

Imperial Infringement or Self-destruction?

The Demise of the Caribbean's Black Power Socialist Experiment

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ABSTRACT

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The Caribbean's experimentation with Black Power and socialism was the highest expression of its self-emancipation and self-definition. This thesis explores the reasons why this experiment, the dawning of a new day as it freed the masses from the grips of colonial constraints, was suppressed. It deconstructs which factor had a greater impact on the failure of the Caribbean's nation-building process, internal strife and contradictions, or U.S. imperialistic hegemonic greed. Beginning with the exploration of intellectual and inspirational rhetoric of freedom, equality and black liberation, these ideological thinkers inspired the Caribbean to fight for independence. A case study evaluating four Caribbean nations, Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Grenada, that in the 1970s through early 1980s experimented with black power and socialism as their method of self-determination is included. U.S. involvement in the region during this time was the main factor that caused the experiment's demise as it shaped the Caribbean's modernity. It explores the criticisms to U.S hegemony and infantilization of the Caribbean and suggests ways the U.S and the Caribbean can learn from the past to be catalysts for internal change, as well as to invoke a new relationship with each other in the future.

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Introduction: The Other Side of Paradise: Foreign Control of The Caribbean and The Fight For True Autonomy

The day of the very rich is drawing to a close, so far as individual white nations are concerned. But there is a loophole. There is a chance for exploitation on an immense scale for inordinate profit... This chance lies in the exploitation of darker peoples. It is here the golden hand beckons.... These men may be used down to the very bone, and shot and maimed in 'punitive' expeditions when they revolt. In these dark lands 'industrial development' may repeat in exaggerated form every horror of industrial history of Europe, from slavery and rape to disease and maiming, with only one test of success—dividends! (Du Bois, 1920, p.8).

-- W.E.B Du Bois, 1920 --

We contend, comrades, the real problem is not the question of smallness per se, but [that] of imperialism. The real problem that small countries like ours face is that on a day-by-day basis we come up against an international system that is organized and geared towards ensuring the continuing exploitation, domination and rape of our economies, our countries, and our people. That, to us, is the fundamental problem (Rose, 2002, p.301).

-- Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, 1980--

These quotes articulate and embody a world embedded in imperialism and white supremacy, a world and a construct which black intellectuals of the past and present have tried to counter. In 1920, famous black intellectual and political thinker W.E.B. Du Bois penned those profound words in his book *Dark Water*. Over sixty years later in the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop proclaimed his enlightened message in a speech to his citizens. Two black leaders from a different time and space, the former inspiring the latter to fight for freedom and equality, and to emancipate and liberate themselves from physical and psychological oppression. Ignited by the words of those who came before him, Bishop formed a revolution that shaped a generation of his people and captured the world's attention. In the sixty years between Du Bois's words from the chapter "Souls of White Folks" and Bishop's fiery speech, the world had changed immensely. Yet, some things remained the same, and some things inevitably remained stagnant. Their times are different, yet Du Bois's message still echoes loud and clear decades later. The parallels and similarities of content are uncanny, as though they are

speaking simultaneously during the same era. Their words were in sync with the themes of exploitation, imperialism and violence towards the oppressed. The pertinent questions they seek to answer are the following: how can people of color around the globe truly free themselves from the crippling constraints of imperialistic white supremacy? And what happens when nations are independent by decree and rhetoric but stifled by another's greed? The end result is most often detrimental, with autonomy stripped away and dependency in its place. Is this predicament permanent or can it be changed?

The Caribbean's black power socialist experiment in the 1970's and 1980's was constructed to be a transformative era to change the status quo, giving the people autonomy and political, social, and economic liberation. Grenada under Bishop, the socialist governments of Jamaica and Guyana, as well as the people of Trinidad and Tobago all tried to free themselves from the chains and influences of imperialism through socialism and Black Power. However, the power, force, and capital of imperial infringement, as well as their own internal strife, were too much for these formerly oppressed states to bear. As a result, this period of experimentation crumbled under immense pressure. The dramatic and traumatic events of this time have shaped the Caribbean's modernity, continuing the long historical cycle of dependency and an overbearing foreign presence in the region. The Caribbean's history is one of shifting colonial and imperial rule. Colonialism itself shifted in definition from direct to indirect contact between the metropole and its colonies. In modern times, U.S. hegemony in the region is just colonialism and imperialism under a new name and guise, in other words, neocolonialism. The narrative of the Caribbean's black power socialist experiment is a story of the rise and fall of autonomy, as well as a cautionary tale of hegemonic encroachment. Despite the present state of the Caribbean,

this era of tremendous change was the zenith of its sovereignty, agency and self-expression—and must no longer be obscured.

This thesis aims to serve as an evaluation of this era as well as an answer to the necessary questions: What and who inspired this era of revolutionary change? What caused the demise of the Caribbean Black Power socialist experiment during its state building process? Why after gaining independence and the ability to form new national identities did the Caribbean revert back to being dependent states? Was it by choice because of an inability to sustain themselves, or was it by force through superpower interventions? Which of these factors had a greater impact on the failure of the Caribbean's nation-building process? And how can both the Caribbean and the United States learn from the past to be catalysts for internal change, as well as to invoke a new relationship with each other in the future? These questions are important because it helps in understanding the Caribbean's historical struggle to try to overcome the forces that have kept it under foreign political and economic domination for centuries. These questions are also important because they show the detrimental effects of United States' involvement in other countries. Using the rhetoric of freedom and democracy, the United States infantilizes others for its own end, and it must stop this tactic so that it can reengage with the world.

This thesis argues that the Caribbean's experimentation with both Black Power and socialism was the highest expression of its self-emancipation and self-definition. The first chapter is dedicated to the concepts of colonialism, imperialism, decolonization, socialism and black liberation. It begins with an examination of the history of colonialism in the Caribbean. Scholarly literature on colonialism depicts that the Caribbean has historically been under foreign control. Historical scholars on colonialism, including Robin Blackburn, Edmund Morgan and David Eltis

all believe that race as well as economic factors played a role in the rise of colonialism in the Caribbean. The chapter then goes on to evaluate the contributions of the intellectuals that inspired the ideas of decolonization and black liberation, with an emphasis on three main thinkers—W.E.B. Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, and Marcus Garvey—each with different tactics for attaining self-emancipation and autonomy. These tactics include integration, segregation, and violence. A description of subsequent thinkers who, in the 1970s and 1980s, were contributors to the ideas of state building and autonomy is also given. These thinkers, including Paul Robeson, Richard Wright, George Padmore, Claudia Jones, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X, were all instrumental in a “long Civil Rights movement,” a global struggle against white supremacy. According to Nikhil Pal Singh, black intellectuals such as Du Bois, Fanon, Garvey and others implanted the idea of black liberation, decolonization and new national identities through the constructs of socialism and Black Power. These ideologies ignited the Caribbean people to become catalysts for change and fight for emancipation from imperialistic racialized oppression.

The second chapter is an examination of the four countries’ experimentation with Black Power and socialism, as well as the success and limitations of these movements. The case selection is on four Caribbean nations—Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Grenada—who, in the 1960s through early 1980s, experimented with Black Power and socialism as their self-determination of choice. An analysis is given of their political, social, and economic structure during this time. This chapter then addresses the problems that arose in the experimentation; for example, the internal strife within and the contradictions and limitations of both Black Power and socialism in the region’s goal of attaining autonomy. The Caribbean nations that make up this case selection are former European colonies who have their legacy embedded in the

institutions of imperialism and slavery. They are dependent states that perceive their problems to be rooted in their dependency on developed capitalist states and institutions who, in essence, exploit them by failing to adequately and fairly compensate them for their labor and exports of natural resources. The majority of these countries have Parliamentary types of democracy as their government. They share a similar geographic region, demographics and resources. Their similar experiments with Black Power and socialism all resulted in varying intensification of superpower involvement.

The third chapter deals with the United States' tactics of infringement; it evaluates the U.S. effort to destabilize the Caribbean and the role it played in the collapse of the English speaking Caribbean black power socialist experiment. Whether it was through threat of embargos, propaganda, intense pressure to de-link with socialism, or outright invasion and occupation, the United States had an ulterior motive behind its involvement. This infringement of autonomy in the Caribbean is shown to be not the exception but the norm of the United States' global hegemonic position. These countries' autonomies were all stripped away by U.S. involvement because they were not governed the way the U.S. desired, as evidenced by the interim governments handpicked to American liking. The U.S. gives some economic support and then leaves these nations to fend for themselves. This chapter's focus is the motivation behind U.S. involvement as well as the tactics that were used to infringe on these countries' agency. These countries' struggle to develop after the U.S. involvement establishes that foreign "help," instead of bringing prosperity, only hinders and impedes a nation's progress. The story of the Caribbean is a warning for the world, with lessons that need to be learned by all parties involved.

In light of the demise of the Caribbean black power socialist experiment and negative perception of the United States' supremacy and overbearing reach in the global sphere, the fourth chapter addresses the failure of the contributions of both entities in ending this era. It explores ways for America to exert its power, and understand and interact with the Caribbean and the world at large. This chapter focuses on abandoning elements of U.S. hegemonic policies in the region and observes certain failures more closely, in order to suggest places where the United States in the present might learn from its history and try to remedy its past. It evaluates new concepts and ideas in which the United States can address its fears (in the past Communism, today it is terrorism) while simultaneously rebuilding its principles and place in the global arena. Thus, instead of being an oppressive hegemon infringing on others' autonomy, it should evolve into a benevolent ally providing support only when asked. Instead of allotting money to destabilize a nation, it should work towards helping the underdeveloped countries develop their social and economic infrastructures. This chapter also suggests on creating a unified Caribbean coalition that would take positive elements of the black power socialist experiment such as black identity, black solidarity, autonomy, and economic independence and implement these ideologies and sentiments into the modern day. More importantly, this chapter is about changing identities, and shifting internal and external outlooks. The United States must transform from a global hegemon to a benevolent partner, and the Caribbean must change from a dependent divided region to a unified and autonomous one.

The concluding chapter is a brief summary of the points made throughout the work. It compares the United States' infringement and efforts to destabilize the Caribbean in the 1970's and 1980's with the U.S. modern day invasion and War in Iraq, which mirrors some of the

overarching themes of its involvement in the Caribbean, particularly the invasion of Grenada. It provides a brief, yet poignant outlook for the future of United States hegemony and Caribbean dependency and United States hegemony in the world at large.

The Caribbean's black power socialist experiment was an awakening experience for the region, finally freeing it from the overbearing presence of another; however, racism and capitalistic greed cemented the Caribbean's fate in dependency. The United States has a reputation of invading countries that deviate from its perceived standards of democracy and freedom. It invades, occupies and then leaves these countries to fend for themselves, thus creating an indefinite cycle of dependency. The Caribbean should be a cautionary example of U.S. involvement. America has manipulated the rhetoric of freedom for its own capitalistic gain. Moreover, the Caribbean provides evidence that the U.S. has legitimated its self-interest and greed in the name of American ideals. History has shown and has passed judgment that the falsified use of freedom rhetoric is unnecessary, unwarrantable and unjustifiable. Driven by its selfish ambition, the American government throughout its history has chosen to be blind to the needs, desires, and sentiments of those considered as others. To prevent, this regions and countries like the Caribbean must unite to assert their autonomy. Additionally the United States must lose its notion of superiority and first world privilege; for if it does not, its progression will be inexorably hindered.

Chapter 1: Where Do We Belong? The Search for Blackness (Black Autonomy) In the Colonial World

Many are incapable of perceiving a modern black autonomous Caribbean because black liberation in the region has been obscured by a long history of imperialistic racialized oppression and greed. In other words, the Caribbean's dependency is deeply rooted in the foundation of its colonial past. In spite of the unending cycle of dependency, the struggle for freedom and independence in the West Indies is a story that must be told. Historically blacks have been forced to let others define their existence; fed up with their inferior position they have fought to attain their sovereignty. From the outset blacks have fought for their humanity. In the New World, African slaves resisted their enslavement and emancipated blacks wanted political, social, economic and more importantly basic human rights. Ignited by intellectual and inspirational rhetoric of freedom, change, equality and black liberation, the Caribbean states fought tirelessly and eventually won. However, the system of dependency instituted within European imperial hegemony would later be adapted by the United States to fit its own relationship and agenda in the Caribbean. Thus, despite a short grace period of freedom and autonomy, a period to experiment with state building and self-identification in the Caribbean from the 1960's to early 1980's, the Caribbean's history is one of shifting colonial and imperial rule. Colonialism itself shifted in definition from direct to indirect contact between the metropole and its colonies. In modern times, U.S. hegemony in the region is just colonialism and imperialism under a new name and guise. The Caribbean's experimentation with black power and socialism that had arisen in between a dying colonialism and U.S. hegemony was the highest expression of the Caribbean's self-emancipation and self-definition. This autonomy was stripped away from the

region because of racism and capitalistic greed, thus cementing its dependency on others into the present day.

Colonialism: A historical view of racialized imperialistic oppression

Despite the ending of the institution of slavery in the Atlantic world, the Caribbean's political, social, and economic agency was still in the hands of others, the metropole. Imperialistic capitalist greed kept this region stagnant, dependent on others to define its existence. Colonialism before and after slavery was directly linked to capitalism and the increased want of commercial consumption. Racism was also a significant factor because if the people at the time felt the idea of owning and subjugating another being was morally repugnant, regardless of it being economically advantageous, neither slavery nor colonialism would have ever come into existence. Therefore, capitalistic greed created the need for colonial expansion, while European values and racial superiority invoked a push for white colonial supremacy. Dependency in the modern Caribbean was not an accident but a deliberate premeditative act on the part of European imperial powers, which over three centuries ago developed colonialism in the region for their economic benefit. Thus, the colonial structure of the past has paved the way for modern Caribbean dependency.

There were many factors that played a role in instituting colonialism and bringing enslaved Africans to the Caribbean. Robin Blackburn, Edmund Morgan and David Eltis all, in one way or another, assert possible explanations for colonialism and African slavery in the New World. While some argue that Caribbean colonialism and slavery was directly correlated to capitalism and the demand for profit, others assert that social and cultural benefits such as racial and European superiority outweighed economic factors. However, through analyzing their work,

it can be concluded that the rise of colonialism and slavery was a multifaceted combination of both economic and social factors. Colonialism and slavery in Caribbean embodies the slave-free paradox; the rise of both institutions ran concurrently with the rise of the ideological beliefs in the rights, liberties and freedoms of man. A common thread of comparison is that the scholars of colonialism illustrate that slavery in the New World differed from any other forms of enslavement before it. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries displayed the dichotomy between the rhetorical use of freedom and Caribbean enslavement, the words and sentiment versus action and implementation.

For 500 years, since Christopher Columbus discovered the New World, the Caribbean has functioned as an economic jewel and mainstay for external interests. It has produced agricultural products mainly for the export of Europe and North America. The relationship between the European metropole and its West Indian colonies was a long and tumultuous history, creating power struggles and internal strife. The construct of colonizers and colonies was economically advantageous to some, while simultaneously oppressive to others. The colonial conquest of the Caribbean began in the 1500's and ended in the late 19th century (Rose, 2002, p. 16). The English, French, Dutch, and Spanish all were in imperial conflicts with each other for hegemonic control of the region (Barry, 1984, p.2). English obtained Barbados, Nevis, Grenada, Trinidad, Guyana, St. Lucia, Jamaica, and St Vincent. The French maintain colonies in St. Domingue (Haiti), Martinique and Guadeloupe. The Dutch established a colony in Aruba and The Spanish created colonies in Cuba, Puerto Rico and Hispaniola. This inevitably led to the Atlantic slave trade, the largest forced migration of people in human history. The current Caribbean population is made up of descendent of slaves brought to the region from West Africa.

It is estimated that the slave trade brought over ten million people to the Atlantic World (Barry, 1984, p. 2). The Caribbean as an overseas economy for the European colonizer began in the mid-1600s when there was a commercial demand for sugar (Rose, 2002, p. 22). Consumer demand for sugar reinforced the institution of slavery. Robin Blackburn in “The Old World Background to European Colonial Slavery” argues that the intensity of enslavement in the New World was caused by economic gains that slavery produces. Blackburn proclaims:

These developments took on more ominous significance with the growth of an increasingly independent realm of commercial consumption. The demand for sugar and spices reflected the growing purchasing power of those who were drawing larger rents from the countryside and of an urban milieu headed by master manufactures and merchants. (Blackburn, 1997, p.101)

For Blackburn the rise of African slavery in the Americas was caused by the high demand for products such as sugar, tobacco, and cotton; merchants established plantations to supply those products (Blackburn, 1997, p.101). The demand for these products created a need for labor to produce them. As Blackburn states, “and so vigorous was the demand that planters thought they could best meet it by acquiring slaves from Africa” (Blackburn, 1997, p.102). Blackburn acknowledges other factors influenced New World slavery. He acknowledges racism and religion but he drives home that the catalyst was capitalistic gains. As he states, “By themselves, the techniques of colonial expansion and racial stigmatization need not have led to the rise of plantation slavery, but in conjunction with the beginnings of capitalist transformation they did” (Blackburn, 1997, p.102).

Unlike Blackburn, Edmund Morgan did not view economic factors as the driving force behind slavery in the New World. He argues that social factors were the impetus behind African enslavement in the Caribbean. Morgan argues that, “The rights of Englishmen were preserved by

destroying the rights of Africans” (Morgan, 1972, p.24). According to him, metropolises’ freedom rested on the foundation of slavery. The reason why colonizers turned to slave labor was the social benefits to everybody else who was not enslaved. Those who were not enslaved could now participate in democracy and enjoy rights. As Morgan asserts, “The social benefits of an enslaved labor force, even if not consciously sought or recognized at the time by the men who bought the slaves, were larger than the economic benefits” (Morgan, 1972, p.25). Morgan proclaims that the fact that freedom and slavery expanded simultaneously in New World was a paradox. Morgan argues that the colonizers and slaveholders exhibited that paradox in their actions by advocating freedom and independence as they enslaved Africans. He dismisses the idea that they were just hypocrites. Assuming that they were simply hypocrites would not be a sufficient explanation for slavery.

Morgan depicts that slavery replaced indentured servitude, alleviated the problems associated with indentured servants and freedmen, and created order. A system of slave labor ensured the stability because African slaves were unable to claim the rights of metropolitan subjects. According to Morgan, “Slaves had none of the rising expectations that so often produce human discontent. No one had told them that they had rights” (Morgan, 1972, p.26). Stricter laws were placed on slaves: “Slaves could be deprived of the opportunity for association and rebellion. They could be kept unarmed and unorganized” (Morgan, 1972, p.27). Morgan shows that the origins of New World slavery were complex.

In a similar fashion to Edmund Morgan, David Eltis in the chapter “Slavery and Freedom in the Early Modern World,” depicts the paradox of the concurrent development of slavery for Africans and freedom for Europeans in the New World during the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries. Eltis believes that social and cultural factors played a significant role in New World enslavement. He argues the need to understand slavery in not just economic terms but in terms of European values. Eltis asserts, "European behavior in the early modern Atlantic was not that of unbridled and profit-maximizing capitalists. An inquiry into deep-seated cultural attitudes on the part of both European and non-Europeans provides just as much insight into the creation of the new Atlantic world as a simple search for the quest of profits" (Eltis, 2000, p 2). However, Eltis believes that racism was a key element to New World slavery. He answers three major questions: Why did Europeans revive the institution of slavery in the New World? Why would that slavery be located almost exclusively in the Americas? And why were slaves in the New World exclusively people of non-European descent (Eltis, 2000, p.2)? For Eltis, the answers lay in both Europe and Africa. The European answers lay in the evolution of European culture. The demise of slavery as an institution during the medieval period led to a new European perspective that it was wrong to enslaved fellow Europeans. As he asserts:

In summary, at the end of the fifteenth century slavery did not exist on most Western Europe soil. At the end of the eighteenth century it still did not exist in western Europe but it had greatly intensified and expanded in those parts of the non-European world that Europeans had come to dominate. Europe was exceptional in the individual rights that it accorded to its citizens and in the intensity of its slavery, which of course it reserved for non-citizens. (Eltis, 2000, p.8)

Eltis argues that European societies had a variety of mechanisms that could have produced an adequate labor force for the New World. Instead of slave labor, the New World could have used waged labor. Eltis believes that waged labor and slave labor were similar; both arose from the same source, commodity production. As Eltis asserts, "Europeans and their descendents owned and used slaves for the same reason that masters hired servants in the non-slave sector which was to produce goods for sale to others" (Eltis, 2000, p.19). Slavery was

purchasing the person and that person's labor while waged labor was only purchasing the person's labor. According to him the reason that they did not use waged labor was more cultural than economic. The waged labor force understood the concept of individual ownership and individual rights. Eltis acknowledges that slavery was a result of not having enough people willing to give away their individual rights and ownership of the products they produce. They did not agree with the alienation of labor where a worker does not own the products of their labor. There were not enough people who were willing to work on sugar plantations. Slaves had no choice in the matter and Africa had a readymade market for this form of work.

The slaves and colonists in the territories of the Caribbean were forced to function as exports of raw material and importers of manufactured goods (Rose, 2002, p22). The result is that the region remains heavily dependent on the core countries and international capitalist system into the present. Political Scientist Gordon Lewis reinforces that argument when he asserts, "It is vital to remember that all of the Caribbean territories have come from beginning been forcibly incorporated into the world economic system and particularly that system in the form of Western Capitalist core economy that has meant a system of structural dependency" (Rose, 2002, p.24). Thus, it is in this early connection that the present modern forms of dependency grew. Slavery lasted nearly four centuries in the Caribbean, the abolition of slavery in the region started in the 1830's (Rose, 2002, p.159). However, Caribbean colonies still could not consume what they produce. The brutal system of slavery was gone, but its legacy still lives on. Following emancipation plantation labor was still in existence. The colonizer was still dependent on their exports from the Caribbean. Plantation crops still define colonial economies and till this day the region has yet to break its bonds with plantation economy (Barry, 1984,

p.27). In *Growth of the Modern World* Gordon Lewis asserts, “Despite formal emancipation, [Caribbean countries] were still regarded merely as suppliers of cheap labor to sugar kings and oil barons in the search of quick profit” (Barry, 1984, p. 27).

Not only did the Caribbean not have economic autonomy post slavery they also were denied political representation and a platform to be heard. Politically the masses in the Caribbean were not permitted to take part in any form of political engagement. This was perhaps the only way for the white minority to maintain their dominance over the larger population post emancipation. Engrained in the vast majority of blacks was a form of political dependency as well, they were taught to support the existing institution and leadership that dominated their lives (Rose, 2002, p. 27). Another impediment for the Caribbean is that colonialism created fragmentation. The Caribbean is made up of twenty-seven islands of mixed races and cultures, the colonial past and imperial strife have left the region divided. The Caribbean resistance of colonial rule began in the early 1920’s (Rose, 2002, p.27). They were fed up with second class citizenship, wanted a political voice, better wages, and racial equality. The Great Depression further exacerbated their frustrations creating protests and rebellion in the West Indies. Protests and violence spread across the Caribbean in the 1930’s with rioting events occurring in Trinidad, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Vincent and Barbados (Rose, 2002, 27). These events reflected an epiphany for the Caribbean people after a century of continued servitude following the abolition of slavery. The struggle for more rights and liberties, manifested into a full-fledged fight to break away from colonial dependency and rule. The people of the Caribbean gravitated to the ideology of freedom, autonomy and liberation. Independence was now the goal to be attained.

Black liberation and the paths to resistance: Integration, Separation or Violence?

W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey and Frantz Fanon

There are many perspectives on black autonomy in the colonial world. Some believe that integration will allow blacks to be on equal platform to whites, while others believe that black agency and autonomy would only come with the creation of a black independent state. Even others believe that violence is a necessary means to an end, freeing the black oppressed from their tormentors. The enforcing of black autonomy in an age of oppression was not as black and white or simplistic as to have one solution. Many solutions were raised in bringing about black sovereignty in the world. W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, and Frantz Fanon all in one way or another assert possible solutions for black independence and identity in the Age of Colonialism. Their solutions were integration, separation, and violence. However, through analyzing their work, it can be concluded that the search for blackness in a colonial world was a multifaceted combination of intellectual ideas and solutions. These black political activists and thinkers depict the black plight in an era of colonialism and imperialism; they depict the dichotomy between rhetorical freedom and actual freedom, the words and sentiment versus that of action and implementation. A common thread of comparison is that the authors through their works, illustrate a global oppression of blacks, not only in the United States but also around the world. The quest for blackness in a colonial world displays not only a melting pot of black political ideology, but also a long struggle for racial equality and freedom in the world.

