THE ANGLOPHONE CARIBBEAN: WHITHER UNITY

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ABSTRACT

The Anglophone Caribbean: Whither Unity

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The objective of this study is the Anglophone Caribbean which consists of several island nations/ countries. Some of these nations/ countries were part of the West Indies Federation. They share a heritage of language, culture, history, education, geography and folk traditions while at the same time, as self-governing nations, they each pursue their own political agendas with respect to each one's individual needs and aspirations.

This study will examine the establishment, contributions and impact of several institutions and movements that were all directed toward Caribbean political unification. Examples will include The University of the West Indies, the Caribbean Examination Council and the West Indies Cricket Team along with the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ). Such examples will support the position that while the Caribbean nationals, politicians and government leaders were prepared to enter limited common functional arrangements, they were very wary of political union. Toward this end, the contention will be made that political unification among the Anglophone Caribbean countries must be based on a shared culture with special focus on political education.

DEDICATION

To my husband and children with love

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My journey on the road to this dissertation and doctorate began a long time ago. I remember telling myself and a few people with whom I worked after earning my MSW, that I was not going to stop until I got my doctorate. I remember also saying that wherever I was academically when my son started first grade, I was going to stop and devote my time and energy to him. Two colleagues of mine, one a psychiatrist, the other a pediatrician, listened to me and offered sincere support. Both Doctors Ellis and Kavanagh are now deceased, but I am in their debt.

As anyone who has ever written a dissertation knows, it can be a lonely, tiring and rocky process. I spent many hours alone, in the library, in the attic, at my computer, and in quiet spots where I could read and make notes. I was shocked when I realized how many legal pads I had filled with notes, thoughts, paragraphs that were written and re-written. Sometimes I forgot the sources and had to go on a mental odyssey to reconnect.

I am particularly indebted to Dr. William Rogers my advisor, who chaired my dissertation committee, and Dr. Michael Gialanella, also a member of the committee, for their academic gaze and conceptual guidance. Their suggestions and practical help were invaluable. I also benefited from the keen insights and constructive comments they offered.

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A special thanks to Dr. Alvin Thompson, my high school history teacher who told me years ago that I was an academic, and I should give serious thought about further study instead of the career path I told him I had chosen when I was preparing to leave high school. He tells me now that he does not remember the conversation, but I was quick to remind him that I am on this journey because of him and therefore his help is a must. He has been most gracious in reading and helping me sort through copious notes and sometimes senseless paragraphs written over a period of time.

My greatest thanks goes to my husband for his typing and computer skills. I do not know how to type and my computer skills are even worse. So, when I found myself working against the clock, he came to my rescue. In the final days of writing, when I thought I had no more to give and I was not going to be able to type my thoughts, he stepped in and pulled me along to the finish line, smiling all the way.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This dissertation addresses attempts at collective identity and unification of the Anglophone Caribbean based on political and cultural initiatives. This dissertation will also look briefly at the success and failure of some other movements toward regional integration such as the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA), the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ) and others. The Anglophone Caribbean consists of several island nations/countries, some of which were a part of the West Indies Federation. These are Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica (the Cayman Islands, with Turks and Caicos as dependents), Montserrat, St. Kitts/Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and the twin island state of Trinidad and Tobago. The following countries decided not to join the Federation but are part of the Anglophone Caribbean: The Bahamas, Belize, the British Virgin Islands, and Guyana (formerly British Guiana). All of these countries have much in common, including past British ownership, governance, and membership in the British Commonwealth of nations. They share a heritage of language, history, education, culture, geography, and folk traditions. Each country is self-governing and pursues its own diplomatic and political agenda, adhering to whatever satisfies its best individual needs. In spite of this, there are areas of inter-nation and intra-regional cooperation and collaboration. The establishment of the Caribbean identity on the world stage has been an ongoing project. In order to see what attempts have been made to unite the nations of the Anglophone Caribbean, this dissertation will examine four already established institutions—the University of the

West Indies (UWI), the West Indies Cricket team (Windies), the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) and the West Indies Federation (WIF). The Federation was an attempt at political unification that fell apart after a very short period of time. The other three are still alive and functioning with support throughout the Anglophone Caribbean. Each entity has its own peculiar problems and concerns, but each essentially is alive and well and serving the purposes for which it was established. This dissertation will examine these institutions in light of the fact that the Federation failed while the others succeeded.

The common features of the Caribbean identity are a shared history of colonialism, a common language, a large African diasporic community (with some East Indian, and to a lesser extent, European, Chinese and Syrian groups), similar colonial institutions, broad geographical similarities despite some variations in size, a common allegiance to a crown in Colonial days, and now identification in an organization known as the Commonwealth of Nations.

The Caribbean has a common history of slavery; the history of slavery is also a history of resistance, and resistance is also a story of overcoming and becoming. Four main European colonial powers—Spain, France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain—have ruled the Caribbean for most of the sixteenth to early twentieth centuries. Between 1600 and 1870, approximately ten million Africans, mostly from West Africa, were brought to the Caribbean as enslaved people (A. O. Thompson, "*Race and Color*" 29-59). The North American mainland received fewer than half a million Africans in the same time period, while Jamaica received almost three quarters of a million. High death rates and low birth rates among the Caribbean enslaved population led to a steady and continuous need for fresh imports to the various islands. In Barbados, 387,000 persons

were imported, but at the time of emancipation in 1834, there were only 81,000 to be freed. According to Rogozinski, Caribbean slavery was different from any other form of slavery that ever existed (122 – 128). It is the only time in history that nine out of ten inhabitants were enslaved individuals, which was the situation on the sugar producing islands. Rogozinski, J (*A Brief History of the Caribbean: from the Arawak and Carib to the Present 15, 160-161*) also writes about the slave revolts of hundreds, even thousands of enslaved persons. He points out that the newcomers from Africa were more likely to rebel, since they had once been freed and had not yet experienced the power of colonial armies. However, the only time enslaved persons were able to create a free independent state was in the aftermath of the French Revolution when the colony of St. Dominguez became Haiti in 1804. Kurlansky and Rogozinski have presented a picture of runaway slaves who were able to create their own communities and express their culture with much greater freedom than allowed within slave society. In Jamaica, for example, the British were unable to defeat the Maroons freed by the Spanish. According to Kurlansky (46), even today, Maroons of Jamaica insist that they do not take part in the state and country of Jamaica. Among the smaller islands of the eastern Caribbean, only Dominica and St. Vincent had significant Maroon settlements. Both countries had extensive mountainous hinterlands and small Carib Indian communities, which occasionally allied with the Maroons.

According to Honychurch and Rogozinski, after the end of World War II the colonial empires lost their power, importance and interest in the Caribbean. The British Islands formed an associated federation with Great Britain, but ended after only four years. Jamaica and the twin colony nation of Trinidad and Tobago were the first to leave

and become independent nations within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The federation was finally dissolved in 1962. The other islands pursued and formed associated statehoods with Britain, and most of the British islands eventually became independent by the 1980s.

