavery heritage - that influence specific narratives. The *Winti* religion for example, which is considered the traditional African-based belief system may be a critical issue, which is for some (fundamental Christians) a unacceptable topic, while for others it is a basic ingredient to their mental emancipation.

Strongly related to mental issues is, how former slaves and their descendants will be displayed: as victims or as victors? Reflection on this issue seems appropriate, though it was already part of other elaborated themes in this study. It is of fundamental significance for the development of slavery heritage tourism. Many remarks were made related to this aspect during the slavery discourse. The implementation of slavery heritage sites could in fact demonstrate both perspectives at the same or different locations, without the one misjudging the other. An equal solution could be attributed to the diversity of meanings promoted by the different religious beliefs. The reality conveyed by the discourse analysis accentuated the mental blockades related to racism, imaging and trauma. This, securely gives clear signals that attention should be focused on cultural and identity aspects of slavery heritage development.

Land rights and indigenous rights are already mentioned as aspects of collective amnesia, but need separate attention as they form an elemental issue for Maroons to preserve their heritage. Land rights are internationally considered as human rights and the Surinamese Government has failed until now to recognize them and to implement effective and appropriate procedures and mechanisms (Kambel, 1999). This issue has been put before the High Commission of Human Rights in Geneva in 2003, as Maroons and Indigenous people expressed that there cultural rights and human rights are systematically neglected. This issue is considered as essential to prevent disintegration of Maroon culture and heritage. The historical disrespect for Maroons elaborated in the course of this study and through the discourse analysis, is apparently existent and in essence demonstrated by the government that lacks to recognize these land rights, which are necessary for the material and cultural development of Maroons.

Contested heritage or dissonant heritage has been an elementary issue through this study, when answering the questions: whose past should be exposed? and, what part of heritage? Several examples referring to Surinamese cases (Fort Zeelandia) highlighted the three mayor forms of contested heritage: heritage contested by multiple groups; heritage contested by parallel sections within one group; and, heritage contested by colonial and indigenous parties. The fact that heritage development is a form of appropriation makes this issue one of basic importance. It is

of course strongly related to disinheritance, control and land rights. The party which controls has the power to suppress the heritage of the other, while recognizing land rights is in reality recognition of heritage and includes the sharing of power. There is clearly demonstrated with the example of the Maroon museum, how the use of the force field model can make actors and interests superficial. There are however, numerous examples that show how government or institutes for the sake of peace (or other priorities) deliberately “forget” certain heritages, for they might be too controversial, too contested.

Authenticity is an issue which is globally and intensively debated. As such in this context, a contribution to this debate is not foreseen. It is though important to stress that for slavery heritage developments, the meaning of authenticity should be considered in relationship with its past period of suppression which submerged many tangible and intangible facets. Contrary to countries like Ghana, where castles and fortifications are found, many objects are “lost” in Suriname. This means that forms of “reconstructed authenticity” are necessary to meet the goal of satisfactory representation of slavery past. There are however numerous historical plantation properties and objects in the dense jungle waiting for recovery (Dikland, 2004). This issue is for sure interrelated to afore mentioned issues, as it is linked to the questions, what and how slavery heritage will be exposed. Authenticity is followed by the issue connected to the production of tourist souvenirs. Choices will have to be made in consent with all actors in the force field, but crucial is in this regard how subject groups perceive their artistic and creative productions.

Political and institutional issues. Suriname is a multi-cultural country, where for decennia policies were catered to fortify inter-ethnic tolerance and brotherhood. This policy has been relatively successful and the multi-cultural richness has increasingly been promoted to the tourist world. A close look at the socio-political aspects of the discourse in order to make slavery heritage visible at a national level, political influence in Suriname as well in the Netherlands is required. A question related to the UNESCO slavery route project mentioned early on in this chapter is: why did governmental institutes fail to propose or develop initiatives in this regard? Many answers are possible, but it is a fact that without proper political conditioning, initiatives from public and private sector will not germinate successfully.

In this context it is relevant to note that the inner-city of Paramaribo has been placed on the World Heritage List of UNESCO in 2002. Paramaribo is a unique example of a Dutch town in South America, which retained its original street plan as well as its buildings that demonstrate the gradual fusion of Dutch architecture with traditional local techniques and materials. The Foundation for Urban Built Heritage (SGES) plays an important role in management of monuments and the World Heritage Site. An integral Inner City management plan was developed, while the government assured the preservation of monuments by initiating a new monument law. Other important institutes aiming at heritage development are the Suriname Museum Foundation and the Department for Cultural Studies.

The awareness for heritage preservation has increased undoubtedly during the past decennium and with the assistance of Dutch and multilateral organizations, important programs have been initiated to further develop this sector. There are however limited, or no initiatives (yet) that aim at slavery heritage development and institutional provisions targeting at tourism, the symbiotic partner of heritage development, are not in place. Even so, institutional conditions and attention are missing at the Suriname Tourism Foundation to encourage heritage tourism in general and slavery heritage tourism in particular. Hopefully NiNsee will give some essential stimuli very soon to bridge this gap.

6. Conclusions and Discussion

Some significant conclusions and issues for discussion are brought about by this thesis in response of the research questions:

1. Slavery legacy is generally considered and recognized as a terrible and concealed part of the common Dutch-Surinamese history.
2. There are no pronounced black or white discourse coalitions and opinions perceived, and there is no prominent leadership of the discourse coalitions.
3. Opinions are very divided and fragmented regarding: reconciliation, excuse and reparations.
4. Opinions regarding representation, racism, imaging and trauma show much resemblance between the moderate and the radical coalition.
5. The highest affinity of opinions between all discourse coalitions is related to reconstruction efforts, in which the role of NiNsee is essential.
6. Mental issues are considered to have a central role in the slavery discourse and need to be addressed through reconstruction of slavery heritage representation.
7. All coalitions regard education and tourism related to slavery heritage, as vital in the recovery and rebuilt of self-esteem, self-respect and self-image of Afro-Surinamese.
8. The issue of Reparations shows much disagreement; there is however a general opinion, that the Government of the Netherlands should contribute significantly to slavery heritage development and tourism.
9. There is a need for more research, specifically on the effects of slavery and colonial policy on the nature of racial relations after abolition and their consequences for the mental health of the descendants.
10. Critical issues, dilemma's and challenges in the representation of slavery legacy for tourism are: Disinheritance, Ethics, Domination and Control, Land rights and Indigenous rights, Mental significance, Heritage Contestation, Authenticity and Policy.

This study posits further that, Suriname, having a wealthy and unique multi-cultural background and history, should construe a policy aiming at the development of its tangible, intangible and mental heritage, in which the slavery heritage development has a principal position. This heritage orientation will broaden the existing bases of the tourism industry and will serve educational purposes, finally contributing to the mental health of all, residents and visitors. In order to reach these goals, some structural institutional conditions are needed. The establishment of a heritage institute which aims at the development of this sector for education and tourism motives is in this regard suitable.

Maroons are historically the important carriers of black pride and victorious slavery heritage in Suriname and should effectively be recognized as such. This should be demonstrated by the recognition of their land rights, which is related to human and cultural rights.

This study comes across some interesting topics that request further research, such as, an assessment of Maroon indigenous tourism, focussing on host community experiences and benefits, while a replication of this study in Suriname itself, using some other research methods should be useful for future developments.

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