

IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE:
Democracy, Revolution, and Intervention
across America's Fourth Frontier

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THE CARIBBEAN IN THE WIDER WORLD, 1492-1992: A REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY. By Bonham C. Richardson. (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1992. Pp. 235. \$49.95 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

DEMOCRACY IN THE CARIBBEAN: MYTHS AND REALITIES. Edited by Carlene J. Edie. (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994. Pp. 296. \$65.00 cloth.)

DEMOCRACY IN THE CARIBBEAN: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES. Edited by Jorge I. Domínguez, Robert A. Pastor, and R. DeLisle Worrell. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. Pp. 312. \$48.00 cloth, \$14.95 paper.)

THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM IN JAMAICA. By Nelson W. Keith and Novella Z. Keith. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 1992. Pp. 320. \$49.95 cloth.)

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEVELOPMENT FINANCE: PUBLIC-SECTOR EXPANSION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN JAMAICA. By Anders Danielson. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1993. Pp. 208. \$37.00 paper.)

GUYANA AND BELIZE: COUNTRY STUDIES. Edited by Tim L. Merrill. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office for the Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1993. Pp. 408. \$22.00 cloth.)

CARIBBEAN VISIONS: TEN PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES OF TEN PRESIDENTS OF THE CARIBBEAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION. Edited by S. B. Jones-Hendrickson. (Frederiksted, St. Croix, V. I.: Eastern Caribbean Institute, 1990. Pp. 257. \$25.95 cloth.)

THE SUFFERING GRASS: SUPERPOWERS AND REGIONAL CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. Edited by Thomas G. Weiss and James G. Blight. (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1992. Pp. 182. \$30.00 cloth.)

THE UNITED STATES AND THE CARIBBEAN: CHALLENGES OF AN ASYMMETRICAL RELATIONSHIP. By Anthony P. Maingot. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1994. Pp. 260. \$52.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

THE GRENADA INVASION: POLITICS, LAW, AND FOREIGN-POLICY DECISION-MAKING. By Robert J. Beck. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1993. Pp. 263. \$49.95 cloth.)

Definitions and Theory

The ten volumes treated in this review essay focus on Caribbean democratization, revolution, and U.S. policy toward the region. Taken together, they provide a useful overview of contemporary research in the social sciences on the Caribbean and diverse perspectives on these issues.

The Caribbean has been variously defined. William Demas noted three common definitions many years ago:¹ first, several Caribbeans defined linguistically as English-speaking, Spanish-speaking, French-speaking, or Dutch-speaking; second, a minimal geographical or geopolitical region encompassing only the insular entities, or the insular entities plus their traditionally and linguistically linked French-, Dutch-, and English-speaking littoral components;² third, a broad geopolitical, multicultural, and multilinguistic region of twenty-six countries from Mexico to Brazil plus the islands in the Caribbean Sea (a concept later popularized by U.S. President Ronald Reagan as the Caribbean Basin).³

When reading the books discussed in this essay, the trick for the reader is to identify which of these equally valid definitions is operating at any given point. For example, Bonham Richardson makes it clear that his Caribbean constitutes the insular entities plus their appendages (pp. 2–12). He rejects the Caribbean Basin concept as possessing “vague boundaries [that] are fuzzy, permeable, and somewhat arbitrary” (p. 6). Most of the other authors, however, are comfortable shifting among the three definitions when each seems applicable.

However one defines the Caribbean, the region has been the most democratic of the world’s less-developed countries (LDCs) on a per nation basis, especially among the thirteen new non-Hispanic states, each of which has changed regimes via the ballot box since achieving independence. Within the Hispanic Caribbean, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic also rank high in democratization in the

1. William G. Demas, “Foreword,” to Millett and Will (1979, vii–xix, esp.vii–x).

2. The French Caribbean entities are *Départements D’outre-mer* (DOMs), which are considered integral parts of metropolitan France rather than *Territoires D’outre-mer* (TOMs). The best recent work on the French Caribbean (and other French holdings) can be found in Robert Aldrich and John Connell’s excellent *France’s Overseas Frontier* (1992).

