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William R. Lux

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WILLIAM R. LUX
Department of History and Political Science
New Mexico Highlands University

The difficulty in defining a phenomenon like Black Power is that it has different meanings for its various adherents. Emphasizing this, Trinidadian novelist V. S. Naipaul (1970: 33) recently wrote that:

> Black Power rage, drama, and style, as revolutionary jargon, offers something to everybody: to the unemployed, the idealistic, the dropout, the communist, the politically frustrated, the anarchist, the angry student returning from humiliations abroad, the racialist, the old-fashioned black preacher who has for years said at street corners that after Israel it was to be the turn of Africa. Black Power means Cuba and China; it also means clearing the Chinese and the Jews and the tourists out of Jamaica.

It is this universality that so complicates the idea. In this study, I will examine some of the more salient facets of the concept and attempt to explain its appeal in the Caribbean.

THE CARIBBEAN TODAY

Black Power for much of society in the Caribbean is the answer to a critical identity problem. The Caribbean is not

like Africa, Asia, or much of Latin America (I refer especially to the Indian areas of the Andes) with clearly established cultural bases to return to after a period of colonial rule. Rather, the Caribbean is composed of manufactured societies, labor camps, creations of empire. The educational system—that great perpetuator of the status quo—was designed to produce in the areas under or formerly under English colonial rule little black Englishmen steeped in English tradition and history. (Comparable and equally reprehensible is the teaching of the history of white America to black children today in the deep South and presenting it as *their* history.) The Prime Minister of Guyana, a product of the English system, stated (Burnham, 1970a):

> When we were younger we remember being told about Henry V attacking at Agincourt and saying something about St. George. That was part of our education. Our own history was neglected, if not vilified. In fact, some of those who instructed us made a point, sometimes subtly, sometimes clumsily, of establishing to us that we had no history.

Never American, no longer Spanish, English, or French, of largely African (but also East Indian and Chinese) origin, the Caribbean is now suddenly compelled to define itself. And Black Power and its Africanness is the driving force behind the Caribbean's search for its identity.

The progress of the various areas of the Caribbean in achieving cultural identity has been uneven. Let me cite three examples: In Trinidad, while black Prime Minister Eric Williams and the Peoples' National Movement have raised levels of material welfare for the blacks, as for everybody else, they have not accomplished much in redressing historical imbalance or giving the black man a sense of being master in the castle of his skin. In Guyana, in contrast, black Prime Minister Forbes Burnham heads the black Peoples' National Congress, the political party of the Afro-Guyanese which only recently came to power when Dr. Cheddi Jagan,

supported by the nonblack population, was defeated. Black Power in Guyana, led by Eusi Kwayana (an assumed name), is making significant headway: the recently formed African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa has started teaching Swahili and is trying to recapture some old African customs. The Prime Minister endorses (Norton, 1969), even identifies with, Black Power in his speeches. (At a 1969 PNC rally, attendants wore "afro" shirts.) Haiti is a third example of a Caribbean nation in quest of its African heritage. This island, the site of the first Spanish settlement in the New World, has been isolated until recently because culturally it surpassed its neighbors in achieving an identity rooted deeply in West Africa. It was probably no more African than the rest of the region, but it was free to pursue its Africanness, whereas the other areas were still under European or white control.

This Caribbean search for African identification began historically in Haiti, the first of the predominantly black areas to produce black literature. In effect, Carolian Ardouin, a poet, was the first Black Power literary advocate in the hemisphere. He was followed by a generation of Haitian writers, inspired by French literary giants like Voltaire and Lamartine and utilizing as a resource Afro-American folklore and Creole. In the 1920s, Haitian Jean Price Mars wrote of the black man's need for his African heritage as a cultural resource. More recently, poet-dramatist Aimé Césaire of Martinique has expounded Jean Price Mars' theme. Eventually, non-French and non-Creole but still black writers and other intellectuals like the U.S. poet Langston Hughes, the Cuban Nicolás Guillén, and the Puerto Rican Luis Pales Matos became dominant influences. In Jamaica, the Rastafarian sect, a politicoreligious movement, proclaimed Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie god. And Jamaican Marcus Garvey promoted his ideas of "radical [sic] pride and nationalist organization" and the "Back to Africa" movement in Harlem. In the last fifty years, Black Power as an intellectual

current has changed in emphasis from a wistful longing to return to Africa to an asserted claim on the New World retaining those desired aspects of African culture. It is the difference between a man in bondage and a freedman. Fifty years ago, the millenium was to begin with the return to Africa; today, while Kwame Nkrumah and other African leaders are admired, the black man looks to Mother Barbados, Haiti, Guyana, Trinidad-Tobago, Jamaica, and so forth.

