Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

_The economics of the Caribbean Basin_. MICHAEL B. CONNOLLY and JOHN MCDERMOTT (eds.) New York: Praeger, 1985. xxiii + 355 pp. (Cloth US $44.95)

This collection of 15 papers is divided in five parts. The first considers the efficacy of liberalization policy in the context of small open economies. The second deals with different aspects of the external debt problem. In part three, four papers discuss various aspects of monetary policy and capital flows. Part four contains four papers which discuss government policies in a number of countries and their implications for economic performance. In the last part, three essays provide largely theoretical analyses of foreign exchange markets and their implications for economic policy.

The introductory essay by Connolly and McDermott defines the context for the rest of the book in terms of two themes. The first is that Caribbean Basin countries are both small and open. They are small, in terms of geographic area, population, and economic activity and they are open in the sense that trade in goods and financial resource flows exert considerable influence on their economic performance. The second theme is that while the existing degree of openness makes these countries vulnerable to international events, their prosperity "can only be achieved by a joint liberalization of foreign trade and reduction in the level of state intervention in the economic process" (p. xviii).

Individual essays comprise chapters 1 to 15. First, Arnold Harberger discusses the most feasible tax strategy for a small open economy according to criteria that include minimizing allocative distortions and political unpopularity, the ease and effectiveness of enforcement, and limiting tax evasion. Anne Krueger follows with several caveats about the liberalization process in small open economies as it relates to trade and payments regimes.

Emil-Maria Claassen, in turn, identifies two broad concerns in relation to the contemporary external debt problem in Latin America. The first relates to the
origins, nature, magnitude, and implications of the current external debt problem facing Latin American countries. The second concern is about the feasibility of adopting a market solution or the intervention of international organizations to fulfill the function of a lender of last resort if the international financial system is threatened by widespread insolvency.

Guillermo Ortiz traces the performance of the Mexican economy between 1977 and 1983, identifying a first phase based upon the oil boom, a period of crisis, and a period of economic adjustment.

Then, Ronald McKinnon makes a case for fixed exchange rates and exchange controls if there is direct international currency substitution. With indirect currency substitution under floating exchange rates, he suggests that individual central banks need to adjust their respective money supply to exogenous portfolio shifts in order to maintain internal price stability. In an appendix to this chapter, Jurgen Schroeder questions the latter policy since its would create interest rate volatility.

In Chapter 6, DeLisle Worrell focuses on the bank loan rate as a major link between the financial and real sectors in less developed countries. In Chapter 7, Larry Sjaastad uses data on Chile and Uruguay to support his contention that fluctuating exchange rates among major currencies and the consequent impact on the price of tradables result in real interest rate fluctuations of greater amplitude in small open economies than in larger countries.

In Chapter 8, John McDermott indicates that if commercial banks dominate the capital market and accommodate domestic credit demand in small open economies, then the domestic loan rate may diverge substantially from foreign interest rates. Mats Lundahl (Chapter 9) identifies a common orientation among successive governments as a critical explanatory variable of inefficiency in the evolution of the Haitian economy. This is the idea held by the rulers that the citizens exist for the benefit of the government and not vice versa.

In Chapter 10, Mario Blejer and Moshin Khan utilize data from nine Caribbean Basin countries to test whether public investment displaces or induces private investment. The results lend support to both effects. Theoretical explanations of these results are also discussed.

Michael Connolly links the poor economic performance of the Jamaican economy during the 1970s to the expansionary fiscal and monetary policies pursued by the government. Then, Arnoldo Camacho and Claudio Gonzalez-Vega examine the connection between the emergence of an acute economic crisis and the contraction of the financial system in Costa Rica in the 1980s. Currency substitution is identified as a major source of excess demand for foreign exchange which could explain the reduced role of the domestic currency as a store of value and a means of payment.
In Chapter 13, Peter Garber discusses the literature on speculative attack models which view shifts in asset portfolios as responses to anticipated changes in asset rates of return. In Chapter 14, Jagdeep Bhandari and Bernard Decaluwe analyze the implications of cross transactions between exchange markets in a dual exchange rate system within a rational expectations framework. Finally, Jorge Braga de Macedo utilizes the portfolio approach to develop partial and general equilibrium models of the black market for foreign exchange identifying the policy dilemmas facing policy makers.

In the introduction to the book, the editors generalize the ensuing chapters to claim that "the essays that appear here provide us with an excellent view of the Caribbean, the problems it faces, and the prospects for the future" (p. xxiii). Unfortunately, of the fifteen essays, only eight attempt to relate their analyses to the experience of Caribbean Basin economies. At the same time the exclusive focus of the book on the sources, nature, and implications of problems pertaining to external disequilibrium accounts for almost no discussion of other critical problems facing Caribbean Basin countries. There is no discussion of the significance of problems such as unemployment, the size of the informal sector, low productivity, and the more fundamental problem of slow technological change, which are as much as part of the economic reality of these countries as their external debt, overvalued exchange rates, and excessive domestic credit creation.

The message of the book is not an optimistic one. A few of the essays suggest that government intervention in Caribbean Basin countries not only tends to exacerbate existing problems but often create additional economic difficulties. Some other essays, however, indicate that liberalization is not without its problems. In particular, adverse consequences are inevitable given the limited ability of the small open economy to insulate itself from unfavorable external shocks. These findings do suggest, however, that decision makers in Caribbean Basin countries need carefully assess the relative costs and benefits of particular strategies according to the prevailing circumstances rather than on the basis of a blind adherence to the automatic superiority of an abstract policy orientation.

Finally, this book is not for the general reader, but would appeal more to the specialist interested in modeling macroeconomic concerns and problems that characterize the expanding literature on open economy macroeconomics.

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This book is the latest in a series of scholarly writings on an extremely important historical process of West Indian labor recruitment at the behest of United States capital and state interests in Panama. Its structural perspective rounds off the series of historical accounts, which either has focussed on the Panamanian experience (Conniff 1985; Lewis 1980), on the source impacts, Barbados (Richardson 1985), on a West Indian economic history of the affair (Newton 1984).

Petras's views on international labor mobility, the international division of labor and the resultant core-periphery relations and her macro-level perspective are challenging rather than totally persuasive. She rightly identifies West Indian immigration as a process whereby marginalized individuals “become more directly a part of international social power through the sale of their labor power ... [with] the relationship of West Indian workers to U.S. capital expanding in the Caribbean”. Petras examines this proposition from several perspectives. One is based on the role the workers (as essential labor) played in production itself, at the behest of U.S. capital interests. Second, their availability as global surplus labor provided the core with the necessary labor reserves without which specific activities could not proceed. Low-wage imported labor might be numerically small in relation to the total amount of labor within the core (the U.S.), but its availability is often crucial at conjunctural moments when labor in a certain category and at a certain wage threshold must be acquired from somewhere (usually the periphery) or production cannot proceed in a profitable manner. Finally, there is the aggregate and cumulative contribution of imported peripheral labor to the accumulation of capital by the core itself, a phenomenon that reinforces the inequality of capital growth between core and periphery on a world scale and indirectly contributes to the maintenance of the peripheral zones as regions of low-wage labor (p. 177-78).

Particularly effective is Petras’s concluding argument on “the effects on Jamaica and Jamaicans of becoming a labor reserve within the global international division of labor”. She opines that variations among the following factors among and between labor markets (and wage zones) are the critical structural determinants of where and why labor moves: the wage threshold consisting of monetary renumeration; the level of social wage (depressed in low-wage zones like Jamaica by the household’s subsidies to production and reproduction); social legislation, protection and benefits (to capital) provided by the state; political strength of labor vis-à-vis the state; political strength of labor vis-à-vis capital; the degree and kind of rationalization of production; and the
differentials (between core and periphery) in alternatives to wage labor as sources of household income (pp. 263-64). The discourse on Jamaican labor co-option into the global market place is convincing, but the pervasive insistence on the power and opportunities of U.S. capitalist enterprises is perhaps too dogmatic!

A problem with Petras's approach is not so much her "conviction", but rather her lack of flexibility. She could have balanced the historical account by giving due recognition to say, ecological factors as Richardson (1983) does, to the conjunctural importance of "agency", to contextual geographies as Newton does; to questions of conflictual relations between core-states to the ways in which the neo-Imperial (the United States) challenging the Imperial (Britain); and colonial state behavior differentially affected core hegemony (Jamaica in comparison to Barbados). Further, an explanation of West Indian international mobility as a livelihood strategy should recognize a complexity of behavioral, social, economic, psychological forces, which condition, and are conditioned by, their interaction with contextual and situational factors (Thomas-Hope 1978). Petras's structural argument never really gets to grips with the question of why Jamaican labor in particular, and West Indian labor in general, would be initiated into this international mobility option. Newton's more detailed – if non-theoretically – description of the role of the state and of the recruiting agencies, the importance of transport links, and her recognition that it wasn't just the depressed wage-levels in Jamaica, but the socio-psychological aversion to plantation-work derived from the slavery experience, that prompted the search for material opportunities "off the island", does stand up better to scrutiny than Petras's occasional asides on the initiation process.

There are passages interspersed in this treatment of Jamaican labor migration which either could have been omitted or, if included, further elaborated to include brief accounts of "Jamaicans at home" in Chapters 9 and 10, while arguing further about the power of U.S. capitalist interests to exercise dominance over labor-importing societies, scarcely does justice to the complex impacts of temporary emigration and return, and international circulation on West Indian source countries and their social transitions. Richardson's (1985) account of transformations wrought in Barbados by "Panama money" demonstrates in a much more convincing manner the multifaceted nature of returnee and remittance impacts on that West Indian societies, even as they served as a reservoir of labor.

The accounts of the Panama experience by Conniff and Lewis are duplicated to a considerable degree in Petras's book, and the historical record can now be said to be thoroughly documented. The jury may still be out on which specific conditions prevailed to initiate Jamaican labor to undertake temporary or permanent emigration as a livelihood tradition, to transform migration potential
into active mobility, but these complementary accounts on the Panama experience begin to provide us with clues on the mix of “structure and agency” determinant conditions. Petras’s structural account, at the very least, is an important informative construct.