3. One partial explanation for the definitional exclusivity that causes many Latin American leaders and Hispanic American publications to refuse to consider the non-Hispanic Caribbean as part of the greater region relates to the fact that among world regions, “Latin America” alone bears a culturally linked name. Africa, in contrast, includes the Arab north, sub-Saharan middle, racially mixed south, and adjacent islands as part of Africa, while South Asia includes Muslim Pakistan, largely Hindu India, and insular Sri Lanka, among other nationalities. The thirteen newest states in the Americas, however, have traditionally been excluded from the Americas. And now, many in the non-Hispanic areas are inclined to return the “compliment.” As I observed a few years ago, the great cultural and historical diversity of the Caribbean Basin is its strength, and comparative inclusion of these entities as part of the region greatly enriches teaching as well as scholarly research on the Americas, whether historical, literary, or social science in focus (see Will 1986, 2–4).

Americas. All the Hispanic Caribbean countries except Cuba are headed by elected civilian executives. The only LDC region that comes close to the Caribbean in the number of democracies without coups is the newly independent insular Pacific region.⁴ Defining democracy, however, is more difficult than defining regional contours.

Some fairly narrow definitions have been advanced, like that recently proposed by Samuel Huntington in *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late-Twentieth Century*. In defining liberal democracy, Huntington favors the procedural emphasis (influenced by Joseph Schumpeter) on open and free elections, especially if such elections are legitimated by competent professional monitors. Huntington argues, with only slight exaggeration, "By 1990, the point had been reached where the first election in a democratizing country would only be accepted as legitimate if [its fairness could be verified] . . . by one or more reasonably competent and detached teams of international observers" (Huntington 1993, 8, see also 6–13).

Evelyn Huber, a key contributor to *Democracy in the Caribbean* (under review here), expands the definition of democracy to include guaranteed civil and political rights, responsible government (including accountability of the coercive arms of the state to elected representatives), and political inclusion via universal suffrage and viable political parties. Huber goes on to suggest that liberal democracy also requires a deepened acceptance of key civil liberties (including those of speech, assembly, and the press) as well as the masses' gradual expectation of peaceful transformation of regimes via increased power-sharing.⁵

Liberal democracy as well as social democracy manifest elitist and participatory versions. Social democracy emphasizes the masses' rights to jobs, social welfare, education, and other entitlements in both Marxist and Leninist variants, with the extreme Leninist version stressing highly elitist dictatorship of the proletariat.⁶ Evidence suggests, however, that what has passed for social democracy in much of the Caribbean, increasingly since the sharp downturns of the 1980s and 1990s, is the so-called clientelist version. Carlene Edie makes this point in her (1991) monograph and again in *Democracy in the Caribbean: Myths and Realities*, as does fellow contributor Selwyn Ryan. He cites former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley's description of clientelism (pp. 236–37):

The moon is promised by the politicians, and democracy consists of making a choice between competing sets of promises that are dangled temptingly every four or five years. The system is the very antithesis of a process of participation

4. I discussed this topic comparatively in Braveboy-Wagner et al. (1993, 127–94).

5. See Rueschemeyer, Huber Stephens, and Stephens 1992 (esp. 1–78.) In this work, the authors posit the close association of capitalism or economic expansion as an independent variable in the theory of liberal democratization.

6. One of the best differentiations of democracy in all its types can be found in Graham (1986, 170–242), which features separate chapters on Marxist and Leninist variants.

and mobilization. Nowhere is the person enlisted in the service of a national enterprise which is understood and believed to be worth great effort. In the end, therefore, the act of political choice involves, say, the casting of a vote which is not a commitment of the self . . . [but] the expectation of a benefit . . . through the effort of a faceless . . . government.