W.E. B. Dubois

William Edward Burghart Du Bois (1868-1963) was a historian, sociologist, writer, and political activist. He has been called the father of the Pan-African movement and one of the most influential African American intellectuals of the twentieth century (Adi and Sherwood,

2003, p. 48) Du Bois was born in 1868; he worked his way up the professional ladder becoming the first African American student to receive a doctoral degree from Harvard University. He became a professor of sociology, economics, and history; he focused on black liberation around the world. In 1900, he attended the Pan-African Conference in London. At the conference he asserted one of his most famous quotes “the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line” (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p 48). His primary strategy for the betterment of blacks living in an imperialistic and racially oppressive world was integration and educating blacks to be equal to whites, instead of accommodating discrimination like his contemporaries, especially Booker T. Washington. Washington in his 1895 “Atlanta Compromise” speech stated that black people should temporarily forego political power, insistence on civil rights, and higher education of Negro youth (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.49). They should concentrate all their energies on vocational education and gaining employment. Du Bois believed in the higher education of a “Talented Tenth” who through their knowledge of could guide African Americans to a higher and equal status to their white counterparts (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.49).

Du Bois was very socially active in the early twentieth century, he was a part Niagara movement which eventually became the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and was researcher and editor of *The Crisis*, a magazine about cementing black equality and autonomy. He had influence in the black community; however, he did not have a massive following. Many speculate that his background (elite, northerner) impeded him from appealing to the masses. According to Marcus Garvey, who criticized and attacked Du Bois, the answer was yes, Garvey asserted that Du Bois “was more of white man than a negro” (Adi, and Sherwood, 2003, p.49). Unlike Du Bois, Garvey was able to obtain mass support and had great

appeal. He established the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) for the purpose of uniting all African descendents. He instituted the visionary concept of buying ships for black self-reliance and to return to Africa; he issued speeches on black autonomy, race relations and inspiration. His methods were unprecedented, revitalizing and inspiring and were the exact opposite of Du Bois's intellectual approach. Du Bois could not ignore the massive appeal of Garvey's mass movement. When Garvey began to collect funds for the back to Africa plan, Du Bois asserted that Garvey "was a hard-working idealist, but his methods are bombastic, wasteful, illogical and almost illegal" (Hynes, p.5). Another reason for Du Bois's lack of appeal was his ideology of the talented tenth (the belief that knowledge of the talented tenth of the black population would put blacks on equal platform in society), the concept discouraged the masses from engaging in his movement for equality; it would create and cement a superior/inferior complex between blacks, which has its foundation in slavery.

Many argue that Du Bois was out touch with the masses. However, some believe that his message was geared to a different audience (i.e. talented tenth or white majority); it was meant for these groups to open the eyes to the plight of blacks and to do something about it.

Ultimately, Du Bois was correct in his ideological belief in the talented tenth. The transformative leaders who would help implement change in society derived from that privilege group from example Dr. Martin Luther King in the Civil Rights Movement and President Barack Obama breaking the color barrier as the first black president of the United States.

Du Bois's political ideology changes throughout his life. He shifted from viewing white supremacy on a national scale that can be quelled through integration and educating "the talented tenth" to viewing white supremacy as a global problem: "the problem of the twentieth century is

the problem of the global color line.” Du Bois began to see white supremacy as a problem of imperialistic racialized oppression in the institution of colonialism. Before World War I Du Bois felt that white supremacy was an extrinsic feature of American society, a deviation of the principle this country was based on. However, his political trajectory changed after the First World War. In “The Souls of White Folk” Du Bois made a drastic change. He began to believe wholeheartedly that white supremacy was integral to what America and other imperialist countries were. White supremacy was intrinsically woven into the fabric of these nations.

In “The Souls of White Folks” he states that the colonial empires exploit what he calls the “darker world” stretching through Asia, Africa, The West Indies, Latin America and the United States. As he asserts, “ White supremacy was all but worldwide, Africa was dead, India conquered, Japan isolated, and China prostrate, while white America whetted her sword for mongrel Mexico and mulatto South America, lynching her own Negroes the while” (Du Bois, 1920, p.8). He believes that colonialism was not only an unequal construct but was at the heart of global capitalism. Thus, white supremacy was based on racism and capitalistic greed. For Du Bois whiteness was the ownership of the earth; whites were superior and could oppress others at their own bidding. This construct was not a new innovation as he proclaims “The using of men for the benefit of master is no new invention of modern Europe. It is quite as old as the world. But Europe proposed to apply it on a scale and with an elaborateness of detail of which no former world has ever dreamed” (Du Bois, 1920, p.8). Colonial racialized oppression, in other words white supremacy, would remain because it’s economically advantageous to the colonizer. As he proclaims “This labor is kept cheap and helpless because the white world despises ‘darkies’” (Du Bois, 1920, p.10). Du Bois no longer felt that education and integration was the

path to black liberation and autonomy. He states, “If one has the temerity to suggest that these workingmen may walk the way of white workingmen and climb by votes and self-assertion and education to the rank of men, he is howled out of court. They cannot do it and if they could, they shall not, for they are the enemies of the white race and the whites shall rule forever and forever and everywhere” (Du Bois, 1920, p.10). No longer did he believe in fighting to be on an equal platform to whites. He now emphasized that blacks in every nation should fight for liberation.

Du Bois shift from integration (removing the color lines) to embracing socialism as a remedy to not only to the plight of blacks but global oppression. Du Bois believed that the United States tactically ignored and refused to address issues of color; he began to see that his approach of educating blacks to fight for black equality was falling on deaf ears (Hynes, 5) He felt that his ideological approach to the “problem of the twentieth century” had to be revised. The Russian Revolution of 1917 inspired his thought; he visited Russia in 1927 and learned about Marx and Engels. He then saw the problem in the United States as not only a race problem but a class problem as well (Hynes, 5). Du Bois saw socialism as an answer to the black struggle because socialism identifies the source of all forms of oppression as economic greed. Du Bois no longer supported integration as a tactic; he saw a bigger goal to remove blacks from the oppression of white capitalized majority. His newfound ideology did not sit well with the NAACP and *The Crisis* magazine. He resigned in 1934 (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p 50). As the year passed, Du Bois never relented in his attack on imperialism. He denounced the United Nations for not intervening on behalf of colonized countries (Hynes, p.6). Du Bois was targeted because of his socialist affiliations; he became disillusioned with America and moved to Ghana where he became a citizen and member of the Communist Party (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p51). He died

in Ghana in 1963. Du Bois is one of the greatest African American intellectual thinkers. His idea of blackness shifted throughout his life. First, he saw blackness as being equal to that of whites, then he interpreted blackness as political, social and economic independence.

Du Bois is perceived as the father of Pan-Africanism, his message was viewed by the global community as one of inspiration, that independence is possible. In the United States, his message resonated in the foundations of the Civil Rights Movement. He inspired the leaders of that movement to stand up and speak out about the plight and atrocities blacks faced. However, in the Caribbean his message was interpreted indirectly because of the structural makeup of the region. In other words, integration was not applicable for them. In spite of this, his message of black autonomy and freedom was heard loud and clear and was embraced. Du Bois legacy in the intellectual discussion of black autonomy in a colonized world is that he invoked a great sentiment that black voices should no longer be silenced, and that those who have the knowledge should work to change the course of the world for the betterment of society and be catalysts for positive change.

Marcus Garvey

Marcus Garvey (1887-1940) was a visionary, who ten years after his arrival in the United States in 1916, lead the first large Black Nationalist movement the country has ever seen. He was a famed orator and idealized leader whose ideology of a separate black autonomous state was unprecedented. Garvey's key principles were black self-reliance, racial solidarity, racial purity and independence. Garvey rose to prominence as a leader, was taken to prison for fraud, and eventually was deported. Despite his rise and fall, Garvey's impact is undeniable; he influenced politics and culture around the world. Marcus Garvey was born in Jamaica in 1887

(Lewis, 1988, p.17). As a young man growing up, he discovered racism in school as well as in his travels through Central and South America in his 20s (Lewis, 1988, p. 44). During his journey, Garvey became conscious of the mistreatment and exploitation of blacks. This angered him. After a two year trip in England and Europe, he returned to Jamaica vowing to change black people's place in the world. Garvey proclaims, "Where is the black man's government? Where is his president, his country, his men of big affairs? I could not find them" (Garvey, p. 5). Garvey established the Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) in 1914. The organization's missions were racial unity, economic independence, educational achievement, and moral reform. Garvey decided to visit the United States in 1916, he admired Booker T. Washington's model of educating (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.76). When he arrived, Washington had already died in 1915. He moved to New York and in 1917 established the headquarters of the U.N.I.A. in Harlem where he found an eager audience among disaffected West Indian immigrants. Starting with a few members, the organization grew rapidly after the end of World War I with chapters around the globe. One of Garvey's main ideologies was black self-reliance, and he created the Black Star Line shipping company and the Negro Factories Corporation, which were business owned and operated by blacks (Lewis, 1988, p.67).

Marcus Garvey was successful because he appealed to the people. He was like them. He had risen from adversity to lead a movement of black liberation. His "Back to Africa" movement was so appealing for multiple reasons. He was a transformative leader, a leader with revolutionary ideas. His audience was his equal, coming from similar backgrounds. And his time period was right for a movement of its magnitude, the people were so oppressed that they were enamored by any solution that would give them some sort agency. Garvey's success at

mobilizing and inspiring black people earned him the suspicion of the United States government. The question remains, why did the “power that be,” particularly the United States, see Garvey and the “Back to Africa” movement as a threat instead of a solution to the race problem. Garvey was not asserting the ideology of integration which many black intellectuals at the time wanted. Garvey instead wanted separation. The United States at the time was asserting separate but equal. He wanted a separate, equal autonomous state. The United States and other imperialistic entities feared black autonomy— they feared that black independence would threaten their global hegemonic positions. They also feared a domino effect; if blacks gain autonomy, other oppressed groups would want it as well.

Marcus Garvey preached racial purity in a similar fashion to the Ku Klux Klan in his speech “Hon. Marcus Garvey Tell of Interview with the Ku Klux Klan,” Garvey proclaims “The Ku Klux Klan is the invisible government of the United States of America. The Ku Klux Klan expresses to a great extent the feeling of every real white American... The attitude of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is in a similar to the Ku Klux Klan. Whilst the Ku Klux Klan desires to make America absolutely white man’s country, the Universal Negro Improvement Association wants to make Africa absolutely a black man’s country” (Blaisdell, 2004, p.75). According to Garvey, racial purity was what the nation was built upon. Racial purity was embedded in the institutional government. The United States wanted separation of the races. Garvey wanted a separate, equal autonomous state in Africa. As he asserts, “So you realize that the Universal Negro Improvement Association is carrying out just what the Ku Klan Klan is carrying out—the purity of the white race down South—and we are going to carry out the purity of the black race not only down South, but all through the world” (Blaisdell, 2004, p.81).

Garvey's methodology and ideology was opposed by many of his contemporaries as well as, most notably, W.E.B. Du Bois who described him as "dictatorial, domineering, inordinately vain and very suspicious" (Blaisdell, 2004, p.303). Despite their difference, like Du Bois in "The Souls of White Folk" Garvey believed that white supremacy was an innate feature of society; however, unlike Du Bois, Garvey felt the only way blacks could be free from the crippling and stifling grip of white supremacy was to separate from whites altogether. Racial purification was needed for blacks to truly be liberated. In "The Declaration of The Rights of the Negro People of the World" Garvey asserts "That nowhere in the world, with few exceptions, are black men accorded equal treatment with men, although in the same situation and circumstances, but on the contrary, are discriminated against and denied the common rights due to human beings for no other reason than their race and color" (Blaisdell, 2004, p.17). Garvey felt that blacks needed their own place, a state in the international arena to prosper. Du Bois on the hand, believed that white supremacy is everywhere. It is unavoidable to remove its influences therefore; a move to Africa would not change that fact. Garvey in "W.E. Burghardt Du Bois as a Hater of Dark People" believed that "Du Bois cares not for an Empire for Negroes, but contents himself with being a secondary part of white civilization" (Blaisdell, 2004, p. 119.) Garvey wanted blacks to make their own independent contribution to civilization. Both Garvey and Du Bois had similar perspectives on white supremacy in the international arena; however, Garvey believed that blacks could escape the grips of white supremacy through the formation of their own state, while Du Bois believed that white supremacy will never be escapable.

Garvey's dream for creating a black autonomous state came to a halt in 1923 when Garvey was prosecuted and convicted for mail fraud in connection with his Black Star Line

Shipping company. Garvey was sent to prison for two years and was immediately deported afterwards. Garvey died in London in 1940. By the time of his death, U.N.I.A was a mere shadow of what it once had been. His dreams of Pan- African unity and economic independence were far from reached, by his death he was considered a utopian, flamboyant leader with a dangerous racialized ideology. However, Garvey's legacy would improve. His efforts in the West Indies were great; he raised black consciousness in the region. Garvey transformed racial consciousness, and many of his philosophies of black sovereignty and anti-colonialism were later manifested in independence movements. What Garvey began was lived out in other generations. Marcus Garvey viewed blackness as black unity and independence as a united black front, a front so strong that no form of oppression could hinder its strength.

Frantz Fanon

Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) was a psychiatrist, writer, revolutionary, black political activist, and journalist who devoted his short life to explaining the effects of colonialism and racism on people (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.64). Fanon was first an observer, then he began to write about his own experience in the Algerian struggle for independence from French colonialism. Fanon sought solutions to the problem; his solutions were the use of violence as instrument of change as well as the necessity of a united black front. What would make a person choose violence? And what in Fanon's background made violence so appealing and the only catalyst for change? Frantz Fanon was born on the French Caribbean colony of Martinique in 1925 to a middle class family. Fanon, from the start was conscious of his race (Burke III, 1976 p.127). He, like many in his background, was influenced by Aime Cesaire, a Martiniquean poet and politician who led the "negritude" movement, a movement that celebrated and embraced

African cultural values, and a Negro' cultural essence (Burke, III 127). This movement took place in France. In 1943, Fanon left for France and joined the Free French Forces (Adi and Sherwood, 64). He was sent to training school in Algeria, where he becomes disillusioned with France because of the racial discrimination that he witnessed. In 1948, he moved to Lyons to study medicine and then psychiatry (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p. 64).

In 1952, he wrote his first book, *Black Skins White Masks* which is an analysis of the ways racism and colonialism are internalized by their victims (Shatz, The Doctor Prescribed Violence). In 1953, Fanon was appointed head of the French colonial government psychiatric department at a hospital in Algeria. Algeria had been a French colony since 1830 (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p. 65). The French colonizer tried to subjugate the Algerians, treating them as inferior. The French resorted to bombing and torture to force them into submission. Fanon believed that racism was an impetus behind France's actions. During the day Fanon would work at the hospital. At night, however, he would work with the FLN (National Liberation Front). In 1956, he was expelled from Algeria for secretly aiding the rebels (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.65). He moved to Tunis, the headquarters of FLN and concentrated on writing on colonialism and racism. Colonialism, for him, was a form of violence; independence would require a total change of the existing social order (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.65). Only through reciprocal violence can independence be won and agency be asserted.

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon displays his most profound argument. In it, he asserts that for the colonized/oppressed to be truly free from the crippling grip of the colonizer/oppressor, they must use violence. According to Fanon, violence would create a new world and is necessary for change. He asserts, "Colonialism is not a thinking machine, nor a body endowed

with reasoning faculties. It is violence in its natural state, and it will only yield when confronted with greater violence” (Fanon, 2004, p.23). Since violence fundamentally defines the colonizing society’s existence, only “absolute violence” could get the colonizers’ attention. Fanon believes that anti-colonial violence is required in order to achieve two intimately connected objectives: the expulsion of the colonizer and having the mentality of decolonization. To Fanon, people need to remove themselves from the psychological entrapment of being colonized and dehumanized objects. Using violence removes the impediment that halts freedom.

Violence is cleansing, says Fanon, it cleanses and changes consciousness. Looking at French rule over the Algerians, he observed that Algerians were indeed violent under colonial rule, but this violence was directed toward each other as an expression of self-hatred. Fanon believes that this represented a useless effort to counteract the dehumanized identity imposed upon them. In the movement, led by the FLN, to redirect this violence toward the colonizer, Fanon conceived of a way to create and establish a positive political identity infused with a national consciousness liberated from the colonized mindset: “At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect” (Fanon, 2004, p.94). Anti-colonial violence for Fanon cleanses and is an act of rebirth as he states, “Decolonization is the veritable creation of new men” (Fanon, 2004, p. 80). Violence frees the oppressed from physical and psychological enslavement, and oppression.

According to Fanon, violence may be the only weapon in the arsenal of the oppressed to remove the stifling hold of the oppressor. Throughout the passage of time, Fanon has been perceived as radical because he promotes violence as the solution of oppression, however, the

oppressors and colonizers use institutionalized violence against the oppressed. If the oppressed uses violence, it would be retaliation and self-defense. Historically, the United States and other hegemonic states have used violence in interventions and wars to free victims of oppression. Why can't the oppressed defend themselves? Simone De Beauvoir, Malcolm X, and the Black Panthers all saw violence as a means to an end. Violence eradicates the oppression and asserts the agency of the oppressed.

Violence was not the answer for some; Monhandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. advocated nonviolent peaceful resistance. Fanon and Gandhi shared the same goals of national independence and decolonization. However, the methods they proposed were on the opposite ends of the spectrum. Unlike Fanon, Gandhi did not view violence as the solution to end oppression. He argues that passive resistance is the only way to true peace and is the only instrument of obtaining freedom from the oppressor. Violence for him is the easy way out, as it only begets more violence, non-violence is the only solution. Gandhi asserts, "To arm India on a large scale is to Europeanize it. Then her condition will be just as pitiable as that of Europe" (Karim, Aisha and Lawrence, Bruce, 2007 p.116). He then goes on show how the use of force creates an unending chain that becomes impossible to stop and in the long run, produces more harmful effects to society. Gandhi argues that to overcome the violent nature of colonization self-sacrifice is the only way. Gandhi believed that for a defeated nation to get back on its feet it needed to use the masculine form of non-violence. Gandhi saw the true civilization as masculine in its nationalism and use of passive resistance. On the other hand, he saw the modern and western civilization as feminized for taking the easy route of violence. The only way to remove

western civilizations' crippling hold on society was to use the masculine tactics of passive resistance.

Fanon did not see non-violence as applicable for Algeria. Fanon's reasons for preferring violence as method lay in his listening to the desires of the native Algerians. "He did not want to thwart their desires, but rather to channel them in a positive direction. Since the native Algerians had no desire to love their colonizers, as Gandhi had insisted they did, Fanon rejected the non-violent method to do otherwise would have been to impose a plan upon them" (Gordon, 1996, p.290).

In a similar fashion to Garvey, Fanon understood blackness to mean black unity, solidarity and the determination to rise above all forms of oppression, which includes racism, imperialism, and colonialism. According to him, blacks should be supportive of all blacks fighting for their independence. Fanon believes that one tactic should be used to end oppression; multiple tactics weakens the fight. As he asserts, "Africa must advance totality, there [cannot] be one Africa that fights against colonialism and another that attempts to make arrangements with colonialism" (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, 67). For him, that tactic was violence and not integration. Like Garvey, Fanon believed in separation, however, the only way to create separation and black autonomy was violence. Violence physically, as well as psychologically, separates blacks from an inferior racialized colonized mentality. Fanon message of black autonomy resonated with the people of the Caribbean however; his idea of violence and aggression was not used directly in the region. Caribbean born Fanon was seen as a black intellectual whose social analysis of colonialism was imperative in shaping the regions end goal of freedom.

Paying it forward: The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Global Struggle Against White Supremacy

Du Bois, Garvey, and Fanon were not the only thinkers who dedicated their lives' work to the social, political, and economic emancipation of blacks around the world. There were many other influential people who struggled to end black oppression and create liberation inspired by Du Bois, Garvey, and Fanon in later generations to take a stand for blacks everywhere. These thinkers include Richard Wright, Paul Robeson, Claudia Jones, George Padmore, Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. These subsequent proponents of black autonomy and independence created a long international Civil Rights Movement which fought the global struggle against white supremacy. Nikhil Pal Singh depicts this global fight for liberation.

Singh in *Black is a Country* gives a possible solution to the current state of racial oppression. He argues that it is pointless to use the nationalist beliefs of United States to end racism by highlighting the construct of race and the nation, two concepts that have historically been intertwined, but are truly at opposite ends of the spectrum. Singh argues that Americans were long blind to the plight of blacks; all they could comprehend was American universalism and not their particular struggle. Historically blacks were depicted as deviants whose purpose was for labor. For centuries blacks have struggled, not only for equal rights, but also to dispel these notions. However, Americans have only perceived a short civil rights era, instead of a longer and engaging struggle. They were blind in not seeing the connection between racial injustices in the United States and the global struggle against white supremacy. Americans could not perceive the concept of "black worldliness," which is constructed from the detailed experience of African Americans, a vision of democracy that not only criticizes various structures of domination in the United States, but also confronts racial oppression beyond

national borders. Singh uses black intellectuals from the past to reinforce this argument. These intellectuals of a long Civil Rights era not only had a new vision of democracy but stressed the failures of American universalism by showing the contradictions between America's rhetoric of universal democracy and the reality of racial oppression embedded in this nation's history. Singh's solution to the race problem is to invoke these thinkers' radical and unique concepts into today's democracy. Singh asserts that this would eventually lead the world to "an effective antiracism" (Singh, 2004, p.14).

Singh argues that the history of the Civil Rights Movement has been presented to the masses in a short form spanning only the 1950's and 60's, with an emphasis on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Singh envisions a more accurate presentation of a long Civil Rights era that would accomplish four main goals. First, it advocates that the Civil Rights period of the 60's made up only one part of a much broader and expansive struggle. As Martin Luther King, Jr, proclaimed "justice for black people will not flow into society merely from court decisions nor from the fountains of political oratory" (Singh, 2004, p.13). Second, rather than emphasizing landmark events of the movement such as the March on Washington and the passage of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts, which reinforces the notion of American universalism, the focus should be placed on the creation and expansion of black voices in mainstream society as the most important achievements. Third, as already stated, the long Civil Rights era embraced a melting pot of different black intellectual ideas, with thinkers working on the ultimate goal of independent black radicalism. These black thinkers and leaders did not see American nationalism as an appropriate or suitable arena to achieve democracy. They looked beyond the American horizon to locate a new and transformative conception of democracy. Finally, this new

conception of a long Civil Rights Movement will illustrate the trajectory of a long line of black radicalism that spans back from W.E.B Dubois to black nationalists like Stokely Carmichael. This black radicalism, despite a long and bumpy road, remained true to black liberation across the globe. Overall, Singh wants society to rethink the construct of race and democracy and create a new definition that would allow freedom to all, no matter their race.

Richard Wright (1908- 1960) was one of the black intellectuals who had a radical vision for black liberation. Singh calls attention to the work of black intellectuals and activists of the 1940's such as Wright. By doing so he shows how they connected racial injustice in the U.S. to global struggle against white supremacy. Singh infers that although many black intellectuals of this period were initially intrigued by communism, it would not become the permanent home for the black experience. Richard Wright was initially drawn to communism but realized that communists, like liberals and elites, did not understand the black struggle (Singh, 2004, p. 120). Wright in his works depicts the effects of racism on the oppressed and shows the pressure of political repression weighing heavily on the entire black race. Wright shows that whites, both elites and communist, were oblivious to the struggle that plagues the black everyday life. The wealthy elite believed that blacks deserved a chance to succeed; however, they refused to realize that blacks should have the opportunity to control their own lives. The communists tried to treat blacks as equals, but overall their attempts only made them more aware and ashamed of their black race. As Wright proclaims, "he was very conscious of his black skin" (Wright, p. 67). Wright throughout his career showed that like the wealthy elite, the communists remain blind to the social reality of what it meant to be black. They wanted to embrace and experience the life of blacks; however, they did not even come close to understanding the trials, tribulations, frustrations, and hopelessness of the everyday in black people's lives.

