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Reseña de "Dependency and Socialism in the Modern Caribbean: Superpower Intervention in Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada, 1970-1985" de Euclid A. Rose

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the North American mainland. This financial windfall “demonstrated the benefits of British subjecthood” and had the effect of focusing political disputes toward the distribution of a bounty and away from Parliamentary taxing authority.

This book’s narrow focus on hurricanes yields an elegant synthesis of cultural and environmental history, one that is illustrated throughout by colonists’ compelling first-hand accounts of life in a hurricane zone. This emphasis can be restrictive at times as well, a history of hurricane after hurricane that is sometimes tied too rigidly to the details of this particular kind of catastrophe and not attuned enough to the larger dynamic of how these societies were beset by a range of natural disasters. A chapter on humanitarian relief efforts treats responses to “fires, drought, disease, and earthquakes” as well as hurricanes (p. 143). This widening of the subject hints at the gains to be had by a more broadly gauged history. As it stands, Matthew Mulcahy’s engaging, thoroughly researched book captures a fundamental dynamic: plantation America was a place created to exploit its natural environment and was shaped, in turn, by a range of natural menaces. In doing so, it offers a distinctive and rewarding view of the colonial Caribbean.

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Euclid A. Rose. 2004. *Dependency and Socialism in the Modern Caribbean: Superpower Intervention in Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada, 1970-1985*. Oxford: Lexington Books. 451 pp. ISBN: 0-7391-0448-9.

As left wing politics are sweeping Latin America and the Bolivarian Revolution of Venezuela is enjoying at least short-term socio-economic success, social movements contesting global capitalism continue to be faced with a number of pertinent questions: what is to be done after capturing the state? What are the possibilities for -and limitations implied in- breaking away from neo-colonial dependency and transforming Southern societies from mere backward peripheries to truly developed, independent and democratic countries? Is there a

magic formula for resisting imperial domination? The host of questions highlights the importance of learning the lessons of the past and understanding what went wrong with the failed projects of socialism and anti-imperialist struggle during the second half of the twentieth century.

In the Caribbean, only the Cuban experience has proven to be sustainable even after (Soviet) superpower backing had crumbled during the 1990s. It is generally accepted, however, that this often misunderstood tropical revolution, which continues to play the game of state resistance to globalisation, cannot be imitated. Although this may very well be true, the history of struggle, *the history of trying*, to overcome the forces that have for centuries kept the peoples of the Caribbean under foreign, political and economic domination cannot be ignored. During the second-half of the twentieth century, the English-speaking Caribbean's answers to economic dependency and U.S. imperialism were three-fold: Cooperative Socialism in Guyana, Democratic Socialism in Jamaica and Revolutionary Socialism in Grenada. These three experiments are essential to one's understanding of the stumbling blocks laid before the region's path of coming emancipation.

Dependency and Socialism in the Modern Caribbean: Superpower Intervention in Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada, 1970-1985, by Euclid A. Rose, is a complete application of World-system analysis to anti-imperialist moments and left leaning experiments in the aforementioned West Indian countries. The book tackles the problems of regional dependency from an historical perspective, recognising the (neo-) colonial binomial of centre-periphery, and uses methods of critical International Political Economy to unmask the limitations of socialist experiments under the governments of Forbes Burnham in post-independent Guyana, Michael Manley in social democratic Jamaica and Maurice Bishop in revolutionary Grenada. Rose offers a balanced approach to the failures of these experiments, acknowledging both the internal contradictions found within the movements promoting an end to dependency and social change, as well as the constraints of global capitalism and United States-led destabilisation efforts.