The African heritage of the Caribbean is, as the studies of scholars like Professors Melville J. Herskovits and Fernando Ortiz reveal, profound and extensive. And religion is an integral part of Africa in the New World. As Professor Ortiz (1924) has documented, it persists today through black societies, rites, initiations, dances, and the like. It was recently reported in the Miami area, for example, that, among Cubans who have immigrated to the United States, *santeria,* an Afro-Cuban religion which interchanges African gods and Christian saints, is widely practiced. Again, while the revelation of the practice is new, this aspect of the Black Power phenomenon is not. As a slave, it was not important or even intended that the African should understand the European's religion. (Father Bartolomé de las Casas and other clergymen urged the importation of Africans, human-like creatures without souls, *to save the Indian.*) Later, especially in the instance of the English, missionary efforts were thwarted by plantation owners and the lack of places of worship for black people. The result was the elaboration and perpetuation of black religion, presently another form of Black Power or African identification. Voodoo trappings—saints, altars, the recitation of the Apostle's Creed and Hail Marys—were borrowed from Catholicism, the religion of the white man, and a link with Africa was maintained. Deviant, indigenized forms of Christianity also exist today in the Guatemalan highlands, where the Indians continue to practice their ancient religion. At Haitian independence, blacks were summoned to voodoo meetings where the cry for

independence was raised in songs linguistically tied to Dahomey. Voodoo released the force that terminated France's power in the Caribbean island, and Haiti, an Indian name, replaced the French name Saint-Dominique. Currently, Haitian *houngans,* Cuban mayomberos, and other black cult priests constitute very real politicoreligious power officiating over Cuban lucumí, Haitian voodoo, Brazilian Baghian macumbá, and other related black religious groups. Arciniegas (1968: 548) recently stated: "The Abakuá African Society of Havana has identified the Christian divinities with the African. The patron saint of Cuba is Oshun, the Virgin of Copper, and the Patroness of Havana harbor is Yemaya, the Virgin of the Courses."

Religious (Christian) holidays, accompanied by frenetic dancing, are the reenactment of ancient African black magic rituals. An example of this "acting out" is the annual Trinidad-Tobago carnival which suddenly was publicized as new Black Power activity.

Perhaps the most adept person in developing black religion as a Black Power tool of potential political control, as Diederick and Burt (1969) noted, was the late François "Papa Doc" Duvalier. He recognized in the Haitian people the desire for recognition of their African past and developed an abberated form of Black Power to rule Haitian dog-eat-dog politics. Duvalier propounded for Haiti (as Aimé Fernand Césaire did for Martinique) what he called "negritude" or pride in the African origin of the people.[1] He preached against the mulatto elite, the *petit blanc,* the cultural heirs of the (white) French, and won the respect of the poor black masses, the descendents of the former slaves. (These two factions have been pitted against each other since independence.) "Think Black" was his motto. Of a deep black complexion himself, Duvalier berated the mulattoes (who historically have held political power). The 1957 presidential campaign was made a contest between Louis Déjoie, a rich mulatto businessman and champion of the Haitian elite, and Duvalier, a black man.[2]

Voodoo, which approximated official state religion under Duvalier, was Papa Doc's right arm. He studied and practiced voodoo and published a book on it, which won for him the support of the Haitian intelligentsia, and which subsequently enhanced greatly his control over the people. (He circulated rumors that plant animal spirits worked for him.) A keen observer and student of Haitian folklore, from the beginning Duvalier associated himself with a powerful *loa* (voodoo god) family and subsequently claimed kinship. He publicly proclaimed his allegiance to the loas, an act not even done by Dessalines.[3]

In establishing his control over Haiti, Duvalier, careful not to disturb the lower echelon of the basically uninterrupted (since 1804) political structure, courted and won the support of the thousands of village houngans (voodoo priests). In the 1957 presidential campaign, Duvalier, as did the other candidates, had the support of houngans and *bocors* (sorcerers). Later, as president, he appointed a bocor head of the national militia and brought houngans to the presidential palace to impress upon them fear for himself as the supreme being. "Only the gods can take power from me," he stated.