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When Jerome Wendell Lurry-Wright arrived in Mayaguana, the Bahamian out-island that serves as the setting for his legal ethnography, he was distressed to find that the Magistrate’s Courts had not met for over a year. How could he study law and conflict in a society without active law courts? Like legal anthropologists before him, he adopted the “trouble case” method, which
involves collecting instances of informal dispute resolution and court cases from previous years. The resulting volume includes an ethnography of Mayaguana, typologies of conflict and conflict resolution, an analysis of choice of disputing options, and appendices of legal cases. Although written in the genre of traditional legal anthropology, Luq-Wright’s volume aspires to an innovative theoretical and analytic approach articulated in his claim that “[i]n the future, law and legal institutions are likely to be analyzed simultaneously from a long-term historical perspective, and from the perspective of individual centered, short-term, choice-making, instrumental action and interaction” (p. ix). With the recent publication of a history of legal change in Tanzania (Moore 1986), concern with the past is not the “future” of legal anthropology but, rather, the present, and Luq-Wright’s case study contributes to that endeavor. By contrast, his second concern – choice of disputing forum – should be relegated to anthropology’s past. The focus on individual cognition in the analysis of disputing choices detracts from the contribution that an historically-oriented legal ethnography can make to theories of law and social process and to the study of the legal ramifications of capitalist expansion in the region.

Luq-Wright describes a fascinating case of legal change. He documents the effect on disputing patterns of a profound shift in Mayaguana’s economy, specifically the operation of a U.S. missile tracking base on the island from 1951 to the early 1960’s. During those years, residents and the many “outsiders” employed on the island took their disputes to the Magistrate’s Courts thus forsaking “traditional” means of conflict resolution, primarily arbitration by Church ministers. When the base closed and outsiders moved away, residents resumed pre-base conflict resolution patterns. Luq-Wright’s analysis relates these specific alterations in dispute resolution to broader social change associated with the incursion of a wage labor economy, including decreased interdependence of residents, conflict over new wealth, and the marginalization of religious authorities.

The detailed demonstration of how conflict and its resolution respond dramatically to the introduction of a wage labor economy furthers understanding of law and social process; however, Luq-Wright’s depiction of the change as swift and, ultimately, reversible is deceptively neat. Scholarship of the region suggests it is unlikely that the influence of a wage labor economy on life in Mayaguana disappeared when the base closed. Luq-Wright’s own demographic data (for example, the finding that since the early 1960’s men routinely leave the island for employment) belie the notion that life returned to pre-base “tradition”. Seemingly similar disputing patterns are not a reversion but rather the result of broad social and economic transformations explored only tangentially in the text.
Much of Lurry-Wright's analysis involves presenting data on individual disputing choices that support five hypotheses derived from other legal ethnography: 1) disputants choose disputing forums where they think they will win; 2) disputants present issues strategically; 3) disputants take cases to the forum closest to their own social system; 4) disputants treat the decision given in a forum as one stage in the settlement process; and 5) serious disputes are more likely to be heard in forums where there are fewer interpersonal connections among participants. All of these hypotheses concern the decision-making processes of individual disputants, and the decisions of Mayaguana residents are similar to those of disputants in other communities cross-culturally.

By analyzing choice of forum as primarily a decision-making task, Lurry-Wright ignores the effect of individual choices on ongoing social processes, such as the way that disputants participate in the legitimation of institutions. What Lurry-Wright treats as individual choices between religion and law for conflict resolution might be better characterized and analyzed as the making of the Church and the State by individuals interacting out of their changing interests in a shifting economy. In post-base Mayaguana, for example, men choose the Church for dispute resolution; yet, they rarely participate in Church activities or even become members. Thus, the relation between individual disputing choices and institutional legitimacy is quite complex, with enormous implications for the empowerment of institutions, social groups, and individuals. Exploring this relation more fully than Lurry-Wright has in this volume is a challenge for legal anthropologies of the future.

Lurry-Wright, explicitly attentive to gender relations, provides the data to begin that type of analysis with respect to conflict between men and women. In the post-base period Mayaguana men seek resolution of domestic conflict through the Church, while women look to secular courts and frequently threaten to take conflict there. Experience with Magistrate’s Courts at the time of the base’s operation demonstrated to women that they could call on the power of the government to control men’s behavior. Gender-specific choices in disputing, especially those that empower women, have implications for gender relations as well as for the legitimacy of the Church, the Magistrate’s Courts, and the Bahamian government in the community. Lurry-Wright describes the choices but fails to consider seriously the participation of men and women in the making of institutions, as they struggle together, separately, and against each other when confronted with the incursion of capital.

Much of Lurry-Wright’s brief text has the flat, formulaic quality typical of choice of forum studies in which decisions are reported but where decision-makers are rarely afforded a voice through the text. By contrast, Mayaguana’s residents speak articulately, coarsely, and passionately through the trouble-cases provided in the extensive appendices. Lurry-Wright’s text offers only limited,
poorly edited examples and rarely refers to the appended cases; therefore, readers should skim through the appendices first, to get the flavor of cases as argued, of life as lived on Mayaguana.

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1,000 proverbes créoles de la Caraïbe francophone. AGENCE DE COOPERATION CULTURELLE ET TECHNIQUE. Paris: Editions Caribéennes, 1987. 114 pp. (Cloth France 57 francs)

1,000 proverbes créoles de la Caraïbe francophone, prepared and published by the Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation (l’Agence de Cooperation Culturelle et Technique, or ACCT) innovatively compiles proverbs in French-based Creole from four Caribbean countries: Dominica, Guadeloupe, Haiti, and St-Lucia, gathered by four groups of collectors. The introduction clearly defines the purpose of the publication: to show that the proverbs are still alive; to acknowledge the cultural unity of the various societies; and to demonstrate that the richness of this literature belongs to the entire French-speaking world.

The primary objective of the book is indeed very challenging in its apparent facility, since anyone connected with Caribbean cultures knows at least intuitively that proverbs are still alive, but would have a more difficult time proving it. Unfortunately, the formulated wish of the ACCT does not go far. The mere fact of listing the thousand proverbs in one or another of the French-based Creoles does not demonstrate their actual use by the respective populations. One has to deplore the lack of indications on the frequency or conditions of use of the proverbs. Are all the proverbs used in the same manner, or in similar circumstances and situations, by all sectors of the population? Such questions should have been at least raised if the compilers intended to truly “verify the permanence of oral traditions”, as they state on the back cover.
Another fundamental issue which is not addressed in the book is that of the criteria of selection. In the introduction, ACCT mentioned with satisfaction that the Guadelouppean and Haitian collectors have made some “unconscious” choices since they have not collected proverbs that are “translations of known French proverbs” (p. 8). Had the collection been carefully monitored, subjective choices could have been avoided or at least clearly identified and not left to pure speculations. Perhaps, the two other groups of collectors have also made subjective choices, less easy to identify or apprehend? Further, ACCT’s own criteria to reduce the number of proverbs from 4,000 to 1,000 also stay undefined. Were the themes, the language, or the sheer number the most important criterion? These questions are certainly important for anyone interested in interpreting the information presented in the book.

While – and partly because – the promises of the book stay generally unfulfilled, 1,000 proverbes créoles de la Caraïbe francophone remains a valuable source of information and a very good indication of the research that can and need to be done in this particular area. The researchers listed firstly 93 common core proverbs, i.e. proverbs conveying the same meaning. What is fascinating is that in many cases, the proverbs follow a strikingly similar formulation. Generally, the references stayed within the natural world (sun, moon, stars, animals, plants). On page 29, for a proverb that rendered the idea “Mind your own business”, the animal reference was used by all four countries, even though the chosen animals varied. Sometimes, the proverbs even reach a word for word similarity (on p. 21, for example). Although the evident cultural unity between the four societies presents in itself a vast field of study, it would also be interesting to further explore closer similarities between two or three of the countries involved.

The ACCT warns the readers of the unsuitability of some of the translations, and in view of the difficulties involved in all attempts to recapture the richness and subtlety of any oral literature, one should indeed be indulgent. The collection from Guadeloupe in particular, presented first the literal translations and the appropriate French interpretation, allowing the non-Creole reader to grasp the cultural tone of the proverbs. However, throughout the book, there were some literal translations presented without any other reference, and in other cases, the translation was shockingly inadequate. For example, the Haitian proverb “Zanmi lwen se lajan sere”, which conveys the meaning that you can always count on your friends even if your friends are far away (for they serve as an investment upon which you can draw in times of need), was translated “Quand les amis sont loin, on fait des economies” (p. 39): When friends are far, one saves money. Certainly, a more careful reading could have reduced or eliminated such obvious misinterpretations.
However, despite its limitations, the book does convey the wisdom, richness, and beauty of Caribbean oral traditions. The cultural similarities between these societies transpire in the choice of the themes, the common schemes of thought, the shared concerns and values. ACCT should be commended for publications of this type, which bring Caribbean cultures to a world-wide community of francophone readers. Through the pages of the book, the proverbs seem to be playing with each other in a delightful "lago kache" (hide and seek) where words take special meaning and power. *1,000 proverbes créoles de la Caraïbe francophone* leaves anyone interested in the Caribbean with the desire to learn more about the region’s cultural richness through the similarities and diversities of one of its subparts.

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This work falls into the realm of decolonizing criticism, practised most notably by the Nigerian critic Chinweizu, who, with Onwuchekwa Jemie and Ihechukwu Madubuike, published *Toward the Decolonization of African Literature* in 1983. Not surprisingly, the preface to Saakana’s volume is by Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, whose essays laid much of the groundwork for the Chinweizu study. The main purpose of all of these studies is to halt what Ngugi here terms “cultural engineering by imperialism” by focusing upon the “history of resistance” rather than the “history of subjugation”. They insist that African or Caribbean authors and critics must base their works upon a vision of their society as resistant to colonial domination, and that to fail to do so both diminishes their accomplishments and retards the process of cultural decolonization.