African American actor, singer, activist Paul Robeson (1898-1976) was another contributor to the Civil Rights ideology. He dedicated his life to fighting against oppression. As a youth he experienced racism in post-slavery America. Also at this time, he became intrigued by the Russian Revolution and the Communist Party; he took up socialism as the route to liberation for blacks in America and around the globe (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.159). Robeson, who was born in 1898, was able to overcome racial adversity to excel academically, athletically, and artistically. He stood in the face of racism and took a stand for his communist beliefs during the 1950's McCarthy era. He was ridiculed for praising the Soviets for their hand in the fight against racism during the height of the Cold War (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.161). Robeson's brave stance helped create a favorable foundation for the rise of the Civil Rights Movement. He inspired the movement to criticize the U.S. efforts of spreading the rhetoric of democracy, rights and liberties around the globe when they have oppressed African Americans at home (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.162). Robeson was a visionary activist who, till the day he died, worked towards black autonomy.

Claudia Jones (1914- 1964) was a Trinidadian immigrant who worked towards achieving racial equality in the United States and Britain, as well as to ending imperialism and sexism worldwide. Jones was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad in 1915. Her family immigrated to the United States in 1924(Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.100). Her new location made her aware of racism, classism and sexism; this inspired her life's work of promoting socialism, feminism and the liberation of black people. In 1936 she joined the Communist party because of their association in freeing the Scottsboro boys, nine youth wrongfully accused of raping a white woman (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.100). She was elected to the committee of the Communist Party of the United States, and wrote for the party's newspaper. Jones concerned herself with Black Nationalism, writing particularly about the mistreatment of the Negro worker. Her strong

activism made her a target of the Red Scare and McCarthyism. In 1948, she was arrested for her communist affiliations and then deported to Britain (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.101). In 1956, she arrived in London and continued the revolutionary struggle for change. In 1958, she founded the *West Indian Gazette*, the first black newspaper in Britain (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.102). Until her death in 1964, Jones spent the rest of her life campaigning against the triple evils of racism, classism and sexism (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.104).

George Padmore (1902- 1959) was another Trinidadian political activist and writer who advocated black liberation in the 1940's and 50's. Like Garvey, he dreamed of an independent black state in Africa and, like Richard Wright, he became disillusioned with Communism as an instrument of changing the oppressive conditions for blacks. Padmore was born in Trinidad in 1901(Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.152). As a student in America in the 1920's, he joined the communist party and quickly rose in leadership. As head of the Negro Bureau of the Communist Trade Union International, Padmore organized many anticolonial networks in the Caribbean and Africa (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.152). He bitterly split with the communists over their colonial policies and moved to London (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.153). There, he established the International African Service Bureau which connected black nationals around the globe. Padmore committed his life to black liberation (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p.154). After his death in 1959, new independent states in the Caribbean arose, acknowledging gratitude for their autonomy to his contributions (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p. 157).

Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968), a prominent leader in the Civil Right movement embodied Du Bois's ideology of the talented tenth, as well as worked towards integrating blacks into mainstream society. Dr. King was an advocate of a long Civil Rights era beyond the scope

of the United States; He worked and died to correct the triple evils of racism, poverty and war in the world. He asserted, “Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere” (Applewood Books, 2004, p.13). He believed that “Freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed” (Applewood Books, 2004, p.22). He advocated that non-violent direct action and civil disobedience be the main tactic for black liberation. Dr. King believed that non-violence was the only correct way to obtain civil rights. According to him “Non-violence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time: the need for mankind to overcome oppression and violence. Mankind must evolve for all human conflicts a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love” (Applewood Books, 2004, p.29). Dr. King did not condone violence; he wanted unjust laws to change and for blacks to have autonomy. His message and transformative leadership opened the eyes of the public to the injustice and oppression within their country and around the globe.

Like King, Malcolm X (1925-1965) was another intellectual contributor to Singh’s long Civil Rights Movement. However, in a similar fashion to Fanon, Malcolm X in his speech *The Ballot or the Bullet* asserts that violence may be necessary to obtain rights denied, to attain what is rightfully yours. Malcolm X believed that the government had oppressed African Americans. He also strongly believed that non-violence would not work to remedy the conditions of blacks in America. He argued that African Americans had a choice the ballot or the bullet. He asserted, “I’m non-violent with those who are non-violent with me. But when you drop that violence on me, then you’ve made me go insane, and I’m not responsible for what I do” (Karim, Aisha and Lawrence, Bruce, 2007, p.149). According to him the government had failed blacks by denying

them their rights. Blacks had a duty to obtain their rights by any means, through the ballot or the bullet. If the government or any entity was preventing blacks from attaining rights then they were the criminals. He proclaimed, “ Whenever, you’re going after something that belongs to you, anyone who’s depriving you of the right to have it is a criminal...whenever, you’re going after something that is yours, you are within your legal rights to lay claim to it” (Karim, Aisha and Lawrence, Bruce, 2007,p 149). He also believed that if you believe strongly in the cause, you should lay down and die for that cause. As he stated, “ Any time you know you’re within the law, within your legal right within your moral rights, in accord with justice, then die for what you believe in” (Karim, Aisha and Lawrence, Bruce, 2007, p149- 150). Unlike King, Malcolm X Condoned violence as means of black liberation. His message inspired the generations that followed take up arms for achieving racial justice and equality.

Conclusion

Blacks were emancipated from physical enslavement in the 19th century. However, almost one hundred years later, with the institution of colonialism, very few blacks were allowed to assert their autonomy. Black intellectual thinkers and activists of a long Civil Rights movement to end global white supremacy wanted this trend to change. These leaders used the rhetoric of freedom, decolonization, equality, and black liberation to raise black consciousness. Many of these thinkers gravitated towards socialism and communism as the solution to the plight of blacks. As a result of their conforming to socialism and communism, repression and deportation were used as tools to stifle them. However, they did not let these tactics to silence their message deter them from fighting for what was right. Activists such as Du Bois, Garvey, and Fanon all had a shared common goal of attaining self-emancipation and autonomy, but had

different tactics, including integration, segregation and violence. These three main active scholars and their predecessors were instrumental in making blacks around the world see that freedom was attainable if they became catalysts for change. If they wanted to remove the crippling grip of colonialism, they must take a stand and fight. These messages of black liberation, decolonization, and freedom resonated in the independence fight in the Caribbean. The Caribbean people incorporated the ideologies that they learned from these remarkable activists to gain independence and form their own national identities. The ideologies of black power and socialism that they weaved into the fiber of the newly independent states of the Caribbean in the 1970's built its foundation from a long line of thinkers who worked tirelessly to emancipate all black people from imperialistic racialized oppression.

Chapter 2: State Building: The Caribbean's black power socialist experiment

Ignited by the words and sentiment of the political, social and philosophical thinkers of the past and present, the Caribbean nations fought and won their independence. The words and actions of Du Bois, Garvey, and Fanon and their predecessors invoked the drive for freedom. No longer were these islands cementing the identity of another; instead independence opened the door to the formation of new national identities. The 1970's and 1980's became an era of transition, an era of self-identification and experimentation for Caribbean. These nations were deciding how they wanted to present and project themselves to the global community. Some chose black power and socialism as their self-determination of choice. The newly elected leaders of these nations believed that these ideologies would guide them in the right direction of black liberation, economic independence, political autonomy, dignity and self-respect. However, many people are still incapable of perceiving a balanced view of the English speaking Caribbean's experimentation in state building because the successes of the black power socialist experiment has been obscured by its failures and eventual demise. These nations reverted back to being dependent states after a short period of autonomy. In spite of this, the narrative of the Caribbean declaring independence and exerting sovereignty through Black Power and socialism is one that must be told. The demise of this era can be perceived as resulting either from the inability to sustain itself because of internal conflicts or from superpower intervention because of U.S. imperialistic hegemonic greed. The rise and fall of the Caribbean's experimentation with black power and socialism was not as black and white or so simplistic to be viewed in one particular light. The English speaking Caribbean's nation building process was complex. A balanced view

of the multifaceted story of the ascent and descent of Caribbean autonomy must be given. The success and failures must be documented.

This chapter will examine and analyze four Caribbean countries' experimentation with black power and socialism, as well as the success and limitations of these movements. These cases selected are the nations of—Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Grenada—who, in the 1970s through early 1980s, each experimented with black power and socialism as their self-determination of choice. An analysis of their political, social, and economic structure during this time will be depicted. The problems that arose during this time of experimentation, for example, the internal strife within and the contradictions and limitations of both black power and socialism in the region's goal of attaining autonomy, will be addressed. The Caribbean nations which make up this particular case selection are former European colonies who have their legacy embedded in the institutions of imperialism and slavery. They are dependent states that perceive their problems to be rooted in their dependency on developed capitalist states and institutions that, in essence, exploit them by failing to adequately and fairly compensate them for their labor and exports of natural resources. The majority of these countries have Parliamentary types of democracy as their government. They share a similar geographic region, demographics and resources. Their similar experiments with Black power and socialism all resulted in an intensification of superpower involvement in varying ways. However, each country has different degrees of dependency and independence in the present day. The story of the Caribbean's autonomy embedded in their experimentation with black power and socialism has been suppressed; nevertheless, the narrative of the highest expression of the Caribbean's self-emancipation and self-definition is one that must no longer be stifled.

Jamaica:

President Ronald Reagan, shortly after taking office in 1981 proclaimed, “Watch Jamaica” (Barry, 1984, p.341). The largest English speaking Caribbean island, which gained independence in August of 1962 after 400 years of colonial rule, was placed on a pedestal by the United States to prove a point. The United States during the height of its Cold War engagement with the Soviet Union used Jamaica to demonstrate the superiority of capitalism to socialism. Why Jamaica? Why would the United States handpick this country to cement capitalist strength? The answer lies in Jamaica’s experimentation with socialism and black power ten years after its independence. In particular Jamaica was experimenting with democratic socialism under the leadership of the socialist People’s National Party (PNP) led by Michael Manley. The PNP vowed to uplift the poor and middle classes through social and economic reform, remove Jamaica from the crippling grip of dependency on foreign capital while simultaneously uniting the people through cultural and ethnic bonds (Barry, 1984, p. 342). The PNP had some minor successes in these areas; however, their crushing defeat in the 1980 election shows that their reforms were weak, their economy was mismanaged, and their rule was indecisive. This electoral defeat allowed for the United States under the Reagan administration to come in and undermine and destabilize the autonomy of Jamaica’s democratic socialism. This section will explore the nature of democratic socialism in Jamaica analytically and historically. Its reception to black power will be analyzed, but more importantly the successes and failures of democratic socialism will be addressed and dissected. But first, a brief look at the long movement to end colonialism and white supremacy in Jamaica will be depicted.

Independence? A Reality or a façade?

By the end of World War II the British Empire's strength was in decline, leading to dramatic shifts in power, such as the end of its direct imperial and colonial reach in the Caribbean. Britain at first was reluctant to dissolve its ties with the West Indies; this most likely stemmed from a reluctance to accept the end of its imperial hegemonic position in global politics. However, it would eventually grant independence to its colonies and one of the first was Jamaica. After a process of gradual decolonization that began in 1944, Jamaica was granted independence on August 6, 1962 (Keith, 1992, p.xix). The first two governments were formed by the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) which was founded by Alexander Bustamante in the 1940's. The opposition party, People's National Party (PNP), was founded by Norman Manley. JLP adopted a capitalist philosophy while the PNP eventually began leaning toward democratic socialism (Rose, 2002, p. 229-30). Jamaica experienced hardships upon receiving independence; enormous problems arose in its attempt to define and develop its own formula for political, social and economic development. In the decade immediately following independence, dissatisfaction by the people made many wonder if this was true independence or a façade. Their widespread displeasure with the government stemmed from several factors which included the national wealth remaining in exclusive control of a few elite families, a strong foreign presence that remained in Jamaica, the end of the growth process that was fueled by foreign investments, high unemployment and inflation levels, and the continuation of pre-independence era policies as well as social inequality (Hewin, 1994, p. 46). The JLP rule in the first decade post-independence was prosperous only to the elite few. It was against this backdrop in 1972 that the People's National Party government came to power under the leadership of Norman Manley's son

Michael Manley. The younger Manley sought to define a new form of autonomy for Jamaica. From 1972 to 1980, Manley and the PNP sought to move the nation forward under a program of democratic socialism, a program that would bring some social change, but also with it economic hardship and deep criticism internally and externally. Both the weak leadership and internal and external destabilization tactics would contribute to its demise.

Jamaica's Reception to Black Power: From Garveyism to Rastafarianism

The search for autonomy in Jamaica was heavily influenced by racial identity and the plight of the poor. The 1970's social reforms movements' rhetoric and ideology was drenched in pre-independence notions about Black Nationalism, power and liberation. Afro-Jamaicans, in an attempt to maintain their racial and cultural identity in a white dominated imperialistic world, formed radical racial and religious groups, two of which included Garveyism and Rastafarianism. These groups emerged out of socioeconomic and political hardships. They addressed the oppression of the masses and gained prominence mostly among the poor in the slums of Jamaica. Their shared principle goals were to preserve the Afro-Jamaican culture and identity through politics and religion, to oppose the racist laws that subjugated blacks, and to seek equality and justice for blacks in Jamaica. They also promoted Black Nationalism and black business in the country (Rose, 2002, p 223).

Garveyism, which is named after Marcus Garvey, advocated reforms that included social reform, black economic nationalism, and political rights for blacks in Jamaica. In 1928 Garvey had founded the People's Political Party, Jamaica's first modern political party. Its progressive agenda stressed land reform, housing, social welfare, education and jobs. The message was for blacks to acquire power through self-reliance, education, industry, and politics (Rose, 2002, p.

224). Its support of black capitalism was in direct opposition to the radical ideas then being spread by the communists with their focus on class rather than race.

The Rastafarian movement emerged in the early 1930's in response to Marcus Garvey's promotion of Black Nationalism; in a similar fashion to Garvey, this movement advocated a migration back to Africa and an end to the impoverished and subordinate position of blacks in Jamaican society. Rastafarians believed that the emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, as literally the God incarnate, the black messiah of the Promised Land. Rastafarians created a revolution on racial identity; they challenged white supremacy and projected black superiority. They intimidated the ruling elite and were reviled by them, mostly because of their militant racial ideology, religious language and radical political message. Their antiestablishment characteristics made them subject to constant harassment, first by the colonial government and then by Jamaican governments, in the post independence period (Rose, 2002, p 224). According to Carl Stone, the Rastafarian movement influenced the youth: "Out of this emerged a challenging Black Power movement that in the late 1960's forged an alliance between the left university intelligentsia, students, and militant ghetto youth to demanding an end to local and foreign ownership of the means of production and black majority control of the economic system (Stone, 1983, p.55).

Garveysim and Rastafarianism brought to the forefront for viewing, the unexpressed views of radical change for inferior black classes in Jamaica. Their mission of equality in race and economic classes contributed to the rapid growth of egalitarian movements in Jamaica. Some of their key principles were embedded in the two nationalist political parties, the JLP and PNP (Rose, 2003, p225). Their goal of social justice, freedom, and salvation for blacks was mirrored

by Norman and Michael Manley's search for autonomy in democratic socialism. Both Norman and Michael Manley advocated for the poor and for black equality. Garvey's message of black achievement and the perils of imperialism resonated within both men, Norman Manley once asserted "man stand tallest when he rules himself" and the younger Manley rebuked imperialist forces by once saying that "Jamaicans are not for sale (Manley, 1982, p.225). The PNP government had warmed up to the most alienated and militant groups in Jamaica. As Stone states

It embraced into its fold, communists, socialists, Rastafarian militants, Garveyites, and Black Power radicals and alienated ghetto youth who joined force with traditional PNP working class, peasant, middle-class and capitalist support. The militants warmed up to Manley's populist style, which grew progressively leftist as pressures mounted from within this coalition for new order for social justice and majority control of the economic forces currently in hands of the ethnic minorities that owned the leading sector of the economy (Stone, 1983, p.56)

The pre-independence ideologies ignited a passion for freedom that influenced the post-independence politics.

The Road to Freedom and Redemption or the Route of Exclusion and Demise? Assessing the Successes and Failures of Jamaican Democratic Socialism: The Michael Manely Era 1972-1980

"Better Must Come" was the campaign slogan of the People's National Party when Michael Manley became prime minister of Jamaica in 1972, defeating the tenure of the status quo politics of the JLP. To many Jamaicans in 1972, Manley and the PNP held out the promise of an end to the hardships they had endured since independence. Many felt that Manley was the first leader to fully understand the plight of the masses as well as the first leader to realize that Jamaicans had the ability to control their country's future and thus would be able to considerably change its political, social and economic infrastructure (Hewin, 1994, p.61). Manley's goals were to cement Jamaica's place in the global arena, for Jamaica to have economic independence, for all Jamaicans to have social equality and most importantly for the changing of the economic,

political and social route of Jamaica which would abolish its dependence on industrial nations (Rose, 2002, p. 245). The PNP believed wholeheartedly that Jamaica's socioeconomic and political freedom lay in breaking all bonds of its excessive dependence on the metropole and capitalist system. According to Manley, "Jamaica had fallen into the same trap as many other developing countries by thinking that the indiscriminate granting of tax incentives to foreign capital—regardless of the contributions which the particular capital can make to development, or the posture of that capital in the society—will necessary contribute to progress" (Manley, 1970, p. 105). Manley and the PNP felt that democratic socialism was the road to freedom and redemption. Democratic socialism would combine capitalist and socialist socio-economic principles while simultaneously continuing parliamentary politics (Keith, 1992, p.3).

Jamaican democratic socialism had five principal aims. Four of these involved the internal development of the country, redefining Jamaica's economic and political systems, and the fifth involved Jamaica in foreign relations. The first aim was to reduce foreign domination and control over Jamaica's economy through a combination of three policies: selective nationalization of foreign enterprise, imposition of taxes on the bauxite companies and joint ownership in private corporations (Rose, 2002, p. 253). The second aim was the creation of a mixed economy made up of the public, private and cooperative sectors with public ownership as the dominant. This was a combination of both capitalist and socialist policies which gave the state control of the economy (Rose, 2002, p. 255). The third aim was to develop an egalitarian society providing equal opportunities for the masses to succeed. To achieve this, the PNP created laws that protected the basic rights of all Jamaicans (Rose, 2002, p. 259). The fourth aim was political. It involved changing the traditional political process in Jamaica from four year

elections to a new process known as “politics of participation” which involved people from every level of society. This was for the masses to have their voice heard more frequently by the elected officials. It was an attempt by the government to have the people be continuously involved in the political decision-making process, a way to democratize Jamaican society. Regional councils were established to provide political direction and mobilize the masses to participate in community and governmental affairs (Rose, 2002, p. 262). The fifth aim dealt with Jamaican foreign relations. The PNP wanted to have close ties with non-capitalist countries (Third World Solidarity) while simultaneously maintaining strong economic and political ties with the West (Rose, 2002, p. 263).

These aims were easier said than done. During the eight and half years of the PNP government, Jamaica, as Michael Manley himself has stated, was witness to “some of the more controversial events” in its short but lively history (Hewan, 1994, p53). These events led to the demise of the PNP. Manley’s political luck ran out after he was elected. By 1976 his style of governing with a pattern of indecisiveness led to his political downfall. He straddled on both sides the Jamaican political left and the international right which contradicted his own policies and ideology of suppressing foreign influence. These events occurred while the nation’s economy worsened (Hewan, 1994, p53). The United States, foreign investors, and the upper classes in Jamaica were all concerned with Manley adopting democratic socialism in 1974. In his book, *Jamaica: Struggle in the Periphery*, Manley said that his government sought a “third path,” a “non-capitalist path of development to distinguish experiments like ours from the neo-colonial capitalist models of the Puerto Rican type and the Marxist-Leninist model of the Cuban type” (Barry, 1984, p. 342). With the slogan “Socialism is Love,” the party attempted to calm the

concerns of the middle and upper classes that Jamaican socialism meant class friction. The PNP government emphasized that democratic socialism was practical. For Manley socialism would mean only the democratic reform of the capitalist system, not taking it apart. The PNP was friendly to the Cuban socialist regime, and by its failure to condemn Cuba, the United States labeled Jamaica a communist threat in the region (Barry, 1984, p.342). Creating a new path led to numerous political obstacles in running the government.

Opposition from the United States was not the PNP's only concern in foreign relations. Foreign investment dried up during the Manley years not because of declining profits but for political reasons. Foreign investors felt that Jamaica's embrace of democratic socialism would be an unfavorable climate for positive investment. By 1975, all new foreign investments stopped (Barry, 1984 p.342). Many believed that Manley and the PNP had good intentions; however, many felt that their policies and aims were leading Jamaica to destruction. Foreign investments were not the only things to flee Jamaica between 1976 and 1980. Over 18,000 professionals and members of the upper classes left Jamaica. All of this culminated into a devastating blow for the PNP government (Barry, 1984 p.343).

In spite of all its hardship, the PNP did have some successes, particularly in social development. It was able to pass laws establishing a minimum wage, maternity-leave rights for women, and severance pay. Implementation of new programs began to improve literacy, youth employment, health care, and education (Barry, 1984 p.342). Another positive aspect in Manley's legacy would be that Jamaica became a symbolic voice of the Third World. According to Carl Stone, Manley emerged as a major Third World spokesman articulating the case for a new international economic order. His bauxite tax and its role in the formation of the

International Bauxite Association brought high praise from many other underdeveloped nations. Jamaica also inspired the Third World when it established the politics of democratic socialism in a third-world nation. Jamaica embodied the hopes of many third-world nations wanting to pursue nationalism without breaking bonds with capitalist world. Also many admired Manley standing up to United States bullying, the bauxite firms and the IMF, even though its democratic socialism experiment proved mostly to be a failure (Hewan, 1994, p4). The final nail on the coffin for democratic socialism in Jamaica was when the PNP sought the help of the IMF. Stone argues that this sharply posed a contradiction to the creed of Democratic Socialism. Despite Manley's, socialist rhetoric, he did not understand the full scope and dynamics of the relationship between the Third World and capitalist world.

Manley's straddling- of- the line politics led to end of Jamaica's democratic socialism. Caught between the demands of the upper and lower classes, the PNP government could not adequately represent the interests of either group. The party angered the professionals and foreign investors but failed to establish an alternative base of economic support with the lower class. For all the criticism leveled by the United States, the Manley government was never a real communist threat because it had no adequate plan to radically restructure the economy. As a result, it fell victim to international and local economic pressures. The democratic socialist experiment lasted only eight years, unable to live up to its rhetoric and ideology.

Guyana:

Both Britain and the United States exerted their power on Guyana throughout the 1950's and 1960's. What was the impetus behind the use of such force and abrasive intrusion of Guyana sovereignty? According to these metropolitan, imperial and capitalist countries, their actions

were well justified “to prevent communist subversion.” They saw Guyana as a communist threat in the region that needed to be dealt with in the swiftest fashion. This was a turbulent era in Guyana’s political history; both internal and external entities were working together to bring down the popular People’s Progressive Party (PPP) government led by Cheddi Jagan. These entities were all determined to prevent the PPP from leading Guyana into independence under a socialist regime. These groups were successful in manipulating the system. The opposition party People’s National Congress (PNC) brought Guyana into the age of independence. Ironically, the PNC led by Forbes Burnham would divert from the course the United States and Britain had set for Guyana. Burnham used socialist rhetoric and ideology as Guyana’s state building mechanism of choice. The United States and Britain fought to remove the socialist PPP; in turn their efforts led to cooperative socialism under the PNC. The PNC vowed to fight for the plight of the poor, as Burnham puts it “to make the small man a real man.” However, cooperative socialism in Guyana was eventually exposed as nothing more than a strategy of rhetoric instead of implementation to keep the black elite PNC party in power, and to keep out the predominately Indian PPP with its own brand of socialism. This section will explore the nature of cooperative socialism in Guyana analytically and historically. Concentration will be placed on the racial and ethnic division in Guyana. Its reception to Black Power will be analyzed including the story of Walter Rodney, but more importantly, the successes and failures of cooperative socialism will be addressed and examined. But first, a brief view of the long political history to end colonial rule in Guyana will be depicted.