Today, other historians, including those who have contributed to the *West Indian Commission Report*, have noted history's effects on the region, while at the same time making recommendations for strengthening the identity of the Caribbean. The question that needs an answer is whether there is hope for a new Federation or another form of Caribbean unity/Anglophone identity. Significant events pertaining to the formation of the Federation, the growing sense of nationalism in the region, the position that while Caribbean nationals and politicians/government leaders are prepared to enter into certain common functional arrangements, they are still very wary of a political union will be addressed. I will address the questions: Why has the Caribbean Examinations Council, the youngest entity in this study, sustained itself and expanded despite the general tendency to fragment? Why has the University of the West Indies expanded, and why is it now offering off-site campuses, in other regions at the same time other campuses, distinct from UWI, have sprung up in Trinidad, Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada? On the sports front, why the West Indies Cricket team which no longer "rules the world" but continues to do well on the international stage of world cricket? The foremost question is why have those entities become pillars of West Indian unity?

There are several ways of approaching a study of the political/ educational relations, the home-school nexus and the development of a sense of national pride as educated people in the Anglophone Caribbean. In this study I will move away from the

issues of poverty and limited exposure to educational opportunities where students are seen as a body of culturally disadvantaged persons and illuminate the development of the CXC and its relationship to the Anglophone Caribbean. The primary focus of this study is my position that any political unification or cooperation in the Anglophone Caribbean must be based on aspects of a shared culture including education. There exists a body of literature which addresses the subjects – The University of the West Indies (UWI), the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC), the West Indies Cricket Team (Windies) and The West Indies Federation (WIF)- that are germane. However, there is nothing that specifically focuses on the reasons why one (WIF) failed and why the others are still alive and functioning. In this study, I have taken the liberty of using information garnered from studies that were done in the United States of America to support my thesis.

The Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) was established by agreement among thirteen territories in the English –speaking Caribbean in 1972. After a number of inter -regional meetings, the final number of participants is now fourteen (CXC Fact Sheet, 1998). The main objectives of the council are twofold – 1.to provide relevant secondary school leaving examinations to replace those traditionally used by overseas schools primarily the Universities of London and Cambridge in the United Kingdom, and (2) – to make sure that the standards of these examinations are regionally recognized (CXC and the Candidate 1983 p2). W. Demas, registrar of CXC, emphasized the rationale of such a transition

"The council specifies that this system of examination be designed for students who have completed five years of secondary school education and were sufficiently prepared for and with the syllabus of the subjects they were about to study (*Regulations*

for the conduct of the Council's Examinations, Definitions, Regulations and Procedures. Revised September 2008, CXC Headquarters, Black Rock, Barbados). It was also emphasized that university entrance must not be regarded as the only criteria for successful completion of secondary education.

Review of Literature

CXC offers two types of examinations catering for a wider range of abilities and attempts to serve a broader segment of the school population than was done by the General Certificate of Education (GCE) of the University of London. A review of the literature on the report of the work of the candidates of the June 1983 revealed "*generally poor performance on structured essays and short answers"(CXC Report 1983 p 1-2).* However, a report in the 30th anniversary bulletin, summer 2003, twenty years later, shows that there is an overall improvement in all subject areas and a steady increase in the number of students and the grades they receive.

Several theoretical frameworks such as "culture of poverty," "social reproduction" and "race and institutional discrimination" exist in the body of sociological literature that specifically addresses educational and social inequality among racial and ethnic groups. Each framework affords a different kind of insight and understanding of the problem. A "culture of poverty" analysis focuses on families and suggests that certain groups and their culture inadequately prepare their children for school. A "race/ institutional discrimination" analysis focuses on the school and suggests that schools' unequal treatment of racial and ethnic minority and poor children contribute to the

students' low academic performances. A "social reproduction analysis also implicates the school in reproducing unequal outcomes suggesting that schools arbitrarily use the cultural experiences of the elites to formulate educational programs thereby providing individuals from elite groups with more "cultural capital" than others which facilitates their success in school (James Coleman et al *1966, Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, D.C., U.S. Office of Education*).

Sociologist James Coleman (1966) concluded that the socioeconomic status of the child's family was the key determinant in educational performance. The "culture of poverty" or the "culturally disadvantaged" theorists suggest that children from poor and working class families are "underprivileged" and that their "inferior" home environments hinder their academic development. These social scientists assert that children who come from impoverished environments are poorly motivated, have under-developed language and reading skills and lack adequate educational activities (Deutsch, Martin, 1967) "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process in Deutsch (ed)" *The Disadvantaged Child*, N.Y. Basic Books: and "A Comparison of the Chicago and Harvard Studies of Social Class Differences in Child Rearing", American Sociological Review 20, (August 1969 p.442). The "culture of poverty" theorists blame the family and their environments for the poor performance of their children. Moreover they attribute the low levels of parent involvement in schooling to the low value parents place on education. (Sewell and Hauser 1980 – "The Wisconsin Longitudinal Study of Social and Psychological Factors in Aspirations and Achievement" *in Kerckhoff, A.C. (ed) Research in Sociology of Education and Specialization*, vol 1, Greenwich, CT. JAI Press, pp 59-100). While placing the blame for social dislocation and educational inequality on students, their

families and their environments these theorists misrepresent or minimize the social structural causes of poverty and their consequences.

In his book, *Getting What We Ask For*, Charles Payne (1984,Westport, Greenwood Press) notes that not seeing and understanding behavior in its situational context could lead to confounding people with their response to a situation. There is substantial documentation that historically African Americans and other "Black People" (my words) have valued and pursued education even under the most trying and difficult circumstances. (*Worlds Apart: Relationship Between Families and Schools*). There are theories, both pro and con, which affect the theoretical frameworks mentioned earlier. Although some theories move away from blaming the African American (Caribbean) children and their families for low school achievement or offer a different light on the subject, they fail to capture the dynamics of the processes by which race or class are present in the learning/ educational environment. Although it may be desirable analytically to look at culture and class separately, it is very important to look at the establishment of CXC and its ongoing success as part of the union of race, class and culture of a people who have indeed valued and pursued education under the most trying circumstances. The involvement of the government, academic institutions and educators illuminate the place for the cultural and social context of education in the life of people in a region which according to the "culture of poverty" would have never had a chance of achieving anything.

The West Indies Federation came into being at a time when the previously owned or governed British colonies/islands were clamoring for independence. In 1958 all the Caribbean islands and the mainland territories of British, Dutch and French Guiana were

colonies of the European powers. The only three independent countries at that time were Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Cuba. The Caribbean then, in 1958 had not even begun to liberate itself from the old dispensation. But in that year and the following year –1959–respectively, two important events took place. First a political Federation was formed in 1958 among the British territories (excluding British Guiana and British Honduras). Second, in 1959 the Cuban revolution took place (Williams, Eric, *From Columbus to Castro*, N.Y. Vintage Books, 1970 pp 507-508).