In summary, the Caribbean world of displaced people is emerging from the purview of European cultural imperialism and Black Power as the vehicle for reaching back intellectually and emotionally (through religion) to Mother Africa for a cultural identity.

THE INFLUENCE OF BLACK POWER

Black Power is the black man's drive for freedom.[4] In the nineteenth century, slave revolts were the focal points of black assertion. They have not been forgotten but are carefully commemorated: Guyana became a republic on February 23, 1970, the two-hundred-seventh anniversary of a revolt led by Coffy, a slave, who was, according to Prime

Minister Forbes Burnham, Guyana's first national hero. Coffy's insurrection was (Burnham, 1970a) "the forerunner of the much better one led by Toussaint L'Ouverture some thirty years after, in what is now the Republic of Haiti."[5]

In Trinidad, the annual, popular carnival is a reenactment of an 1805 slave revolt. And finally, the Black Power political upheavals by a now technically freed people of the last several years are but a continuation of black political self-assertion.

In the last two years, Black Power riots and incidents have ranged in intensity from bombings and recent riots in Grenada, Bermuda, and Curaçao to the April 1970 Trinidad-Tobago mini-revolt by the military. On October 16, 1968, in Kingston, Black Power leaders Bobby Hill and Trevor Munroe instigated social upheaval that was finally suppressed by the police after two persons had been killed. Despite police repression (Cardinale, 1971) since then Black Power graffiti is (still) seen sprayed on walls in Kingston, Montego Bay, and Ocho Rios: "Revolution Now! Kill White! Blood Up! Black Power! "

In Port of Spain, Trinidad, on April 21 last year, one-half of the island's army of eight hundred officers and men mutinied causing Prime Minister Eric Williams to declare a state of emergency. The rioting left four dead, much destruction of property by fire, and considerable apprehension (Guyana Grafic, 1971a). This year, an election year, has been tense, and Black Power has been a factor as demonstrated by the Calypso songs of the carnival singing road marches. Lord Valentine, a deadly serious young man, sang (Noriega, 1971: 5) "We were marching for Unity/Black Power and black dignity, Dr. Williams/No, we don't want no revolution."

The responses to Black Power political violence of the Caribbean governments have varied: Forbes Burnham in Guyana has managed to stay ahead of the movement by assuming a quasi-leadership role. Prime Minister Eric Cairy in

Grenada has suppressed it. Black-controlled government in Jamaica is headed by black Prime Minister Hugh Shearer who is opposed to accommodation with Black Power advocates, even keeping agitators off the island. Because of their inflammatory nature, the works of Malcolm X, Trinidadian Stokely Carmichael, and other Black Power proponents, have been banned in Jamaica. In at least one instance, Black Power violence and the government's response to it have stimulated even further activity, but within the established system; and it has been effective. Since last year's rioting, the National Joint Action Committee, more popularly known as N-Jack, has been Trinidad's Black Power organization. It is headed by Geddes Granger and about a dozen other militants; since the riots, however, this group has been kept under close police surveillance. Lloyd Best (1970), a young University of the West Indies economics lecturer, heads another Black Power group known as Tapia, which also will, at least for the present, work within the system. It leans toward intellectualizing rather than being as action-oriented as N-Jack. While both factions are militant, Best is apparently content with philosophizing. On election day (Williams called up 1,000 reserves which gave him a police force of 4,000), the election was boycotted by the major opposition factions. (Especially significant was the opposition of the Action Committee of Dedicated Citizens headed by N. R. Robinson, Williams' former Foreign Minister.) Less than 30% of the voters turned out to vote, the lowest in the island's history, demonstrating the considerable opposition to the Williams' government (Times of the Americas, 1971).