Manipulating the System: Guyana's Independence and the Infringement of the People's Progressive Party

Guyana's modern political history began in 1953, when the British colony had its first elections under universal adult suffrage; the Guyanese elected the first Marxist government in the British Empire (Barry, 1984, p. 323). Guyana was dominated by the People's Progressive Party (PPP), a Marxist- oriented reformist labor party. The party was established in 1951 with the Indo-Guyanese Cheddi Jagan as its leader, and Forbes Burnham, an Afro-Guyanese lawyer as its chairman (Owolabi, 2006, p. 32). The PPP won the election of 1953 with an overwhelming majority; it came to power with its firmly stated objectives to establish socialism as the political and economic system for Guyana while simultaneously demanding independence from Britain. The PPP was mass-based and drew multi-racial support in both the urban and rural areas from workers, farmers, small business-people, and a large section of the middle class (Ishmael, 2010 p. vii). Britain did not approve of Guyana choosing socialism as its way to assert its autonomy; thus, Prime Minister Winston Churchill portrayed Guyana under Jagan's leadership to be a subversive threat (Owolabi, 2006, p. 32). Only 133 days after the election of Cheddi Jagan, the British intervened and suspended the constitution. British troops by force removed the PPP government from power stating it needed "to prevent communist subversion of the Government and a dangerous crisis both the public orders and economic affairs" (Owolabi, 2006, p. 32). As the Secretary of the Colonies stated:

What emerges from British Guiana is a coherent picture of ministers largely dominated by communist ideas, who are...threatening the order of the colony, threatening the livelihood of its inhabitants and undermining not only its present economic stability but also chances of building it up...they are unfortunately all part of the design to turn British Guiana into a totalitarian state dominated by communist ideas (Burnham, 1970, p.xix)

The British opposition was not the only impediment to the PPP. Internal division between Jagan and Burnham led to both parting ways in 1955 with Burnham eventually launching his own party, the People's National Congress (PNC) in 1958. Originally, the split was ideological, although it increasingly took on racial overtones, after many blacks quit the PPP. Jagan was supported by the Indian sugar workers, while Burnham had the support of black trade unions (Owolabi, 2006, p. 34). In 1960 a constitutional convention to discuss the future of Guyana was held in London between all parties: the British government, Jagan the head of the PPP, and Burnham the leader of the PNC. All sides agreed to have elections held in 1961 (Owolabi, 2006, p. 34). As a result of those elections, Jagan and the PPP won national office again (Barry, 1984, p. 323).

The PPP and the British colonial government gradually improved their relationship; however, the party faced continued imperial infringement, this time from the United States. The Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations were concerned with Guyana's socialist government especially in the wake of the Cold War and Fidel Castro's rule in Cuba. President Kennedy wanted the removal of Cheddi Jagan from office before Guyana achieved independence. Jagan and the PPP also faced significant oppositional threats from the PNC and the United Force (UF), a conservative group working in Guyana. All of these entities worked to destabilize this government (Owolabi, 2006, p. 36). President Kennedy was so adamant about the removal of the PPP that he went as far as to assert to the British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan that he suspend the constitution of Guyana and re-establish direct British rule over the colony. MacMillan assured Kennedy that he would work to remove Jagan, under the terms and conditions that the United States would help Forbes Burnham and the UF economically and

otherwise once the PPP was gone (Owolabi, 2006, p. 37). The U.S. then orchestrated a campaign to create a new coalition government with the PNC and the UF. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a senior advisor to President Kennedy, assessed the political situation in Guyana:

An independent British Guiana under Burnham (if Burnham can commit himself to a multilateral policy) would cause us many fewer problems than an independent British Guiana under Jagan. And the way was open to bring it about because Jagan's parliamentary strength was larger than his popular strength. He had won 57% of the seats on the basis of 42.3% of the vote. An obvious solution was to establish a system of proportional representation. (Schlesinger, 1965, p.779)

In December 1964, despite winning the national elections with the highest proportion (almost 46 percent) of votes under the British imposed electoral system of proportional representation, the PPP was replaced as the government of Guyana by a coalition of the PNC and the UF which together polled more than 50 percent of the vote. As a result, Forbes Burnham became Prime Minister of Guyana and with him at the helm Guyana gained its independence in 1966 (Ishmael, 2010 p. vii).

The People's Progressive Party's socialist ideology drew the wrath of British and American imperialism, as well as oppositional groups such as the People's National Congress (PNC) and the United Force (UF). Despite its removal from power after the 1964 elections, the PPP remained a strong opponent staying true to its principle, never wavering from its ultimate goal of establishing socialism in Guyana. The PPP continued to work on the behalf of working people and urging the PNC government to abandon many of its pro-capitalist policies and to create an economy that was a coalition of the state, private enterprise and cooperatives (Ishmael, 2010 p. vii). Interestingly, the PNC in 1973 began to adopt similar ideas, as it steadily began to promote itself as a socialist party. However, the PNC's type of socialism was proclaimed as cooperative socialism, an ideology which placed the cooperative as the main entity in economic

growth and development. It will be shown that cooperative socialism never brought any true economic benefits to the vast majority of the Guyanese people; the PNC chose to propagate and distort socialist rhetoric for its own political gain.

Guyana: Ethnic Politics, Ethnic Tensions and Reception to Black Power

Guyana has a long historical trajectory of ethnic politics and ethnic conflicts, the origins derived for metropolitan rule; imperial powers divided the different ethnic groups in hopes of them not uniting to fight against the true oppressor, the system of imperialism. Therefore, the metropole divide and conquered. In Guyana, East Indians outnumbered the blacks; because of the divide provoked by imperial leaders, Guyana has experienced high levels of ethnic political mobilization (Owolabi, 2006, p. 32). Thus, both blacks and East Indians have a deep resentment for each. It is then not surprising that when the Black Power movement spread to Guyana in the 1960's, many East Indians weren't too enthusiastic and perceived the movement to be anti-Indian. However, according to Walter Rodney the Black Power Movement was more than just race. It was about freedom, freedom of cultural and ethnic expression as well as freedom from imperialistic racialized oppression.

Afro-Guyanese leader Walter Rodney is known as the father of Caribbean Black Power in the 1960's. In 1968 he wrote that there were three related aspects to Black Power. First, the Caribbean had to break its ties with imperialism, which historically was racist. Second, the people should assume power. And third, the region's culture should be reconstructed in the image of blacks and other ethnic groups who inherited those societies (Thomas, 1992, p.397). Rodney asserted the meaning of Black Power to be as follows:

I maintain that it is the white world which has defined who are blacks—if you are not white then you are black. However, it is obvious that the West Indian's situation is complicated by factors such as the variety of racial types and racial mixtures and the process of class formation. We have, therefore, to note not simply what the white world says but also how individuals perceive each other. Nevertheless, we can talk of the mass of West Indian population as being African or Indian, Portuguese or Chinese. (Thomas, 1992, p.396)

Rodney further explained Black Power should not be interpreted as meaning that only blacks can assume power, but that Black Power should be inclusive to everyone. Black Power was about autonomy; the Caribbean demanded respect for their culture and wanted to choose their representatives who in turn would take control politically, economically and socially. There were limitations to Black Power. Non-blacks saw the “black” in Black Power as meaning non-inclusive to their struggles and cultural identities (Thomas, 1992, p.397) And the fact that Prime Minister Forbes Burnham assumed a quasi-leadership role in The Black Power Movement did not help quell their concerns. He once stated:

We have carried out the political revolution. We are independent we are a republic...The economic revolution can no longer be delayed ... I have been referring to the social and economic evolution, the national ownership and control of Guyana's resources and their development by and for Guyanese. That is what Black Power is about (Lux, 1972, p. 217)

Guyana's two political parties PPP, and PNC, were organized along racial lines. However, while racial tensions were the norm, both ethnic groups found common ground in one of the creeds of Black Power which was asserting Guyanese agency and removing foreign entities and imperial rule in Guyana (Thomas, 1992, p.401).

A deliverance from poverty and oppression or a rhetorical device to cement authoritarian rule? Assessing the Successes and Failures of Guyana's Cooperative Socialism: The Forbes Burnham Era

Guyana's turbulent political history did not end after Independence. In fact, its political, social and economic trajectory took a drastic turn under the leadership of Forbes Burnham and

the People's National Congress. Burnham's rise to power was the product of manipulation by imperial powers; he knew that to remain in power, manipulation, intimidation and repression were the cards he must play. Thus, Burnham chose to change the rules of the game. He first wandered off the course set for him by Britain and the United States, taking on a more nationalist program. Burnham chose to move further to the left. By doing so, he broadened his political base and created an economic foundation for his party (Barry, 1984, p. 323). He proceeded to nationalize the leading sectors of the economy: bauxite and sugar. In the 1970's he declared Guyana to be a "Cooperative Socialist Republic" and promised to "feed, clothe, and house the nation within six years" (Thomas, 1983, p. 37). However, it would soon be discovered that the rhetorical message of cooperative socialism did not match its true achievements. From 1970 to 1981 government expenditures on education and health actually declined, while during the same period public debt payments tripled (Barry, 1984, p. 323). The Guyanese people's living conditions deteriorated drastically under the rule of the PNC contributing to this was the fact that the PNC refused to practice democracy, and unashamedly rigged national and local government elections to maintain dictatorial powers (Ishmael, 2010 p. vii). Coercion, control, patronage and racial mobilization became the four instruments which cemented the PNC domination from 1968 to 1992.

According to Forbes Burnham, cooperative socialism in a nutshell was "a system in which the cooperative sector will be the mechanism for making the little man a real man" (Stone, 268). Cooperative socialism was conceived with the primary goal of allowing the Guyanese people greater role in the operation of the country's economy. As Burnham asserted:

A society cannot be achieved unless the majority of the people, the masses, the little men, have full share in the ownership and control of the economy, a share which

corresponds, realistically with their political power. The small man in Guyana today, through adult suffrage, holds the reins of political power but the substance of economic power rests in other and fewer hands. A rearrangement and redirection of our economic and social systems are therefore necessary and urgent in order that the worker, the little man, may be able to gain substantial control of the economic structure, concomitant with his political influence and participation.....(Stone, p. 261)

Cooperative socialism was developed with the twin objectives to rid the Guyanese society of its dependency on foreign capital and to strengthen Burnham's hold on power. It was comprised of nine national initiatives of the state to define its political, social, economic and foreign relations on its own terms. The first initiative was the expansion of state property. This program entailed nationalization of both the bauxite and sugar industries, bringing them under state control (Rose, 2002, p 190). The second initiative was education reform; the PNC's intentions were to change the educational system in Guyana, replacing the English system. Burnham believed that the only way Guyana could prosper was through a well trained, well skilled and well educated population. The goal was to make education available to all Guyanese, no matter their ethnic or political affiliation (Rose, 2002, p 189). The third initiative was to feed, clothe and house the nation by 1976. The hope was to make Guyana self-sufficient and self-reliant with the population producing the necessities of life (Rose, 2002, p.191). The fourth initiative was a tri-sector economy with private, state and cooperative ownership with an emphasis on the cooperative. The cooperative was to be the chief institution by which the masses would pool their material and physical resources in order to gain control of the economy and uplift themselves (Rose, 2002, p.192).

The fifth initiative was to navigate its foreign policy in the Cold War world. Because of the cooperative socialist ideology, the PNC moved to a more anti-imperialist position aligning itself with the Soviet Union, Cuba and China (Rose, 2002, p.193). The sixth initiative was to

make the PNC the supreme party of Guyana. The seventh initiative was intimidation of the opposition through the armed forces (Rose, 2002, p.194). Burnham's government passed a National Security Act, empowering the state to arrest and detain political subversives without trial, and to suspend habeas corpus. The Guyanese military played a crucial role in the perpetuation of PNC rule (Rose, 2002, 195). The eighth initiative was the establishment of a new constitution in 1973 which laid down the PNC policy as well as declared Burnham the supreme leader of Guyana (Rose, 2002, p.197). The ninth initiative was the PNC domination of the judiciary.

The PNC promised to change the political, social and economic dynamic of Guyana. Did it fulfill its promises? On the economic front, PNC economic policies only exacerbated an already weak economy. Its weakness led to increasing malnutrition among children, smuggling along the borders, a wave of urban crime, unemployment, and a decline in bauxite production. These all were indication of the country's desperate economic situation. Tens of thousands of Guyanese migrated out of the country because of the deteriorating economy. Between 1976 and 1981 over 70,000 people left Guyana (Thomas, 1983, p. 37). Guyana needed the help of the IMF, the World Bank and the United States just to stay afloat (Owolabi, 2006, p. 40). Socially the PNC was an authoritarian regime and Forbes Burnham was the dictator. The 1968 rigging of elections was only the start of the erosion of human rights. Once it seized power, the illegitimate regime would face oppositional resistance, boycotts, and strikes which added to its insecurity and forced it to take away other rights such as freedom of expression, the right to a fair trial and freedom from racial discrimination (Edie, 1994, p.49). Instead of trying to remedy the ethnic divide, the Burnham regime tried to provoke racial divisions to prevent unified political

opposition. However, the economic descent of Guyana worked to build a feeling of solidarity between the two main racial groups. Both experienced the common problems of unemployment, food shortages, and political repression. Cooperative socialism was merely a rhetorical cover for the development of state capitalism, which provided a base for the formation of a new class that benefited from the state industries (Barry, 1984, p. 324). Thus, cooperative socialism was a façade. Rather than promoting workers' control, Burnham built a nationalized economic base for himself and a small group of party followers. In actuality, cooperative socialism established a state-owned corporation that exploited the workforce similarly to capitalism. Burnham used Black Nationalism and anti-imperial rhetoric to cement his government (Owolabi, 2006, p. 40). However, the involvement of foreign entities in Guyana contradicts this rhetoric. Instead of bringing prosperity and peace to Guyana, the PNC under the guise of socialism repressed a nation.

Grenada:

For a brief moment in 1983, the small Caribbean island of Grenada was center stage in global affairs. Grenada acquired the attention of the world, to a greater degree than any previous time in its history. In October of that year the internal and external tensions with Grenada had reached its climax. The United States military invaded. The question that remains is why? Why was this tiny Caribbean country, literally no greater than a pencil point on a map, with a population of 110,000 and best known for exporting nutmeg, being systematically and consistently bullied by the world's greatest economic and military superpower? What was the great crime Grenada committed? The answer lies in the Grenadian Revolution which began in 1979. For the most part this was a peaceful revolution which promised and delivered

improvements in the economy, health care, education, social welfare and challenged the legacy of dependency head on. The Grenadian people had chosen Revolutionary Socialism as their state building experiment of choice. On March 13, 1979 the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) led by Maurice Bishop and other members from the New Jewel Movement in a bloodless coup overthrow the corrupted and inefficient government of Prime Minister Eric Gairy (Searle 1983, p2). This marked the beginning of revolutionary socialism on the island. During this time the region was struggling with its experimentation in socialism and black power. Democratic socialism in Jamaica under Michael Manley was crumbling because of weak reform, insufficient leadership and United States' destabilization tactics. Guyanese Cooperative Socialism had been exposed as nothing more than a strategy of rhetoric instead of implementation to keep the black elite PNC party in power. Trinidadian discontent had been eased by the liberal conservatism of Eric Williams and an ample supply of oil, but ethnic tension still remained. Unlike these nations, the Grenadian Revolution had more substance and successes.

The revolution in Grenada starting in 1979 brought changes to the political, social, and economic structure of the island nation. However, under Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, Grenada aligned itself with Cuba and other Soviet bloc, which alarmed the U.S. and other Caribbean nations. The United States invasion of Grenada in 1983 along with internal government conflict brought an end to the growth of the revolution. Prime Minister Bishop was assassinated by former members of his cabinet, and the U.S. "intervened" to "rescue" American students. This bloody coup gave the U.S. the excuse and the ammunition it needed to eliminate a Marxist regime with close ties to Cuba. This section will give a brief look at the colonial history

of Grenada, focusing on its independence from Britain in 1974. The emergence of the New Jewel Movement led by Maurice Bishop which launched a paramilitary attack on the government, resulting in an overthrow of the leadership of Prime Minister Eric Gairy will be depicted. Next the great influence that black power and Black Nationalism had on Bishop and members of the New Jewel movement will be described. Most importantly the successes and limitations of Revolutionary Socialism will be analyzed. And lastly the internal conflict within the New Jewel movement which consequently led to the demise of the revolution and Grenada's experiment with Revolutionary Socialism will be portrayed. But first, a brief look at the long progression from a colonial government to the people's government will be addressed.

From Gairyism to People's Revolution (The New Jewel Movement)

The Caribbean island of Grenada gained independence from Britain in 1974 (Barry, 1984 p.306). However, the most radical change in the course of this nation's history came with the overthrow of the dictatorship of Prime Minister Eric Gairy in 1979. Eric Gairy was one of the leaders in the independence fight against imperial rule. His leadership style of confronting the rich elite and colonial officials gained him popular support. His popularity won him political office in the 1960's. Once in power he changed his rhetoric and ideology and exploited the very masses that he defended against the elite earlier. He became a dictator (Rose, 2002, p. 288). Intimidation, exploitation, patronage, corruption and oppression defined his regime. Gairy believed he had the divine right to rule; only God could remove him. In the early 1970's the New Joint Endeavors for Welfare, Education and Liberation (New Jewel) was formed out of opposition to Gairy's leadership. Their principles were economic independence, self-reliance, anti-imperialism, anti-Gairyism, and grass roots democracy (Barry, 1984 p.306). Grenada's

independence in 1974 brought little joy because of the oppressive rule of Gairy. Many detested his leadership. In 1979 while Prime Minister Gairy was away at a conference, the New Jewel movement under the leadership of Maurice Bishop seized power in a bloodless coup. On that day Bishop announced the end of Gairy's government, to the applause of many elated Grenadians celebrating the end of a dictatorship and the beginning of a new chapter (Searle, 1983, p.31). The New Jewel Movement formed the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) and appointed Maurice Bishop to be the country's prime minister. Bishop had the support of the masses; however, the years of Gairy left the country in much need of repair. Political corruption under Gairy had deteriorated the economy, there were no social services for the people, and 50 percent of the populations were unemployed (Barry, 1984 p.307). As a remedial way to get Grenada back on its feet, Bishop and the PRG turned to Revolutionary Socialism.

Black Power and Black Nationalism the Catalyst for Change

Black Power planted the seeds of inspiration for the leaders of the New Jewel Movement. It inspired them to be catalysts for change and played a pivotal role in their formation of Revolutionary Socialism. The black power movement that shaped a generation in the United States in the 1960's and 1970's spread to the Caribbean. Its message resonated in Grenada especially among the young left-leaning Grenadians; black power in the Caribbean focused on removing poverty, remnants of colonialism, unequal access to power, and low status especially for people of color (Sunshine, 1982, p 44). In the Caribbean, Black Power infiltrated the personalities of the people, the literature, and the music. Black power is one of the ingredients in the formation of the New Jewel Movement. Many of its members including its charismatic leader, Maurice Bishop, studied abroad and returned from their studies in the United States and

England with a deeper understanding of the problem of neocolonialism, racism and the oppression of the working class (Sunshine, 1982, p 44). Intellectual agitation was looming in the air.

This period and rhetoric uplifted the people to be instruments of change within their society. The Black Power Movement inspired and motivated Bishop, just as it had raised up black revolutionaries all over the world. Upon his return to the Caribbean in 1970, Bishop devoted himself to the “black power” uprising then happening on the island of Trinidad. Trinidadian black youth were staging a massive revolt. Inspired by the Black Power Movement, he organized support remotely from Grenada. In Grenada, Bishop organized a group of activists from neighboring islands who were against the British-led government of Grenada, then headed by Eric Gairy. They denounced Gairy’s leadership calling for “more jobs now” (Sunshine, 1982 p 44). Black Nationalism for Grenada was important to Bishop. He believed that without Black Nationalism, in a country that had a black majority, the people would remain colonized. In a speech given at the African Liberation Day conference, Bishop compared the situation of Africans in the Caribbean to the plight of Africans in Africa:

The same enemy called imperialism for Grenada is the same enemy for Africa, the same banks that try to exploit us in the Caribbean are the same banks that are exploiting our sisters and brothers in Africa, the same big oil companies that are exploiting us in the Caribbean are the same big oil companies that are exploiting our sisters and brothers in Africa. (UhuruNews, 2010)

Armed with this understanding, Bishop and his childhood friend Bernard Coard formed the New Jewel Movement. The New Jewel Movement challenged the Gairy regime, labeling it

undemocratic. Bishop and the New Jewel Movement were effective in organizing support to overthrow the Gairy regime, which had been in control for 12 years.

Successes and Limits of Revolutionary Socialism in Grenada

Revolutionary Socialism represented a promise for a better life for Grenada. It outlined an extreme overhaul of Grenada's social, economic and political infrastructure and it mobilize the masses. Revolutionary Socialism placed great emphasis on self-reliance and the proper use of the country's human and material resources (Rose, 2002, p. 299). It was a strategy of true independence from imperialism and dependency. After the overthrow of Gairy, the People's Revolutionary Government under the leadership of Maurice Bishop faced opposition from their Caribbean neighbors, the United States, Britain and Canada. The leaders of the newly instituted government knew that gaining recognition by the region as well as global community was essential, and that the lack thereof could undermine its survival. The main core of these nations concern with the PRG was its legitimacy and lack of elections. They all felt that the PRG overthrow of a legitimate government was the wrong course of action. They also made it clear that their relations with the PRG would be contingent on its legitimacy in the implementation of fair and free elections (Rose, 2002, p. 297). In search for help and acknowledgment, the PRG sought assistance from Grenada's traditional allies of Britain, Canada and the United States; however, these nations refused to help. With the denial of help from traditional allies, the PRG then turned and received military and economic assistance from Cuba. The PRG established strong diplomatic ties with Cuba and declared Grenada a revolutionary socialist state. This relationship raised eyebrows in the global community. The United States in particular took offense to this relationship because of Cuba's socialist position and its Cold

War engagement. Despite assurances from Bishop and the PRG that they would respect all democratic freedoms, personal safety and property of individuals, and all foreign residents, the United States demanded that Grenada break all ties with the Castro regime (Rose, 2002, p. 298). However, PRG refused to sever ties with one of its strongest allies in the region.

Like the democratic socialism in Jamaica and cooperative socialism in Guyana, Grenada's revolutionary socialism sought to define its political, social, economic and foreign relations on its own terms. Grenada Revolutionary Socialism had six main objectives. The first objective was to create a participatory democracy, which was in opposition to Westminster style democracy. Bishop believed that the traditional parliamentary government divides instead of unites the people. The people would have more influence on the government more frequently with the institution of parish councils that had the direct ear of the government (Rose, 2002, p. 302). The second objective was to develop a mixed economy that placed emphasis on state control rather than the private sector. The government would guide and regulate the economic development through taxes, granting credits and concessions. This mixed economy was a part of the big goals of building a national economy that focused on the local capital instead of being dependent on foreign capital (Rose, 2002, p. 304). The third objective dealt with the improvement of the quality of life for all Grenadians. The revolution brought improved unemployment by encouraging the people to become members of labor unions, providing public health and free secondary education (Rose, 2002, p. 310). The fourth objective was to create an international airport, the absence of which had severely affected the growth of Grenada's economy. With the help of Cuba, the airport was successfully built; however, the United States saw the airport as a part of an international communist conspiracy.

President Reagan told the American people that Grenada became “virtual surrogate” of Cuba and that the airport was being constructed with Cuba for its prerogative (Rose, 2002, p. 318). The fifth objective was to diversify Grenada’s overseas trade and investments with the socialist bloc. This new approach was to strengthen socialist ties as well as expand Grenada’s trade and foreign financial assistance away from its traditional allies. The goal was to create a new economic course that would reduce its dependence on Western countries and ease the impact of U.S. sanctions on Grenada (Rose, 2002, p. 321). The sixth objective was to maintain and spread the ideology of the revolution both internally and externally (Rose, 2002, p. 323). The PRG believed that communist states had greater concerns than capitalist states to the plight of the third world. This objective was to inspire and ignite others to follow their lead of Revolutionary Socialism.