In addition to Dr. Williams, others have written about the birth and death of the Federation and about integration in the Anglophone Caribbean. In his book *The Poor and the Powerless,* Clive Y. Thomas states that "apart from a few minor European possessions (such as those of Denmark) four major European empires have historically operated in the region, each promoting its own exclusive monopoly zones through exercising tight control over metropole/colonial relations (Thomas, C.Y. p. 302). Thomas goes on to say that the movement for independence in the 19th and 20th centuries resulted in a number of independent states being formed, which weakened the influence of the European imperial powers (Thomas 302). Other political and social scientists have expressed similar sentiments. As stated previously, by the mid 20th century, the Caribbean experienced a lot of fundamental changes. Many former colonies became nation / states, like Haiti and each began to define its own economic, political and cultural pathways. However, although freed from the European masters, vestiges of colonial imperialism remained. In spite of that, the West Indies Federation (WIF) was established as the first step toward regional integration and was an attempt at political and economic integration. Ultimately it failed. Peter Calvocoressi (1987) argues in *World*

Politics since 1945 that on the one hand, the British government was to blame because its delay in bringing the Federation into existence after World War II, allowed animosities to develop between the islands. When the West Indian leaders were characterized as more left wing than they actually were, the drive toward independence slowed (Calvocoressi 1987, 505). At that time, political leaders were not allowed to hold political office both in their home country and in the Federation, and given the choice, the most prominent and capable leaders chose to maintain their power bases and political positions in their own countries. On the other hand Calvocoressi goes on to say that it was believed among the majority of Caribbean countries that there was no real desire or incentive for Federation and that whatever support the federation movement commanded was from a "narrow base of political and trade union leaders" (Calvocoressi, 1987, 506) who could easily be undermined and controlled.

Several years after the demise of the Federation and, with the birth of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA), the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) was established. As a sub-regional financial institution, the CDB was supposed to contribute to the harmonious economic growth of the region and promote economic cooperation and integration in the Caribbean. Jamaica's leaders at that time rejected the CDB because they were planning a different path for their country with little or no place for integration. Also, they regarded the countries of the Eastern Caribbean as being more "parochial and inferior" (Payne, Anthony, "The Politics of Regional Cooperation in the Caribbean"-The political Economy of Regional Cooperation: Comparative Case Studies, (ed) Andrew Axline, London, Pinter, 1994, 79-80).

It is my hope that this study will be an attempt to begin to fill the gap in the

ethnographic literature on the reasons why the WIF failed while the others succeeded and are still alive and functioning. Additionally the study moves away from integration as it is linked to student achievement only. While academic achievement is important, focusing on that as an outcome of government, political and population involvement misses opportunities to study the processes of involvement which illuminate the cultural societal context in which integration occurs and the paths and barriers to forming lasting political partnerships such as the WIF. I am aware of the limitations of this dissertation. Many important topics relating to integration, the prospects of another federation, issues such as health and politics have not been covered, and in reality were beyond the scope of this paper. The most significant determinant was the availability of information. Some of the materials, available through the *Archives of the Government of Guyana* were particularly difficult to access even after a special visit to that country and facility. Others were available through interlibrary loan. Some data were in general more available than others, yet they did always satisfy my needs.

Chapter 2

Historical and Geographical Framework

Setting the Scene

This chapter will provide a geographical description and historical background on the Caribbean because these are factors related to the unification issue. Of particular interest is the West Indies Federation. Further, it chronicles some of the politics and problems which faced the new Federation and which eventually led to its demise.

The Caribbean area, with which this study is concerned, constitutes an archipelago stretching from north to south, or from east to west, as some persons might prefer to say, for over 2,485 miles (4,000 kilometers). It is said that this area comprises more than 7,000 islands (Gravlee 42), though many of them are too small to be inhabited. The area is bounded on the south by the South American continent, and on the west, by Central America. In its broadest geographical spread it includes the mainland countries of Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana (Cayenne), Belize, Panama, Colombia, and Mexico. In a more restricted sense, it simply comprises those territories watered by the Florida Straits, Yucatan Channel, and Caribbean Sea, though strictly speaking, only Jamaica and the Lesser Antilles lie within the compass of the Caribbean Sea. All of the islands are generally viewed as being watered by the Caribbean Sea that interflows on the north and east with the Atlantic Ocean. Therefore, historically all of them are collectively regarded as a fundamental part of what is today called the Atlantic World, which comprise, in addition, the eastern shore of North America and the northwestern shore of Africa.

The islands are usually grouped into broad categories based partly on size and geographical location: the Greater Antilles, which are comprised of the four largest

Caribbean islands containing almost 90% of the landmass of the region, and the Lesser Antilles. The islands of the Greater Antilles are Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola (which is divided into Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and Puerto Rico. The term is sometimes widened to include the small islands in close proximity to the large ones, such as the Cayman Islands. The Greater Antilles are separated from Mexico and Florida respectively by the Yucatan Channel and the Florida Straits. The Lesser Antilles comprise the remainder of the islands, with the exception of the Bahamas, often viewed as a third category, sometimes called the Lucayan archipelago, which includes the Turks and Caicos Islands. The Lesser Antilles are divided into the Windward and Leeward Islands. The first group comprises those islands that are more directly exposed to the trade winds, an important oceanic and trading factor, especially in the era when navigation depended on winds and sails. Thus in the days of the slave trade, the Windward Islands lay within the easternmost path of vessels navigating from West Africa to the Americas. The main islands within the Windward group are Dominica, Martinique, Barbados, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada and the Grenadines. The Leeward Islands comprise those islands of the Lesser Antilles that are more shaded from the direct impact of the trade winds. They are too numerous to mention but include the United States Virgin Islands, St. Kitts, Antigua, Montserrat and Guadeloupe. Most of the islands in the Greater Antilles are composed of continental (igneous, sedimentary and metamorphic) rock, while those in the Lesser Antilles are made up of volcanic and coral formations. Cuba is the northwestern most island. Trinidad is the most southern, and Barbados the easternmost. Cuba is also the largest in size. As far as we know, the smallest island has not yet been determined, since some of them are very small rocks, hardly visible in the

seas and uninhabited by either humans or animals. The Turks and Caicos group consists of 40 islands, only eight of which are inhabited. One estimate, published in July 2009, puts the total population of the islands at 40,744,552. Cuba is again at the top of the list with a population of 11,204,000, while Saba is at the bottom with 1,424 (*Gravlee, A., List of Caribbean Countries, Caribbean Islands Handbook, Trade and Travel, 1993, Penguin Book*). Although the West Indies is spread over such a vast area, most of its islands are contiguous and clustered fairly close together in the Eastern Caribbean, with the exception of Jamaica, the Cayman Islands, and the Turks and Caicos. To view a map of the region, see Appendix D.

The human history of the area goes back to at least 4500 BC, when the Amerindians (Native Americans), the first settlers, are estimated to have arrived. Moving across the Bering Strait they gradually made their way into various parts of North and South America, then on to various islands in the region. By the time of Columbus, they were more deeply ensconced in the Greater Antilles than the Lesser. The first Europeans, who came to the Americas, did so mainly for materialistic reasons. Later on, other groups such as the Pilgrim Fathers came seeking a haven from religious persecution.