In terms of historical origins, the English colonizers of the Caribbean were by the seventeenth-century promoting or at least tolerating elitist liberal democratic institutions. Although home rule was late in coming, its emergence with full suffrage occurred decades prior to independence. Between the late 1930s and independence (1962 to 1981), this development was pushed in the direction of social democratization, often by officials who were Fabian Socialists. This trend contributed to the emergence of several post-independence governments that were Marxist-tinged as well as to Marxist-led trade unions. Throughout the region, highly visible Marxist-led social revolutions occurred that (like those in Eastern Europe) claimed to be peoples' democracies.

World War II, however, contributed significantly to democratic openings in the English-speaking territories of the Caribbean because of Britain's need for war materials and personnel while turning the USSR into an influential ally. Factors like these tended to lead already emerging social democracies away from placing singular emphasis on voting as the *sine qua non* of the liberal variant of democracy and stimulated demands for clientelism. In recent years, Caribbean experiences with variants of social democracy have created incongruities, especially where the United States has attempted to push its own brand of liberal democratization through the programs of Ronald Reagan and George Bush—Project Democracy and the Caribbean Basin Initiative—and (at least implicitly) through various U.S.-based election-monitoring programs.

If the Caribbean Basin is known as one of the most democratic LDC regions, it also can lay claim to being one of the most revolutionary because of its explosive mix of comparatively high levels of mass education, cross-cultural socioeconomic programs, and intermittent popular demands for political change. In fact, of not more than a dozen social revolutions among LDCs, five have occurred in the Caribbean Basin: in Haiti between 1791 and 1804; in Mexico from 1910 until at least the 1940s; in Cuba since 1959; in Nicaragua from 1979 to 1990 or beyond; and in Grenada from 1979 to 1983. Another three Caribbean Basin countries probably could be credited with political revolutions if one were to employ the classification scheme of Peter Sederberg (1994, 50–62). He differentiates between social and political revolutions, the main distinction being whether the economy is overturned along with elites, political institutions, leadership, and values. This broad category would include the collective Commonwealth Caribbean from 1934 to independence; Costa Rica since 1948; and probably Guatemala from 1944 to 1954 (and for a

more protracted period except for U.S. intervention). Revolutions and perceived revolutionary or Marxist activity have been the primary triggers for the many kinds of U.S. intervention in the region, ranging from economic destabilization through proxy intervention to full-fledged invasions.

Bonham Richardson's *The Caribbean in the Wider World, 1492–1992: A Regional Geography* provides needed geographical and historical context for analyzing the multicultural Caribbean. A geography professor at Virginia Polytechnic, Richardson includes chapters covering colonial governance; the plantation system and African slavery (which quickly followed the near elimination of native labor); what he calls “the American century” (following U.S. initial intervention in the 1890s); economic dependency; the period from slave resistance to independence; and the geography of nationhood.

Haiti plays a large role throughout *The Caribbean in the Wider World*, providing what Richardson calls “an instructive perspective” for the book and for the dependency framework that he employs. According to Richardson, in Haiti (which was known as Quisqueya when it was “discovered” in 1492),

nearly all the aboriginal peoples died or were killed off within the following three decades. In 1697 the western part of the island became French St. Domingue. France brought tens of thousands of West African slaves to St. Domingue during the next century. The slaves rebelled against European control and established an independent republic of Haiti in 1804. Since then, the introduced overpopulation of African[s] . . . ha[s] turned inward (partly because “civilized” countries refused to interact with Haiti for decades) to realize a near hopeless case of overpopulation, ecological ruin, and poverty late in the twentieth century. Today . . . one of the few local sources of wages is sweatshop [labor] . . . in makeshift factories whose products are destined for the United States. (Pp. 1–2)

Although Haiti's particular dependency characteristics are unique, Richardson asserts, “the general contours of her cumulative experience of externally imposed underdevelopment have parallels elsewhere in the Caribbean and, in a broader sense, throughout the Third World” (p. 2). This reviewer would assign more of the blame for contemporary underdevelopment and racial division in the region to ill-conceived actions of postcolonial governments and their privilege-seeking elites. But one cannot deny that the Caribbean has been thoroughly penetrated and dominated by metropolitan powers from the beginning of overseas European colonization until it became the original site of U.S. neocolonialism. It is also true that dependency theory in the form of Immanuel Wallerstein's concept of periphery versus the metropole provides an appropriate heuristic description of the region as well as a useful framework for Richardson's largely descriptive research. Dependency theory has little value as a generator of viable developmental options, however.