The book begins with a general overview of the economic history of Caribbean societies. Rose recognises that these were artificial constructions made possible by the expanding world capitalist system, and that the peoples now populating the region are not merely bi-products of the same. Rather, that they are the descendents of slaves, workers and indentured servants who created the trans-national wealth upon

which imperial powers rested. The Caribbean plantation, a capitalist institution, was an overseas economy for metropolitan Europe beginning in the mid-1600s, and a geo-strategic, as well as a financial object of U.S. imperialism until this day. But the author uses the economic backdrop as a starting point to elaborate on how institutional dependency, including the implementation of the Westminster model, has marked the way in which politics evolved. The social consequences of colonial history recounted in this book are not necessarily original; they are based upon secondary sources from such renowned Caribbean experts as Gordon Lewis, Eric Williams, Clive Thomas and Sidney Mintz. This reliance, however, does not deduct value from the narrative. On the contrary, the work is enhanced, as what might be thought of as popular academic knowledge is once again corroborated and its relevance to modern times is underlined.

Rose explains that the late transition into modernity, which began at the start of the post-World War II era, was based upon economic models likened to Puerto Rico's Operation Bootstrap, called Industrialisation by Invitation by West Indian economist and Nobel laureate Sir Arthur Lewis. Although industrial and manufacturing plants were successfully established among the English-speaking islands during this period, the impact of mass migration to urban centres together with capital flight and surmounting social inequalities provided the British colonies with more burden than relief. Save for small examples of diversification in production, the only thing modernised was continuous economic dependency on the capitalist world system. Political independence could not escape this reality. In fact, official "self-determination" offered by Britain and the creation of independent states coincided almost parallel with a general decline in global economic production. Economic growth was undermined even further by the oil crises of the 1970s. It was in this context, and in that of the Cold War, that the radical social movements stepped onto the stage of history.

Based on anti-colonialism, Black Nationalism and on the principles of what Rose categorises as Fabian socialism, groups like the New Jewel Movement in Grenada, the Working People's Alliance in Guyana and the Worker's Liberation Movement in Jamaica sprouted throughout most of the region. Paraphrasing Walter Rodney, this new political moment was tied to three principle objectives. First, there was the need for the Caribbean countries and people to break with imperialism; second, the need for Blacks to assume power in the region; and

finally, the need for these societies to be re-constructed in the image of Blacks. The term Black was used by Rodney and others to refer equally to those of East Indian descent. Originally, the movement was not racially intolerant; it only sought to emphasise racial dimensions in class structure. The result in this analysis is a reconciliation of “previously estranged ideologies of socialism and cultural nationalism in the Caribbean.” (p. 41).

The multitude of radical social movements pushed the region’s elite to adopt nationalist and command-orientated measures in the local economies. But in the end these efforts failed, as they forced governments to accumulate debts and gravely distort the balance of payments in trade with countries of the North. Rose briefly mentions Cuba as a model admired by new left-leaning leaders. He does, however, misread the history of Cuban political economy as overly dependent on the U.S.S.R. The mere fact that Cuban socialism still stands in the face of U.S. aggression in a post-Soviet world, demystifies the erroneous presumption that managing a radical autochthonous economic model within global capitalism is totally impossible. In any case, the presence of Cuba and the above-mentioned radical social movements in the English-speaking Caribbean countries made the region an interesting cross point of imperialist forces and competing ideologies.

In Chapter Two, Rose commits to a historiography of Dependency Theory. Starting with a list of grand Dependency theorists, Marxists, Non-Marxist, and Structuralists associated with the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), Rose summarises how this tradition was diffused to the Caribbean during the 1960s and 70s. Influenced by the works of Raul Prebisch and Andre Gunder Frank, Caribbean intellectuals formed their own New World Group at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica to promote indigenous development strategies that would correct the inconveniences brought on by modernisation theory and Industrialisation by Invitation stints. Among these intellectual were George Beckford, Lloyd Best, Havelock Brewster, William Demas, Arthur Lewis, Alister McIntyre, Norman Girvan, and Clive Thomas. From these, Euclid Rose identifies three basic strands: Non-Marxists, Neo-Marxists and Structuralists. Caribbean structuralism was refined by economist Lloyd Best and Canadian thinker Kari Levitt in their production of what is called Plantation Economy Theory. These individuals argued that even in efforts to diversify, the Caribbean economy—save for slight modifications—continues to replicate plantation like structures in modern

production. For the rest of the chapter, Rose goes on to review dimensions of Caribbean dependency other than economy and politics. Very important aspects of cultural and psychological dependency are properly considered.