Previous works on Caribbean literature have emphasized the resistant quality of Caribbean literature. For example, Selwyn Cudjoe argues in *Resistance and Caribbean Literature* (1980) that all literature reflects history, that Caribbean history is a history of resistance, and that Caribbean literature therefore reflects this particular history. But Saakana differs from such critics in that he believes that literature may not always reflect history and that Caribbean literature, in particular, has failed to do so. In contrast to such other expressions of Caribbean
life as Salsa, Calypso, Reggae, and Kadance — all of which are rooted in Afro-Caribbean popular culture — Caribbean literature, because of its authors’ “acceptance of middle-class aspirations and goals” (p. 14), “of the benefits bestowed by a British educational system” (p. 111), is too much an expression of the colonizer rather than of the colonized. What Saakana advocates, therefore, is that writers no longer accept “external” cultural and literary traditions but look to “internal” popular culture as their source.

Saakana’s basic argument that the writer, no less than his subject, has been a victim of colonialism — that writers have been “unconscious vectors of their colonial education and consciousness” (p. 14) — is a powerful one, and it is the logical extension of the idea that all literature reflects history — that, to put the argument another way, history may prevent the author from creating literature that reflects history. Because of the colonization of the mind, the writer has had no choice but to write in the tradition of the colonizer’s literature. Even if his intention were to do otherwise, he would still be caught by his own duality. But Saakana muddies this argument by simultaneously suggesting that the writer might have some choice.

Saakana believes that the real history of the Caribbean is one of successful resistance to imperialism (a belief that in itself diminishes his position on the colonization of the mind) and that this history has not been revealed in literature because of the authors’ “limited vision and impoverished knowledge of the historical past” — “a result of the colonial status of the Caribbean as a region and the massive effort devoted to inculcating a deliberate feeling of inferiority and weakness in its young writers and intellectuals” (p. 18). But at the same time he seems to acknowledge that another view of Caribbean history is possible when he says, at the end of a condemnation of Ralph de Boissiere’s *Crown Jewel* (1952), that he does not wish “to beg that the writer, in an over-zealous dream, depicts the victorious workers when reality is different, but that the requirements of progress even in defeat, of the will of resolve, of striving to transcend the social circumstances of history, are the standards by which the writer must be judged” (p. 88). In other words, Caribbean reality is victorious resistance, but if the reality is not victorious resistance, the writer has an obligation to pretend it is, though Saakana would not want the writer to speak falsely.

This muddleheadedness epitomizes the central problem with Saakana’s work — his insistence that the writer be someone he isn’t, a position that undercuts his basic argument that the writer cannot be other than what colonialism has made him. H.G. de Lisser’s *Jane’s Career* (1914), fails to be authentic Caribbean literature because the story “perpetuates a lie: social forces are to be outwitted, not confronted with violence”. Broglie betrays the strikers, and Jane, who marries him, mimics her former colonized employer. Instead, De Lisser should
have depicted Broglie as a leader of a collective, successful, and, it is assumed, violent struggle and Jane as a rebel against white, or brown, European middle-class standards. But, as Saakana points out, De Lisser himself was "simultaneously progressive and reactionary, and certainly had no faith in the black poor governing themselves". In other words, De Lisser wrote from his own perspective as one of the colonized. What Saakana asks the reader to do is to judge such writers not according to the fidelity with which they represent their world as they see it, but rather according to the success with which they fake someone else's perception of their world – in particular, that of such critics as Saakana. If previous critics betrayed the cause of Anglophone African or Caribbean literature by their insistence on imitation of British literature, contemporary critics might betray it by their insistence on the substitution of perceptions that are equally secondhand.

This insistence that the writer not be true to himself – or that, magically, the writer be someone he isn’t – underlies all of Saakana’s judgements. The absurd lengths to which this demand takes Saakana can be seen in his critique of Jean Rhys’s *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1968). Saakana criticizes Rhys for not permitting the black woman Christophine to triumph over Rochester, oblivious to the fact that without Rochester’s success in combatting her power and carrying off his West Indian heiress we wouldn’t have either *Jane Eyre* or *Wide Sargasso Sea*. (Indeed, one wonders whether Saakana has read *Jane Eyre*, since he says *Wide Sargasso Sea* “ends on a note of hope ... as Antoinette is attempting escape” (p. 61). She is deluded: her escape, as we know from *Jane Eyre*, is death).

The writers that Saakana chooses to illustrate the failure of Caribbean literature are significant ones. To his credit, he does not exempt George Lamming and Edward Kamau Brathwaite – the two authors whom Ngugi feels should have been given “more extended analysis” and who have traditionally been singled out as decolonized Caribbean writers. His most detailed study is of V.S. Naipaul, whom Saakana shows to be a victim of colonialism, while simultaneously suggesting that the psychological trauma he has undergone has been his own fault. Saakana can’t have it both ways. But whether in his personal life Naipaul has resisted victimization sufficiently or not, he has created characters who realistically portray the divided self that colonized people suffer.

All of which takes us back to the basic assumption of this volume: that Caribbean history is the history of resistance. Writers of history tend to focus upon events involving groups of people, portraying the protagonists in these events as emblems of issues, and assume, if they do not substantiate, that the spaces between the events are filled with lesser moments of the same sort. But authors of imaginative works are usually consumed with the day-to-day existence of ordinary individuals. Whereas Caribbean historians may very well view Caribbean history as a series of successful, violent struggles of the masses
of the people against colonialism, Caribbean writers of fiction and poetry may see Caribbean life much as Henry David Thoreau saw life in general – as people leading lives of quiet desperation. Writers have to write about what they are most familiar with, and even after studying a stack of books on Caribbean history proclaiming it as the record of violent mass resistance against imperialism, they may still be truer to Caribbean life – and hence to a Caribbean history of another sort – if they depict figures who either embrace the values of the colonizer as their own or who in desperation resign themselves to these values or who are defeated struggling against them or who struggle, perhaps without violence, towards a victory of the individual, if not the mass, soul.

Not only does Saakana insist that Caribbean history and literature have the same content, but he places all of Caribbean history and all of Caribbean literature under the same umbrellas. Nowhere does he say he is writing about the Anglophone Caribbean, but all of his examples come from that division of the Caribbean. Moreover, Saakana jumps from one area of the Anglophone Caribbean to the next with such rapidity that the reader is left with the illusion that all of the separate histories and separate literatures of these areas are the same. Indeed, Saakana tries to do far too much in too few pages, and the result is flimsy, more like a compendium of observations than a sustained analysis. The work is a little over 100 pages long, but in it the author purports to give us the history of Caribbean resistance and Caribbean literature, an analysis of Caribbean language, and examinations of several particular Caribbean authors. When one considers that each area of the Anglophone Caribbean has its own history of resistance, its own literary history, its own complex world of language, its own stable of authors, one glimpses the weakness of this volume.

The problems of this work are exacerbated by a variety of technical flaws, the most important of these being a slapdash construction of sentences, which often don’t make any sense at all.

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This book consists of one hundred myths and stories collected by Cees Koelewijn, a schoolteacher for eight years (1973-81) among the Trio Indians at the Indian village of Tepoe on the upper Tapanahony river in Suriname. There is a useful short Introduction on the Trio, and a brief concluding Commentary which gives some analysis of the texts, both by Peter Rivière. They are intended to do no more than place the stories in their cultural and historical context.

The Trio, of the Tapanahony-Paroe rivers area of the Suriname-Brazil border, were independent until 1959, when they came under intensive mission influence – Fundamentalist Protestant in Suriname and Roman Catholic in Brazil. From being dispersed in small villages, the population became aggregated in a few large mission villages where they underwent rapid and radical social change. In Suriname the provision of medical care and education soon was taken over by a Dutch-Surinamese Foundation which trained Trio to staff these services. In his Introduction, Rivière suggests that there is evidence that the Trio have begun to re-establish a more traditional pattern of dispersed settlement while maintaining contact with the missions as commercial, medical, and educational centres (p. 4), and that there has been a recent revival of smoking and drinking alcoholic beverages (p. 4), which were important elements of traditional culture. This may indicate a growing interest among the Trio in the idea of Trio culture and identity, something which is implied by Peter Kloos in his Forward to the book. The data were collected before the current guerrilla war in the interior of Suriname, and the Introduction does not mention any consequences of this development.

During his residence among the Trio, Koelewijn found that young people were losing interest in their traditions and culture. Assisted by an ex-shaman, Tëmeta, who supplied him with most of the stories, he collected 105 texts which he transcribed into Trio, the Indians having been taught to read and write in their native language by the missionaries. His intention was to provide the Trio, in their own language, with a record of their traditional oral literature. A two-volume work was produced in collaboration with Dr Peter Rivière and published by the Algemeen Diakonaal Bureau.

The present work is a development, in English, from the original project, with the Introduction and Commentary added. Its intention is to provide “a readable English translation with a mild Trio flavour (p. xii)” . In the editing a few of the original texts have been omitted, as has some genealogical material, and much of the onomatopoeia characteristic of Trio story telling has been eliminated. In
order to convey some of the flavour of the original, the Preface contains
eamples of direct translation from the Trio (p. xiii) and two of the texts (texts
70, 100) are left closer to the original than are the others. In addition, text 100
is also reproduced in Trio.

The stories are loosely ordered according to content, so that origin myths are
grouped together, as are myths about the adventures of human beings with
spirits, stories of historical events, and fable-like stories. These are not hard and
fast classifications. They place the stories in some type of sequence. Among
themes prominent in the texts are features of traditional Trio life such as the
obligation of a man to supply his close affines with meat; trading partnerships;
marrige with a cross-cousin or a sister’s daughter; shamanism; and revenge
killing. Rivière’s Introduction places these in their cultural context. Particularly
prominent are the themes of shamanism and revenge killings, which in some
texts produce stories with elements reminiscent of classical Greek tragedy. Take
for example text 65, “The Feud by Accident”, in which the loving relationship
between a husband and wife is tragically shattered when, during amorous play,
she thoughtlessly pats the tip of his erect penis with a hot spoon and kills him.
In spite of her obvious grief and the fact that the homicide was clearly
accidental, her dead husband’s younger brother, who marries her, feels
constrained to kill her in revenge. He does so in a singularly gruesome manner,
which is copied by the dead woman’s brothers when they avenge her in their
turn.