Richardson's writing is lively and even powerful, as illustrated by

the section in which he cogently covers the 1762 successful war of liberation by African slaves in Suriname, details of the Haitian revolution, the nineteenth-century rebellion by Cuba, and disorders in Puerto Rico and other colonies during the 1930s (pp. 158–83). *The Caribbean in the Wider World* is susceptible to some dating but is highly recommended as a basic text for undergraduates.

Works on Democratization

The works on democratization include two general treatments that share an identical primary title, *Democracy in the Caribbean*, one edited by Carlene Edie, the other edited by Jorge Domínguez, Robert Pastor, and DeLisle Worrell. Two other studies on this topic focus on Jamaica: that coauthored by Novella and Nelson Keith deals with Michael Manley's efforts to build social democracy in Jamaica; and Anders Danielson's macroeconomic assessment is entitled *The Political Economy of Development Finance*. The review package also includes two reference works: *Guyana and Belize*, edited by Tim Merrill, as part of the U.S. country studies series, provides data on two littoral states that are now politically open; and Simon Jones-Hendrickson's edited volume, *Caribbean Visions: Ten Addresses of Ten Presidents of the Caribbean Studies Association*, includes two essays that touch significantly on democratization.

The two general works on democratization are especially timely now that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is posing both a threat and a challenge to the Caribbean. Moreover, U.S. policy toward the region is apparently sinking again into one of "benign neglect" in the aftermath of the cold war. Such conditions require the region to develop new policies to ensure its survival in the post-cold-war era. This theme of survival appears prominently in the work coedited by Domínguez, Pastor, and Worrell, *Democracy in the Caribbean: Political, Economic, and Social Perspectives*, especially in the chapter by Vaughan Lewis and Neville Linton and in the concluding essay by Pastor and Richard Fletcher. The volume contains three sections: one on politics and society, the case studies, and a section on policy options. Following a foreword by Richard Bloomfield, Domínguez's introduction sets the parameters and endeavors to summarize most of the thirteen chapters. He seeks to find out why liberal democracy has flourished in the Caribbean, the only region now governed by the descendants of slaves (with the partial exception of unhappy Rwanda). Two answers are the elevated level of economic development, especially within the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), and the fact that formal democracy has long been embedded in the political culture of most parts of the Caribbean. I would suggest that another instrumental factor is the region's rather high rankings according to the tripartite statistic measuring longevity, education, and income, as

ascertained by the Human Development Index in the UN Development Programme's *Human Development Report, 1994* (1994, 108–39).

Franklin Knight's useful historical overview is followed by Anthony Maingot's essay, which finds the prevalence of civilian-headed governments significant for regional democratization. Like other observers, Maingot anticipates debilitating setbacks from increasing corruption and drug traffic. Anthony Payne credits the prevalence of Westminster models for democratic governance in the Commonwealth Caribbean and believes that this adaptation has generally been accepted or legitimized, with the possible exceptions of Guyana and Grenada. Evelyne Huber concludes that chances for long-term democratization remain fragile in Haiti, Guyana, Suriname, and Grenada. Selwyn Ryan comments on the exacerbating role in extant ethnic divisions played by structural adjustments induced by the United States and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). DeLisle Worrell pinpoints the central role of contemporary economics in Anglophone Caribbean democratization, finding that policy errors and external problems largely account for current problems.