The PRG promised to rebuild Grenada’s economy, expand social services, and build a new international airport. Their goals were made in a clear effort to combat the country’s economic dependence on external entities. Did Bishop and the PRG deliver? On the economic front, Grenada’s new mixed economy did achieve improvement, in spite of strong U.S. interference to halt the economic growth. While the rest of the Caribbean suffered from a low growth rate of one percent in 1982 Grenada enjoyed a 5.5 percent increase. Government strategies of reducing imports and increasing exports raised the economy. The living standards for Grenadians improved and unemployment rates had dropped dramatically. In 1983 The World Bank report praised Grenada as one of the few underdeveloped nations to advance economically. It heartily approved of the revolutionary government’s programs to stimulate growth in both the public and private sectors, maintain sound public finances and promote

agriculture and tourism (Barry, 1984, p.308). On the social welfare aspect Grenada allotted 14 percent of the government budget to health care and another 22 percent to education, the highest amount in the region. However, not all improvements were positive (Rose, 2002, p. 333). In fact, in 1983 there was evidence to suggest the economy was not as strong as many believed. The economic situation in Grenada grew worse with the internal divide of the PRG. Prime Minister Bishop and his Deputy Prime Minister Coard were in an internal power struggle. Coard and others from the PRG felt that Bishop had too much power and was shifting towards a more pro-U.S. stance (Barry, 1984, p 313-314). This internal government conflict opened the door for the United States to destabilize the socialist regime under the guise of intervention. The U. S. invasion of Grenada in 1983 brought an end to the growth of the revolution. Prime Minister Bishop was assassinated by former members of his cabinet, as the U.S. “intervened” to “rescue” American students. The PRG delivered far less than it had hoped, partly due to inability to draw in international assistance and because of its socialist allegiance with Cuba. Revolutionary socialism in Grenada inspired and generation and uplifted a people to see that government can bring revolutionary change to the people. However, its ideology did not address the realities of true and long-term institutional change.

Trinidad and Tobago

Compared to the other Caribbean nations, Trinidad and Tobago sets itself apart. Trinidad and Tobago, since its independence, has straddled the line between the developed and undeveloped world. It embodies some of the worst aspects of both. The crime, alienation, corruption and consumerism of the industrial world exist simultaneously alongside with the

economic dependence, the foreign domination, and poverty common to other underdeveloped nations (Barry, 1984, p. 364). What separates Trinidad and Tobago from the rest of the Caribbean is its ample supply of oil and natural gas; oil that is lucrative to both external and internal entities. However, this is not the only difference. There are striking differences during the post independence era between Trinidad and Tobago and the other Caribbean countries. While Jamaica, Guyana and Grenada were all experimenting one way or another with Black Power and versions of socialism, Trinidad and Tobago under the leadership of Eric Williams and the People's National Movement (PNM) party proclaimed itself to the world as a pro-capitalist state and ally of the West (Hintzen, 2003, p. 408). However, Trinidad and Tobago could not escape the influence of the revolutionary era of experimentation in the region. The ethnic and racial divide, the disproportional distribution of wealth and an overwhelming foreign presence made many in Trinidad and Tobago susceptible to the ideology and creed of Black Power and the tenets of socialism because of labor unrest. Black Power and socialism could not manifest itself into the pro-capitalist government of Trinidad because of foreign and internal pressures to maintain the status quo in the oil rich nation. However, this movement ignited the populace to demand for progress and change.

This section will analytically and historically explore the nature of Black Power and labor unrest within the self-proclaimed pro-capitalist state of Trinidad and Tobago. Concentration will be placed on the racial and ethnic division in Trinidad and Tobago. The suppressing of the Black Power Movement will be analyzed, but more importantly the successes and failures of this social movement will be addressed and examined. But first, a brief look at the long movement to end colonialism and white supremacy in Trinidad and Tobago will be depicted.

Trinidad and Tobago's Road to Independence and the Era of Eric Williams and the People's National Movement

By the end of World War II Britain was forced to give gradual self-rule to its colonies; Trinidad and Tobago was no exception. East Indians, the most organized group which comprised only thirty-five percent of the population, had obtained almost half of the elected seats in 1946 (Hintzen, 2003, p. 400). The East Indians would hold office until the election of 1956. The election of 1956 changed the trajectory of Trinidad and Tobago for the next thirty years. The People's National Movement would hold power until 1986. PNM founder and leader Eric Williams dominated the political scene from 1956 until his death in 1981 (Owolabi, 2006, p. 21). Williams, after studying abroad for twenty years in his youth, came back to Trinidad and Tobago and worked on reforming his country. In 1956 he decided to enter politics and to forge a political party, the People's National Movement (PNM) (Yelvington, 1993 p.12). The PNM was created by middle-class professionals who were mainly but not exclusively black. Its main support came from the black community, although Williams was also able to attract some whites and East Indians (Owolabi, 2006, p. 21). PNM's mission was to combine both capitalists and laborers within society; as such, the PNM rejected socialism and welcomed foreign capital investment (Hintzen, 2003, p. 408). In the 1956 election, the PNM captured a small majority. Williams led the nation to independence from Great Britain in 1962. Williams for the most part was a charismatic leader that captivated the national attention. His strength as a leader was shown particularly before independence, as he was able negotiate an agreement between Trinidad, the United States and Britain about a U.S. naval base in Trinidad and Tobago. Williams won the

right for Trinidad and Tobago to be considered a quasi-equal with the United States and Britain. The 1960 settlement gave the United States base rights until 1977 and granted Trinidad and Tobago US \$30 million in United States Agency for International Development assistance money for road construction and education (Trinidad & Tobago News, 2006).

Under Williams, however, Trinidad and Tobago faced substantial problems. First and foremost, the ethnic division that was created by colonial rule to divide and conquer still resonated in Trinidad and Tobago between the Africans and East Indians. The disproportion of wealth was another issue. Trinidad and Tobago in the 1970's had unprecedented wealth because of its oil refineries. However, wealth was unevenly distributed; the top 10 percent of households received about a third of the income, while the bottom 40 percent get only 10 percent (Barry, 1984, p. 364). The major challenge to Williams' political power came in 1970, when Black Power riots broke out around the country and the army mutinied. As a result of the pressure, Williams agreed to nationalize the leading sectors of the economy. Anxious not to scare off foreign investors, Williams yielded to the high compensation demand of the sugar and oil companies and subsidized the new joint ventures with state funds (Barry, 1984, p. 365). Williams and the PNM portrayed stability, but this masked the true nature of Trinidad and Tobago's ethnic divisions and dichotomy between the rich and the poor.

Ethnic Tension, Census Voting

The foundations of the ethnic divisions and ethnic tensions in Trinidad and Tobago arise from the colonial strategy of divide and conquer. This legacy still lingers into the present. With political parties supported along lines of race, elections were perceived as a struggle for African or Indian preeminence. Despite these census elections, Trinidad and Tobago has been able to

avoid to violence and keep democracy in that state together (Owolabi, 2006, p. 20). Blacks are the prevailing political group. The PNM held power for thirty years. Eric Williams remained Prime Minister with primarily African ethnic support. Opposition parties then were supported mainly by the Indian minority. However, by the 1980's the demographics of Trinidad and Tobago changed, giving Indians an edge over the African community. As a result in 1986, the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) ended the 30 year rule of the PNM by winning 33 of the 36 parliamentary seats in a general election (Owolabi, 2006, p. 24). The politics that Trinidad and Tobago engages in is not based upon the issues and the betterment of the country but instead is based along racial and ethnic lines.

Autonomy in Black Power? The Successes and Failures of Black Power/Labor Unrest Movement

In February of 1970 thousands of youth stormed the streets of Trinidad and Tobago in massive demonstrations in the name of Black Power. Trinidad and Tobago's Black power movement would rock the nation to its very core. In response to this movement, the government arrested activists and declared the country to be in a state of emergency. Simultaneously a group of army officers sympathetic to the Black Power movement mutinied (Pasley, 2001 p.1). This movement was a disturbance to the status quo; however, internal and external capitalists did not fear that this movement could topple the capitalist system. Though Williams and the PNM government emerged from this uprising very shaken, they still had a hold on power. However, the influence of the Black Power movement and labor unrest should not be ignored. This transformative movement that captivated the nation's attention must be analyzed.

Trinidad and Tobago's Black Power movement challenged the prevailing remnants of colonialism that had lingered after Independence. Despite gaining its independence from colonial

rule, Trinidad and Tobago was still dependent on foreign capitalists and imperial powers such as the United States, Canada and Britain for its sustenance (Pasely, 2001, p.1). Afro-Trinidadians have had a long historical struggle for autonomy, from the African nationalist movement to labor riots in the 1930's (Pasley, 2001 p.2). Eric Williams rose out of these early struggles; he vowed to challenge the system that oppressed the people. In 1950 he helped Trinidad and Tobago's black middle class gain control of the government. However, by 1970 his fight for change proved to be just a rhetorical device to maintain support. Despite the government's achievement of proving increased access to education, it had not fulfilled many of the other initiatives its promise it during independence. Racism still prevailed, and non-blacks had a disproportionately higher amount of wealth than blacks (Pasley, 2001, p2). Because of this Williams and the PNM government was under much attack from the Black Power demonstrators. To them his regime was as repressive as and a continuation of the imperial capitalist rule. Many looked to the PNM government to rectify the problems that had existed in Trinidad and Tobago. However, the PNM continued the existing systems of oppression. The PNM may have been a "black" government; however, its actions and objectives benefited foreign and local white capitalists.

Several events occurred in the late 1960s which eventually led to the expression of Black Power in Trinidad and Tobago. The first was the government's passing of the unfavorable Industrial Stabilization Act in 1965 during the height of worker unrest. This anti-worker legislation personified the split between the PNM government and the organized labor movement. This law restricted workers' rights to protest their grievances. This law was passed at the same time unemployment was increasing, especially among the youth. Despite the fact that many young people benefited from an increased access to education provided by the

government, when they were looking for jobs in the late 1960's none were available to them. The third event that was a catalyst to Black Power was the transport workers strike in 1969. Law enforcement severely suppressed the strike, which further galvanized discontent against the government, setting the stage for 1970. Finally and most importantly, many Trinidadians began to be disillusioned with Williams and the PNM because they had done nothing substantial to help the majority of poor people, no matter which ethnicity in Trinidad and Tobago (Pasely, 2001, p. 1-3).

Internal factors were not the only things that ignited Black Power in Trinidad and Tobago. External international events also influenced the movement. The African Independence struggle and the United States Civil Rights and Black Power movements with militant groups such as the Black Panthers all inspired the events that happened in Trinidad. The revolutionary words of Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Frantz Fanon, Walter Rodney, Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X and many others inspired Afro-Trinidadians to fight for black autonomy (Leslie, 2005, p4).

Out of the unrest in Trinidad and the unfolding events in Canada (Trinidadian students were on trial in Canada for protesting against Canada's racist practices), the Joint National Action Committee was formed in 1969. This committee led the Black Power demonstrations. A march of solidarity with the students on trial was a major impetus for the demonstration to begin. This, culminating from the discontent and disillusionment with the PNM, led to the massive Black Power demonstrations of 1970, demonstrations that almost toppled the government. Among the many demands behind the slogan of Black Power was the ending of racial discrimination in employment and society as a whole. Other demands included an end to exploitation by foreign capital and the local white business class, and the embracing and

acknowledging of the cultural and ethnic identities of all Trinidadians by the government (Pasely, 2001, p3).

The Black Power Movement intertwined with the labor unrest that ran rampant in Trinidad and Tobago. The call for Black power was similar to a call for proletariat power. The Black Power Movement set out to address the issues of unemployment, underemployment and worker exploitation. Some Black Power activists called for the absolute abolition of capitalism. Others wanted a simple reversal of the power dynamics, rather than abolishment (Leslie, 2005, p 2). Black Power to many was a call for the masses to control the economic, political and social development. In reality, Blacks could not topple the system of capitalism.

To what degree was the Black Power movement a success in Trinidad and Tobago? The despite the Black Power movement's efforts, it was not a major threat to the foreign and internal capitalists operating in Trinidad and Tobago. The Black Power movement failed to overthrow the PNM .The oil boom of the 1970's also assisted in weakening the efforts of the Black Power movement because it provided the PNM with sufficient finances to deal with economic issues in the country. This distracted the population from the objectives of Black Power (Leslie, 2005 p.3). The Black Power movement also struggled to defeat the divide and rule strategy that had been embedded within colonialism. The Black Power movement worked to end this strategy; they rallied for racial unity between the Africans and East Indians in Trinidad and Tobago. Both the East Indians and Africans were subject to racism and discrimination of all sorts from capitalists and the PNM regime (Leslie, 2005 p.3). The Black Power movement believed that East Indians should join in the struggle to have their issues addressed. The unity of both Afro and Indo Trinidadians would have been beneficial overall to the struggle. However, most East Indians

distanced themselves from the Black Power struggle (Yelvington, 1993, p.13). The movement most likely alienated East Indians because of its black symbolism. Trinidad and Tobago remained racially divided. The Black Power movement did have some successes; it was able to produce some short-term reform of the PNM government, notably in the rift that erupted in the PNM administration, and the nationalization of some industries on the island (Pasley, 2001, p.2). It forced the government to address the concerns of Black Power. Thus the PNM tried to reduce foreign ownership to key sectors in the economy by nationalizing major industries. The leaders of the black power movement attempted to challenge the status quo by demanding reform that would have been beneficial to the masses of the country, but were unsuccessful to a significant degree as the social, economic and political order remained largely unchanged.

Conclusion:

The independence era for the Caribbean was thought to be the dawning of a new day. Hope, prosperity, reform, and change loomed in the minds of the masses newly freed from the grips of colonial constraints. Next on the agenda for these newly formed nations was self-determination and self-definition in the state building process. In the early decades of state construction, remnants of colonialism, racial and ethnic divide and economic inequality still lingered causing many to wonder is this true independence or a façade. To remedy this time of uncertainty, leaders, inspired by the ideology of Black Power and tenets of socialism, won the hearts of the people by promising true political, economic, and social liberation. Jamaica, Guyana, and Grenada, under new leadership, went from capitalist to socialist's governments. Meanwhile Trinidad and Tobago remained a capitalist country because of internal and external pressure as result of its resource in oil, the presence of oil suppressed socialism from infiltrating

the government. However, the populace of Trinidad and Tobago was inspired by Black Power and socialist rhetoric. These new governments vowed autonomy, equality, and justice under Black Power and socialism but could not truly deliver on its promise.

The Black Power Socialist experiment in these countries brought some reform; however, they could not make the institutional changes that they desired. The movement became one of rhetoric versus implementation, the words and actions versus actuality. Why did this movement that had so much promise fail to change the political, economic, and social climate of the region? First of all, the timing was a hindrance to the movement. It was during the height of the Cold War, where socialist rhetoric was seen as a threat by the United States and a welcoming ally to the Soviet Union and Cuba. As a result, United States worked tirelessly to eliminate these Marxist regimes. Second, the movements had great expectations; however, these movements did not have the reality of time. Institutional changes could not occur in such a short time frame, especially for these formerly oppressed and colonial states. Third, internal conflict and lack of unity made these movements vulnerable to internal and external forces plotting its demise. Fourth, the leaderships of these movements became imitators of the colonial oppressors following their examples for leadership. Thus, both internal conflicts within the Black power socialist experiment as well as external involvement play major roles in the demise of the Caribbean's Black Power Socialist experiment. However, in the next chapter it will be shown that imperialistic racialized greed had a greater, more substantial, impact that propelled the Caribbean into dependency. Greed and superiority made the United States perpetuate its dominance in the Caribbean, continuing the long historical trajectory of foreign control in the

region. The United States revamped British/European colonialism in the form of neocolonialism to further its hegemonic agenda in the Caribbean.

Chapter 3: The Yankees are Coming: Imperial Racialized Infringement Rears its Ugly Head

The Caribbean's Black Power socialist experiment hoped to be the catalyst that would propel these nations into the heights of emancipation and self-definition. Many perceived that the Caribbean during this era of independence would finally be able to overcome the forces that had kept it under foreign political and economic domination for centuries. However, this glimmer of hope soon diminished with the demise of the Black Power Socialist experiment. The question still remains: why, after gaining independence and the ability to form new national identities did the Caribbean's experimentation in the nation-building process fail? Was it by choice because of an inability to sustain itself, or was it by force through superpower interventions? Both internal conflicts within the Black Power Socialist experiment as well as superpower intervention played major roles in the demise of this era. Of the two, however, imperialistic racialized greed had a greater, more substantial, impact that propelled the Caribbean into its current state of dependency, while internal conflicts created an opportunity for the imperialists to take back the region. The internal strife made the region vulnerable, proving to the foreign capitalistic entities that the Caribbean needed guidance and a watchful eye to control them. Greed and feelings of superiority made the United States perpetuate its dominance in the Caribbean, continuing the long historical trajectory of foreign control. The United States restored British/European colonialism to further its hegemonic agenda in the Caribbean. The U.S. government has masked its self-serving desires with false assumptions about what is best for these countries, resulting in dire consequences and dependency. The United States government's hegemonic position has

hindered progress; it infantilizes the Caribbean by not allowing recognition of their agency and their ability to make their own choices.

This chapter will examine the United States' tactics of infringement; it will show the U.S. effort to destabilize the Caribbean and the role it played in the collapse of the English speaking Caribbean Black Power Socialist experiment. A brief historical overview of the United States infringement of the Caribbean will be depicted. It will deconstruct the United States' relationship and interference in Jamaica, Guyana, Grenada and Trinidad and Tobago. It will depict how the United States' destabilization efforts led to the collapse of The People's National Party (PNP) and democratic socialism in Jamaica. It will show how the United States placed economic incentives as well as pressure on Guyana to disassociate from socialism. It will portray the intensive effort by the United States to destabilize the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) in Grenada to prevent a "second Cuba," leading to the U.S. military invasion of the country in 1983. It will illustrate how the United States placed preventative pressure on Trinidad and Tobago to remain a capitalist country because of its resources in oil. The presence of oil suppressed socialism from infiltrating the government. The death of Prime Minister Eric Williams also created a fear that peace would come to an end in Trinidad and Tobago.

Whether it was through threat of embargos, propaganda, intense pressure to de-link with socialism, or outright invasion and occupation, the United States had an ulterior motive behind its intrusion. These countries' autonomy were all stripped away by U.S involvement because they were not governed the way the U.S. desired, which then led to interim governments handpicked to its liking. The U.S gave some economic support and then left these nations to fend for themselves. The motivation behind U.S. infringement will be depicted as well as the

tactics that were used to encroach on these countries' agency. These countries' struggle to develop after the U.S. involvement reinforces that foreign "help", instead of bringing prosperity, only hinders and impedes a nation's progress. The story of the Caribbean is a cautionary tale, with lessons that need to be learned, as a preventative measure when dealing with future nations.

United States Infringement of the Caribbean: An Historical Overview

"the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.... [for this would be understood as] the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. We owe it ... to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere."

-- President James Monroe, 1823 – *Monroe Doctrine*

"The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the excellence of divine principles ...

--John O'Sullivan, 1839-- *Manifest Destiny*

In the midst of Cold War engagement, the Caribbean's most pertinent threat to its new independent states came not from the Soviet Union or from former European imperial powers but from the United States, whose policies, goals, and interests in the region followed a long historical imperial trend. The United States policy in the Caribbean was unprecedented compared to its treatment of other regions; it was ready and willing to intervene in these countries by any means necessary to support its interest. The United States has had a long historical imperial grip on the Western Hemisphere dating back to the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny. The Monroe Doctrine has dictated America's relationship to its Caribbean neighbors into the present

day. Apart from warning the European powers to stay out of the Western Hemisphere, the doctrine was a blend of national self-interest and a declaration of its capitalist agenda. The United States used the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny to extend its reach and impose its will upon other nations without regard to their autonomy. The United States' ideology established a sense of entitlement and American exceptionalism; this allowed the U.S. to disperse its influence on other countries in a similar manner to the European imperial powers before it.

In the Caribbean, the practice of destabilization by the United States government began in the early 1960s following the emergence of the Soviet Union as an opponent to America's hegemonic position in the region. The leftist movements of the 1970's and 1980's in the Caribbean were byproducts of this superpower rivalry. This also led to the development of active foreign policy intervention by various U.S. administrations to confront these radical ideological movements. To prevent future communist regimes from appearing all over the Caribbean, U.S. administrations responded with destabilization tactics, intervening in the internal affairs of these countries. In British Guiana the United States between 1962 and 1963 used the CIA as well as propaganda to create dissent against the Marxist People's Progressive Party (PPP) government of Cheddi Jagan that led to his removal from office in 1964 (Rose, 2002, p.349). The United States interfered in Guyana again in the 1970's and 1980's against the socialist regime of Forbes Burnham as well as Jamaica, during the 1970's and Grenada in the 1970's and 1980s. The United States was also able to prevent Trinidad and Tobago from implementing a socialist program, as the U.S. placed pressure because of their resource in oil. These acts were not a new trend for the United States but the norm, to intervene in the Caribbean whenever it feels

threatened by leftist governments that oppose its take on government and democracy. The Caribbean is America's neighbor, and the United States interprets whatever goes on just next door as somehow directly affecting them. According to George Shultz, the former Secretary of State under President Reagan, "from the U.S. point of view, the Caribbean Basin is vital to our security and to our social and economic well-being. It is indeed our third border. Economic, social, and political events in the Basins have a direct and significant impact in the United States" (Rose, 2002, p.350).

The rise of socialist regimes in Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada during the 1970's produced a series of U.S. led destabilization policies and tactics that were successful in contributing to the demise of their experimentation with Black Power and Socialism. The main belief behind these destabilization policies was that the Caribbean socialist direction threatened the stability and security of the United States. In the interest and protection of the United States, particularly under President Reagan who was a staunch opponent to these regimes, the U.S. undermined the legitimacy of the socialist regimes and placed emphasis on eradicating the Black Power Socialist experiment. The United States in doing this embodies the characteristics of the Monroe Doctrine, ready and willing to infringe on its neighbor for its self-serving desires. The main goal of this was not to stop these countries' anti-imperial views but to impose its will on smaller and weaker countries to preserve the U.S. hegemonic position and to proclaim that the ideologies of the United States trumps all others.

The United States used a wide array of destabilization methods, both internal and external, to achieve its desired goal of eradication of the Black Power Socialist regimes in the Caribbean. These included internal campaigns of political espionage, economic sabotage,

propaganda, economic sanctions and violence (Rose, 2002, p.350). These destabilization policies were consistent with Reagan's 1980 campaign theme "Resurgent America" which was intended to reassert U.S. hegemony in the Caribbean and Central America where it was seemed to be most threatened by a number of radical governments. In defense of his policy, the President said: "I say to you tonight there can be no question: the national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America [and the Caribbean]. If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail elsewhere. Our credibility would collapse, our alliance would crumble, and the safety of our homeland would be in jeopardy" (Payne, 1984, p.58). The Reagan administration placed the Caribbean at the center of its foreign policy agenda based on U.S. imperialism under the guise of the Cold War. President Reagan asserted:

The collapse of the U.S. presence in the Caribbean has endangered America's global power projection. Ever since 1898 America's worldwide reach has rested on a quiescent Caribbean and a supportive South America. The Caribbean, once an American Lake, is becoming a Socialist sea. (Sunshine, 1982, p.118)

Were these small islands truly capable of bringing down the mighty and powerful United States? Not at all. Yet the U.S. used this exaggerated threat to justify its infringement on the autonomy of Caribbean governments. The goal was a common one but the infringement strategy varied according to the country.

U. S. Led Effort to Destabilize Democratic Socialism in Jamaica:

Jamaica's relationship with the United States has always been unique in nature, ranging from being ostracized and reprimanded for democratic socialism under Michael Manley to being given friendly and kind favoritism under the conservative capitalism of Edward Seaga. Jamaica has always been in the sights of the United States foreign policy objective for the region either through its suppressing of socialism or making Jamaica the model and showpiece for the

Caribbean. The declaration of democratic socialism in Jamaica in 1974 brought the People's National Party (PNP) in direct conflict with both powerful internal and external entities. As a part of the new ideology of democratic socialism, the Manley government imposed a bauxite production tax on the aluminum companies, raised taxes, and nationalized a number of foreign-owned companies, against intense resistance from the internal and external entities including the local capitalist class and the U.S. These new economic policies as well as its anti-imperial rhetoric and close diplomatic relations with Cuba made Manley's government a target for U.S. destabilization (Hewin, 1994, p. 72-3). With the help of the oppositional party, the United States worked to get rid of the PNP government by any means necessary.