Many of the stories emphasize ideal Trio behavior by focussing on its
converse. Common to many of the texts is the “maraso”, the individual who is
unteachable, who does not think before he acts, who does not listen to what he
is told and who thinks he knows everything. As a result his actions not only
bring grief upon himself, they frequently cause some fundamental and
irreparable loss to the Trio as a whole. Antisocial activities, such as gossip and
drunken misbehaviour, cause harm. Inhuman actions, such as matricide or
patricide, which would be unthinkable in normal life, often are associated with
shamans. The shaman has acquired special powers and it is his duty to use them
to protect his people, but he may use them for evil purposes, for his own benefit
and to their detriment. Several stories associate shamans with cannibalism, a
quality shared with non-Trio such as the Akurijo (text 81), Bush Negroes (text
86), and Europeans (texts 86, 91).

Not surprisingly, the myths show some evidence of possible Christian
influence, for example the idea of resurrection (or some similar process) after
three days (texts 4, 7), and the role of birds in the aftermath of a great flood
(text 44). In his discussion of Trio culture and contemporary developments,
Rivière stresses the syncretic and changing aspect of myth and religion, but
believes the stories presented here show little change in their main themes from
those of traditional Trio myths (pp. 12-13). His short concluding Commentary on the stories contains a useful comparison of Trio myths with those of the Amazonian culture area in general (pp. 300-04). He also does some structuralist interpretation of the meaning of the Trio stories, concluding that they are constructed around the relationship between the visible and the invisible world, and that this is a moral and a causal relationship as well as a physical and spatial one. Accordingly, it is from this mixture that the stories derive their force for the Trio (p. 309).

Such a conclusion appears open to one common criticism of structuralism, namely that it takes complex ways to reach what appear to be simple and obvious conclusions, but the Commentary is intended to be brief and cannot attempt a more detailed analysis. Similarly, Rivière can only touch on the interpretation of the symbols contained in the stories, but is able to make some interesting suggestions about their meanings nonetheless.

To social scientists the main value of this book is the contribution it makes to myths of the Amazonian region, and of tropical forest Amerindians in general. It adds to the material already published in this field, and provides further data for the analysis of myths from this area, and that of myth and oral history in general. For ethnographers, it is a valuable addition to the data on Trio culture. It is also of interest to the student of oral history and mythology. Finally, one hopes that the original project will prove of value to the Trio themselves too.

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Sojourners of the Caribbean: ethno genesis and ethnohistory of the Garifuna.
(Cloth US $29.95)

This book tells the story of the Garifuna, a people with both Amerindian and African roots, whose ancestors were first defeated, then deracinated by the British from the Eastern Caribbean island of St Vincent in 1797 and deported to the bleak islands off the Central American coastline.

Within a matter of weeks they had succeeded in negotiating with the Spanish on the mainland both to agree to their resettlement on the coast and to transport them thither. Thanks to their high birth rate and their prowess in warfare,
fishing, forestry and agriculture they soon began to play an important part in the economic and sociopolitical life of the Atlantic Coast, astutely playing off the imperial powers against each other. In time a new sense of Garifuna identity and separateness evolved. Miscegenation with the Miskitos (another Afroamerican people) and other Blacks – with whom the Black Caribs coexisted, at times uneasily, in the emerging nation states of Honduras, Belize and Guatemala – did not destroy the self identification of the Garifuna.

Nancie Gonzalez ably documents the various threads in this fascinating history. She also brings considerable scholarship to bear on her analysis of the cultural and social factors that underlie ethnicity. The author’s contact with the Garifuna dates back to 1955 and she has come to achieve the proud status of “a female elder” (p. 96). She has also done research into the historical roots of the Garifuna in the archives of metropolitan and Central American libraries and also in St Vincent itself.

Fascinating as this wealth of historical detail undoubtedly is, not all of it bears directly on the ethnogenesis and ethnohistory of the Garifuna, nor does it provide a complete picture of the structural elements of ethnicity. The book is a solid ethnography, but falls short of its blurb “... to examine the nature of ethnicity”.

Gonzalez began the historical research around 1975 “with the intent of identifying and examining Black Carib roots” (p. 4). The impressive volume of her bibliographic citations notwithstanding, Gonzalez did not follow up some important leads central to her major theses on retentions and syncretisms. She supplies weighty data on diet, surnames, cultivation, domesticity... the meat and drink of ethnography. More focussed research would have confirmed the similarities between the Garifuna and other Caribbean peoples while strengthening her theoretical arguments as well as her ethnohistorical evidence.

In her discussion of the Amerindian roots of the Garifuna, Gonzalez often cites W.C. Farabee as an authority on Amerindian life on the mainland. She would have been on firmer ground had she relied on more authoritative sources for early mainland Carib societies. The works of W.E. Roth and the Schomburgk brothers, to name two standard sources, would have allowed her to sift more carefully the conjectures of Farabee and avoid the error, for instance, of seeing rectangular houses as an African influence on the Island Caribs.

There is also the ethnocentric declaration that “At some point before leaving St Vincent, oratory skills were learned...” (p. 31). The natural eloquence of Amerindian peoples is attested to in many of the early sources and one example of oratorical display is related in Richard Schomburgk’s account of meeting a Makushi in an isolated settlement in 1842 (vol. 2, 1922: 165). The Island Caribs did not need European marauders to teach them eloquence.
Regarding the Amerindian roots of the Garifuna, Gonzalez could easily have traced the medicinal use of tobacco, as well as the well-known Garifuna independence and migratory patterns, back to an Amerindian past. She does briefly mention tobacco but the evidence of this Amerindian cultigen being still central to Amerindian medicine today provides yet another fruitful lead, which she twice fails to follow up.

But for those interested in the pan-Caribbean dimension in any ethnography of one of the area’s peoples, the weakest section of this work centers around the historical roots of Garifuna ancestor rites. While Gonzalez does link the Garifuna chugu or dugu to African ancestral spirit worship, her analysis of the historical evidence is superficial and the argument, as a result, inconclusive.

The John Canoe, for example (mentioned only twice and almost in passing by Gonzalez) which is linked to obeah in some Caribbean territories (perhaps in Central America also since it survives in Guatemala (p. 95)) traces its etymological roots back to West Africa. Konnu has been glossed as “spirit” or “avenging spirit” which is what the latter-day masquerade (as John Canoe is known in Guyana) is about: the cleansing of the community by the spirits. The dugu, which has increased in popularity in recent years, among both Central American Garifuna and those in the diaspora, sits squarely in this tradition.

Gonzalez’s accounts of the dugu, together with her photographs of children practicing to be masked dancers and stilt walkers and of the John Canoe, offer only tantalizing glimpses of the links between the Garifuna and many other Caribbean peoples. These go back to Ga and Yoruba festivals also containing the elements of mask making, songs and dances, feasts and rum drinking. Creighton’s recent scholarship establishes that this mask-making tradition goes back to the Yoruba Egungun. There is none of this analysis in Gonzalez.

What Gonzalez’s work lacks in ethnohistorical research is balanced by her exploration of the structural principle of ethnicity and current Garifuna lifeways. In her book we view a people who are rapidly losing their language and the land base which was once theirs in Central America and who as a result largely believe that the only viable future lies in migration to the North.

These are depressingly familiar themes and one can only speculate for how much longer the clinging to the old ways of ancestor worship will stave off the inexorable homogenization which Gonzalez also documents. In this context Gonzalez’s early quotation of the words of a Black Carib in 1797 assumes a special poignancy: “I do not command in the name of anyone. I am not English, nor French, nor Spanish, nor do I care to be any of these. I am a Carib, a Carib subordinate to no one. I do not care to be more or to have more than I have” (p. 48).
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This book is the first fruit of an ambitious project designed, in the author’s own words, “... to provide a historical narrative and analysis of the fate of Carib populations... [so that] the variety of social pressures exerted on Carib groups in Guyana and particularly the Orinoco Basin can be uncovered and the origins of their current plight made clearer” (p. 1). In addition to an ethnographic stint in French Guyana of unstated time and duration, Whitehead examined historical records in Spain, The Netherlands, and Great Britain, as well as a good bit of the pertinent literature in anthropology and history. The text, although modified, retains the tenor of the doctoral thesis for which it was originally written. It is also marred by frequent misspellings, grammatical errors and awkward circumlocutions and phrasing.

Nevertheless, the effort was worthwhile, for Whitehead has uncovered a mass of previously unknown references to the various groups collectively termed “Carib” by the first European visitors and settlers, and, later, “Karinya” by the people themselves. At times this anthropologist became wearied by the historical detail provided, wondering whether an accounting of the almost day-by-day adventures of various European personalities was necessary to the analysis. The narrative shifts from such description to analysis of various problems of interest to anthropologists, such as the nature of the aboriginal society, including settlement patterns, community and kinship organization and structure, subsistence, trade, warfare and raiding, and leadership.

An entire, penultimate, chapter is devoted to cannibalism and slavery, in which the two are discussed in relation to European attitudes (Whitehead
suggests "obsessions" might often be more correct) and laws that determined the way in which Caribs were branded as being subhuman, and therefore appropriate targets for extermination or enslavement. At the same time, he shows that traditional internecine conflict among Caribs as well as between Caribs and other groups, contributed to their fate.

Still, his conclusion is that, contrary to much of previous scholarly opinion, the surviving Caribs did not simply retreat or submit to missionization. Rather, Whitehead maintains, their "nation" survived by continued resistance to both missionary and military conquest, as well as through the absorption of other Indian groups that had suffered population losses to the point of being unable to maintain a viable society. He believes the sense of "being Carib" observable among modern South American Caribs illustrates a continuity of ethnic consciousness at least since conquest times.

Although many will quibble with specific details and interpretations, this is a book that must be read by all Carib scholars, as well as ethnohistorians in general, for Whitehead has managed to present the conquest and its aftermath in the Orinoco region from the perspective of not only the different European competitors, including both national and ecclesiastical entities, but also of the Caribs themselves. He has turned the seemingly contradictory European accounts into indicators of their own aspirations and frustrations, which in turn permit a modification or reinterpretation of their observations and utterances regarding the Caribs.