The early European adventurers actually came upon the Caribbean islands by accident. Columbus and his crew were hoping to find a way to India by sailing westward from Spain. When he made landfall in the Bahamas, he mistakenly thought he had reached the islands south of India by this westward route, so he called it the West Indies. Later on, the name Caribbean was used (derived from Caribs, the Indian people) for the region as a whole and the various ethnic groups that live in it. The Spanish who were the first colonizers, concentrated on the Greater Antilles for the first 30 years or so, but

gradually made their way into the mainland of Central and South America, where they encountered more highly structured civilizations, notably those of the Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas. Francisco Pizarro, leader of the Spanish conquistadores who destroyed the Inca Empire, stated quite bluntly his reason for making the trip to the New World, as the whole area to the far west of Europe was called: "I have come to take away from them their gold." Bernal Diaz del Castillo, another conquistador and the chronicler of the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs of Mexico, put a more religious spin on the conquest: "We came here to serve God and the King and also get rich" (Keen and Haynes 73).

For a long time, it seemed as though the other European powers showed little or no interest in the colonization of the New World. A number of factors account for this circumstance, including the much more limited military and navigational capacity of the would-be rivals of Spain, the view that the Spanish had already entrenched themselves in the main areas of wealth in the region, and the granting of a papal "Bull" (an authoritative document) by Pope Alexander VI in 1493 to the Spanish monarchs to own and occupy all the so-called newly discovered, and yet to be discovered, lands up to 100 leagues west and south of the Azores and Cape Verde islands in the name of Christ and his apostles. At that time, all of the western European countries embraced Roman Catholicism and the seamless robe of Christendom had to be upheld at all cost (often by excommunication and burning heretics at the stake). However, the robe gradually began to tear, and eventually ripped apart, through the Protestant Reformation that Martin Luther started in 1517. The Reformation saw certain European countries breaking away from the religious and secular power of the papacy and setting up their own state religions. The most significant breaks came in Germany where Lutheranism was born, the Netherlands where

Calvinism was established, and England where Anglicanism (Protestantism) became the dominant religion. The significance of this religious rift in the history of European colonization in the Caribbean is great. The new Protestant countries completely rejected the Papal authority and began to look upon lands in the New World as part of their God-given right. Some Catholic countries such as France also began to join in the chase for colonies. The early challenges focused on the European rivals of Spain, attacking vessels in the Atlantic and later in the Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico, bearing precious metals, spices and other goods. These challenges occurred in the 16th century, giving the European rivals the opportunity to set up small colonies in the Lesser Antilles. They of necessity needed to find a commodity that would command a sufficiently large market to make the colonial enterprise profitable. After trying such crops like indigo and tobacco, they found that sugar, which had been grown on the islands off West Africa earlier, was the answer to their problem, thus the islands of the Lesser Antilles became sugar producing colonies, supplying Europe with an increasing amount of that commodity until the 19th century, when newer and larger sugar-producing countries took over. The islands became known as the sugar colonies, and after the attempt to enslave Native Americans who succumbed to European diseases, the planters embarked on the idea of importing African slaves as a labor force. Bartholome de las Casas wrote about the first decades of colonization of the West Indies and on the atrocities committed by the colonizers against the indigenous peoples. He was one of the first settlers in the New World. He participated in and later opposed the atrocities committed against Native Americans. After he reformed his views he advocated the use of African slaves instead of Natives in the West Indian colonies. Later in life, he abandoned all of his previous views and saw that all

forms of slavery as equally wrong (Keen, Benjamin, 1971). “Introduction: Approaches to Las Casas, 1535-1970.” In Friede, Juan; Keen, Benjamin (eds) Bartholome de las casas in History: Toward an Understanding of the Man and His Work, Collection, Speciale, DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 67-126). (*http://elvis.rowan.edu/kilroy/jek/07/17.html)* The long hours that enslaved people worked, the material deprivations they suffered, and the horrible whippings and other forms of physical abuse they endured, caused Vidia Naipaul to refer to sugar as, “A brutal plant,” “an ugly crop,” with an “ugly history” and Eric Williams to muse that a “crop so sweet should have occasioned so much bloodshed” (Naipaul 27).

At the height of its popularity, sugar cane elevated a number of European entrepreneurs from rags to riches. Many of them had not come out simply to make a living, but a “killing,” in the popular parlance of the time. Some of them did so through the wanton wastage of human life, which is chronicled elsewhere. The emancipation of slaves, cheaper sources of sugar production, heavy indebtedness of many planters, and failure to adopt innovative techniques at the appropriate time, led to the decline, and in time, the demise, of the sugar industry in the older colonies of the British and French Caribbean. Barbadian planters did reasonably well in the post-slavery period because of the high population density on the island, resulting in the ability to purchase labor cheaper than in most other countries. Also, the comparatively large resident white population meant that a greater amount of resources for re-investment remained on the island rather than being spirited away to Europe, where in most cases, the planter class took comfort and refuge from slave revolts. Guyana and Trinidad, which the British had wrested from the Netherlands and Spain respectively, also survived the trauma of

abolition better than most of the other sugar colonies, because their main period of sugar development came in the nineteenth century, when most of the earlier sugar-producing colonies had lost their economic viability and were able to benefit heavily from the import of East Indian indentured labor, which replicated some of the features of the former system of African slavery. However, by the late nineteenth century, these colonies were also being overtaken by the rapid expansion of beet sugar, which was cheaper on the European market, and by the beginning of the twentieth century, subsidies from Europe went a long way toward keeping those struggling economies alive.

Today, negotiated price quotas for bananas, sugar and other tropical products are established with the European Union, though such agreements have to be renegotiated periodically. Most Caribbean countries have tried tourism and other economic diversifications in order to deal with uncertain cash flow. Tourism, as an economic product, is one of the biggest industries on the Caribbean market. It manifests itself in such developments as enlarged and improved airports and seaports, large hotels, and elegant beach facilities. The positive aspect of all of these activities is that they bring in badly needed foreign exchange and lead to the development of a greater and more modern infrastructure. They also provide a link with the European world. Unfortunately, there are negative aspects of Caribbean tourism. One view is that hotels have become a kind of “new plantation” in the sense that they replicate a number of features associated with that old activity, i.e., absentee ownership and white dominance. Caribbean governments have attempted to diversify the economies in other ways, such as offshore banking and insurance, brokerage and registration of foreign businesses. In the 1960s and 1970s what was known as “industrialization by invitation” was attempted. This entailed

giving a number of concessions to foreign businesses to set up various manufacturing plants in the region free from taxation in such matters as imports, exports and salaries, charging low or no fees for rental of buildings in government built industrial parks, and reduced utility rates. Often the companies left when their tax holidays came to an end, thus the experiment also ended.