Manley's socialist ideology and rhetoric as well as foreign policy stances made Jamaica a victim of Cold War politics. As a consequence it had to face the wrath of the mighty and powerful United States, who would stop at nothing to destabilize and eradicate any hint of socialism in the Western Hemisphere. Manley tried to convince the U.S. government and other capitalists that democratic socialism meant reforming the capitalist system, and not taking it apart (Barry, 1984, p. 342). Carl Stone observed:

Mr. Manley's radical foreign policy clothed his relatively moderate domestic economic and social policies in an aura of leftist radicalism far removed from the reality of what he attempted to implement. But the image of a radical, Marxist orientation to domestic social policies was sharpened both by the leftist rhetoric of Mr. Manley and his party spokesman and by the self-serving interpretations of what was happening in Jamaica promoted by North American media and the Jamaican bourgeoisie. " (Stone, 1986, p.288)

In truth Manley's government was never a radical government that could institutionally change the structure of the economy. However, the United States and others were willfully blinded to that fact. As a result, Jamaica was a casualty of the Cold World pressure. The United States, the

Jamaican Labor Party (JLP) and the media used democratic socialist rhetoric to create opposition against the PNP government.

The main tactic of U.S. destabilization was to significantly hurt Jamaica's economy. However, the U.S overall destabilization plan was a combination of both economic and political pressure by the U.S. government, multinational corporations, the IMF-World Bank group, the local capitalist class, media, and funding of the oppositional party, the JLP. They also included unprecedented levels of violence, organized public protest and propaganda campaigns, locally and abroad" (Rose, 2002, p.363). Manley was fully aware of the plan to dismantle his government. He asserted, "Clearly, the multinational corporation, the conservative elements of the Western press, the champions of capitalist system, the U.S. establishment and those who defended the status quo generally, were lined up solidly behind JLP" " (Manley, 1982, p. 109).

Jamaica's economy was severely hindered because of the destabilization. A main part of the economic destabilization was the cutoff of the multilateral, bilateral, and commercial banking lending. Foreign investment also dried up during the Manley years, not because of declining profits but for political reasons. Foreign investors felt that Jamaica's embrace of democratic socialism would be an unfavorable climate for positive investment. By 1975, all new foreign investments stopped (Barry, 1984, p.342). Many believed that Manley and the PNP had good intentions; however, many others felt that their policies and aims were leading Jamaica to destruction. Foreign investments were not the only things to flee Jamaica between 1976 and 1980. Over 18,000 professionals and members of the upper classes left Jamaica. All of this culminated in a devastating blow for the PNP government (Thomas, 1983 p.37). The PNP also saw a dramatic drop in tourism because Jamaican was portrayed in the press as a country filled

with violence and crime. All of these economic impediments as well as the political violence led many to vote for JLP in 1980.

The United States repeatedly denied its involvement in the destabilization of Jamaica; Prime Minister Manley thought otherwise. He was convinced that the United States used violence to deliberately destabilize the country. He also felt that the CIA was directly involved.

As he proclaimed:

Looking back at the events of 1976...I have no doubt that the CIA was active in Jamaica that year and was working through its own agents to destabilize us. They deny it to this day, but I prefer the judgments of the heads of the Jamaican security forces at the time. Police army and special branches concurred that the CIA was actively behind the events. My common-sense left me with no options but to agree. ” (Manley, 1982, p.140)

Although Jamaica was hardly free from violence, the type of violence that swept the island in 1976 was out of the ordinary, it was destructive acts without an apparent motive which could only be construed as part of a campaign destabilization. They involved the senseless slaying of innocent citizens, including women, children, seniors, and the disabled, firefighters and police officers, the random burning of public buildings and homes, and a number of attacks on business establishments (Rose, 2002, p.364) . According to the PNP government, these random incidents were CIA directed covert actions aimed to destabilize the country (Rose, 2002, p.364) The U.S. strenuously denied being involved in the destabilization of Jamaica and the attempted plots to kill Prime Minister Michael Manley. Media outlets reported that the CIA embarked on a covert program to undermine the Jamaican economy following an unsuccessful ultimatum to Manley in 1975 to break ties with Cuba. The media also proclaimed the CIA later approved a plan to assassinate Manley on three separate occasions. The CIA adamantly denied these allegations asserting it undertook no covert action of any kind against the Manley government and had no

part in any plot to kill Manley. CIA spokesman Herbert Hetu asserted “The whole thing is absolutely ridiculous” (*The Washington Post*, “Report of Plot Against Jamaica Denied” by CIA, November 3, 1977).

Before 1980, the United States portrayed Jamaica to the American people and the world as not only a country in turmoil but a real security threat to the United States. In reality, it wasn't. The media portrayed inaccurate information that was detrimental to the global perception of Jamaica, thereby undermining the tourist industry and hence the economy. These media outlets included *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, *the Miami Herald*, *Daily Express*, *Toronto Globe*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *Newsweek*, and *Time* to name a few (Hewin, 1994, p. 84). The newspapers and magazines highlighted the violence and crime that had overwhelmed Jamaica during Manley's rule. The press reports labeled Jamaica a communist state in cahoots with the Soviets and the Cubans. The negative reports of the violence and crime discouraged U.S. visitors. The United States consistently denied destabilizing Jamaica; however, many believe otherwise including those in the media. For example, Saul Landau of *The Washington Post* was adamant in his assertion and assessment of the destabilization methods against Jamaica. He asserted “There can be no doubt the internal attack on the Manley Government—a campaign of violence and lies, plus strikes—combined with external attacks from the United States press....add up to destabilization campaign” (Landau, 1976, p.6). It appeared, the United States would stop at nothing to get rid of Manley.

The efforts for destabilization were not in vain. In fact they were extremely successful. The JLP overwhelmingly won the election of 1980. The JLP victory ended a long, coordinated, international and local campaign to undermine democratic socialism. Destabilization's main goal

was to create economic instability that would weaken the PNP's popularity, push it out of office or force it to abandon its rhetoric and policies. Washington portrayed Manley's Jamaica as a pawn of the Soviet Union and Cuba. Manley himself believed the CIA was behind efforts by local forces to destabilize the government and deny him reelection (Barry, 1984 p.342).

The Jamaican Labor Party (JLP) era was hoped to free the Jamaican people from the harsh realities felt under the PNP and democratic socialism. This was a transitory time in Jamaican history as well as Jamaica's relationship with the United States. Under the leadership of Edward Seaga, Jamaica's relationship with the United States began to take on a new form. It evolved from the active suppressing of socialism under the PNP to the favoritism of Jamaica under the JLP. The Reagan administration in particular took favor to Prime Minister Seaga. Seaga's ideology of conservative capitalism was pleasing to the United States. From the beginning of President Reagan's term, Seaga was given special treatment. In fact, he was the first foreign official to visit President Reagan in the White House (Barry, 1984 p.350). Seaga's cooperation with U.S. politics and corporations proved fruitful: in 1982, Jamaica was the third largest per capita recipient of U.S. aid. At the urging of Washington, multilateral aid poured into the island (Barry, 1984 p.350).

In return for this financial assistance, Jamaica was turned into a tool of the U.S. foreign policy in the region. In other words, Jamaica became the token country that the United States could use and manipulate for its own self-serving desires. Jamaica was at that time a showpiece of democracy and free enterprise for the United States. Jamaica was also a staunch ally for the United States in the region. For example, it was in the forefront of the U.S. campaign to destabilize the Grenadian government of Maurice Bishop and was the regional leader of the

invasion force that occupied the island in October 1983 (Sunshine, 1982, p121). Famous actor and singer Harry Belafonte proclaimed that “Jamaica has become the new pawn of the United States” (Barry, 1984 p.350). The United States was using Jamaica to do its dirty work. Seaga was praised for his efforts and in 1982 was given the American Friendship Medal of Freedom by President Reagan for his “furtherance of democratic institutions and courageous leadership in the cause of freedom for all people” (Barry, 1984, p.350). The special Jamaican relationship with the United States not only bothered the other Caribbean countries but angered them as well. They felt it was undermining the unity of the region as well as their experimentation with Black Power and Socialism. They felt that the Caribbean should have a united front and not appear to be divided based on the handouts from the United States (Barry, 1984, p.350). In other words, Jamaica was the favorite child of the United States, given everything it wanted, while the other countries were the neglected children, given only scraps. Thus, Jamaica laid its interest more with the United States than with the region.

However, the good times would eventually come to an end. The promised economic stability and prosperity, despite generous injection of loan capital into the economy, would soon diminish. Seaga worked relentlessly to find new investors and lenders but produced few results (Barry, 1984 p.350). The government could not keep up with its promises to maintain wages and create jobs, and social welfare programs such as education and medicine were cut (Barry, 1984 p.351). One Jamaican citizen proclaimed that “Seaga’s no good for the people. He’s brought all the capitalists down here with their money. But we don’t see any of it ” (Barry, 1984, p.351). Therefore, despite the successful efforts to destabilize and overthrow the PNP and democratic Socialism under Michael Manley, Jamaica still faced economic hardship even with a

government handpicked and chosen to America's liking. Being on America's good side does not necessarily mean prosperity and great wealth.

U.S. Efforts to Silence Cooperative Socialism in Guyana:

From 1953 to 1964 Great Britain and the United States had their grip on the pulse of Guyana. For 11 years two of the world's great superpowers worked relentlessly to prevent the democratically elected leader Cheddi Jagan and the People's Progressive Party (PPP) from taking office. Jagan was elected fairly and freely on three separate occasions. He was a neutral and independent Third World leader whose leftist ideology scared both countries, despite his not being overtly or extremely revolutionary. However, Jagan was able to make a lasting impression on these imperial powers; he represented a great fear, a successful society that countered the capitalist system. As a result of this fear, the United States and Britain used all their might and prowess to bring down Jagan's regime including tactics such as general strikes, disinformation, terrorism and British legalisms (Hislope Robert, List of USA Military Interventions p 10)

President John F. Kennedy directly ordered the removal of Jagan and in 1964 the United States and Britain were successful in bringing him down (Owolabi, 2006, p. 36). The United States and Britain brought down one of the more stable and better-off countries in the region under Jagan. By the 1980's Guyana was just a mere shell of what it used to be, becoming one of the poorest countries in the Caribbean (Hislope Robert, p.10). This is just one historical example of the United States infringement on Guyana. The United States has interfered with Guyana's autonomy time and time again. During its experimentation with Black Power and Socialism in the 1970's and 1980's, the U.S. worked to destabilize the cooperative socialist government of the People's National Congress (PNC) led by Forbes Burnham. After leading Guyana into

independence with strong support from both the United States and Britain, Burnham deviated of the course set, adopting leftist socialist ideology; the United States then placed incentives as well as pressure over Guyana to gear the country into the direction of its liking.

During the 1970's Forbes Burnham and the PNC government, following the principles of cooperative socialism, nationalized various foreign industries and assets. The government's nationalization policy went as far as the government owning and controlling eighty percent of the economy by 1976. This development alarmed the United States; as a result, it boycotted Guyana's key products of bauxite and sugar (Rose, 2002, p.355). United States corporations did not buy these products. By 1978, economic hardship became the norm in Guyana; the economic downturn was so great that the Burnham regime had to make major cutbacks on capital projects and social services in order to prevent total bankruptcy (Rose, 2002, p.356). The 1970's was a rough economic time around the globe with an economic recession. As result, U.S. economic assistance to Guyana was drastically reduced. This time period increased Guyana's deficit as well as reduced its imports (Rose, 2002, p.356). By the late 1970's Guyana's economic status was hanging on by a thread, with a near depletion of its foreign reserves. As a consequence, the government turned to the IMF for financial rehabilitation (Rose, 2002, p.356).

Simultaneously during this time, the United States placed pressure on Burnham and the PNC to end its relationships with Cuba and the Soviet Union (Barry, 1984 p.325). The Burnham regime had strong economic and political ties with both countries and had on several occasions voted against the United States in resolutions at the United Nations. For example, Guyana voted against a U.S. sponsored resolution that condemned the overthrow of the dictatorship of Prime Minister Eric Gairy in Grenada by the People's Revolutionary Government (Rose, 2002, p.356).

These acts were seen as acts of deviance by the United States; in response, the U.S. government vetoed a loan for Guyana as well as tried to jeopardize Guyana's relationship with the IMF and World Bank (Rose, 2002, p.356). Guyana's relationship with the IMF was already on shaky ground and U.S. involvement only exacerbated the tensions. The United States government used its influence to block loans for Guyana's development, citing the economic instability of the country as its reason (Barry, 1984 p.325). However, it is suspected that this was the first step in the Reagan administration's plan to destabilize the Burnham government and find an alternative acceptable to the United States. The Guyanese ambassador to Washington characterized the loan veto as "unacceptable meddling" in his country's internal affairs (Barry, 1984 p.326). Burnham became frustrated with Guyana's relationship with both the United States and the IMF because of the harsh demands it placed on Guyana: "The only thing that they have not proposed is raising the price of air, and God knows they might have it up their sleeves" (Rose, 2002, p.357).

The United States' destabilization of Guyana was not as intense as the other countries experimenting with Black Power and Socialism because from the U.S. perspective Guyana under Burnham was still imperialism's best option, as the main opposition came from the Working People's Alliance and the Marxist PPP and its leader Cheddi Jagan who were critical and staunch opponents of U.S. imperialism in the Caribbean and elsewhere. The fact that both opposition parties in the country were more left winged than the ruling PNC partly explains the tolerance and support given to the Burnham government by the IMF, World Bank and the Carter administration (Rose, 2002, p.357). Thus Burnham's regime was the lesser of the two evils in the eyes of the United States. In fact, cooperative socialism was not what Burnham made it out to be; it was merely a rhetorical cover for the development of state capitalism, which provided a

base for the formation of a new class that benefited from the state industries (Barry, 1984, p. 324). Thus, cooperative socialism was a façade. Burnham used Black Nationalism and anti-imperial rhetoric to cement his government. His PNC party, under the guise of socialism, worked to remain in power at all cost.

However, the Reagan administration did not recognize Burnham's true intentions and treated Guyana as a subversive threat. Reagan policies were hostile to Guyana's government because of its close ties with Cuba as well as Burnham's criticism of the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), resulting in Guyana's exclusion from the CBI in 1983 (Barry, 1984 p.327) . The Reagan administration worked relentlessly to impede Guyana's autonomy. It blocked the country from obtaining assistance as a way of punishing it for its anti-imperial and anti-American positions. It removed Guyana from the list of Caribbean countries that received preferential treatment in terms of aid and trade from the United States (Rose, 2002, p.358). The reason cited was Guyana's economic instability, lack of foreign reserves, human rights violations, and the constant rigging of national elections by the Burnham regime, which is ironic since the United States helped manipulate the voting system that brought Burnham into power. The United States worked hard to discredit Guyana in the global community. Burnham and the PNC felt and claimed to be victims of a well organized plan orchestrated by the United States to put an end to cooperative socialism in Guyana. According to Burnham, all the government wanted to do with its experimentation with Black Power and Socialism was to develop the country's economy and eliminate or reduce its economic dependence on the developed countries. The United States was extremely successful at economically suffocating Guyana, and by 1985 the country's economy

was on the verge of collapsing; in order to keep its economy afloat, the Burnham government was forced to borrow extensively from its Caribbean neighbors (Rose, 2002, p.358).

From Infringement to Outright Invasion: U.S. suppression of Grenadian Revolution:

“Small as we are, and poor as we are, as people and as a country we insist on the fundamental principles of legal equality, mutual respect for sovereignty , non-interference in our internal affairs, and the right to build our own process free from outside interference, free from intimidation, free from bullying, free from the use or threat of force. We say this is our right as a country and as a people and we will fight and die for that right”

--Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, 1980--

Ignited by the rhetoric and ideology of Black Power and Socialism, Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement overthrew the dictatorship of Eric Gairy in 1979, in a popular yet peaceful revolt, and ruled Grenada based on the principles of socialism. Although Grenada's policies were not as radical as those of Castro's Cuba, the United States quickly labeled Grenada “another Cuba,” perceiving Grenada as a subversive threat. The United States' destabilization of Grenada was the most intense yet. U.S. destabilization tactics against the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) started soon after Bishop took power and continued until 1983. Internal government conflict and the resulting U. S. invasion of Grenada in 1983 brought an end to the growth of the revolution. Prime Minister Bishop was assassinated by former members of his cabinet, and the U.S. “intervened” to “rescue” American students. This bloody coup gave the U.S. the excuse and the ammunition it needed to eliminate a Marxist regime with close ties to Cuba. A right-wing, pro-US, authoritarian government was installed in the aftermath (Hislope Robert, p.9). Remnants of the revolution and invasion remain into the present; Grenada's modernity is still being defined by these events. Grenada's experimentation with Black Power and Socialism, the U.S. suppression of the Grenadian Revolution, from infringement to outright invasion, is a story that must be told.

Four years of revolutionary socialism that culminated in a close relationship with Cuba and an anti-American stance led to Grenada being the target of the harshest destabilization measures enacted by the United States government. While Grenada's relation with the Carter administration was far from pleasant, the Ronald Reagan era had a devastating impact on the Grenadian Revolution and Grenada's experimentation with Black Power and Socialism. The administration cast Grenada as a source of unrest in the region, as Soviet surrogates and "exporters of revolution" (Sunshine, 1982, p118). The government took swift action to destabilize. According to Prime Minister Bishop, from the start of the revolution, the CIA, acting on the behalf of the U.S. government, had developed a pyramid plan to discredit the government of Grenada and eradicate the revolution. At the bottom of the pyramid was the tactic to destabilize the government and the economy through the use of violence and creating false assumptions about Grenada in newspapers and on radio and television stations locally and also encouraging worldwide efforts to attack and discredit the revolution. As Bishop asserted:

The first part of the plan was aimed at creating dissatisfaction and unrest among the people of Grenada and at wrecking our tourist industry and economy. A second level of the pyramid involved the use of violence and arson in the country. And if neither of these two methods of destabilizing the country worked, then the plan was to move to the stage of assassinating the leadership of the country. (Bishop, 1982, p.188)

The United States portrayed the Grenadian Revolution as a Cold War threat and as an economic threat to America's oil supplies. As President Regan stated:

The Middle East may be the petroleum pump, but for the United States the Atlantic is the oil line and the Caribbean is the nozzle....During the past two decades, the Caribbean has been increasingly infected with a cancer that threatens to choke off the oil and ore vital to the survival of the United States (Sunshine, 1982, p118).

Statements like this were intended to ignite fear into its populace, creating animosity and anger towards Grenada. The government cast Grenada, the smallest country in the Western Hemisphere with a population of 110,000, as threat to the United States. The United States placed Grenada on a pedestal as a national threat that needed to be dealt with in the swiftest fashion. Isolation and economic destabilization were two of the first tactics imposed by the United States. The Carter administration refused to give bilateral development aid after Gairy's overthrow (Sunshine, 1982, p118). However, that was nothing in comparison to the economic hardship Grenada would face under Reagan. The Reagan administration was very public in its effort to relentlessly remove the Black Power Socialist regime in Grenada, denying the development aid that was a vital economic necessity to Grenada as it was to all Caribbean islands. First the United States placed pressure on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to hold back funding that would be used from projects in agriculture, agro-industry, tourism, housing, and schools. The IMF gave Grenada only enough funds for short-term financial stabilization but not the basic capital improvements which Grenada needed (Sunshine, 1982, p118). Second the U.S. used its influence within the World Bank to withhold the Bank's endorsement of Grenada's public investment program, thus blocking Grenada's access to some U.S. \$ 3 million in concessional funds from the International Development Agency (IDA) (Sunshine, 1982, p118). And lastly the United States offered a U.S. \$4 million package to the regional multilateral lending agency, the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), on the condition that none of the money went to Grenada (Sunshine, 1982, p118).

The United States' attempt to use the CDB to divide the Eastern Caribbean backfired, and it deeply shocked the region. CARICOM leaders condemned the U.S. action as "economic

aggression” and gross interference” in Grenada’s affairs, citing “Today it’s Grenada; tomorrow it could be us” (Sunshine, 1982, p119). They refused the loan on the fact that it discriminated against Grenada. Prime Minister Bishop was glad for the Caribbean solidarity; he asserted, “Our friends in the region, different countries in CARICOM, stood up to this latest blatant attempt on the part of the U.S. administration to divide and rule the region and to attempt to subvert this Caribbean regional institution” (Bishop, 1982, p.191). This was not the only time that the United States used incentives on other nations to put pressure on Grenada to change its revolutionary ways. The Reagan administration used propaganda to have other Caribbean countries go against the revolution. It also created the Caribbean Basin Initiative, “a mini-Marshall plan” for the Caribbean, to have the region under its thumb (Sunshine, 1982, p121). It used this program to reassert its hegemonic power and remove Cuban and Soviet influence in the area, thus tightening its imperialist control over the Caribbean.

As the revolution progressed, so did the intensification of propaganda by the U.S. media. Newspapers, magazines, films and television specials all portrayed Grenada in a negative light, depicting Grenada as a communist state controlled by Cuba and the Soviet Union. Grenada made the headlines in *The Boston Globe*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Time*, and *Newsweek* on numerous occasion, with such blistering headlines as “No more freedom in Grenada,” “Grenada has become the second Cuba in the Caribbean,” “Soviet-made tanks found in Grenada,” “Tourist fear for their lives as riots and violence erupted in Grenada.” Conservative Caribbean news outlets published similar articles (Rose, 2002, p.377).

These tactics for destabilizing the Grenada Revolution were heard loud and clear by the Bishop’s PRG government. The Foreign Minister, Unison Whiteman, in 1981 believed

wholeheartedly that the United States was preparing to launch military intervention against Grenada after its campaign of economic sabotage; he foresaw the inevitable invasion that would occur in 1983. In an address to the United Nations General Assembly, Unison Whiteman said sections of the international media had been engaged in a “most vicious campaign of lies, disinformation, distortion and abuse’ to vilify Grenada’s 1979 revolution.... The destabilization of Grenada has gone beyond the campaign of lies. We are the victims of economic sabotage, designed by the Reagan Administration to strangle our revolution”(The Global and Mail “U.S. Prepares an invasion, Grenada says” October 10, 1981) He also accused the U.S. government of trying to prevent Grenada from obtaining loans from various international financial entities. However, he asserted that the U.S. had escalated with its tactics: “In its continuing attempts to overthrow the Grenada revolution, the U.S. Administration is preparing to elevate its campaign against Grenada to the level of military intervention” (The Global and Mail, October 10, 1981) He pleaded with the global community to stand up to the United States, not to let the United States infringe on other’s autonomy: “From this exalted platform, we wish to alert the world of the threat to the security of Grenada, and indeed to the peace and security of the entire Caribbean” (The Global and Mail, October 10, 1981) The question was who would stand up to the mighty and powerful United States.

Foreign Minister Whiteman was not the only official to voice his concern about the United States’ interference in Grenada. Prime Minister Bishop articulated the burden that the United States had placed on his country. Bishop wrote a letter to President Reagan in March 1981, stating his desire to normalize relations between the two countries and requesting high-level talks to “discuss developments’ and clear up possible misunderstandings. Bishop asserted:

My Government has always wanted good relations with your Government and People....Grenada poses no security threat whatsoever to your country, or indeed, to any other country. As I am sure you know, my Government has been trying over a period to develop amicable and mutually beneficial bilateral relations between our countries. Indeed, we have made several requests for economic assistance and cooperation, including specific requests for U.S. aid for the airport project itself.....I hope you will agree that it cannot be in the objective interest of the richest and most powerful country in the world to use its might and power to try to crush one of the smallest and poorest countries in the world; in fact a country of 133 sq. miles, and 110,000 people. (Sunshine, 1982, p 123)

The response was dead silence. Prime Minister Bishop would in a speech relay the same fear of Foreign Minister Whiteman about a U.S. military attack on Grenada. He first acknowledged that in spite of U.S. encroachment on Grenada time and time again, Grenada had made great strides: As he asserted:

It is also remarkable today to think of the growth that our country has had, the progress we have made in the economy, when we consider for a moment and reflect once again for a second or two on the tremendous history of severe imperialist aggression that our young revolution has had to face: four years of daily jamming, four years of constant pressure from different US Administrations, from smiling Jimmy Carter to movie star Ronald Reagan, constant jamming and pressure that our revolution has had to face. The fact is, comrades, in the first few weeks of the revolution, we know that these people sat down in their air-conditioned rooms in Langley and the Pentagon, in the State Department, and they were considering a naval blockade of Grenada. They wanted to try to snuff us out, even before we had barely given birth. (BBC *Summary of World Board Cast*: "Grenada Prime Minister on Threat of U.S. 'Military Attack'" March 22, 1983).