As one who has spent years studying the so-called Black Caribs, themselves descendants of Island Caribs or Kalinago — who often joined with their distant South American Karinya cousins in resisting the European onslaught, I was duly impressed with the mass of information presented, which may force me to reconsider some of my conclusions concerning the present-day Garifuna, or more properly, Garinagu (Kalinago). The tendency of the latter to absorb other peoples, as well as their pride in "being Carib" in spite of the fact that their language is basically Arawakan and their racial makeup largely African, may well stem from the same influences suggested by Whitehead.

The social and cultural distinctions between the prehistoric and historic Arawak and Carib are not clarified here — rather, they are further blurred. Even the description of the political tensions that all agreed existed between these groups is confusing. Whitehead indicates that the Caribs had driven the Arawaks out of the Orinoco Basin by the mid-17th century (pp. 17-18). Yet, he also emphasizes the kinship, trading, and military alliances between the Island Caribs (Kalinago) and mainland Caribs at the same time (pp. 87, 95). Since linguistic and ethnohistorical evidence suggests that the former were primarily Arawaks who had been infiltrated by Caribs at a time not long before, it is clear that being "driven out" may have meant merely absorption or cooptation.
Despite the importance of the new information and Whitehead's interpretations of it, he should have recognized others who have blazed the trail before him. The record is not quite so blank or so in opposition as he pretends. He cites Rouse's works of 1948, but ignores his more recent and important contributions (1983, 1986). Similarly, an important article by Myers on Carib cannibalism is uncited (1984), as are most of the papers given in a symposium on Caribs at the 44th International Congress of Americanists in Manchester, England, although his citation of Dreyfus (1982) indicates that he was aware of that event. Finally, some of his suggestions concerning the effect of the native sociopolitical organization in determining the reaction to the conquest were anticipated in a classic article by Service.

Again, I stress that the book contains important information and insights. I wish only that it had been better written and presented.

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This volume is concerned with an Amerindian village, called "Orealla", located on the Guyanese bank of the Corentyn river. The author intends to present an analysis of the "folk" concepts mattie, eyepass, manners and respect and Indian right as they were employed by the Amerindian villagers in the early sixties. He
Chapter Two, "St. Domingan refugees in the Lower South," celebrates the contribution of the St. Domingan refugees and the slaves they took with them in maintaining a unique French Creole identity in the Mississippi Valley and especially in Louisiana. Hunt reminds us that if French was still the official language of the New Orleans City Council twenty-five years after the Americans took over the government of the territory, it was in large measure thanks to the refugees from St. Domingue. He points out their influence on local architecture, cuisine, intellectual life and customs; he surveys the French language press in New Orleans, and gives thumbnail biographies of some St. Domingan refugees who started a new life in the American South and achieved success in various endeavors. This chapter utilizes a number of original sources, and seems to me the most interesting in the book.

Chapter Three deals with "Toussaint's image in antebellum America," and is also quite interesting. Hunt explains why Toussaint Louverture was universally celebrated in the United States, by Jeffersonian Republicans as well as American Federalists. He was respected as a responsible leader, a law-and-order no-nonsense statesman who imposed a stringent labor code on his newly-freed compatriots, reassured the White planters and thereby improved the economy; most of all, he was admired for having opposed the French expeditionary force, seen at the time less as fellow whites than as dangerous Jacobin revolutionaries whose ideas might well come to subvert the social order in the United States. Hunt concludes that "Americans who were proslavery or antislavery were willing to abandon their racial stereotypes when it was to their advantage to do so. (...) Toussaint Louverture's fate became a rallying cry for those American Federalists who wished to discredit the French in view of the excesses of the French Revolution and their own desire for increased commerce with the French West Indies. Even southern slave owners were more anti-French than anti-Negro: The French threat to their expansionist plans in the Mississippi valley was immediate" (p. 87). In American eyes, Louverture's successor Dessalines was obviously a disaster, but Hunt says nothing about American reactions to King Henry Christophe, whose achievements paralleled Toussaint's and who, furthermore, encouraged the cultural, economic and religious influence of Anglo-Saxon Protestants in his realm (he engaged two maiden ladies from New England as tutors to the royal princesses). It would have been interesting to find out whether Christophe was ignored or denigrated in the United States, and if so why.

Chapters Four and Five are respectively entitled "The Southern Response to the Haitian Revolution" and "Blacks and their Allies Respond" and seem to me disappointing. To begin with, Hunt treats the whole gamut of American responses not only to the Haitian Revolution, but to subsequent developments in the country up to the outbreak of the War Between the States; it is difficult
to do so in a mere eighty pages without laying oneself open to accusations of incompleteness and superficiality. Be that as it may, what these two chapters illustrate is well-known and fairly obvious: Southerners and racists were obsessed by the Haitian Revolution, and suspected that all attempts by American slaves to revolts were directly or indirectly inspired by the "Black Jacobins." They offered the excesses of the Revolution as proof that "Slaves simply were not ready to enjoy the privilege of liberty (...) and that) any attempt to force 'French ideas' upon them would destroy southern civilization" (p. 124). The instability and abuses that marred the first half-century of Haitian history convinced white southerners and their allies that slavery "also protected the blacks from themselves" (p. 132). To be sure, Americans were not the only ones to deride and ridicule Haitians and, by extension, Blacks. Emperor Faustin Soulouque, whom Hunt mentions in passing, was the butt of racialist derision on the part of numerous French travellers, cartoonists and no less a poet than Victor Hugo. Hunt also mentions that Gobineau’s *Inequality of human races* was translated and widely read in the United States, but says nothing of what influence it had, if any, and what rebuttals it inspired, if any.

Conversely, to give the lie to their opponents, anti-slavery and anti-racist writers exalted the Haitian war of Independence and stressed the achievements of independent Haiti while excusing or explaining away her failures. Hunt may be correct in asserting that "the accomplishments of Haitian leaders who struggled against overwhelming odds to establish a government of their own played a major role in the development of pride and dignity among American blacks, who were bombarded with theories of racial inferiority and with discrimination in their own country" (p. 147), but the few examples provided are not really conclusive. Was Haiti’s role really major? What did Black Americans know about Haiti and Haitian history in 1820, or in 1830, or on the eve of the Civil War? Did Black preachers and ministers publicize the achievements of the Haitians? What effect did the dismal failure of every scheme to settle Black Americans in Haiti have? How was adverse evaluation of Haiti and her citizens by the White press countered by free Blacks? Hunt’s statement poses a whole series of questions which are not addressed.

Hunt’s three-page “Epilogue” does little to give his work cohesion. We are left with five essays dealing with aspects of his general theme, and it is hard to find in them new ideas or interpretations. Most of his sources are secondary and well-known, although he does occasionally quote from interesting unpublished letters, diaries and archival material. His prose is clear and mercifully free of jargon. Louisiana State University Press is to be commended for having placed the footnotes where they belong, at the bottom of the page, and for having provided a name index, albeit incomplete. The absence of a Bibliography is regretted, as well as the spelling mistakes found in almost every one of the few
French titles mentioned, and the fact that in the only two references to Victor Hugo, his Black hero Bug-Jargal is rechristened Bar-Jargal, as if he had fought at Massada rather than at Cap-français.

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Drive to hegemony: the United States in the Caribbean, 1898-1917. DAVID HEALY. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1988. xi + 370 pp. (Cloth US $27.50)

David Healy attempts to occupy the middle ground in his thoughtful new synthesis of the history of the United States' relations with the Caribbean republics during the period between its victory over Spain and its declaration of hostilities against the Central Powers in Europe. This was a seminal epoch in which Washington laid the foundations of its modern Caribbean policy. Clearly conscious of the historic failure of North American diplomacy in the region, and dissatisfied with recent scholarship that is based on Marxism and dependency theory, Healy adopts a centrist position that presents the ongoing conflict between Caribbean and North American interests and objectives as a problem of the dialectical relationship between human agency and sociopolitical structure.

Drive to Hegemony candidly reviews the racism, jingoism, and cultural chauvinism that placed obstacles in the path of harmony between the United States and its southern neighbors. The discussion of the impact of capital penetration, monoculture, and interventionism on Cuban society, for example, makes the exploitative character of those contacts plain. Yet, from the author's perspective, the nations of the Caribbean played a significant role in advancing American aims, and thus, their own oppression. Assertive elites acceded to the plans for uncontrolled exploitation, ambitious merchants looked forward to increased commerce, and the impoverished masses welcomed the Yankee dollar and the opportunity for remunerative employment as an alternative to the bleak drudgery of peasant existence. Northern efforts to increase trade and investment, and to thereby foster development, Healy contends, met little resistance from local populations.

These arguments, made at the end of the volume, constitute its most controversial aspect. The work for the most part reiterates a conventional account of U.S. relations with the Caribbean that will not be unfamiliar to
students of the subject, although the University of Wisconsin Press’s handsome production gives the book a fresh, contemporary appearance. The evolution of policy from the William McKinley administration through that of Woodrow Wilson is described in the context of the United States’ expanding national economic and military capabilities, which are contrasted to the limited resources and political instability of the small nations of the hemisphere.

With some notable exceptions, Drive to Hegemony makes rather spotty use of new work that has appeared in the last fifteen years. This treatment results in a study that, while updating such treatises as Dana G. Munro’s (1964) examination of U.S.-Caribbean relations during the roughly same period by paying greater attention to the role of culture, ideology, and institutions in shaping foreign policy, nevertheless relies heavily on most of the same authorities, and ultimately evinces much of the same viewpoint, as the older, standard histories which unselfconsciously adopted Washington’s cavalier perspective on regional affairs.

North Americans who study the history of U.S. relations with Latin America and the Caribbean have had to clear two hurdles. The first was the resistance of many diplomatic historians to the idea of examining society. Many wished to confine the field to the study of formal contacts between states, and perceived eclecticism as an improper deviation into other areas of history. Healy’s attention to the social and cultural milieu in which the United States came to exercise dominion in the Caribbean indicates that he is indeed aware of, and interested in, the broader setting.