The paradox here, at least so it appears on the surface, is that these riots, revolts, and boycotts are not against white, foreign oppressors but against black governments and leaders, which causes many to query the rationale behind them. Earlier I cited a quotation by Prime Minister Forbes Burnham on the educational system which trained the first generation of English-speaking Caribbean leaders and which has pro-

duced a unique type: the Afro-Saxon.[6] This is the educated, colored English gentleman who imitates European models (Time, 1970: 27) established in the nineteenth century and who advances by denying. He subscribes to the unspoken but acknowledged philosophy of the European colonialist, which was: "If in time the Negro acquires fitness to rule himself by proving himself equal to the established culture, in time control of the system would be his for the asking." The Afro-Saxon is like the black governor of the Chad Province of French Equatorial Africa who demonstrated his cultural adoption by suppressing the Fighting French Movement. In other words, victory or success for the Afro-Saxon was by accommodation and self-rejection, and thereby his underdog inferiority was cured by conversion. It is against the Afro-Saxons, who succeeded the colonizers in the professions and in the civil service, that Black Power is rebelling; for the freedom that the black man strives for is from the *colonial system* established by the European and not necessarily the European himself.

Certainly the acquisition of political power is the goal in itself of some Black Power proponents, but in most instances the revolt against the neo-traditional Afro-Saxon oligarchy is for more significant purposes. Black Power implies a revolt against anti-black systems and establishments which mete out to black people appalling discrimination. (While situations vary from place to place, an example of this condition is Jamaica, which is dominated economically by the foreign-owned and -directed bauxite industry.) It is a movement to organize against the oppression of blacks at the political, social, and economic levels. If the Afro-Saxon presently heads the socioeconomic system established by the Europeans and if his solutions to economic problems are those of the European, then he is as much an obstacle to national progress as the European was. One could ask what would not be European. In the absence of sufficient native capital, state-directed industry is possible through institutions such as

the impressive Guyana Development Corporation, which solicits and coordinates foreign and domestic capital. The government also encourages joint public cooperatives and private participation in financing development enterprises.

Black Power as a drive for freedom in this instance represents a variation of economic nationalism that endeavors to completely end nonblack control of the nation's resources and economy. An example that Black Power seeks economic as well as political freedom is Trinidad-Tobago where the most powerful unifying factor common to all Black Power groups is the desire to wrest control of the economy from the hands of the nonblack East Indians, Syrians, Canadians, Lebanese, British, and Americans. Recent demonstrations of pent-up pressure and frustration and racial tension are in large part the result of high unemployment—sometimes as high as 25%—which is blamed on this nonblack control of business. The economic development plans being offered by the Afro-Saxons are long-range and will not benefit impatient Black Power proponents who demand results now. Political rights have been or are being earned in both the Caribbean and the United States. Now they demand economic rights. "What difference does it make whether or not the man in control is white or a black man with a white mentality?" they ask. The undercurrent of discontent with 15% unemployment (50% among some groups) and housing shortages continues with no relief in sight. Again, in Jamaica, Marcus Garvey, Jr., one of the most popular Black Power leaders on the island, "like others in the movement has sought to exploit Jamaica's gravest problems: chronic unemployment, discrimination against blacks in hiring by white firms, and nonblack control of most of the country's wealth" (Cardinale, 1971). Black Power leaders point out that, in Jamaica, fifty percent of the economy is controlled by one percent of the population and that one percent is nonblack: Chinese, Lebanese, American, Canadian, and British. In Guyana, Prime Minister Forbes Burnham (1970b) recently stated:

> We have carried out the political revolution. We are independent, we are a republic, we have our national hero—Cuffy [also spelled Coffy]. The economic revolution can no longer be delayed . . . I have been referring to the social and economic revolution, the national ownership and control of Guyana's resources, and their development by and for Guyanese. That is what Black Power is about.

This black-white tug of war for control of the national economics of the Caribbean is another aspect of the traditional struggle between the colonial vested interests, the most powerful social class, and the new, evolving leadership. A writer for the *New York Times* (Bigart, 1968) stated "the first Negro Government in the history of the Bahamas . . decided, after a year in office, to seek 'full and complete internal independence' from Britain." Black leader, Premier Lyden O. Pindling, head of the Progressive Liberal party, and his all-black cabinet, after announcing the decision, were opposed almost immediately by the Bay Street Boys, the powerful group of white merchant-politicians which had been finally ousted in 1967. This year, throughout the Caribbean, elections caused apprehension among investors and caused tourists to shy away from the Caribbean. With Black Power candidates in the opposition parties in all of the islands and with support for them growing (victories were registered in Montserrat and Antigua), businessmen are waiting to see the outcome of the elections.[7] One businessman in the British Virgin Islands summed it up this way: "If the radicals take over throughout the islands, then I'll move out to North America or England."