There is one problem, however, that is presented in this theoretical review. And that is the tone in which it ends and which also characterises the entire book, all the way up to its conclusion. Euclid Rose seemingly adopts the cold attitude that all experiments —socialist and capitalist alike— have failed, and that there is little which can be done in order to change this inherent condition. In other words, Rose does not look to contemporary analysts who offer radical alternatives or short term solutions; he only presents the history with hard economic facts and solid political interpretation.

Chapter Three is dedicated to regional responses to dependency. Here the author sketches out the evolution of economic integration efforts, starting from a metropolitan imposed West Indian Federation (WIF) to the existing CARICOM arrangement. As Rose presents it, the problem with the WIF was that it was initiated by the British in 1958 in order to facilitate colonial administration. For labour unions, political parties and the business community, on the other hand, the WIF seemed like a step towards more autonomy. Unfortunately for these sectors, the plan to unite the colonies was executed during a time of rising social strife and economic turmoil on each country and the consolidation of pro-independence movements. Although this was especially true in the larger countries, smaller members of the WIF looked forward to enjoying the new opportunities and economic safety nets that this link had to offer.

At the disgruntled and competing postures of large Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, the WIF unravelled within four years. Rose argues here, that if the West Indies had become independent within the framework of a solid regional union, the problems of limited resources and dependency would have significantly been reduced. But it was this very experiment which made at least the four major and more autonomous players of the region (Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Jamaica and Barbados) think about how to combine efforts in protecting their economies, in addition to promoting interregional trade.

It was through the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA), initiated by Guyana in 1968, that West Indian countries began a process of developing regional strategies to increasing trade. The major problems that CARIFTA confronted, according to this reading, was the

Association's failure to devise common tariffs and to negotiate uniformly with the countries of the North. It was precisely these inconveniences which encouraged some of the countries in the region to push for the current Caribbean Common Market and Community (CARICOM). The author recognises many of the benefits that CARICOM has brought to the region, cultural and political aspects appreciated. Although this process is still in the making with the appearances of innovative institutions, Rose is sceptical of any real breakthroughs for the future as foreign control over the economies continues to present the basis for underdevelopment.

The fourth chapter brings the regional question to the global level by highlighting very important moments in history when, from within CARICOM, a number of countries started to contest the world system. By participating in blocs and forums associated with newly independent countries found in other parts of the Global South, Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada became leaders in representing Third World desire to overcome neo-colonialism and abolish economic imperialism. How did Rose explain this? First, he reminds us that the entire Caribbean Basin and CARICOM states in particular, have historically been the centre or crossroads of great power politics. This is elaborated by reviewing European colonisation, forced and voluntary migration en masse, physical fragmentation and cultural assimilation as essential characteristics of Caribbean history. Then the author presents us with hard numbers and statistics regarding superpower involvement in the area during the twentieth century. His empirical work demonstrates that out of economic and political interests, both European and U.S. intervention had their shares in crushing contentious responses to the world system in the region. Finally, Rose set the stage for delving into the case studies presented in this book by recalling the moments when the three socialist experiments of the English-speaking Caribbean attempted to lead the entire region into the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 (later UNCTAD). He correctly asserts that due to overriding Cold War politics, the study of international relations often ignores this once promising moment.