Historians face another obstacle that is rooted in the nature of the sources most readily available to them. The sheer volume of the U.S. archive and its comparative availability often overshadows less accessible works by foreigners and foreign governments. To this difficulty is added the general reluctance of many scholars to accept as legitimate the testimony of those outside their immediate culture, especially if those outsiders are also dissidents. This problem, combined with the adoption of a narrow definition of the history of foreign relations as discussed above, and a heavy reliance on Washington’s official record, contributes to a historiography that often fails to dissociate itself from the program of the very actors it seeks to study. In cloaking itself in their world view, it serves rather than analyzes their objectives. Drive to Hegemony avoids the stumbling block constituted by a formalistic approach to the study of foreign relations, but does not quite succeed in discarding the orthodoxy imposed by the tacit assumption that, in the final analysis, the contours of U.S. Caribbean policy have been inevitable and somehow justifiable.
This book is the product of the first major conference organized by the Caribbean Institute and Study Centre for Latin America (CISCLA) of the Inter-American University in San German, Puerto Rico during the dynamic directorship of Jorge Heine. The aim of the meeting was to review the international relations of the Caribbean at the end of two decades in which the region had been dramatically propelled into becoming one of the major arenas of international conflict. Unfortunately, the volume which has resulted is seriously marred by the long delay which took place between the holding of the conference (April 1983) and eventual publication (1988). One can readily understand the extent to which the U.S. invasion of Grenada in October 1983 caused problems for the editors and contributors, necessitating revision of virtually all the chapters, and it is only fair too to pay tribute to the careful and diligent editing which the book evinces. One of the editors, Leslie Manigat, has also been preoccupied in the interim with matters of state rather than scholarship, and the other, Heine himself, has since left CISCLA. Even so, it is clear that “Caribbean time” has served the project badly, giving the resultant volume an unavoidably dated air.

Heine makes up for this as best he can in his introduction by arguing that the invasion of Grenada “closed a decisive period in the region’s history – a quarter of a century opened by the formation of the Federation of the West Indies in 1958 and the Cuban Revolution in 1959 and marked by the rapid transition from colonialism to independent nationhood in most of the English-speaking Caribbean territories” (p. 1). The book is thus transmuted into an analysis of Caribbean international relations up to and incorporating the impact of the events of October 1983, but not going beyond them. In this more limited sense, it is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the literature. The “team,” as
assembled by the editors, contains many well-known figures in the field and their contributions are mostly sound and well-judged. The organization of the material into different parts is sensibly done and a most welcome innovation is the preparation by Jorge Heine of a comprehensive bibliographic guide to the literature on Caribbean international relations produced between 1959 and 1984. This will be of real assistance to teachers of courses in this field.

Turning to the particular contributions, Part I on geopolitics and international political economy contains four chapters. Leslie Manigat opens with a wordy elucidation of the “problématique of complexity” (p. 25) which in his view is at the heart of the Caribbean’s geopolitical situation. His tone ranges from the banal to the clever but is never less than interesting. Carl Stone follows with a masterly dissection of the different types of insertion into the world economy represented in the Caribbean. Five categories are discerned: traditional export trading with Europe on the basis of an undiversified domestic economy (e.g. St Lucia); plantation agriculture with new export earners based on foreign investment combined with a moderately diversified economy tied to the U.S. (e.g. Jamaica); new export and foreign exchange earners consequent on the demise of the plantation sector (e.g. the Bahamas); export agriculture based on transformed social relations combined with partial economic diversification and integration into the world socialist system (e.g. Cuba); and peasant agriculture with a low level of incorporation into the world economy (e.g. Haiti). In this model Trinidad and Tobago is an example of the second type, although exceptional to the extent that it is an oil-producer. This dimension of the political economy of the region, with all the attendant opportunities and problems thereby posed for projects such as regional economic integration, is capably analysed by Trevor Farrell. He concludes tellingly that “there was a considerable failure” on the part of the countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean (his particular focus) “to recognize and understand the dynamics of what was taking place in international and regional oil markets” (p. 128) in the 1970s and early 1980s. The one disappointing chapter in this first part in fact specifically concerns the regional issue, namely Mirlande Manigat’s analysis of “Caricom at Ten”, which demonstrates no awareness of the considerable literature on the emergence and record of the Caribbean Community (much of which, incidentally, is listed and discussed in her own editor’s bibliographic guide).

Part II claims to address cases and courses of Caribbean foreign policy. In this vein Vaughan Lewis offers a short, but typically reflective, overview of the external economic and political relations of the Caricom states in the 1970s and Paul Ashley gives a more extended discussion of the changes introduced into Jamaican foreign policy as the Manley government of the 1970s was replaced by the Seaga regime in the 1980s. The other two chapters in the section are, however, differently conceived. Jean Crusol ponders why it is that the three
French overseas départements in the Caribbean have not developed powerful independence movements and stresses, inter alia, the effect of the growth of local state apparatuses in drawing an important part of the active population of these territories into public employment and thus defence of the status quo. Leslie Manigat then returns to describe the events leading up to the revolutionary crisis and subsequent invasion in Grenada in 1983 but adds little, if anything, to the voluminous writings which are already in existence on these matters. In short, at the end of the section it is not possible to come to any general conclusions about the trajectory or efficacy of Caribbean foreign policy in the period under study.

The third part of the book can be dealt with more briefly. It considers the role of "middle powers" in Caribbean international relations and covers three such examples: Canada (in the hands of Kari Levitt), Colombia (Fernando Cepeda) and Brazil (Mirlande Manigat again). The surveys are short but useful, but one is bound to wonder what happened to Mexico and Venezuela, and even Britain and France? One of the features of Caribbean international affairs is the number of the powers with interests in the region and one would have thought that other chapters in the volume (including some already discussed) could have been shortened without loss in order to provide the reader with a fuller coverage of this important dimension.

Part IV turns finally to the United States and its pre-eminent position in the management of the modern Caribbean. Edward Gonzalez does a neat job setting out the strategic interests of the U.S., as conventionally understood, although it should be noted that his analysis is not one that has been revised to take account of the Grenada invasion. After this, Robert Pastor draws on his substantial research into Caribbean emigration and U.S. immigration policy towards the region to argue for a greater sensitivity on the part of the U.S. in handling this aspect of its relationship with the Caribbean, and then Anthony Maingot discusses the role of Miami and the state of Florida as a part of the Caribbean. The latter is one of the highlights of the book, a completely original attempt to set out and analyse what the author calls "the infrastructure of a 'Caribbean' city" (p. 332). Transnational links between the U.S. and the Caribbean – of all sorts, both legal and illegal – flow through Dade County in ever-accelerating fashion. As Maingot says, "Florida and Miami, in particular, are slowly becoming an integral part of the Caribbean; it receives its citizens, of all classes, and it receives its investment and flight capital. It sells them everything from corn flakes to complete factories" (p. 326).
All in all, then, there is much to be enjoyed and gained from this book. It is just a pity, as indicated earlier, that we were not able to read it a couple of years ago!

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This is not, in the author’s own words, an attempt to supply new information concerning the external activities of the English-speaking Caribbean countries. Her goal is to integrate the known information “into an analytical framework or model as a first step toward theory building” (p. ix). Expanding further on her goals, the author is quite explicit that the book is not about description; she intends to complement the descriptive works on the Caribbean already in existence. “The book,” she clarifies, “is also intended to reach the broader audience of those interested in small-state foreign policy in general, that is, those persons to whom the formulation of a model is useful in facilitating comparisons with other countries of similar size” (p. ix). As if to signify her interest in contributing to policy, she adds further that while her interest is not “grand theory,” she does hope to “modify existing middle-range theories of international relations to suit the Caribbean region” (p. ix).

Since the author herself has defined such a high set of aims, the first question has to be, how well does she fulfill those theoretical goals? Unfortunately, the answer is that she does so poorly. In fact, theory building is not where the strength of this work lies. It is in the description of the twelve West Indian nations’ mechanics and instruments of diplomacy that the book is at its best. The author understands the area, is sympathetic to its situation as small nations in the world community, but never condescending in her evaluations of their strengths and weaknesses as states. On the other hand, the analysis is at its most confusing when the author attempts to interpret the foreign policy of these small yet complex states through a multitude of models, conceptual frameworks or theories of international relations. The fact that she is well acquainted with this theoretical literature is not in doubt. The question is whether all this theoretical knowledge helps the author make her factual descriptions clearer, her analytical arguments sharper, her conclusions more convincing. The answer has to be no.

Consider, for instance, one of the author’s central conclusions, that the Caribbean states are not simply puppets or pawns in the East-West game, but
rather have "a wide range of foreign policy actions and a similar wide range of foreign policy influences" (p. 227). Does her empirical analysis support such a conclusion? The record is confusing. After a review of the theoretical literature on the meaning of abstentions in voting at the U.N., she tells us that the high levels of West Indian abstention point to "high levels of pro-U.S. clientelism" (p. 132). Later, however, in an analysis unencumbered by "theory," she reveals a low voting coincidence in the U.N. between these states and the U.S.A. This leads her to conclude that "Not only did the Caribbean join the rest of the Third World on economic issues but also their political stances were more antagonistic to the United States" (p. 141). Again, her very insightful case study of West Indian decision-making during the Granada crisis begins with a review of the theoretical literature on crisis decision-making. She concludes that the West Indian leaders behaved as described in Graham T. Allison's concept of "group think," i.e. as a cozy club of friends unwilling to disagree with each other (p. 189). Later, however, she tells us that public pressure in favor of intervention was enormous: "In the circumstances, decision-makers probably concluded — correctly it turned out — that the public would approve a decisive action such as the one contemplated" (p. 192).