In summary, Black Power's "role," to quote Burnham (1970b), "therefore, without descending into racial fascism, is to seek to strengthen and support the social and economic revolution that is taking place here." What is required of the nonblack world is recognition that this politicoeconomic revolution for freedom for black people, spearheaded by Black Power, is building momentum and apparently will succeed eventually.

REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS

Black Power is a movement of international dimensions which results from the affinity that black people in disparate parts of the world feel for each other. It is a tie that bridges the gap between the peoples of the industrialized and the emerging nations (especially Africa). Caribbean blacks look with pride upon the achievements of black American athletes like Muhammed Ali, Jimmy Brown, and Sonny Liston. "The Great White Hope," starring James Earl Jones, received the highest ratings possible in Guyana. Caribbean black beauties participate in the Miss Ebony contest. U.S. soul singers, Afro hair and dress styles are popular. Forbes Burnham, speaking in Harlem, recently invited blacks to come to Guyana and build. Nationalities are superseded by blackness and common experiences.

At the end of World War II, nascent Black Power fought for political control throughout the Caribbean from Haiti to British Guiana. Labor groups became restive and more active politically. The cry "Power to the Black" reverberated throughout the region. What catalyst had awakened, almost simultaneously, these groups scattered over the region? Wartime inflation. Concurrently, there occurred, with the worsening of the already deplorable lot of the masses, the evolution of that phenomenon described by the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset as the rebellion of the masses: the politicization of the heretofore apolitical. This international assertion of the masses, really a demand for decent housing, subsistence, education, and so on, took the form of a movement against colonialism and authoritarian rule. In the already established Caribbean republics, new constitutions and politicians promised greater freedom. In the other areas, the more responsive colonialists experimented with commissions and ideas like the West Indies Federation. But the basic problem—the socioeconomic one—remained unchanged. That political independence was not an end in itself, was demonstrated by the course opted for in

many of these emerging Caribbean nations. This becomes more apparent through the writings and speeches of the more articulate spokesman for the area. Within months after Guyana achieved full independence, Prime Minister Forbes Burnham (1970b) stated that:

> independence . . . was but an instrument. If after its achievement no attempt is made to restructure the economy and society; if there continue to be the old white-faced cocktail parties; if foreigners continue to control the wheels of the economy and display haughty condescension toward the natives; if tokenism at the economic, employment and social levels is institutionalized then we shall all with the White man's world of wonders be swallowed up in the earth's vast womb.

What Black Power really was (and still is) rebelling against was the economic underdevelopment of the still unchanged plantation system and society shaped by slavery.

In many ways, the Black Power movement and the Cuban Revolution share the same wellspring of inspiration. Contemporary Cuba is still undergoing the throes of revolution which, in large part, were set in motion by aspirations generated by the reformist Constitution of 1940, reformer Eddy Chibás, and the aforementioned mass movement of the post-World-War-II period. Certainly there also exists commonality, in that Black Power is interested in close relations with Africa because of its African heritage and Cuba likewise is interested in close relations to foment and aid the Third World revolution. Furthermore, since both Black Power and the Cuban Revolution are basically social revolutions, they tend to overlap in constituencies; that is to say, they cooperate and possibly complement each other in their appeal to the black masses of the Caribbean.[8]