In a balanced fashion, *Dependency and Socialism* provides three chapters dedicated to the socialist experiments of the English-speaking Caribbean. Each of these begins with an overview of the particularities of colonial history, which brought the societies into existence. These are followed by a look at how social movements, in particular labour movements, emerged during the early twentieth century. While they

all had their roots in emancipation or abolition politics of the nineteenth century, each differed on how they were related to the emanating forces which eventually led to independence. In some cases there was a natural link between labour politics and the search for more autonomy under the British crown; in others, it was the rise of Black Nationalism which induced a national liberation movement and a push towards socialism.

After each particular historical review, Rose concentrates on the political parties which emerged out of mid-century economic crises and political strife. More specifically: the People's National Congress (PNC) and the People's Progressive Party (PPP) in Guyana, the People's National Party (PNP) in Jamaica and the New Jewel Movement in Grenada. This offers the political scientist with the basis for a contemporary comparative study. He carefully explains class and racial composition, the national versus the local and the in-house conflicts that eventually contributed to the demise of socialist projects in the countries. The case of Guyana is particular, in that the racial politics which plagued the move towards socialism after independence are the same which beleaguer it today in a neoliberal economy; whereas Jamaica and Grenada are presented as victims of internal ideological conflicts and direct foreign interventions.

The three case studies also present how the political movements, once in power, implemented programmes of social reform, economic re-distribution and popular mobilisation. The indicators used are the same found in studies concerning the Cuban Revolution from the 1960s until today, and the current Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela: literacy and employment rates, access to health care and investment in housing and education. If one were to read each case study independently, however, the most important factor leading to the downfalls of the experiments is the host of global pressures which determined the value of those countries' natural resources. In this sense, Rose's analysis is essentially World-system based.

But the experience of *Dependency and Socialism* would not be complete without a full chapter dedicated to the role that U.S.-led destabilisation efforts played in the collapse of socialist regimes in the English-speaking Caribbean. Whether it was through secretly penetrating the sovereign territories to inflate the economies, C.I.A.-sponsored propaganda, pressure to de-link with other socialist states like Cuba, or straight out invasion and occupation, the U.S. government lived up to its reputation as a real rogue state during these historical moments.

Instead of presenting superpower intervention as a factor separate from the pressures of the World-system, Rose correctly asserts that in the modern Caribbean, they are married.

Finally, the book's conclusion can easily be interpreted as pessimistic, since the author points out the essential flaws of each socialist experiment without offering alternatives. The analysis is cold and looks at the dichotomy of gaining power versus maintaining it; hence, the work can be considered objective. But for the critical reader and for those who ponder the left-wing experiments now taking place in Latin America, *Dependency and Socialism in the Modern Caribbean* can inspire social movements of today to take on new strategies that can diminish unequal dependency and redefine development.

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Anthony P. Maingot. 2005. *Estados Unidos y el Caribe: Retos de una relación asimétrica*. Río Piedras: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico. 386pp. ISBN: 0-8477-0376-2.

La traducción al español de la obra del sociólogo Anthony P. Maingot nos conduce nuevamente a reflexionar sobre las formas en que tradicionalmente ha sido representada las relaciones de los Estados Unidos y el Caribe a lo largo del siglo XX. Proponiendo una perspectiva geopolítica que se aleje de las concepciones econométricas, los imperialismos fáciles, la causalidad, y el militarismo condecoratorio, Maingot sugiere un acercamiento a las relaciones entre los Estados Unidos y el Caribe que destaque el carácter asimétrico y en constante cambio de las mismas. A partir de esta perspectiva el autor estructura su texto a partir del establecimiento y definición de la política exterior estadounidense durante la primera mitad del siglo XX, los efectos y transformaciones de esta política ante la nueva situación geopolítica provocada por la Guerra Fría a finales de la década de los 1980 y las consecuencias del período post-Guerra Fría sobre las relaciones entre los Estados Unidos y el Caribe.

En un esfuerzo por representar el carácter asimétrico de las relaciones de los Estados Unidos y el Caribe, Maingot se remonta a las primeras décadas del siglo XX. El autor sostiene que eventos