Most recently, Caribbean countries have attempted to develop some forms of economic integration, and in a few instances, to derive benefits by the means of joint economic enterprises through the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). This is not without its share of problems. Approximately 20% of the total trade of its members is carried out within CARICOM, in contrast to over 60% within the European Union. More recent attempts to redress this situation have been made through advancing a Caribbean Single Market (CSME). The tourist orientation of the islands' economies tends to bring in quick income, creating the foreign exchange vitally needed for the large number of items they import. At the same time, much of the growth within the economies took place after World War II (1939-1945), but the situation just before and during that period was most precarious. Then in the 1930s, the first international economic depression slowed down the regional economies. This led to widespread unrest in the region and to a series of riots and revolts throughout the English speaking Caribbean between 1934 and 1939. Lord Moyne headed the Commission the Imperial Government sent out following the upheavals. For the first time in the history of the colonies, the Government took a comprehensive look at the social and economic climate that caused so much unrest. The findings of that commission were pithily stated by Lord Moyne to the government, "The efforts of your Majesty's Government and of the colonial governments concerned have

failed to make for radical reform" (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, British Foreign Office, West Indian Royal Commission Report, HMSO, CMD 6607, p. 428). The Imperial Government viewed the report as so damning that it was not published. Instead, the government simply published recommendations for improvement the commission had identified, and moved rather slowly during the next decade to implement them. The report also suggested that Caribbean nationals should enjoy greater participation in the decision-making processes governing their lives.

This brings us to an important aspect of the political history of the Caribbean, which had been ruled by various imperial regimes from Europe. At the highest political levels within each colonial jurisdiction, France and Spain ruled as directly as they could from Europe. They appointed all governors, military officers, and other important officials. They allowed provincial and other councils to develop, but the councils had to deal strictly with provincial affairs. Any form of social unrest by the colonists was dealt with quickly and harshly. Historically, the Spanish, French and for a while the Danes, ruled with an iron fist. The British had the least restrictive form of government, brutal as it might have seemed. By the time slavery was abolished, other islands also experienced major political upheavals starting with Haiti, Santo Domingo and Cuba. The other Caribbean countries chafed under the burden of colonialism, but lacked both the power and the will to risk violent confrontation to free themselves.

A new day was to dawn after the second World War, however, when strident efforts were made in Great Britain (West Indian Royal Commission Report, HMSO 428) in international forums and local organizations in colonial and semi-colonial countries around the world to achieve independence. In the case of the English-speaking

Caribbean, after a badly failed effort to develop a West Indies Federation (1958-1962), the British Government ceded independence to them. Jamaica was the first to achieve this status on August 6, 1962, followed by the twin-island state of Trinidad and Tobago on August 31, 1962. Guyana, which was not a member of the Federation, was next on May 26, 1966, then Barbados on November 30, 1966. Other countries followed more slowly. A few countries opted for integration into Britain: the Cayman Islands, the Turks and Caicos Islands, Montserrat, the British Virgin Islands, Anguilla and Bermuda. Within the French jurisdictions, Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guiana (Cayenne) were declared departments of metropolitan France and given full rights equivalent to what existed in other provinces within continental France. Today they still enjoy these rights, at least in theory, but they have special arrangements with the metropolitan authorities to exercise local government jurisdictions with a higher degree of autonomy than exists with respect to the other metropolitan provinces.

Chapter 3

The West Indies Federation

This chapter deals with the West Indies Federation and some of the issues surrounding its creation and continuation. Some form of federation of the whole or part of the West Indies had been seen as the answer to the problems that beset the region throughout its history. In 1871 a short –lived Federation of the Leeward Islands was established. In spite of this, the Royal Commission of 1882 recommended some form of Federation of the British territories in the Caribbean on economic grounds. It was felt at the time that the establishment of a Federation would address and solve political, economic and social problems in the West Indies such as:

1. Trade and shipping
2. Inter-island travel
3. Banking and commerce
4. Currency exchange or a universal currency
5. Inter-island commerce such as shopping in bulk and negotiating as a single unit with the world markets
6. Voting as a block in the U.N. and other world organizations
7. Presenting a united force/front as a region

The hope was that they would become independent from Britain as a single state. Major Wood (later Lord Halifax) visited the West Indies in 1921-22 to investigate the political developments of the Caribbean. In his report he stated:

> The establishment of West Indian political unity is likely to be a plant of slow and tender growth. If any advance in this direction is to be achieved,

> it can only be as the result of a deliberate demand of local opinion, springing from the realization of the advantages of cooperation under modern world conditions…I am satisfied that, so long as public opinion stands where it does today, it is both inopportune and impracticable to attempt amalgamation of existing units of Government into anything approaching a general federal system. (Wood 32).

He recommended a union between the Windward Islands and Trinidad, but this did not materialize. Later, the British Moyne Commission of 1938 recommended:

> The principle of Federation in the West Indies, which we regard as the proper ultimate aim of policy should be initiated in a practical form by an amalgamation of the Leeward Islands and Windward Islands. *(West Indian Royal Commission Report 373-374).*

Throughout the 19th Century and to the present time there have been talks, discussions and proposals, both official and unofficial, concerning and promoting Federation. The Moyne Commission further reported, "In some political sphere we found a widely canvassed idea of some form of federation of the West Indies Colonies into a single political unit" (*West Indian Royal Commission Report, 373-374)*. Despite what may be termed wide spread appeal among the people and popular feeling, a federation was not formed until 1958.

The West Indies Federation formally came into existence on January 3rd 1958 when the Governor General, Lord Hailes, was sworn in, but ended in 1962. The legal basis for the Federation was the British Caribbean Federation Act of 1956, which was passed by an order–in-council proclaimed in 1957. The Federation was comprised of ten countries: Antigua, Barbados, Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts/Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and the twin island nation of Trinidad and Tobago. The first Premier was Errol Barrow of Barbados and the capital was Chaguaramas, Trinidad, a few miles west of the capital of Port of Spain on a site that

was part of a U.S naval base. The West Indies Federation faced several problems from the beginning. Such problems included the governance and administrative structures required by the British; a sense that the British were planning to give independence to countries that they thought were not ready or able to sustain themselves; disagreements among the member states over policies, particularly about taxation and central planning; and an unwillingness on the part of most territorial governments to give up power to the Federal government.

Historian/sociologist Gordon Lewis writes that during the period of colonialism, the English-speaking Caribbean territories enjoyed in general, very little communication among themselves and, in particular, negligible political or economic interaction. Thus when the British created the Federation, partly to avoid granting independence to countries that they thought were not going to be able to sustain themselves, the majority of West Indians, who had lived in semi-isolation and appeared to have more in common with London than among themselves, frowned upon the idea. The Federation was formed at a time when Britain, wearied by the burden of participating in the Second World War and by a rapidly disintegrating empire, found it tiresome to deal with the wants and needs of so many small island nations and territories including their cry for independence. The Federation was seen as a means to better manage the British colonies in the Caribbean and keep them within the economic and political orbit of Britain. Lewis observed:

> British opinion…throughout viewed Federation, not as a vehicle for self-government, but overwhelming, as a problem of colonial administrative convenience. Examination of the voluminous documentation of that opinion in Westminster debates, Royal Commission reports, Colonial Office memoranda and the published correspondence between the Colonial Secretary and individual West Indian governors shows that the most persistently recurring reason evoked in support of federation was the greater economy and improved administrative efficiency it was supposed

Federation would bring about……G. Lewis, *Growth*, 1968, 345.