In the case studies on the diverse patterns of democratization in the insular Hispanic Caribbean, Jonathan Hartlyn covers democracy-building in the Dominican Republic, and Juan Manuel García-Passalacqua deals with Puerto Rico. Stéphen Quirk, drawing on experiences of the Asian newly industrializing countries, argues for balanced industrial and agricultural development while acknowledging that some Caribbean products will need protection in future trade negotiations. Finally, Ron Sanders joins a growing but still short list of scholars who highlight the potential for societal destabilization in the Caribbean due to the international movement of drugs. Pastor and Fletcher cap this volume properly by calling for rapid action by Caribbean policymakers, including closure on CARICOM integration efforts as a prelude to seeking admission to NAFTA. The essays are generally original, high in quality, and well integrated. In short, this volume is a major resource for undergraduate and graduate students alike.

Carlene Edie's *Democracy in the Caribbean: Myths and Realities* focuses primarily on case studies of democratization in individual countries and less on metropolitan policy. It too features quality essays but is not as well integrated as the volume edited by Domínguez, Pastor, and Worrell. Also, several contributions to the Edie volume were published previously.

Percy Hintzen focuses on democratization and the middle class in the region and contributes a second essay on Trinidad and Tobago. Other contributors and their case studies include Edie on Jamaica, Ralph Premdas on Guyana, Alma Young on Belize, Neville Duncan on Barbados, Dessima Williams on Grenada, Betty Sedoc-Dahlberg on Suriname, Rosario Espinal on the Dominican Republic, Carmen Gautier-Mayoral on

Puerto Rico, Carolee Bengelsdorf on Cuba, Ken Boodhoo on Haiti, and Patrick Emmanuel on the Leeward and Windward Islands. Memorable contributions are numerous: Pedro Noguera's focus on democratization and intervention in Grenada, Panama, and Nicaragua, which is longer on intervention than on the transplantation and accomplishments of democracy; Selwyn Ryan's argument that creeping clientelism is more a hoax masquerading as democracy than a legitimate Caribbean variant of social democracy; Hintzen's conclusion in his initial chapter that the region's democratization movements are controlled by the middle class and the region's political systems are increasingly dominated and restricted by the structural adjustment conditionalities imposed by the IMF; and Boodhoo's contention that Haiti's second independence (following two centuries of failures to democratize) occurred on 7 February 1991 with the election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide (although this second coming would be overthrown in seven months, setting the stage in 1994 for the latest type of UN- and OAS-sanctioned collective security action or intervention). Also significant is Edie's finding that the Jamaican party system dominated by the middle class is losing support among the country's poor, whose numbers are expanding geometrically. The most desperate Jamaicans are becoming alienated from their clientelist system that increasingly fails to deliver more than symbols, and from a government that has been too prone to flip-flopping along the ideological divide.

While Edie feels crucial support for the overall system is holding, perceived inequity is growing, and systemic support may fail under the frontal attack of drugs, corruption, and crime. Other contributors note the regional dimensions of this problem but generally fail to address the impact of this triple menace. Attention to this concern by the contributors and greater coordination of the essays might have been beneficial. Premdas correctly notes that the tenure of democracy in Guyana is less than a decade as a result of U.S. and British interventions followed by dishonest elections, a controlled press, and always "the use of formal and informal state-sponsored thuggery, inhuman treatment, assassination, terror, and violence" (p. 53). He concludes correctly that the internationally monitored election of 1992 finally gave democracy a chance. In Premdas's view, three keys to this outcome were the death of President Forbes Burnham in 1985; the severely deteriorating economy, domestic services, and infrastructure; and the monitoring of the 1992 election by the Jimmy Carter Center of Emory University. What might be added is the role of an emerging and increasingly independent press in Guyana and the pressure exerted by regional lending institutions and metropolitan governments, which made acceptance of the Carter team possible (see Will n.d.). Premdas is to be commended for including this 1992 and 1993 data in his essay, in contrast to other contributors who did not present relevant material from this period in their cases. Nevertheless, these essays make up a

fine collective effort overall. Larger libraries will want both the volumes on democratization, most of whose contributors come from the Caribbean.