The revolution, in a short duration of time, made some substantial changes for the country. According to Bishop, the United States had failed in its mission to cause the demise of the spirit of the revolution, as he stated "their attempts at destroying the economy of our country, their attempts at slowing down the speed at which we can develop more and more relations on the international front, the attempts at destroying the unity of our people, the attempts at overthrowing our revolutionary process, all of these attempts have failed, and that is the bitter

pill that Ronald Reagan and his advisers now have to face.” (BBC *Summary of World Board Cast*, 1983) As a result, he argued that the United States had become desperate to bring down his government. As he stated:

The one last desperate action that they can take: the action of armed aggression against our country. That is why, comrades, at this particular point in time, our revolution faces again a very real and serious danger and threat from the United States, because they have admitted defeat, they have admitted that the propaganda hasn't worked, that the economic aggression hasn't worked, that the political and diplomatic destabilization has not worked; and in admitting defeat they have come up with the last answer of the drowning: the answer is a military attack against our country. (BBC *Summary of World Board Cast*, 1983)

According to Bishop, the United States had painted Grenada to be enemy number one for its neighbors, a threat to the other Caribbean islands as well as a national security threat to the interests of the United States. He explained the reason behind the U.S. claims, to, as he proclaimed, “prepare the people of the United States for a military attack against our country. That is at the heart of this strategy” (BBC *Summary of World Board Cast*, 1983). He told the Grenadian people to take this as a serious threat against the country. He stated, “It is important for us to analyze very carefully the fullest implication of what it means when someone says that your country is a threat to their national security, because that means that as long as your country is there, or your revolution is there, then they will always feel threatened, and therefore they'll have to move against us” (BBC *Summary of World Board Cast*, 1983). He went on to describe how his ideal relationship with the United States would look like, as stated, “We would prefer to deal on the normal, civilized, international relation principles of peaceful coexistence, of ideological pluralism, of respect for all countries regardless of size, of the principle of liberal equality, of mutual respect for sovereignty, of the principle of the right of all countries to build

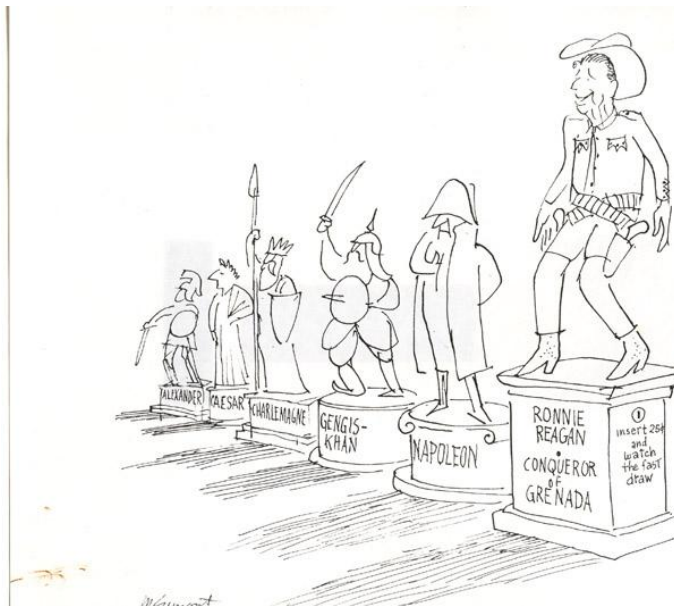
their own processes. We would much rather be able to treat with Ronald Reagan and his people on that basis” (BBC *Summary of World Board Cast*, 1983). His final plea was for respect and peace, nothing more and nothing less. As he went on to state:

We want no quarrel with this United States Administration or any other. We want most of all to be able to live in peace, because we recognize that peace is the most important infrastructure of all, and without peace all other infrastructural development becomes meaningless. We want to have the right to build our own process peacefully and in our own way. But Reagan should wake up, and he should understand that there are countries and peoples - notwithstanding what he used to do in the movies - there are countries and peoples that have pride, that have dignity, that have self-respect, that are forcefully independent, that will die before they submit or give in to somebody else's principles and what they want to impose He has to accept that reality. . . (BBC *Summary of World Board Cast*, 1983).

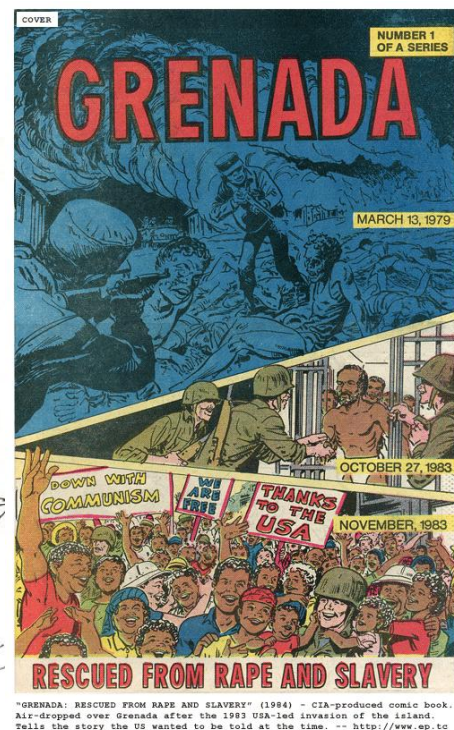
Despite these pleas, the United States would not relent until the Black Power Socialist Experiment was dead and gone in Grenada.

Grenada, a tiny Caribbean island best known for exporting nutmeg, was a threat to the United States. According to President Reagan, Grenada’s size did not matter; its ideology had dire consequences for the region and the United States. The United States policy toward Grenada was based on confronting communism in the region. Reagan took offense at the critics who argued that Grenada was not such a great threat; he asserted, “People who make these arguments haven’t taken a good look at the map lately....it is not nutmeg that is at stake in the Caribbean and Central America, it is the United States’ national security” (Rose, 2002, p.379). To protect its national security, the U.S. next step was military action. The internal strife within the People’s Revolutionary Government was the nail in the coffin for Grenada Black Power Socialist experiment; it was the opportunity the United States needed to squash the popular movement. The regime killed off the popular leader, Maurice Bishop, and the people became disillusioned, no longer ready and willing to resist a U.S. military invasion. As shown in the cartoon and comic

book cover below, the United States portrayed itself in the media as freeing the Grenadian people from their communist dictators. Reagan was a hero and great liberator who saved Grenada. This view did not take into account the fear, confusion and the uncertainty that the people must have felt with their leader gone and their country in shambles. Painting the United States as liberators only infantilized the agency of the Grenadian people. All Grenadians wanted was a government that would be accountable to its people, but instead they got an island in the midst of the Cold War conflict. Despite all of its efforts, the Black Power Socialist experiment in this tiny island nation unfolded and crumbled under the great pressure of economic sanctions and military invasion by the United States.



“Ronald Reagan Conqueror of Grenada”



“1984 Grenada Comic Book”

It has been twenty-seven years since the U.S. military invaded, yet in its modernity Grenada is still being defined by these events. The invasion has left Grenada in a stagnant position. Grenada is considered to be a third-world country with political, social and economic hardships. Grenada can be used as an example of the repercussions of interventions. Grenada was invaded by the U.S. which then put in place an interim government handpicked to its liking. The U.S gave some economic support and then left the nation to fend for itself. Grenada's struggle to develop after the invasion proves that U.S. intervention, instead of bringing prosperity, only hinders and impedes a nation's progress. Unlike Jamaica and Guyana, Grenada did have some successes in development under its experimentation with socialism, becoming stronger than its pre-revolutionary period. The invasion did not improve on those developments especially for ordinary citizens of Grenada.

The People's Revolutionary Government in Grenada had some significant achievements including: (1) Reduction and stabilization of food prices and other essential commodities (2) Creation of the Agro/Industrial Sector and new jobs in education, health and tourism sectors (3) High quality free medical care (4) Elimination of school fees and free books and school uniforms for the needy (5) A massive campaign to wipe out illiteracy (6) Construction of an international airport, to revitalize the decaying tourist industry, the island's main foreign exchange earner (7) Legal equality for all Grenadians in pay and social status regardless of race, gender and background (8) Increase in delivery of social services for all Grenadians (9) Public participation in parish councils (10) Public participation in the development of a national budget (11) A decrease in unemployment from 49 percent in 1979 to 13 percent in 1983, the lowest in all of the Caribbean (12) A decrease in food imports by 12 percent during 1983. (Cole & Johnson, 1983,

4). (13) Increased economic growth rate during the PRG period in office from minus 3.2 percent pre-revolution to 2.1 percent in 1979, and to 3 percent each both 1980 and 1981, and 5.5 percent in 1983 (14) Increased Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from 2.1, 3, 3.4, and 4 percent over the years between 1970 and 1982 and (15) Ability to obtain \$ 14.1 million loan from the IMF despite U.S. pressures (Thomas,1988, p.247). For a perceived illegitimate socialist regime, Grenada had made some tremendous strides during its revolutionary era. The invasion put a stop to the growth spurred by the revolution.

The United States invasion of Grenada went down in the history books as a success in U.S. state building. In the aftermath of the invasion an expanding economy as well as a stable conservative government was the barometer for measuring success. However, the success of the invasion should be looked at on the basis of a human level; the lives of ordinary Grenadian citizens had not changed much. Statistical indicators show that Grenada has remained, for the most part, at a standstill. There is still a 13% unemployment rate, 32% percent of people live below the poverty line, over 40% lack secondary education, the nation lacks an efficient modern health care system and its GDP ranking is 183 out of 215 in world ranking (CIA World Fact book 2011). What success is this truly when an ordinary Grenadian does not have a job therefore lives under the poverty line and does not have a secondary education to help him rise above his station in life? What help is an invasion to “free” people when the people still struggle in the aftermath? Neither capitalism nor socialism has provided an easy path towards economic and social development or transforming the country from being dependent. Now Grenada has no other choice but to follow a neoliberal path dictated by the United States and similar international financial institutions. Grenada should have been a cautionary tale of U.S.

intervention; however, the United States did not learn from Grenada, as will be shown in its invasion Iraq using some of the same overarching themes.

U.S. Prevention in Trinidad & Tobago

Trinidad and Tobago during the 1970's and 1980's could see both sides of the spectrum it was in the middle of both a developed capitalist world and its neighbors' Black Power and Socialist world. What sets Trinidad and Tobago apart from the rest of the Caribbean is its ample supply of oil and natural gas, resources that are lucrative to both external and internal entities. However, this was not the only difference. There are striking differences during the post independence era between Trinidad and Tobago and the other Caribbean countries. While Jamaica, Guyana and Grenada were all experimenting one way or another with Black Power and versions of socialism, Trinidad and Tobago, under the leadership of Eric Williams and the People's National Movement (PNM) party, proclaimed itself to the world as a pro-capitalist state and ally of the West (Hintzen, 2003, p. 408). Trinidad and Tobago remained a capitalist country because of internal and external pressure as a result of its resource in oil; the presence of oil suppressed socialism from infiltrating the government. However, Trinidad and Tobago could not break away from the influence of the revolutionary era of experimentation in the region. The ethnic and racial divide, the disproportional distribution of wealth and an overwhelming foreign presence made many in Trinidad and Tobago inclined to the ideology and creed of Black Power and the tenets of socialism because of labor unrest. Despite the fact that Black Power and socialism could not manifest itself into electoral success against the pro-capitalist government of Trinidad because of the need to maintain the status quo in the oil rich nation, this movement did ignite the populace to demands for progress and change.

Black Power and Socialism did not have a chance to succeed in Trinidad and Tobago or make a big impact. The reason is one three letter word: oil. Oil is important to all capitalist states; in the 1970's there was an economic recession as well as an oil crisis. In no shape or form would the United States allow a hint of socialism to emerge in Trinidad and Tobago. Other Caribbean nations had resources, but none more lucrative and worthy of production than Trinidadian oil. Oil was so important to the United States and its populace, that President Reagan invoked fear in the American people by stating that the Cold War and Caribbean experimentation with Black Power and Socialism was suppressing America oil. As he stated, "for the United States the Atlantic is the oil line and the Caribbean is the nozzle..... the Caribbean has been increasingly infected with a cancer that threatens to choke off the oil and ore vital to the survival of the United States" (Sunshine, 1982, p118). The Caribbean's Black Power Socialism Experiment was enemy number one to American oil supply.

America's need for oil made it worried when Prime Minister Eric Williams died in 1981. Williams's death made many fear the uncertain future of Trinidad and Tobago; they thought his death may have well ended the relative political quiet that distinguished the island from the rest of the Caribbean. Trinidad during the 1970's was unscathed by economic troubles, natural disasters, and the political unrest have plagued many Caribbean nations. In fact the nation enjoyed economic and political stability (*The Global and Mail*, "Death of Williams may bring end to Trinidad's Peace" April 4, 1981). The economic wealth and stability derived from the presence of oil and gas and the absence of hurricanes and floods (*The Global and Mail*, April 4, 1981). Williams was credited with the peace and stability in the country; he continued a constitutional government, enjoyed political freedom, and maintained law and order. Williams

and the People's National Movement (PNM) government won five election victories and Williams was in office for 20 years (*The Global and Mail*, April 4, 1981). Williams went against the grain, the trend toward Black Power and socialism that Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada all experimented with; he chose instead conservatism. Williams said he favored a middle way between capitalism and socialism. As he stated "The alternatives for the Caribbean are either Castroism or something else. Trinidad and Tobago is that something else." Trinidad's "something else" was a country between the developed and undeveloped. Oil and gas brought greater prosperity to the nation than its neighbors. The 1978 per capita gross national product, U.S. \$2,910, equaled that of neighboring Venezuela. Between 1973 and 1980, Trinidad and Tobago's oil-derived income grew from \$115TT-million (about \$57-million Canadian) to \$5.06-billion (\$2.5-billion) (*The Global and Mail*, April 4, 1981). Its wealth meant that the nation would prosper. However, the wealthy elite would truly prosper; leading to criticism derived from discontent about economic inequality, racial tension and political frustrations, Williams was able to just manage to keep the discontent under control. The 1970's Black power uprising and army mutiny was a difficult challenge for Williams; he asked for and got U.S. military assistance (*The Global and Mail*, April 4, 1981).

Williams's government introduced several measures in an attempt to control the population, which had been shaken up by prevalent Black Power sentiments, including the purchase of arms from the United States and Venezuela to supply the Defense Force. (Leslie 2005, p1). During Trinidad and Tobago's times of trouble the United States and Venezuelan governments watched closely and with caution, the former because it did not want another "Cuba" and the latter because it perceived it had a regional role to play, especially considering

that Venezuela and Trinidad and Tobago were neighbors in the Gulf of Paria and that the government was democratically elected. Venezuela at that time had no desire to have a Castro-like regime on its borders. As a result, when Williams asked for arms, the U.S. and Venezuela consented. Moreover, two British and six U.S. warships including a helicopter carrier entered Trinidad waters, joining Venezuelan ships. However, foreign troops never officially landed. As a result of the Black Power uprising, Prime Minister Eric Williams felt that he had no other option but to purchase emergency military supplies from the U.S. and Venezuela.

(MacDonald, 1986, p.166) The United States helped Trinidad because of its own self-serving desire for what that help would bring to them: Trinidad's oil.

The death of Eric Williams may have created uncertainty for Trinidad's future and that of the Trinidadian people; however, there was no uncertainty about the fact that the United States would do anything to prevent ideologies such as socialism from infiltrating the Trinidad and Tobago government. The United States by any means necessary would crush any impediment to its lucrative investment in Trinidadian oil.

Conclusion

The United States would stop at nothing to protect its interests, whether it was through economic destabilization, political violence, backing the opposition, tainting American and global perceptions of the Caribbean in the media through false accounts, malicious lies, and slander, infiltrating countries with CIA operatives and finally outright military invasion. The United States used the rhetoric of American freedom and American security to paint these Caribbean nations' harmless experimentation with Black Power and Socialism as a subversive

threat, a threat to American ideology and a threat to the American way of life. Americans were willfully blind to their encroachment on Caribbean autonomy because all they could comprehend was the threat that they posed. The government played upon the fear of the people which made them blind to infringement of those perceived as subversive. Jamaica was infiltrated by the CIA, Guyana was economically suffocated, Trinidad and Tobago's socialism was suppressed before its birth, and Grenada's socialism was killed through American tanks and bullets. What did they do to deserve all this? All they did was try to be autonomous, to liberate themselves from racism and imperial oppression. They wanted freedom, true freedom from dependency, and thought the best way of attaining it was through socialist tenets. As they sought to achieve their highest expression of self-emancipation and self-definition did they receive any support from the United States? No, the United States infringed because of its racism and economic greed. Today many of these Caribbean countries are still being defined by these events. They remain stagnant and dependent on the United States. Despite its power, the United States chose to act, purportedly out of fear, definitely out of greed, suppressing the move towards all forms of liberation in the Caribbean, refusing to allow them to attempt to rise above their station. This was a prime example of U.S. hegemony at work and should be a cautionary tale for the world.

Chapter 4: Starting Anew: From a Hegemon to a Friend and From a Region Divided to a Region United

The United States and the Caribbean itself were both parties responsible for the demise of the Caribbean's black power socialist experiment. Internal problems within the experimentation opened the door for United States intrusion. As documented, U.S. hegemonic imperial infringement dictated U.S. foreign policy towards the Caribbean during the 1970's and 1980's, the height of the Cold War engagement, which was the nail in the coffin for the Caribbean's experiment with both socialism and Black Power. While only Jamaica, Guyana, Grenada and Trinidad and Tobago have been discussed, United States' hegemony, exceptionalism, and first world privilege have crippled a positive global perception of America, straining U.S. relationships with a number of countries. Furthermore, the United States' rhetorical use of freedom and democracy for all as well as its self-imposed role as supreme protector of the world masks its true intentions of superiority, greed, and self-interest. Thus, the U.S. rhetoric is a façade of the truth and is detrimental to all nations including the United States itself. The United States' efforts to destabilize and suppress expressions of autonomy that differ from its own diverts attention away from a number of other issues that have grown considerably more pertinent such as humanitarian aid for disasters and epidemics, preventing nuclear warfare, and helping the masses who are begging for freedom from true dictatorship and oppression such as in Darfur, Libya and Egypt.

As seen in the example of the Caribbean, the United States' infringement masked as "help" and protection has failed to truly assist nations to rise and live up to their true potential of full autonomy and agency. U.S. encroachment just creates an infinite cycle and construct of

dependency which impedes not only the dependent states but hinders the U.S. as well. These actions deplete U.S. resources and divert help from those desperately in need, tainting its global image in the process, making American actions look hypocritical. The U.S. must realize that its identity as a hegemon has blinded it to realities of today's world. Americans must understand that the United States has an opportunity to change its ways and constructively reconnect with the world. It must abandon its identity as an overbearing hegemon and turn instead toward being a global partner and becoming a global ally. Moreover, America must acknowledge the autonomy and agency of its neighbors. The United States must recognize when and how to act, the limits of its resources and the merit of international unity and cooperation. On the other side of the spectrum, regions like the Caribbean must take responsibility for their actions and their role in the circumstances. Despite being historically oppressed and dependent on another, they must no longer play the role of victims for they have agency to redefine their community without being completely dependent. They must also follow the old maxim "united we stand, divided we fall." Using positive aspects of the same ideological sentiments that invoked them to fight for independence, they must unite together to strengthen their own community so that they will be less dependent and susceptible to encroachment on their autonomy.

This chapter focuses on changing identities, and shifting internal and external outlooks. It centers on abandoning elements of U.S. hegemonic policies in the region and observes certain failures more closely, in order to suggest places where the United States in the present might learn from its history and try to remedy its past. It begins with the purported reasons for U.S. infringement such as spreading freedom and democracy. It then rebuts these arguments with the facts of U.S. rhetoric versus its true intent. This chapter suggests alternatives to better serve the

United States and all other countries it interacts with. The chapter then explains how the United States should proceed in the future, focusing on drastically changing its internal perception of itself and its strategies for dealing with others. It must embrace that it's not alone in this world, embrace international laws and institutions while working to reform them and creating new alliances. This chapter also focuses on creating a unified Caribbean coalition that should take positive elements of the black power socialist experiment such as black identity, black solidarity, autonomy, and economic independence and implement these ideologies and sentiments into the modern day. Implementing these tactics for both the United States and the Caribbean will allow America to meet the challenges it faces and become a benevolent leader and will transform the Caribbean from a dependent divided region to a unified and autonomous one.

United States Rhetoric versus True Intentions:

Throughout its modern history, America has held the position of a global hegemon— hegemony legitimated on the foundation of U.S foreign policy, a foreign policy presented to the world as guided by a deep belief in freedom, democracy and security. However, in actuality, this concern for others' freedom and liberty is a façade; historically the United States government has been blind to real concerns in pursuit of achieving selfish ends. The government has masked its self-serving desires with false assumptions about what is best for other countries, resulting in dire consequences for people both domestically and abroad. The United States has used the rhetoric of freedom and security to achieve its ends, to justify destabilization and interventions in countries such as the Caribbean in the 1970's and 1980's and Afghanistan and Iraq in the present. The government assumes to know what everyone wants and forces itself on other spouting the ideas of freedom, liberty, and democratic ideals of Western society for its personal

gains. The U.S. bestows upon itself the role of the “ultimate protector,” protecting the world from so called “communists” “terrorists” and “evil doers,” when in truth it’s only protecting its own interest. The government has shown willful blindness to the true circumstances of others and has chosen to adhere to its own reality. United States foreign policy is not guided by a deep and genuine belief in freedom, democracy, and security, but based on a reality of greed and superiority that has been embedded in this nation’s history. In fact, American ideals are used as rhetorical devices to achieve its own interest. With these assumptions and the rhetorical use of ideals as a façade, the United States has hindered progress; it infantilizes others by not allowing recognition of others’ agencies and their ability to make their own choices. The destabilization of the Caribbean experimentation with Black Power and socialism as well as the present day wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are embedded and drenched with assumptions about what other’s want and need.

There are many perspectives and uses of freedom. Freedom can be about an individual such as civil rights and civil liberties. Freedom can be about a group such as women’s equal rights and racial equality. Freedom is meant to be a duality, where the government does not infringe on civil rights and liberties, but protects its citizen’s rights through laws. Freedom can be ideological like the words of the Declaration of Independence and Constitution with freedoms such as speech, press, religion, arms, suffrage and property. Freedom can also be action such as removing the crippling and stifling grip of the oppressor from the oppressed. Thus, freedom can run the gamut, individual and group, rhetorical and implemented. U.S. foreign policy emphasizes the importance of individual and group freedom, but when those freedoms conflict with national interest they are dismissed. For example, the U.S. wanted the Caribbean to have

fair democratic elections; however, when socialist regimes in Guyana and Jamaica were elected through a fair process, the U.S. choose to divert from working with them and even destabilized them, because they were not their desired governments. Therefore, United States foreign policy uses freedom and other American ideals rhetorically to further its national interest, but when the rhetoric of American ideals such as freedom is at odds with national interest, these ideals no longer matter. The nation's self-interest trumps all ideological beliefs such as freedom. United States foreign policy in the Caribbean displays the dichotomy between rhetorical ideals and actual ideals, the words and sentiment versus action and implementation. United States foreign policy if guided by one freedom in particular is led by the freedom of property and capitalistic gains. In others words, freedom in a way directs foreign policy, but it is not an ideological freedom, but freedom of markets and capitalistic enterprise.