Cuban geopoliticians without doubt applaud and probably assist Caribbean Black Power advocates whenever possible as recent U.S. House of Representatives (1970) hearings suggest. Representative Dante B. Fascell, chairman of the Sub-

committee on Inter-American Affairs alluded during some 1970 hearings on Cuba and the Caribbean to the possibility of a Caribbean Black Power conspiracy. He said that "identified people [were] going through the Caribbean area, all black, loaded with money and stirring up trouble. Where they came from seemed to be some kind of mystery, but there were traveling, they were agitating, and they did have plenty of money." When asked directly about this possibility, G. Warren Nutter, Assistant Secretary of Defense, testifying before the Fascell committee, said that while he did not have knowledge of direct Black Power connections emanating from Cuba, "in terms of money, direction, and efforts, [he] agreed that it is probably going on." Cuban exile Manolo Reyes, presently Latin news editor for television station WTVJ, also testifying before Representative Fascell's committee, reminded the committee that, following the January 1966 Havana Tri-Continental Conference, Cuba began training insurgents for the Third World. At that conference, special attention was given to exploiting racism. Cuban black instructors were used to train African recruits from the Congo, Tanzania, Senegal, and other countries. The final declaration of the conference urged (Bethel, 1966: 27) support "for American Negroes and the civil-rights movement." With an ominous note of finality, the Fascell committee concluded (U.S. House of Representatives, 1970: 103):

> The influence of black radicalism will probably spread. Its ideas have considerable impact, especially on the youth. Its main deficiencies seem to be lack of leadership, poor organization, and shortage of funds. Some of the leaders may resort to violence in exploiting periods of unrest or turmoil, and virtually any country is vulnerable to sudden outbreaks.

Given such statements and other avowed intentions by the Cuban leadership, one can assume that Cuba and Black Power are interrelated; however, it is not possible to state definitely

just how active the relationship is. Whether or not Cuba is directly responsible for any Caribbean Black Power activity remains speculation. Germane, however, are other considerations, such as the significance of pan-Caribbean relationships. For example, a movement like Black Power, capable of transcending national interests (i.e., Cuban affiliation with Communist countries)[10] could affect questions such as the readmission of Cuba to the OAS. Because of this affinity, Cuba's chances of being readmitted are considerably enhanced.[11]

Strong pan-Caribbean organization, as stated above, is evidently still lacking, but international Black Power ties are emerging which have political connotations. For example, in Jamaica, where Marcus Garvey, Jr., leads a wing of the movement, Black Power advocates publish their own newspaper, *Abeng,* with a circulation of 15,000 (Schroeder and Haverstock, 1969: 802). It "is spiced with revolutionary jargon." In Trinidad, James Millette leads the Black Power struggle and publishes a newspaper called *Moko.* In St. Kitts, a small Black Power group has been founded by a young University of West Indies graduate named Eustace Estaille. In Barbados, there is the *Black Star;* and in British Honduras, a young Dartmouth-educated man leads the Black Power movement. In early July 1970, these Caribbean (and U.S.) Black Power leaders scheduled a conference to meet in Barbados, but it was cancelled. Then a second conference was planned for late 1970 which again did not produce profound results. Nevertheless, judging from the evolving persistent character of the international movement, present organizational efforts are but a prelude to future successes.

A final consideration in this international facet of Black Power is the bloc formed by the black nations of the Commonwealth. When the Commonwealth leaders met in Singapore last January, the leaders of the Caribbean Commonwealth and Africa as a bloc opposed the proposed London arms sale to South Africa because they would be

used to suppress black Africans internally. "The feeling of the Caribbean," said Trinidad-Tobago's attorney general, "is the feeling of Africa." The Commonwealth leaders at the same conference also discussed and signed a new declaration, drafted by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and supported by the Caribbean, which opposed racial and other forms of discrimination (Trinidad Evening News, 1971). And finally, as a bloc, the black nations have for some time opposed the restrictive immigration policies of Australia and now Great Britain (Guyana Grafic, 1971b).

CONCLUSION

Several observations emerge as being viable as they relate to Caribbean Black Power: First, there exist two communities—the Afro-Saxon carryover colonialist and the black. The assumption that there is nothing of value in the black man's cultural heritage and therefore he should strive for a niche in the middle-class world as an Afro-Saxon is fallacious. Black Power has established and will continue to establish its cultural identity, life patterns, and institutions. In other words, Black Power is a psychological revolution or an aggressive encounter between a European culture and a nascent culture; and it is probable that the movement will parallel that in the United States in rejecting the institutions of white society and reestablishing those of Africa.