Turning to the two case studies of Jamaica democratization, Novella and Nelson Keith have researched and written a carefully crafted work entitled *The Social Origins of Democratic Socialism in Jamaica*. They argue that Michael Manley's self-proclaimed assertions of democratic socialism in Jamaica during the middle to late 1970s were actually something they label "national popularism." In their view, the socialism not attained would have brought "a shift in relative class power from the dominant (capitalist) classes to the subordinate classes" (p. 25). The authors explain that the younger Manley's attempt to produce a class coalition was not socialism nor was it greatly dissimilar from the coalitions produced by his father, the late Norman Manley, who founded the Peoples' National Party (PNP) in 1938. The state and many who continued to support the PNP government in the late 1970s could be construed as having worked within a liberal democratic and market-based system. The failure of democratic socialism was therefore not primarily the result of U.S. and IMF pressures, as claimed by many. Nor did it arise from Michael Manley's own partially admitted policy errors, including his suggestion that middle-class and upper-class elements who disagreed with his policies should catch one of the daily planes to the United States (which far too many taxpayers decided to do). The failure resulted instead, the authors assert, from fundamental societal problems. Maingot's *The United States and the Caribbean* appears to support this contention in arguing that this time-honored predilection toward migration has allowed well-placed Jamaicans to avoid paying their fair share—and thus indicates a societal flaw. A more enduring legacy from the 1970s was the inclusionary policies of the PNP regarding the usually marginalized Rastafarians. The Keiths' *Social Origins of Democratic Socialism in Jamaica* complements Anders Danielson's case study on Jamaica (under review here) as well as two earlier studies: *Jamaica under Manley* by Michael Kaufman (1985), and *Democratic Socialism in Jamaica* by Evelyne Huber Stephens and John Stephens (1986).

Danielson's *The Political Economy of Development Finance: Public Sector Expansion and Economic Development in Jamaica* probes the hypothesis that public expenditure by the Manley government "was largely responsible for the deep and prolonged period of stagnation encountered in the 1970s. The prime argument is that the government's need for revenue was determined without much reference to the actual pattern of economic development and that this impeded the future prospects for self-sustained economic growth" (p. 181). Danielson notes at the outset that his initial impulse was to agree with the study by Kaufman and that by Stephens and Stephens, both of which suggested that external conditions (especially the IMF) were primarily to blame for the failures of demo-

cratic socialism in Jamaica (p. xi). Danielson's tentative research findings, however, led increasingly toward a new hypothesis and the finding that Manley made out-of-bounds public expenditures despite falling revenues. Support at that time for clientelism in Jamaica was "the devil" that made Manley do it. This statistics-laden and pricey book (almost forty dollars for a paperback) as well as the Keith volume are recommended for larger collections.

Reference Works

Guyana and Belize: Country Studies, edited by Tim Merrill, provides basically accurate (albeit already dated) information, particularly on what could have been the return of democracy to Guyana in 1992 after a twenty-eight-year hiatus and ongoing but regime-changing developments in Belize in 1994. In rushing to commission this work, alas, the U.S. Government jumped the gun on both elections. In the case of the internationally monitored election in Guyana, where elections are due every five years, there was no real reason to rush because the country's most crucial election in nearly three decades was anticipated from 1991 onward. Consequently, when this work appeared in 1993 (the introduction is dated 12 July), data on the 1992 election was largely ignored except in a somewhat error-laden introduction by the editor (xvii–xxvii). Nor does *Guyana and Belize* acknowledge any U.S. role in toppling Dr. Cheddi Jagan in the 1940s and 1960s (p. xix), even though such involvement is commonly conceded by scholars (former U.S. presidential assistant Arthur Schlesinger has publicly apologized for his role in the latter destabilization effort). The volume asserts instead that Jagan "renounced his past Marxist policies" (p. xxi), when in fact he continues to advocate a mixed system. It also presents confusing information about the election monitoring groups that observed the 1992 elections (two major groups as well as some minor monitoring teams) and states that the Working People's Alliance (WPA) was part of the PPP-Civic coalition when it actually ran as a separate party. Overall, these are small errors. The main problem is that *Guyana and Belize* was badly out-of-date when it was published. It is therefore recommended only for the largest collections.