It is a pity that the author allowed her discussion of international relations theory to sidetrack her analysis. Theory is supposed to clarify, not obfuscate. It is a real loss to the reader, for instance, that none of the models presented help him or her analyze further the many insightful and often analytically suggestive ideas which the author presents. Such is the case, for example, with the one which closes Chapter Five: "By the late 1980's, with several new faces at the helm of Caricom states, harmony and cooperation were being stressed, and Eastern Caribbean states were moving to cement their diplomatic and economic relationship with a possible political union" (p. 149). Because the author is concerned with a synchronic analysis of specific policy areas and not with time frames and chronological development, it is impossible to place such a dramatic conclusion within historical context. When did this process of cooperation start, who or what are the driving forces, are they structural or do they respond to that fact which the author continuously emphasises, the dominant role of personalities in West Indian foreign policy making? What, in the final analysis, is the validity of such a conclusion? There are no answers here for these types of questions.

This is a clear case where overconceptualization reduces the value of what generally is a useful book.

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Like many other newly independent states, Suriname has gotten off to a rocky start, experiencing a military coup, international isolation, near economic collapse, ethnic conflict and guerilla war, and most recently an effort at redemocratization. H.F. Munneke, a lawyer teaching Caribbean Law and Government in the Van Vollenhoven Institute of Studies in Non-Western Law and Government in Leiden, has taken the two constitutions of Suriname (1975 and 1987) and gathered up the decree law of the intervening military period (1980-87) in the form of a “third constitution.” The result is a study in contradiction and ambiguity, only a few dimensions of which are brought out in the author’s brief accompanying commentary.

Of greatest significance – and uncertainty – is the position of the military. Retreating from the veto power it had exercised over everything in the interregnum, it is still assigned a “vanguard” role in the 1987 Constitution, charged “to protect the highest rights and freedoms of the land and people,” and to work for “the national development and liberation of the nation” (Art. 177). Nevertheless, according to Munneke, the absence of a place for the military in any policy-making structures (other than a new State Council (Staatsraad) and an emergency National Security Council, to be convened only in the event of a state of war) may limit that threat. The power to control (or disrupt), however, need not require formal positions of influence within the lines of authority. The Latin American experience demonstrates that “Ba Uzi” (Brother Uzi) is quite enough.

Munneke notes that the military interlude redirected politics in a heavily programmatic way. This is reflected in the 1987 Constitution’s Preamble and first eight chapters (Arts. 1-51). Nevertheless, there is a discrepancy between the strong socialist and anticolonial principles enunciated in the Preamble and its statement of International Principles (Art. 7) and the moderate set of more specific social and economic goals in Articles 24-51. Here, as well as in other sections of the present Constitution, Suriname’s old political parties engaged in a bitter tug-of-words with the military and its radically inclined civilian allies.

The prospects for confusion – and conflict – are great. One sign of this is the structural design of the new government. The 1975 Constitution produced a straightforward parliamentary system. In contrast, from 1980 to 1987, ministers came and went at the discretion of Desi Bouterse, head of the military. This power continued even after reintroduction of a National Assembly in 1985. In the present Constitution, the President and “the Government” (comprising President, Vice-President, and Council of Ministers) are chosen by and accountable to the National Assembly. Yet the Vice-President (chairing the
Council of Ministers) and each minister's Under-Minister are accountable to the President. This arrangement suggests all kinds of scenarios for crises of confidence in one or another part of the Government. This is compounded by the 1987 Constitution's failure to mention individual ministerial responsibility to the Assembly – a tradition developed well before the 1975 Constitution. But Munneke suggests that carry-over is implied where an established practice is neither outlawed nor replaced.

Just as the multidirectionality of accountability could be expected to produce strains between legislative and executive structures, those strains themselves may have been intended to produce a wider base of agreement than was required under the 1975 document. Indeed, one of the causes for the military coup was public disenchantment with the party polarization that occurred under simple majoritarianism. By investing the President (chosen by two-thirds majority) with these heightened powers, a narrow base of government is no longer feasible.

Unfortunately, the author declines to discuss the President's State Council because of its apparent novelty. Yet it is not really so novel. It evolved from the largely honorific Advisory Council of 1975 (and earlier) through the several powerful bodies chaired by Bouterse in the 1980-87 period to oversee the Council of Ministers. In the present Constitution the Staatsraad has great potential power: to oversee the Government's performance of its work; to suspend decisions that conflict with the Constitution, "the Government's Program," or "the law"; to be consulted in drafting new laws; and, among other things, to call for popular mobilization if the national interest demands (Art. 115). The present Government, dominated by the old political parties, seemed loath to convene this new body at all, probably because in the first governing period (1987-92) the military was guaranteed a seat on it. Yet by 1989 it had been assembled and was carefully being used as a nonparty source of legitimation for government actions.

Suriname's redemocratization remains an uncertain, open-ended process. Yet for those interested in following its course, the materials in this volume will be very handy.

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A compilation of essays by one of the more prolific scholars working in Belize, this is "...not just another 'history of Belize'" (p. 2). Rather, Bolland has chosen to investigate in depth a limited number of key topics, with the aim of setting some guideposts for further forays into the Belizean past. The nine essays cover a wide range of material: from the structure of eighteenth-century social relations and the distinctiveness of Belizean slavery to British-Maya relations, post-emancipation labor practices, and the problems of national integration in the post-colonial period.

Central to Bolland's argument is the premise that Belizean social history has been constituted out of a struggle between the structures of colonialism and the resistance of subordinate, colonized peoples. Written over a period of sixteen years, all the pieces emphasize the ways in which subordinate groups - whether African slaves, Mayan villagers, or "free" laborers - contested and in some cases, altered the rule of local and metropolitan elites.

In the introductory essay, the only one written expressly for this volume, Bolland elaborates both a theory of history and a methodology for investigating it. "Dialectical theory" serves as an organizing principle for understanding the nature of social change and the relation of history to sociology, as well as providing an appropriate framework for the study of Caribbean social history. An emphasis on conflict as source of social change centers attention on the variety of responses to domination that constitute crucial dimensions of colonial and neo-colonial encounters. Dialectical theory is seen as a means of working toward what Bolland refers to as a "total history," a trans-disciplinary understanding of the interrelationship between all relevant factors in constantly changing social systems (p. 9).

While Bolland's focus on dynamic tensions at a variety of analytical levels is quite effective in rendering some of the complexities of Belizean historical reality, he does not completely discuss a number of issues raised in the introduction. The concept of resistance, for example, embraces "countless acts of self-assertion" as well as more obvious instances of rebellion (p. 7). This broad definition, while helpful in focusing our attention on the long-neglected struggles of colonized peoples, could use some refinement. Although resistance to oppression need to take an overt form, the determination of intention and context is crucial in distinguishing the meaning, extent, and effectiveness of resistance, especially in a constantly changing social order. Between domination and resistance lie acquiescence, accomodation, and reform-activities essential to
both cultural synthesis and the reproduction of society. Other areas that could have received greater elaboration include the use of Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, and the theoretical and methodological problems involved in achieving a “total history.”

The remainder of the book is divided into four parts arranged in topical-chronological order. Each section dispels a particular aspect of colonial historical mythology, while at the same time placing Belize in comparative perspective with the rest of the Caribbean.

The first part consists of three essays dealing with “The Early Settlement, Slavery, and Creole Culture.” In these pieces, which span the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Bolland draws a picture structurally similar to that of the West Indies: a society dedicated to mono-production for the export market, rigidly stratified by race, and dominated by a small group of whites who owned most of the land and the slaves, and controlled the institutional apparatus.

While Belize shared a common legal and cultural tradition with the sugar-producing colonies of the British West Indies, the conditions of timber extraction implied substantial differences in settlement patterns, conditions of production, and everyday existence. Yet Bolland argues against the colonial myth that Belizean slavery was more benevolent than that found in other territories. Belizean slavery was a dehumanizing and oppressive system, albeit imperfectly so. Through assertive actions, rather than their masters’ benevolence, slaves were able to effect some change and gain control over certain aspects of their family and community life. In this manner, they had greater freedom than elsewhere to synthesize African cultural forms to the conditions of slavery and thus make an important contribution to the emergence of Creole culture.

The second part of the book deals with the changing patterns of British-Maya relations in the nineteenth century. Drawing on archeological, archival, and ethnohistorical sources, Bolland refutes the received colonial wisdom of the “disappearance” of the Maya during the early colonial era. Instead, he shows how they were displaced and dispossessed by the expansion of British mahogany interests in the early part of the nineteenth century. A period of violent resistance to British rule – ultimately put down by military force – followed. Maya defeat, however, resulted in a system of indirect rule – the alcalde system – which adapted traditional community forms to the needs of the colonial state. The emergence of the alcalde system paralleled another major transformation in British-Maya relations. Although indirect rule gave them control over community life, the Maya were denied the right to own land and were drawn into wage labor in forestry and the newly-emerging agricultural plantations in the northern districts.

Labor control and resistance in the century following Emancipation form the subject matter of the book’s third part. Bolland illustrates that monopolistic...
control over land and labor was not broken until the Great Depression, despite a shift in monopoly ownership from the local white settler oligarchy to metropolitan-based enterprises. Regardless of who ruled, the majority of Belizean people were kept poor, dependent, and powerless through "pernicious debt practices" and disenfranchisement. Resistance took the form of periodic disturbances in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and peaked in the 1930's after the Depression and a major hurricane had devastated the colony's economy. Although Belize has generally been left out of studies of Caribbean labor movements, it was, Bolland shows, one of the first Caribbean territories to undergo widespread labor unrest. The resultant grass roots mobilization helped fuel an independence movement that was given shape by middle class leaders a decade later.

An essay on race, ethnicity, and national integration comprises the final part of the book. Beginning with a brief theoretical discussion of the fluid nature of ethnic and racial identities, Bolland then demonstrates the inadequacy of the "plural society" model to account for cross-cutting patterns of language, religion, class in an ethnically-diverse Belize. Instead, the author emphasizes the shifting patterns of alliance and identity brought about by education, economic interest, and, especially, politics. He views the basic problems of Belize as arising not from racial-ethnic tensions, but from continued economic dependence and intensified United States influence. There is a danger that these conditions "... may give rise to social tensions that could all too easily be translated into inter-ethnic rivalry and competition" (p. 202). Bolland concludes that although intensified racial and ethnic conflict is not inevitable, Belizeans must make a sustained effort to insure that these tensions are not institutionalized in the political system.