Second, the small group of Afro-Saxons presently in power were permitted to assume control based on a white decision that deemed that a "prepared" leadership group existed. This group was expected to maintain (and has in general) liaison with the existing power structure. Political integration into white society now dominated by the Afro-Saxon and colonial traditionalist has been rejected under the first point above. Black Power in some areas may continue to function temporarily within the established political system; however,

given the hard-line attitude being taken in places like Trinidad, Jamaica, and Grenada, this approach will probably be discarded.

Third, the objectives of Black Power dictate a break from the traditional economic dependence on the institutions of white society because the interests of the two groups are not compatible. Based on past experience, they reject the Christian premises of white society that both communities can cooperate and live in harmony as equals with both enjoying equally socioeconomic benefits. Once in control, as spokesmen here in the United States are now asserting, Black Power might well nationalize property for reparation for work done by their enslaved ancestors.

Fourth, the new proletariat masses of the Caribbean neocolonialist world struggle against the society of world capitalism. In the Caribbean as in the United States, there are neo-Marxist elements which radically oppose authoritarian-democratic, "achieving" society and demonstrate mistrust of old leftist parties; and in both areas spokesmen are writers, poets, and other intellectuals as well as politicians. At the present, Maoism, student opposition, and groups of neo-anarchist tendencies exist but are *relatively* unimportant in the Caribbean. Unlike, however, neo-Marxist activities in other developed regions like the United States, in the Caribbean the rise of Black Power cannot be attributed to forces of repression generated by advanced industrial society which limit the concepts of freedom and progress.

And finally, Negroes and colored have internationally become BLACK and visible in a kind of self-determinism. They are achieving organization slowly and are collaborating in their tactics and dealings with the nonwhite world which is giving black nations a new kind of international political leverage. A precise measurement of this power is elusive and difficult to determine. But the potential economic power, when one considers the amount of bauxite produced in the Caribbean region, for example, is impressive.

NOTES

1. Léopold Sédar Senghor, the Sengalese teacher, writer, and politician who became President in 1960, was the author of many poems and essays in which he developed the negritude concept. Some of these were "Ethiopiques" in 1956, "Langage et Poésie négro-africain, in 1954, and Esthéthique négro-africain in 1956. Another negritude precursor, is Aimé Fernand Césaire of Martinique, who was also a writer-politician. Césaire recently has turned to the theatre and has produced, for example, *La Tragédie du roi Christophe* and *Une saison au Congo.* The former occurs in the historic setting of early republican Haiti. It is interesting to note that all three of these negritude advocates share variations of common Afro-French cultural background.

2. In the 1957 presidential contest, there were originally five contenders: incumbent strong black man Colonel Paul Maglioire, Dr. François Duvalier, Louis Déjoie, Daniel Fignolé, and Clément Jumelle.

3. Jean-Jacques Dessalines, successor to L'Ouverture, was a slave who vowed eternal hatred of the white race. He, like Duvalier, dabbled in voodoo.

4. Duvalier's rule of oppression at first glance seems to be inconsistent with the idea that Black Power means the black man's freedom. However, when one recalls the black-mulatto 1957 presidential campaign issue and the scores of mulatto-dominated administrations that preceded Duvalier in a land that historically has known cruelty as a tradition, Duvalier's administration by comparison becomes less offensive.

5. His correct name was Pierre Dominique Toussaint; however, he is better known as "L'Ouverture"—"The Opener."

6. A parallel historic development occurred in the Pacific coast region of Colombia. Here, the African slaves, who were imported to work in the placer mines, adopted completely the culture of the indigenous natives, who are today extinct.

7. Elections pending were in St. Martin, Barbados, Grenada, St. Kitts, St. Vincent, and Dominica.

8. Various authorities agree that racial discrimination against blacks in Castro's Cuba continues. Nevertheless, the socioeconomic lot of the black guajiro unquestionably has never been better.

9. An example of indirect Cuban influence is the 1970 Trinidad military revolt: one of the officers, known to his friends as "Che," at his court martial acknowledged his admiration for Che Guevara, the Cuban hero.

10. Jamaica continued to maintain relations with Cuba, and Trinidad-Tobago recently established technical exchange programs with Cuba.

11. While the Cuban leadership has not directly or actively sought readmission to the OAS, other countries like Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, for instance, have made Cuba's readmission an issue.

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