Caribbean Visions: Ten Presidential Addresses of Ten Presidents of the Caribbean Studies Association conveys the views of heads of the CSA, a multidisciplinary professional group formed in 1975 to promote study of the Caribbean Basin. It now boasts nearly a thousand members. Although four presidents preceded Wendell Bell's term at the helm (1979–1980), Bell was the first to deliver a formal presidential address, the initial essay in this volume. The final address reprinted was delivered by President J. E. Greene, Chancellor at the University of the West Indies–Jamaica, who led the CSA in 1988 and 1989. The remaining speeches are by Simon Jones-

Hendrickson (editor of this volume), Vaughan Lewis, Ransford Palmer, Anthony Maingot, Fuat Andic, Compton Bourne, Alma Young, and Andrés Serbín.

The essays by Bell and Maingot are especially apropos of democratization. When Wendell Bell gave his address "Equity and Social Justice" in 1980, he was heading undergraduate studies at Yale. In the 1960s, he had directed a student group that traveled from the United States to the Caribbean to conduct sociopolitical research in the region. Bell discovered that by 1980, most area leaders who had initially opposed independence for the new states had died or left or withdrawn from active politics. Civil and political equality had come to be viewed as fair, as was equality of opportunity. Moreover, a general consensus had been achieved in defining what constituted fairness. But despite the rhetoric, gross and multifaceted internal inequalities remained: "Although some inequalities are holdovers from the past, some are newly created [by] the new middle classes of bureaucrats, technocrats, politicians and civil servants" leading to growing alienation and rage (p. 33). The old divisions over independence had become a struggle over the role of government in the economies. Bell stressed in conclusion that perceptions of inequity had become a prime cause, along with oft-cited ineffectiveness and inefficiency, for the loss of political legitimacy: "Feelings of inequity not only could topple a regime, but they could also erode the legitimacy of the state itself if a regime remained in power by force or fraud and if the state became the manager of most of economic and social life" (pp. 33–35). As was noted in discussing the Edie volume, this dire prophecy may now be coming true. Although *Caribbean Visions* could have been edited more closely, it is recommended for all Caribbeanists.

Works on U.S. Policy

Three books in this group of ten deal with U.S. policy. Anthony Maingot's *The United States and the Caribbean* focuses on U.S. external policy toward the region. Robert Beck's *The Grenada Invasion* examines U.S. policy making and its application in revolutionary Grenada. *The Suffering Grass: Superpowers and Regional Conflict in Southern Africa and the Caribbean* is a comparative study edited by Thomas Weiss and James Blight.

Maingot's *The United States and the Caribbean* is most welcome given the fact that Lester Langley's *The United States and the Caribbean, 1900–1970* is now fifteen years old. Two related books that do not focus primarily on U.S. policy may offer competition in some subspecialties of the policy arena: Jacqueline Braveboy-Wagner's *The Caribbean in World Affairs* (1989), and Ivelaw Griffith's *The Quest for Security in the Caribbean* (1993). Maingot, a native Trinidadian currently teaching sociology at Florida

International University, has carefully researched and analyzed relations between the United States and the Caribbean with strong emphasis on the insular Caribbean. He begins by discussing the Monroe Doctrine enunciated in 1823. Little more than a century later, the Good Neighbor Policy overlaid this tapestry but was set aside in the 1950s for a new ideologically inspired variant of the Monroe Doctrine. Maingot spotlights the effectiveness of U.S. U-boat policy in World War II, the manner in which the "Cuban card" has been played alternately by Trinidad's Eric Williams and Jamaica's Michael Manley, and the threats to social order and national security from corruption, violence, drugs, and offshore banking. The last issue Maingot addresses most effectively. Also covered in depth are migration and the quandary of nearly permanent and intractable unemployment. Maingot provides in-depth and sensitive analysis on the situations of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica. The shifting problem of Haiti is woven throughout the work, which even includes a bibliographical essay. *The United States and the Caribbean* is a must-read for Caribbeanists, a sourcebook to which they will long refer.