According to the late Cheddi Jagan, former Prime Minister of Guyana, who did not participate in the Federation and who opposed the idea, the union was doomed to fail for several reasons (Jagan, quoted in Rose, Euclid A – *Dependency and Socialism in the Modern Caribbean*, N.Y, Lexington Books, 95).

A) The plans of the British imperial power to integrate the Caribbean territories from above, taking into account the ruling class interests and not those of the masses.

B) The limited participation by the masses in promoting and supporting the idea of Federation.

C) The lack of information regarding the idea by organizations other than the ruling political parties and

D) The ideological dependence of the political elite on Britain that could not overcome the obstacles posed by divisions and deeply rooted island loyalties.

Jagan added that during the late 1950's the Federation was no longer needed to pave the way for independence, since some members of the federation- Barbados, Jamaica, Guyana and the twin island nation of Trinidad and Tobago – had already achieved internal self-rule and partial autonomy from Britain. In addition, Jagan was opposed to the idea that the ultimate executive authority rested with the Governor – General whom the Queen appointed and who had primary jurisdiction over defense, foreign relations and financial affairs. His position was not shared by the leaders of the smaller islands who enthusiastically supported the West Indies Federation because of the

dream of a greater and faster access to independence.

The region tried to create a union through the Caribbean Free Trade Agreement (CARIFTA) and the *Grenada Declaration*. However, despite this, I tend to agree with the statements of S. S. Ramphal, Attorney General of Guyana at that time:

> I suggest to you that the West Indian Nationhood can be both real and attainable and that to make it so has become a mandate of history to our generation. To the carrying out of that mandate, we must bend our energies now without dogma, without preconditions, without unalterable formulae, without non-negotiable positions, with a willingness to search for the right ways and the right means, with patience in persuasion and with tolerance where we fail to persuade, but with a clear and unyielding commitment to the creation of a West Indian Nation. (Ramphal 2, Communiqué # 19, Ministry of External Affairs, Georgetown, Guyana, 1971- *West Indian Nationhood: myth, mirage or mandate*)

They had already made a start on the road to greater cooperation and unity, and in general, most governments accept the inevitability of such a development, but seemed reluctant to make a full commitment at that time. This was borne out in Mr. Michael Manley's statement after his victory as Prime Minister in the Jamaica elections, in which he made clear that he did not believe that Political Union in the Caribbean would be feasible at that time, adding that such a Union was not for our time and generation (*Guyana Evening Post, 1972*). Jamaica's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Mr. David Coore, also expressed similar sentiments, when he said after a meeting of the Board of Governors of the Regional Development Bank in Barbados, that political federation in the Caribbean should be forgotten for the time being (*Guyana Graphic*, June 24, 1972). Due to Manley's attitude and that of other skeptics in the region, further progress halted, and without progress, regression set in.

Britain classified the Federation as part of its "Caribbean and North Atlantic Territories," just as it had for other possessions such as Bermuda. The Bahamas, Belize,

British Virgin Islands and British Guiana (Guyana), all of which have had periods of British governance and control, opted not to join because they believed their best interests would be served in other ways. The original expressed intention of the Federation was to serve as a political unit that would eventually become independent from Britain as a single state and remain a unified political entity within the British Commonwealth, not unlike the Canadian Federation or the Australian Federation. The Federation was a member of the British Commonwealth. Queen Elizabeth II, as head of state was vested with the legislative authority for executive affairs, defense, and the financing of the Federation. Her representative, Patrick Buchan-Hysburn (Baron Hailes), was given the title of Governor General with the full power to veto any laws passed.

The Federal Government consisted of:

1. A Governor General, appointed by Britain as the head.
2. A prime minister, elected from among and by the members of the House of Representatives.
3. A Cabinet, comprising the Prime Minister and ten other elected members chosen by him.
4. A Council of State presided over by the Governor General. The Council included the Prime Minister, members of the Cabinet, as well as three senators and three civil servants, the latter to be chosen by the Governor –general.
5. A forty-five member House of Representatives with members elected from among the territories.

There was also a Federal Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and three (later five) other justices. The capital was Chaguramas, Trinidad, a few miles west of Port

of Spain, on a site that was part of a United States naval base.

Preparations were made for elections to choose the persons who were going to fill the various positions that would make the system work to everyone's satisfaction. Two main political parties emerged to contest the elections, both of them led by Jamaicans. They were the West Indies Federal Labor Party (WILFP) headed by Norman Manley, and the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) led by Alexander Bustamante. A small third party, the Federal Democratic Party, founded in November 1957 by a group of Trinidadians, did not win any seats in the elections. The platforms of the two major parties were similar, both advocated maintaining and strengthening ties with the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and Canada (countries with which they had already established positive cultural and economic relationships), encouraging and expanding tourism, working to bring British Guiana and British Honduras into the Federation, and to obtain loans, financial aid, and technical assistance. In spite of these similarities there were many differences. The WIFLP won the election with 26 seats, the DLP won 19. The majority of the winning seats came from the smaller islands while the DLP won the majority in Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago. In appointing the Senate, Governor General Lord Hailes realized that only the St. Vincent island government was DLP controlled, and as a result the Senate was going to be disproportionately pro WIFLP. In a controversial decision, he contacted the opposition DLP groups in Jamaica and Trinidad and appointed one DLP senator from each of those islands. Thus the senate consisted of a total of 15 WIFLP members and 4 DLP members and Sir Grantley Adams, WIFLP leader of Barbados, became Prime Minister. Initially, it seemed as though Norman Manley, the WIFLP leader of Jamaica, was the preferred choice followed by Dr. Eric Williams of

Trinidad and Tobago. However, neither one had participated in the elections. Alexander Bustamante, the Jamaican founder of the DLP, declined to contest the Federal election.

The absence of the leading Jamaican politicians from any role at the federal level was bothersome for the Jamaican people. The opposition suggested that Jamaica was being forced to carry the burden of the smaller, poorer countries, and Britain was merely off-loading its responsibilities onto them. When Jamaica withdrew after the referendum, it signaled the beginning of the end.

The Federal Principle

At this time, before a closer examination of the West Indies Federation, it is appropriate to examine the meaning of "federation" and its pre-requisites. In his book *Federal Government* K. C. Wheare describes the general principle as the method of dividing powers, so that the general and regional governments are each within a sphere, co-ordinate and independent (Wheare 10). He disputes those who take the position that the Federal principle consists of the division of power in such a way that the powers are to be exercised by the general governments are specified and the residue is left to the regional government. His distinction is that the powers between the general and regional governments must operate directly upon the people (Wheare 13). Based on his distinction, he argues that there are many constitutions which are called federal but which are not so. He names the Swiss and Canadian Constitutions as examples. He also points to a "divorce" between the federal "*principle*" in the constitution and distinction between a Federal Government and a League or Confederation in which it is the Regional or State Governments alone which operate directly upon the people giving the examples of

Argentina and Mexico to support his contention of a very loose or weak “confederation”. (Wheare 13).

This point, if over emphasized could also lead to strong insularity, a problem that beset the defunct West Indies Federation and still overshadows all such attempts. The point he makes is that the federating units must have the capacity as well as the desire to form an independent general government, and at the same time retain semi-independent regional governments.