This is a valuable collection for all scholars concerned with the Caribbean and Central America. While one of the author's intentions is to make Belizean social history more "... accessible to a wider audience in the Caribbean than may have studied Belize hitherto" (p. viii), the significance of the book for Belizeans may be greater still. Belize has long suffered, by reason of its dependent relation with the outside world, from a generalized scarcity of books. Imported texts, especially scholarly ones pertaining to the country itself, have been infrequently available and extremely costly. Local publishing has traditionally been extremely limited and of variable quality. Thus, the publication of this volume by a local concern - Cubola Productions - in a collaborative effort with the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER) and the Society for the Promotion of Education and Research (SPEAR) is quite significant. It means that the book will be accessible to Belizean readers. As such, the book could also be of use
in the advanced levels of the school system – although a number of the views contained within are certain to spark lively debate within the society at large.

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On August 31st, 1987 Trinidad and Tobago celebrated its twenty fifth anniversary of political independence. For all but the last year of this period, Trinidad was ruled by the Peoples' National Movement (PNM), led by Dr. Eric Williams until his death in 1981. The period began with a solid consolidation of independence, until the explosion into the February Revolution of 1970. Trinidad rode the crest of the oil wave with its "petro dollars" until the early 1980's, only to collapse again, primarily as a consequence of decline in the petroleum-led economy.

Ryan's text is billed as a "Retrospective" of the first twenty five years. It resulted from a conference held at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, which brought together academics, public policy makers and businessmen, many of whom, in one way or another, contributed significantly to shaping that twenty five year experience. Twenty one papers and six commentaries presented at the conference were reproduced in the text. The appendices includes detailed data on elections since 1956; national income and unemployment statistics, and a concluding section on state enterprises. The presentations are conveniently grouped into three sections: economics, politics and public policy.

A major objective of the publication is a review of the development experience over the first twenty five years of independence, seeking to determine, implicitly, whether progress has been experienced. In effect, development is defined in terms of progress. Immediately some problems are apparent, for among conference participants and contributors to the text are Rampersad, Barsotti and Alleyne, all of who occupied senior policy-making positions over the period. Could scholarly objectivity be expected?

The first section analyzes the economic development experience. Papers presented by Rampersad, Alleyne and Dennis Pantin are well done – if not overdone! Rampersad, for instance, concludes that "on the whole, the development experience appears to have been good" (p. 16). Basing this
conclusion on quality of life issues it is difficult to contradict him. The innovative Physical Quality of Life measuring Index, ranging from 0 to 100 scores Trinidad at 83 in 1970, increasing to 88 by 1980 and it is estimated at approximately 92 today. Yet Rampersad concedes that the economy is one of the most open in the world; unemployment remains a persistent problem, while national debt continues to rise.

Alleyne in his turn asks more fundamental questions concerning the development experience. He separates the issue of growth from that of development. He emphasizes some internal factors: human ingenuity, inventiveness and skills which are important to the development process, implying that Trinidad is yet deficient in many of these areas. He, like many others introduces the major problem of the work ethic. Finally, he contrasts income distribution with per capita, as each is employed to measure development gains.

The issue of income distribution is cogently analyzed in one of the most important papers, that by economist Ralph Henry. One is left to wonder why that excellent paper, and Rudder's provocative presentation, were together not included in section one. Henry concluded that within the limits the PNM government had set for itself, there has been some movement toward income equity. Yet, he emphasized, the plural nature of Trinidad's social structure and the openness of the economy demanded radical restructuring of economic life to facilitate even greater movement toward equity. Like others, Henry recognizes that the PNM was unwilling to go that route.

The issue of why traditional economic structures were not confronted was asked, repeatedly, by economist Farrell in his commentary. To which Barsotti, himself a former senior policy maker responded: He too had asked, why!

The politics of development appears as the underlying theme of section two. Ryan's contribution stands out as one of the most important in the text. His is a thorough survey of twenty four years of PNM's rule, giving credit where he believes it is due, but equally critical of PNM's overall performance. Appropriately, he judges the PNM on the goals that the party itself had established from its inception in 1956. He concludes that according to these standards, the party's performance was marked by failure. Yet, he rationalizes, this is partly because the original goals were themselves too lofty in the first place. He credits the PNM with creating a political culture which encouraged open participation; the guarantee to all their basic rights and freedom; and important advances in education. Yet, in the final analysis, Ryan concludes "the politics of power took precedence over the politics of transformation" (p. 157).

Wiltshire-Brodber seeks to do for foreign policy what Ryan achieves at the domestic level, that is, to provide a summary and a critique; and overall she achieves her purpose. In turn Ellis Clarke, if nothing else, demonstrates the importance of personality in decision-making for a mini-state.
Papers by Tewarie in section two, and by Lovelace, Mohammed and Reddock in part three, emphasize the roles of religion, culture and women in the development process, over the twenty five year. Yet, Tewarie’s paper can hardly be considered a retrospective since much of his effort is directed toward convincing the Hindu population that they should reduce their expectations from the present NAR government. In a discussion of the value of “indigenous” traditions, Lovelace, in a peculiar presentation, emphasizes the “African” antecedents, to the neglect of all others. What he fails to realize, to paraphrase Black Stalin, is that having come by different ships, Trinidadians have all ended up in the same boat. Yet that boat is not purely of African foundations.

Ryan and his group undertook a huge task at the initial conference. To reduce the proceeding into a single, coherent text, had to have been even more challenging. With few significant issues excluded: the crisis of the early 1970’s, analysis of the decline of the mid-1980’s, the text has covered all the major bases. This book is important, not only because it synthesizes the development experience of the first twenty five years, but equally, because it provides some basis for confronting the decade of the 1990’s. For it is during this decade that the society must deal with basic economic and social problems, glossed over in the past, to prevent that period from being one of decay.

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There is a fast-growing literature on Carribean sports. C.L.R. James’ (1963) now classic study of cricket may have started it, but it is no longer confined to that sport or the English-speaking Caribbean.

The Mandles have contributed to this new wave of sports scholarship with a timely and interesting monograph on basketball in Trinidad and Tobago. On the basis of ethnographic visits to the islands for two and a half years, they have compiled a short monograph that seeks to assess Trinidad-Tobago society through sport. Hence, the study of basketball reflects larger societal structures and processes.

While originally played by the ethnically distinct – and economically more well-heeled – Chinese and Lebanese, basketball has become more popular with
Trinidad-Tobago’s more numerous and disenfranchized Blacks. U.S. origins of the game is also central here, and the authors look at the role of cultural dependency (upon the U.S.) versus controlled acceptance of foreign culture. They argue that, despite strong U.S. influences, the people of Trinidad and Tobago control the game. Having acknowledged both the foreign origins and domination of the game, the authors nonetheless feel that Trinidadians and Tobagonians are empowered by playing basketball, and that this empowerment stems from grass-roots organization and play. If anything, local control is underscored by the predominance of Blacks in the game in the U.S., and the pervasive influence of televised games on the islands.

The racial makeup of the teams receives a class analysis. The Mandles point out that other sports (cricket) and sports clubs tend to be the domain of the more well-heeled; while basketball has become the game of the poor. With their identification with Black U.S. players, the Blacks of Trinidad and Tobago are further able to associate the game as theirs. This is the main message of the monograph: namely that basketball is a vehicle for looking at the lower class, a means by which the underclass can become more cohesive, more culturally empowered.

Regional differences within Trinidad and Tobago are also examined. Trinidad is significantly more developed than Tobago, a fact not lost on Tobagans who accuse their neighboring counrmen of taking the lion’s share of basketball resources. Trinidadians are also grossly overrepresented on the national teams. The Mandles noted that Tobagonians, while less developed, were more community-minded at games. Studying fan behavior, they saw Tobagonians as better dressed, more orderly, and family oriented than their rowdier Trinidadian counterparts. On the other hand, Trinidadians men basketballers regularly beat their Tobagonian rivals.

In studying intra-island and regional differences the Mandles point to gender as a particularly revealing feature of both the game and the society. Women basketball players are overwhelmingly black, 18-30 years of age, and poor, just like the male players. But unlike the men, Tobagonian women players are superior to Trinidadian women on the court. Reasons suggested by the authors again have to do with differential economic development. Tobago’s women are better organized and play more, in part, because of their overall position in society. Tobago being more remote and less developed than Trinidad, its women are more traditional, which affords them a broader range of acceptable sex-role behavior. Simply put, they are not as fettered by the “Western” notion of what women ought to be as are Trinidadian women. Women on Tobago fought (against men) for the right to play, but their assertiveness is viewed by men on the island as falling within the domain of acceptable female behavior.
Finally, the authors examine patron-client relations, of which they find evidence in the distribution of revenues around the leagues. Members of the more privileged class are typically in a position to distribute funds to lower level members of the league in return for political loyalty. However, a key element of the complex of clientism is missing, namely the passivity on the part of the clients. The Mandles point out how the grass-roots nature of the game makes for considerable expression of dissatisfaction, and in so doing shortcircuits any true clientism. They argue that, in final analysis, the vital and vocal nature of the local game reflects an underclass that is politically disenfranchised, but culturally alive. A key shortcoming in all of this is the implicit argument for cultural/political resistance. A more explicit argument for resistance could have been more forcefully drawn from the data.

In the game, local people exhibit a degree of control over their lives, hence the game can reflect their desire to resist their material/political conditions. There is a growing field of such studies (Scott 1983; Rhoden 1980; LaFrance 1985), including my own work in nearby Dominican Republic (Klein 1989), which seeks to take the notion of cultural resistance further than the Mandles have. Their study, however, lends itself nicely to the resistance perspective by simultaneously showing both local control and vitality in the sport and the influence exerted by the U.S. in the game.

The overall strengths of this book are its clear and accomplished modest aims, and its brevity. While much rich ethnography has not found its way into this monograph, what has is used with a careful eye to making and demonstrating how society is reflected in the game of basketball. Here the Mandles have succeeded wonderfully, and the short nature of the monograph calls for its use in university classes as supplementary reading (a growing concern since the days of escalating book costs). In this slim volume the Mandles have added a valuable contribution to the fields of sport sociology, popular culture, and Caribbean studies.

REFERENCES


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