Robert Beck's *The Grenada Invasion: Politics, Law, and Foreign Policy Decisionmaking* is also welcome for its objectivity and fresh findings. Beck eschews quantitative or interpretive methods, focusing instead on careful scrutiny of "official and other communications in order to divine subjective intentions" (p. 221). He succeeds in cutting through dense subjectivity and myriad justifications to determine the role of international law in the U.S. administration's decision to intervene in Grenada. He finds in the end that "law" was merely a fig leaf for President Reagan's intention, and a rather translucent one at that.

Although the legal argument was presented to justify the intervention, chiefly by Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam, Beck notes that UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick was requested by Secretary of State George Shultz to avoid "any reference to self-defense as a legal justification" (p. 221). Similar reference to the invasion of Grenada as a "humanitarian intervention" to save U.S. medical students was also rejected. According to Beck, this situation left only two core Reaganite policy goals: the power politics goal of thwarting Cuban influence and a Marxist revolution; and that of "restoration of democratic government to Grenada" (p. 227).

As evidence proving his contention of the first core policy goal, Beck cites the fact that although the Reagan administration led the United States to believe that the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) had requested U.S. military assistance, the request for help was actually penned by U.S. officials. And although Shultz suggested that an OECS request for U.S. assistance had followed several meetings, he was not forthcoming with the information that plans for the U.S. invasion were made on 15 October 1983, four days before revolutionary leader Maurice

Bishop was murdered. Furthermore, Beck reveals data suggesting that the invasion was not a diversionary tactic for the car-bomb killing of 250 Marines in Beirut. Rather, several operatives feared that the tragedy in Beirut might derail the pending invasion of Grenada. Nonetheless, Beck speculates that in all probability, President Reagan would have had difficulty securing support for the military move in Grenada without the bombing in Beirut and the Leninist coup in Grenada.

In analyzing the second core policy goal, that of restoring democracy in Grenada, it is essential to recall that Reagan made Project Democracy a major objective of his administration early on. Beck's account makes understandable Reagan's reassurances to OECS members that actions initiated against the Grenadian Revolution would lead to democratization. In his address to the nation within minutes after the intervention, Reagan renewed his pledge to restore democracy in Grenada, despite the fact that the U.S. State Department had carefully deleted from the speech all references to the restoration of democracy. Beck's study is exceptionally well documented and will make a fine addition to any collection.

The Suffering Grass, edited by Weiss and Blight, analyzes southern Africa and the Caribbean as less-developed areas that "suffered" significantly during the cold war. Specialists on Africa such as Newell Stultz and Gillian Gunn combined with top-flight Caribbeanists such as Lloyd Seawar, Jorge Domínguez, and Wayne Smith in contributing essays that make the volume strong and useful. In reviewing policy in Angola, Gunn raises the question of lessons that the superpowers' activities during the cold war might offer for coping in the post-cold-war era. Gunn's conclusions seem valid: "avoid power vacuums and ethnic/class tensions, monitor self-interested maneuvering by smaller powers, and be cognizant of how recent events may heighten a rival's sensitivity to perceived challenge" (p. 53). Although parts of *The Suffering Grass* will soon become dated, the quality of its essays strongly recommend it for larger libraries.

In conclusion, *The Suffering Grass* deserves the prize among this group of books for its intriguing title, which is based on the African proverb, "When elephants make war or love, it is the grass that suffers." During the cold war, less developed countries in both the southern part of Africa and the Caribbean Basin too often became the "suffering grass." But with sensitive and intelligent local policies and a modest amount of metropolitan nurturing (which is not currently assured), the suffering may again be eased enough to permit the grass to flourish.

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