It is important that the separate units should have had some experience of government, which would have equipped them to become parts of a Federal Government. This capacity implies a system of dual sovereignty—federal and state. A federal state was defined as “*a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of state rights*” (*Knaplund, 100*). Thus conceived, a federation is a delicate system calling for what Sir Arthur Lewis calls “*a dependency on a compromise among a number of group leaders, none of whom is going to be subservient to the other* (W.A. Lewis, as quoted in Mordecai, John- *The West Indies and Federal Negotiations*, London: Allen and Urwin, 1968, 457). Regarding this issue, the units of the West Indies were at varying degrees of experience of Government: some were self-governing; others crown colonies, and still others, somewhere in between.

We should now consider the factors that drive independent states to consider the need to federate into larger units, thus agreeing to surrender some sovereignty and to co-operate for limited purposes, yet for those affecting all federation units. These three factors have generally led states, which have federated to consider this system.

1. The need for military security and defense against a common enemy. This was

the case in Canada where the provinces feared the United States.

2. The desire to be independent of foreign powers and the realization that only through a larger union could this be secured. This was the case in the United States of America and Switzerland.
3. A desire for greater economic prosperity. This is especially important where there is a proliferation of small states with insecure economies (Wheare 13).

In order to achieve success in the union, however, the following pre-conditions should exist:

1. A desire by the States to be under a single independent government.
2. A desire to retain independent regional governments.
3. The capacity to work the system.
4. Geographic neighborhood or proximity.
5. Similarity of political institutions (Wheare 10, 13, 17).

The United States was established as a federation despite different nationalities, religious bodies, races, etc. Similarly, Canada did so despite a difference in language. However, if there is a sense of community in these areas, this could foster a greater desire for union and produce a much stronger one.

I am undertaking this study more than forty years after the demise of the West Indies Federation, and it seems to me that no sooner had it gotten off the ground, than it sowed the seeds of its own destruction. The leading politicians did not have any role in the government. Although they paid lip service to the concept and went to the trouble of meeting with the British over a period of years to negotiate a federation, when it came time to really take hold of the reins of government, they gave it no priority. For one, the

main leaders would have had to give up their seats in their colonial legislatures in order to participate in the Federation government. No Premier was prepared to do so (Robinson, P. The Critchlow Lecture Series, 1972 to the Present," *The Sociology of the Caribbean*, 33-34). This sent a message to their constituents, including me, that their own personal interests had greater priority over the interests of molding and maintaining a newly formed political union and contributed to the demise of the federation. Inter-island acrimony showed its ugly head when the Jamaicans were disgruntled at the Federation's capital eventual seating in Port of Spain, capital of Trinidad and Tobago. Most Jamaicans were opposed to the idea that their government had to lower its extremely high tariffs and open its markets to other members of the federation, particularly Trinidad and Tobago which already had the lowest import duties in the area. In a national referendum held in September 1961, Jamaicans voted against further membership in the Federation and instead chose independence (Thomas, *The Poor* 1988, 305). Among the many reasons for the decision was the alienation of the vast majority of Jamaicans from negotiation process which allowed the opposition to suggest that Jamaica was being forced by the British to shoulder the financial responsibilities of the small states/countries but would not enjoy the expected prosperity resulting from the plan. Shortly thereafter, came the world famous statement by the prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago, "One from ten leaves naught." (Thomas 1988, 306) led to the official dissolution of the Federation on April 2, 1962. Essentially he was saying that when one important member of the ten-member Federation left, it was left with naught or nothing and as such it collapsed.

Historically, the yearning for unity which was strongest among the smaller countries, or mini states as they are now called, came from the feeling that each country's

capacity to survive and promote its own interests on the world stage, is better when they operate as part of a group. A varying array of interests and people ranging from colonial officials to individual planters, professionals, writers, the ordinary man-in-the-street, and some early labor leaders have recognized the potential for economic cooperation. An example of this is in 1926 when Cipriani, labor leader of Trinidad and Tobago, introduced a resolution in support of economic union at the Regional Labor Conference, which was passed with only the delegates from Guyana (British Guiana) showing reservations (Thomas 303). In 1938, the Caribbean Labor Congress supported integration and included the Bahamas, Belize and British Guiana (Guyana) in its proposals, whereas the Moyne Commission of the same era saw integration as a distant plan and made a point of stressing the difficulties of achieving such a goal (Thomas 50-56).

When a Federation was indeed achieved and ended after four years, there were two major reasons for the demise. First, it showed that plans to integrate the region from above, particularly if they involve creating a new administrative agreement among existing governments, are bound to fail. To pursue ruling class interests without taking into account those of the masses within the context of the region's historical divisions is a recipe for disaster. The Federation was promoted as an administrative convenience for the imperial power, which was finding it a burden to deal with the many small islands that were depending upon it for support and eventual independence. Important as administrative economies may be in a unified region, in retrospect, it is clear this could hardly sustain a social project of this magnitude. Secondly, although integration may be expressed legally through treaties, agreements, institutions and laws, whether or not it can be sustained depends on the extent to which internal social factors are in favor of it. In the

West Indies, the best measure of this "social factor" is in the nature and extent of the involvement of the poor and traditionally powerless in the process (Thomas 304).

Integration is not always about institutional mechanisms however important they are to the eventual success. The British Empire brought together a number of different territories and countries under one crown and made them subject to common legal, social, cultural, commercial and financial arrangements. This type of integration is only in the most institutional of senses. During the struggle for independence, both the ruling classes in the region and the more enlightened sections of those ruling classes recognized that the dissolution of the empire was a necessary prerequisite to progress toward unity and integration. From a sociological perspective, the best way to achieve regional integration is through the analysis of social class interests. It is necessary to ask questions, which would test the pulse of the populace—questions such as whose interests do the integration advance? Does it make unemployment better and redress social inequities? Does it struggle against dependency or does it reinforce the absence of autonomous sources of expansion? Does it bring an end to uneven capitalist development, and whose interests are best served by the expansion of intra-regional growth? When Jamaica withdrew after the results of the referendum, and Trinidad and Tobago appeared rather lukewarm to the whole idea, it was obvious that the Federation was on its way out. It has been said that Mr. Manley's whole conception of how to industrialize had changed. He now saw industrialization not as a process to take place under local ownership and against the interests of imperialism, but as a process to be performed by foreign investors. He therefore no longer wanted a strong Federal government with power to control investment in the entire area. Instead, he wanted a weak central government, so that he

would have the right to pursue an independent policy of attracting foreign capital by tax and other incentives to Jamaica (Hart 1985, 89). The local political elites' ability to change positions was derived from the fact that by 1959, both Jamaica and Trinidad-Tobago had received internal self-government from Britain and no longer saw Federation as necessary for independence. He wrote that: "When these lessons are put together, what we find emerging as a fundamental conclusion is that the West Indian Federation collapsed because it was conceived essentially as a colonial arrangement to protect colonial interests" (Thomas 285).