Rhetoric has been used as a façade for economic gain. However, the United States believes in freedom and other ideals only when it benefits the state. If the rhetoric does not impede on the U.S. ability to make money and dominate other arenas, then the rhetoric not only stands but is wholeheartedly defended. For example, the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine were enforced to contain and to prevent the spreading communism which was in the nation's best interest at the time; however, through the use of rhetoric the U.S. was able to help create democratic structures in Europe. The self-interested goal was to prevent communism; however, the U.S. simultaneously through the use of rhetoric was able to increase freedom. But in most instances, rhetoric is used to mask the nation's true intentions. For example the Reagan administration's invasion of Grenada was allegedly to free American students as well as the Grenadian people from the grips of a detrimental and oppressive communist regime. It

proclaimed that American students were endanger, but according to Johnnetta B. Cole and Gloria I. Joseph in the article “Grenada: This Invasion Was Not Televised,” those who had taken power in Grenada gave the U.S. government a specific guarantee of the safety of all Americans on the islands, and also 300 parents of American students appealed to the President to not invade Grenada to jeopardize the their children’s safety (Cole & Johnson, 1983, p.1). The “rescue” of the students was merely pretext for an invasion, a fact shown in that the U.S. forces were not even trained to rescue but in search and destroy missions, and it took them two days to find the unharmed students in the tiny island. According to Cole and Joseph, “Despite all these assurances and appeals, the Reagan administration chose not to use established international procedures for evacuating individuals from troubled areas. Aggression overpowered diplomacy” (Cole & Johnson, 1983, p.1). The United States claimed to free the Grenadian people from their oppressive dictators, but in actuality the invasion ended four years of progress including improvements in literacy, employment, and health care (Cole & Johnson, 1983, p.4).

Americans, particularly the Reagan administration during the years of the Caribbean Black Power Socialist experiment, were blind to the fact that not everyone desires their particular notion of freedom and democracy. Americans were incapable of seeing that the destabilization of Jamaica, Guyana, and the outright invasion of Grenada, rather than helping to bring freedom, was a hindrance and a burden to the people living in this region. American people were blind and the fear is that they remain blind in the present day by the attempts to help people. This so called help makes many incapable of seeing that enforcing Western ideals and practices on others can be more detrimental than helpful. Though Americans in the United States might applaud attempts in bringing about freedom, democracy, security and peace for the Caribbean, U.S.

citizens must be critical of rhetoric and policies that label the Caribbean people as victims and that limit freedom solely to Western practice. This rhetoric must be cautioned against because it creates a divide, a superior U.S. versus an inferior abroad.

American rhetoric during the era of Caribbean experimentation did not match its action. To help regions and nations such as the Caribbean, formerly oppressed states trying to assert their autonomy and remove themselves from the construct of dependency, assumptions cannot and must not be made to what they want and need. To help the people of the Caribbean, American society must understand the Caribbean's political, social, and economic conditions and how the people of the Caribbean respond and act to these conditions. The solution to American blindness towards infringement on Caribbean autonomy would be to condemn the pushing of the rhetoric of American ideals on others. American society needs to realize that people of the Caribbean need the space necessary to voice their desires and have the power necessary to make decisions about their day to day lives. The American government throughout its history chose to be blind to the needs, desire, and sentiment of those considered as "others," driven by its selfish ambition.

According to Phyllis Bennis from the Institute for Policy Studies, the real reason for destabilization and wars is to assert your position as a superpower. In her lecture, she proclaimed that the United States got involved in the occupations and destabilizations during the 1980's to assert its power, especially since the Soviet Union was collapsing. Bennis believes the reason why there is such hatred for the U.S. and negative sentiment about U.S. foreign policy is because many perceive the United States to be hypocritical. Its rhetoric of freedom, democracy and peace does not align accordingly with its actions. Essentially the United States invades, occupies,

conquers and leaves the people of a destroyed nation to pick up the pieces and start from scratch.

Bennis asks two pondering questions: How can a military force, whose purpose is to destroy, essentially, build a nation? Is the U.S. a hypocrite if it destabilizes, destroys and leaves?

The destabilization and eventual eradication of the Caribbean black power socialist experiment was just one example of long historical infringement on others' autonomy by the United States. Historically the United States has used freedom rhetoric to enter into wars and interventions in other countries. Two examples of this are the 1898 invasion of Cuba and the Vietnam War. In both cases the United States used freedom rhetorically but did not bring one iota of freedom to these countries. In the case of the Cuban intervention, the U.S. used freedom rhetoric to remove the hated tyrannical Spanish rule. The U.S. did this not for the betterment of the Cubans but for the United States' interest. As stated:

In 1895, Cubans rebelled against their Spanish rulers. Some \$50 million of US investments in Cuba were endangered in the conflict. In April 1898, President William McKinley, a Republican, decided he had to go to war against Spain and, if triumphant, might threaten US property while ignoring American interests. McKinley thus moved in the War of 1898 to drive Spain out of Cuba and, as well, to ensure that the Cuban revolutionaries would not control their country...US forces defeated Spain in less than three month...Cuba finally received what was termed independence, but American controlled the country and took over a potentially superb naval base at Guantanamo. (Cox & Stroke, 2008, p.51)

Instead of bringing freedom, the U.S helped to put in place a non-freedom dictator. Similarly, during the Vietnam War the United States wanted to get rid of hated, tyrannical communists in the case of Vietnam, but in the aftermath, the U.S. only replaced one dictatorship for another. During the Cold War, the U.S. wanted to contain communism and spread freedom rhetoric. The U.S. wanted an anti-communist state in Vietnam and used rhetoric to generate support for the

war. However, the loss in Vietnam led Americans to question the use of spreading freedom and democracy as well as rejecting containment on a global scale (Cox & Stroke, 2008, p.131).

America has manipulated the rhetoric of freedom, democracy and security for its own capitalistic gain. Moreover, it has legitimated its self-interest and greed in the name of American ideals. History has shown and has passed judgment that the falsified use of this rhetoric is unjustifiable. Driven by its selfish ambition, the American government throughout its history chose to be blind to the needs, desires, and sentiments of those considered as others. The United States must lose its notion of supremacy; for if it does not, its stability would be inevitably hindered.

Introspection and Reflection: Abdicating the Throne of the Hegemon and Seizing the Role of Benevolent Friend

The United States is perceived as a hegemon, a supreme global superpower. However, the label of hegemon comes with negative connotations of being oppressive, greedy, self-serving and intrusive. The United States' embodiment of this role has created many enemies and has stretched its resources to the brink; therefore, its position has hindered its own progress. What role can the United States take on in an ever changing and more dangerous world? What options does it have: isolation hegemony or benevolent ally?

What is the best way for the United States of America to process modernity: isolation, hegemony, or friendship? Isolationism implies that the United States can choose to completely withdraw from the international arena and international cooperation. Advocates of isolationism believe that this is the best way to prevent the United States from exerting all its resources into others as well as removing its actions as a counterproductive hegemonic belligerent force. Isolationism seems appealing in that regard; however, it is dangerous and world and the United

States will less be secure. Isolationism would only exacerbate racism, poverty, war, oppression, and epidemic. The second option is to continue the long trajectory of hegemony, hegemony which places the United States on a supreme pedestal. Its tactic of using the rhetoric of American ideals such freedom, democracy and security to infringe on the autonomy of others have made it more hated then revered, thus creating a bevy of enemies along the way. Isolation and hegemony prevent the United States from truly helping others and helping itself. The United States can and must foster positive change in world affairs. Americans must understand that isolation would, and hegemony has, damaged the global perception of the United States, and that the only way to rebuild the reputation and cooperation between the United States and world is not to isolate, or to encroach but to reengage as a benevolent friend.

The United States current foreign policy has kept it stagnant, isolated, and endangered. Therefore, it must integrate into a new framework, a framework where it does not stand alone in the international arena, a multilateral framework. This construct would protect its self-interest while simultaneously allowing it to engage with others without overstepping boundaries. America has to change in an ever changing world. It must become a member of an increasingly global, interdependent and multilateral world. Modernity calls for an abandonment of hegemonic practices. Hesitancy to abandon its position comes from American security. However, Gayle Smith of the Center for American Progress argues that American security is threatened because of its hegemonic ways. According to her it must shift from outdated notions developed during the Cold War and the Reagan administration and move toward being a part of an interdependent framework (Smith, 2008, p.2) The United States must follow what she calls “sustainable security” which combines the safety of the United States, with the safety of people, and the

safety of the world at large, thus combining national, human, and collective security (Smith, 2008, p2). It is justifiable for the United States to protect one's its interest, but not at the expense of another's autonomy. The U.S. must continue to protect itself from any imminent threats. Also it must protect the interest of the people in and outside of its borders. It must not be blind to the needs of everyday people, the violence, the poverty, and the hunger that they face and it must not assume what is best for everyone. Assumptions and implementing policies based on the assumptions creates resentment and bitterness towards the United States. This can manifest itself into a true enemy such as terrorism. Furthermore the United States must acknowledge its limits. It can no longer fight or address all of the world's problems on its own. The United States must join a global partnership with other nations as well as international institutions to work towards a stable and productive world (Smith, 2008, p. 5). By engaging with others as friend and not infringer, the United States would alter its global perception, making others more willing to see the American perspective and objectives.

No Longer being the victim: Caribbean Responsibility and Unity in Asserting its Autonomy

Although it is easy and justifiable to place blame on the United States and the history of colonial oppression for the killing of the Caribbean's black power socialist experiment, some responsibility needs to be placed on the internal structure and strife of the Caribbean during this time. The internal strife made the region vulnerable, proving to the foreign capitalistic entities that the Caribbean needed guidance and a watchful eye to control them. The Caribbean, despite being dependent on others, has a degree of agency and autonomy and must no longer play the role of a victim. It must use its autonomy to redefine its community on its own terms. The

Caribbean black power socialist experiment was the zenith of self-expression and liberation for; in modernity it must uphold these same sentiments and invest them into making a stronger more united Caribbean. The black power socialist experiment's purpose was to give these nations pride, identity, solidarity, autonomy, and economic independence. The Caribbean in the present day must create a unified coalition that would strive for these same positive elements once again. The Caribbean during its pre-independence fight was inspired by the ideology of Black Nationalism and autonomy; they must try to re-create that same passion and drive to make the Caribbean as a whole stronger. The Caribbean should work towards political, social and economic autonomy. It should also be educated and fully aware of entities trying to encroach on its rights and liberties.

Politically the Caribbean must not emulate the colonial and imperialist oppressors; the Caribbean can't live up to the conventions of being in the role of hegemon. Many of the newly independent government leaders tried to follow in the leadership style of imperialists because of their perceived success. However, imperial supremacy is problematic; it is based on racism, classism and greed. By definition the Caribbean must reject that construct; its colonial and racial history of oppression does not allow for it to ever be supreme. The Caribbean must uncouple strength with dominance. It must know that it can be strong without being supreme, dictatorial or oppressive.

The Caribbean needs to be economically independent. It needs to control its own businesses and corporations. When a country, or more importantly the citizens of that country does not own the means of production, the ownership of the companies that make up the economy of that country would forever be in a cycle of dependency with the foreign entity in the

position of economic power, for example the United States. The Caribbean must follow what Malcolm X proclaims in the speech the “Ballot or the Bullet” to be the economic philosophy of Black Nationalism. As Malcolm X states:

It only means that we should control the economy of our community. Why should white people be running all the stores in our community? Why should white people be running the banks of our community? Why should the economy of our community be in the hands of the white man? Why? If a black man can't move his store into a white community, you tell me why a white man should move his store into a black community. (Marable, 2000, p 433)

It is understandable that the Caribbean does not have many resources. However; it must control the resources that it does have. People of the Caribbean must educate their community regarding economics. The community must be made to see that any time they import or buy outside of their own community and spend it in a community where they don't live, the community where they live will get poorer and poorer, and the community where they spend their money will get richer and richer. The Caribbean people don't have the resources so they feel obligated to go outside their community for help. However, they must become conscious of the importance of controlling the economy of the region. According to Malcolm X to get out of the grip and confines of the capitalists, blacks must “own the stores; if we operate the businesses, if we try and establish some industry in our own community, then we're developing to the position where we are creating employment for our own kind. Once you gain control of the economy of your own community, then you don't have to picket and boycott and beg” (Marable, 2000, p 434). Such practices require responsibility and the goal of economic unity and autonomy.

The Caribbean must come together as one. It must come together to remove the corruption and impediments that are destroying its community. The Caribbean must lift the level of its community; it must hold itself to a higher standard. The Caribbean must no longer be content to blame the white capitalist entities of its colonial past and neo-colonial present, it must re-evaluate itself. It can't change the perceptions of the imperialists, and it cannot appeal to the imperialist consciousness, for its appeal will fall on deaf ears. According to W.E. B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey, white supremacy is an innate feature of society. White supremacy was intrinsically woven into the fabric of imperialism. Therefore, it can never be changed. The Caribbean must change its mind about one another. They must, as Malcolm X put it, "See each other with new eyes. We have to see each other as brothers and sisters. We have to come together with warmth so we can develop unity and harmony that's necessary to get this problem solved ourselves" (Marable, 2000, p 434). How can this be done? By controlling one's own destiny, the means of production, banks, the schools, the economy and the political in the community. This can be done by coming together as one, pulling resources and knowledge together to create a preventive barrier that would at least help each other politically, socially and economically from infringement.

Conclusion

In modernity, change is necessary. Change must be implemented by both the United States as well as the Caribbean, to remove the former from its superior yet much hated role and to give the latter autonomy, agency and freedom from dependency. United States hegemony has sullied American standing in the world, and has made America more hated than loved, creating incredible instability. Changing self-imposed identity as a hegemon is the smartest way forward

for the United States in an ever changing world. Combining U.S. national interest, human interest and global interest would be the best way for the United States to move forward and prosper in the world. It must protect itself in imminent danger, and it must protect the rights and liberties of people without assumptions and infringement, and it must work with other countries and international organizations in fighting global dilemmas. This author strongly believes that it is not only imperative that the United States adopt this new way thinking but for the United States to be introspective before it engages with the world. The Caribbean despite a long past of historical oppression and dependency must set the past aside, cleansing itself from being the victim. It must work together, pulling its resources and knowledge into a protective shield that would impede infringement. With internal and external changes, both the United States and the Caribbean can be autonomous and mutually respecting partners.

Conclusion: Reflecting Upon the Past to Invoke a New Tomorrow

When reflecting upon the demise of the Caribbean's black power socialist experiment and the role of imperial infringement as an impetus in the hindrance of hope and autonomy, one is drawn to comparisons with present day encroachments of agency and sovereignty. This concluding chapter will focus upon this comparison, particularly the absence of learning by the United States from its past mistakes. Through this discussion, the chapter will reflect upon the direction in which U.S. hegemony has shaped not only other nations but America itself, and why it is imperative for America to lose its first world privilege and supremacy. This chapter will also stress the need for the Caribbean to assert its agency as well as to take responsibility for its actions, reflecting upon the past but not letting history define its present and future. Both the United States and the Caribbean can and must reflect upon past history, a reflection that would not only be a period of growth and transcendence for both, but would also be a stepping stone in the right direction, making positive strides for change which would construct a better world today, while simultaneously inspiring and creating a brighter future.

The infringement on the Caribbean's autonomy was not the exception but the norm of the United States' global hegemonic position. The U.S. present day occupations of Afghanistan and particularly Iraq mirror some of the overarching themes of its involvement in the Caribbean. The Caribbean, Afghanistan, and Iraq are of different backgrounds, regions, history and demographics; however, they share a similar outcome of dependency after U.S. encroachment. The autonomy of these countries were all stripped away by U.S involvement because they were not governed the way the U.S. desired, who then put in place pro-United States governments

which it could manipulate. Looking at the current state of the Caribbean would have been useful before the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan.

It isn't nutmeg that's at stake in the Caribbean and Central America; it is the United States' national security."

—President Ronald Reagan, March 10, 1983

"We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long... We will lift this dark threat [of terrorism] from our country and from the world... And our security will require all Americans to be resolute, to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and to defend our lives."

—President George W. Bush, June 1, 2002

Grenada and Iraq are two very different countries with many geographic, political and religious differences. Yet there are many strong parallels between them. For example, the quotations above from two Republican presidents from different eras show that the rhetorical similarities are nonetheless striking. The former depicted Grenada as an imminent threat and the latter asserted that Iraq was a danger to American security, liberty and freedom. Both invasions were sparked by attacks of violence that gave the U.S. the excuse it needed to infringe. The coup that killed Prime Minister Maurice Bishop in Grenada provided an incident that could be responded to, just as the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, provided the context for the war on Iraq. The military invasion of Grenada, known as Operation Urgent Fury was carried out twenty years before Operation Iraqi Freedom and had faded from public view and political memory. However, on that tiny island can be found the precursors to much of what would happen two decades later. Though controversial, it was a preliminary episode where "pre-emption" for security reasons was posed as a justification for military intervention (Anderson, 2007, p1). It was argued that the invasion of Grenada was a defense against Communism and that of Iraq was called a defense against terror. But in the aftermath of both operations, flawed

intelligence would be the common theme. Thus, Grenada could have been used as an example of the repercussions of interventions which may have prevented the similar mistakes being made by the United States twenty years later in Iraq.

The manipulation of the rhetoric of American ideals was used by both Reagan in the 1980's Cold War era to invade Grenada and by President Bush in the 21st century War on Terror to invade Iraq. This rhetoric created a divide between the superior United States and an inferior defiant other. In 1982 when President Reagan was introducing the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), he drew a line between democratic governments in the hemisphere and the New Jewel Movement headed by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. As he stated:

Nowhere in its whole sordid history have the promises of Communism been redeemed. Everywhere it has exploited and aggravated temporary economic suffering to seize power and then to institutionalize economic deprivation and suppress human rights. . . . In the Caribbean we above all seek to protect those values and principles that shape the proud heritage of this hemisphere. Some, however, have turned from their American neighbors and their heritage. Let them return to the traditions and common values of the hemisphere and we all will welcome them. The choice is theirs. (Anderson, 2007, p2).

These words clearly had drawn a dividing line between “us” and “them.” President Bush used a similar rhetorical device of “us” and “them” when invading Iraq, proclaiming that we are protecting the world from “evil doers” against American ideals of freedom and democracy. The United States used this rhetoric to blind the American public to the violence and destabilization against Grenada and Iraq. Robert Beck argued “Just like that which proceeded the March 2003 U.S. attack on Iraq, the Grenada invasion was preceded by maximalist administration rhetoric about regional and strategic threat” (Anderson, 2007, p4). Many Americans were incapable of seeing the infringement and destabilization of Grenada and other Caribbean nations’ autonomy

because all they could comprehend was the threat that they posed. The government played upon the fear of the people which made them blind to violence toward those perceived as subversive.

In 2003, the United States argued that the invasion of Iraq was a defensive action against the imminent threat of weapons of mass destruction; the United States military toppled the government of Saddam Hussein, bombed the country and put in place a pro-U.S. interim government. Subsequently, the claim of weapons of mass destruction was shown to be based on faulty, exaggerated and planted evidence. Similarly, there was a lack of adequate public examination in the aftermath of Urgent Fury in Grenada, and in the years that followed; this has no doubt contributed to the loss of believing that Grenada was an imminent threat. Many government investigations over the years have demonstrated a disturbing lack of evidence behind the claims that Grenada was a threat to the United States and other islands in the Caribbean. These reports were later confirmed in the memoir of Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, who admitted to “an abysmal lack of accurate intelligence” before the Grenada invasion (Anderson, 2007, p5). Robert Beck asserts that the Reagan administration had an “exaggerated perception of the threat posed by a Cuba-backed Grenada” (Anderson, 2007, p.5). This exaggeration resulted in a win for the United States proving the strength and dominance of capitalism and democracy in a Cold War world. But this exaggeration stripped away Grenada’s ability to define itself and create its own destiny. And this exaggeration resulted in a devastating loss of hope, prosperity, and change that the revolution had invoked.

Operation Urgent Fury was quickly completed and considered a success at the time. However, over two decades later Grenada is still be defined by the lies, slander and violence imposed on it back then. The invasion left Grenada at a standstill. Grenada’s revolution was a

time of prosperity and growth in everything from GDP, unemployment, education, and health care. The invasion was not only an impediment to this growth, but halted it altogether. Unemployment today is at 13%, 32% of the population lives below the poverty line and a secondary education is not an option for the majority (CIA World Fact book 2011). What good is an invasion for democracy if individuals do not have the tools to better themselves in the aftermath? Grenada has continued to struggle as a result of U.S. intrusion.

The U.S. should have used Grenada as a lens to see how detrimental the effects to a nation are when America imposes ideals and maintains a military presence. Present day Iraq shares a similar fate as Grenada. Iraq is in a similar situation after the invasion and war as Grenada was in the aftermath of its invasion. On a human level, the lives of ordinary Iraqi citizens have been turned upside down with poverty, violence, crime, corruption, high unemployment, high numbers of refugees, lack of education, lack of health care, lack of running water and lack of electricity becoming the new norm. There is no question that people suffered under the oppressive hands of Saddam Hussein; however, for many, U.S. liberation has become U.S detrimental intrusion. This combined with a three trillion dollar or more price tag for the United States as a result of the war and the enormous loss of life for both U.S soldiers and Iraqi civilians shows that U.S. hegemony, instead of making America stronger, safer, wealthier and more admired has made it weak, unsafe, in financial turmoil and hated. To move forward in the future in a positive way, the United States must look at its indiscretions of invasions, and contemplate whether invading and infringing on other countries is worth the financial, political and social risk. More importantly is it worth the human cost, harming the lives of people at home and abroad?

The Caribbean's black power socialist experiment was supposed to bring liberation from dependency, assert autonomy, and embrace national identity and pride. Jamaica, Guyana, Grenada and the people of Trinidad and Tobago all had good intentions in their movements to bring political, economic and social emancipation to the region. However, despite bringing some reform, they could not fully make the institutional changes that they desired. In fact it is this author's opinion that this movement, in spite of being an inspiring innovative idea was doomed to fail from the very beginning for the following reasons. First of all, the timing was a hindrance to the movement. It was during the height of the Cold War, where socialist rhetoric was seen as a threat by the United States and a welcoming to the Soviet Union and Cuba. As a result, the United States worked tirelessly to eliminate these Marxist regimes. Second, the movements had great expectations; however, these movements did not have the reality of time. Institutional changes could not occur in such a short time frame, especially for these formerly oppressed and colonial states. Third, internal conflict and lack of unity made these movements susceptible to internal and external forces plotting their demise. Fourth, the leaderships of these movements became imitators of the colonial oppressors, following their detrimental examples for leadership. Both internal conflicts within the black power socialist experiment as well as external involvement played major roles in the demise of the Caribbean's black power socialist experiment. However, imperialistic racialized greed had a greater substantial impact that propelled the Caribbean into dependency. Greed and supremacy made the United States continue its dominance in the Caribbean, following the long historical trajectory of foreign control in the region. In the present day, the Caribbean must reflect on but not dwell in the past; it must learn to take responsibility for its actions and the role it played in the demise of the black power socialist

experiment. More importantly, it must unite as one to create a barrier against infringement in the future.

The intentions of the Caribbean black power socialist experiment ignited a generation with thoughts of prosperity, hope, freedom and most importantly change, change from a life of dependency and the overbearing presence of another. However, racism and greed did not let this movement manifest itself into real and substantial institutional change. The United States hegemony has created a superior and inferior construct between itself and the world. This construct that leaves many resentful, bitter, and dependent in a relationship that also leaves some plotting revenge, placing the United States in true imminent danger. The detrimental outcome of U.S. destabilization policies on others, the impact on the people and the financial instability, must make the United States assess and change its position as a hegemon. The United States must change for its own future –the future of the world depends on it. The United States must step down from its high pedestal and reengage with the world. The Caribbean must stand on its collective two feet and display a united front. The Caribbean by definition may never be a hegemon, nor should it want to be. However, its strength can derive from the pride, identity and hope that the Caribbean black power socialist movement once invoked. Internal and external transformation is needed to foster positive change. This change would not be easy. However, as Frederick Douglass once proclaimed, “Without struggle, there can be no progress.” Change will allow all parties, the United States and its global partners, to embark on a new journey that would strengthen the world today, while simultaneously cementing the building blocks to a mutually stronger, prosperous, and stable tomorrow.

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