I often say the emphasis, given the past history, should be placed on what was or is the case for, and not what was or is the case against, Federation. The plan had everything going for it for a sound and lasting Federation in 1958, and it seemed like a good idea at the time. The desire for security and the hope of economic benefit have been two major factors promoting Federations, (Canada and Australia for example). These were absent in the West Indies. However, in spite of the other issues and problems that faced the Federation from the beginning, there was much more working for it than against. The fear of forces from without is a powerful impetus to forget insularity and think of self-preservation in a larger unit. This feature was absent in the West Indies, and the countries did not have many of the problems that other Federations had to overcome. In spite of the tendency to maintain identity with one's home country, the people viewed themselves as West Indians and the outside world generally referred to the area as the West Indies. There was greater similarity of outlook and institutions in the West Indies than in other federations. The political institutions were free and similar having been born of British traditions and there were no real conflicting social traditions. Most of the

people who were brought to the West Indies had managed to find a way to keep or rebuild their social institutions that has contributed to the West Indian culture. We had a great deal of functional cooperation in both official and unofficial circles already at work in areas such as the Regional Economic Committee, the Trade Commission, The British West Indian Sugar Association, The Federation Chambers of Commerce, The University College of the West Indies (later to become the University of the West Indies), The Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, (now the Agriculture School within the University of the West Indies) and on another plain, the West Indian Cricket Board of Control. These were all forces at work forging some form of West Indian identity and unity.

Arthur Lewis, historian and former Chancellor of the University of the West Indies, summarized the case for the West Indian Federation as a very strong one based on:

1. Emotion – bringing together a people with a common heritage.
2. Co-operation – a need to present a united front in bargaining for prices, export markets, higher education, shipping, aviation, etc.
3. Competent Administration – limited resources in professional and technical fields resulting in a need to attract capable persons, which would be beyond the scope of individual units.
4. The preservation of political freedom – small units could fall easily under the domination of a boss, leaving the way open to persecution and corruption. (A. Lewis, as quoted in Mordecai's epilogue 461)

Despite factors that were working in favor of Federation, it proved to be a plant of slow growth. Even when it was established, the forces against it, the chief of which was identified as regional insularity and unrelenting self-centeredness coupled with the British selfishness were so strong as to produce a weak Federation. Its most striking

characteristic was the weakness of its parliamentary financial powers, specifically the power to levy effective customs duties on a general income tax (Wheare 28). According to K. C. Wheare's perspective, not only constitutionally the federation was ultimately a confederated government. This was the result of "mandate" politics and a need to compromise the various demands so as to produce a working solution that would not hinder a gradual progression to federation.

There were two conflicting views on this development. The experience of the Leeward Islands Federation had made it clear that a weak Federation could not be trusted. Thus the Secretary of State, when trying to establish the experimental federation of the Leewards and Windwards, as recommended by the West Indian Royal Commission, had advocated that a strong central government be set up with wide powers, over all matters of general administration (Braithwaithe 140). Despite this and British chairmanship of the London Conference of 1953 and 1956, insularity triumphed to produce a weak Federation which initially achieved little and was doomed to eventual break-up. The other view expressed by Sir Arthur Lewis is that with the experience of the working of Federal Institutions, the powers of the Federal Government would grow gradually as the need arose. His view is, of course, supported by many examples, including the United States of America. Britain must have been aware of the difficulties that faced a Federation and should have pressed for a structure more likely to survive. However, their initiative amounted to no more than discussion. It is now recognized they wished to set us adrift and this seemed the logical way to achieve it. Jesse Proctor supports this viewpoint in his article "BWI Society - Government in Transition, 1920-1960." He states:

> Nevertheless, these factors, together with others of a more strictly geographic, economic or political character, were sufficiently unfavorable to suggest that

> Britain may well have been motivated by considerations other than the ripeness of West Indian society for federation in deciding to encourage it at this point (Proctor 297).

From the other perspective, the region was equally anxious to get rid of the British. It seems in retrospect that what motivated the leaders of the different units to consider Federation was not so much the desire for unity and greater economic benefits, but more a desire to throw off the cloak of British colonialism. At the time, Federation was viewed as the means of achieving self-determination of dominion status, so that Federation was really a means to an end and not viewed as an end in itself. This view was very popular at a time when no political leader of standing was championing the cause of Federation and enlightening the people on the merits and demerits of such a system, nor were there leaders with real commitment to the idea. Their wish was for a constitutional advance.

In a lecture delivered in British Guiana, political activist/ social commentator, C.L.R. James said, "Federation is the means and the only means whereby the West Indies and British Guiana can accomplish the transition from colonialism to national independence" (James 16). K. C. Wheare seems to regard this point as essential and draws attention to the role of George Washington, John Jay, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison in the United States of America. The latter three authored the "*The Federalist Papers,*" which were prepared to educate the people about the U.S Constitution and a strong government. At that time, the Federalists, as they were called, included many nationalists who wanted the strong national government the constitution provided. They argued that even if there were problems with the constitution, it had to be approved. In order to make their case for the Constitution, several supporters including

Hamilton, Madison and John Jay, wrote a series of essays called the *Federalist Papers.* The purpose of the papers was to persuade the people to agree to the Constitution. In the papers, Hamilton and Madison explained why the new constitution was needed and how the federal government would work (Cayton, A, Reed, L, Perry, E and Winkler A, 139-140).

Likewise, in other countries there were political figures who were using their various positions to be the heralds and champions of several causes. In Canada, it was John McDonald, a liberal conservative and member of a Great Coalition Party to seek Federation and political reform. He was a leading figure in the subsequent discussions and conferences which led to the British North American Act (which served as Canada's Constitution) and the birth of Canada as an independent nation. His political partners were Alexander Galt and George Etienne Cartier. Their priority was a Federation that the other provinces could join and together establish the Canadian Confederation and Canada as a nation. (Gwyn, Richard *Nation Builder: Sir John McDonald; His Life, our Times vol. 2, 1867-1891,Toronto: Random House, 2011).* Galt also insisted that the Federation of the colonies/ provinces be an integral part of their platform. After the establishment of the Confederation, he became Canada's first Federal Finance Minister. (Alexander Galt– Library and Archives of Canada, accessed January 11th 2013, the Canadian Encyclopedia .com). In South Africa it was Smits, de Villiers, Merriman and Botha. In Australia it was Parkes, Barton and Deakin. In Germany, Bismark. In Italy and Great Britain, likewise, champions of their political causes were evident. The Caribbean should have had Norman Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica, Eric Williams, Prime Minister of the twin island nation of Trinidad and Tobago, and Grantley Adams, Prime Minister of Barbados,

and others, preparing papers similar to "*The Federalist Papers*" in order to educate and prepare the people but that did not happen. They were considered the leading politicians of the day and the principals in the fight toward independence and federation.

Manley established the People's National Party in 1938. His party placed a lot of emphasis on agriculture, education and industry. It supported the trade union movement and was a strong advocate of the West Indies Federation. He was responsible for paving the way towards the establishment of the new Jamaica Constitution which gave all Jamaicans the right to vote. Through the PNP, he became the representative for Jamaica in the West Indies Federation. He advocated on behalf of his country, however, the internal politics led to the referendum which the opposition won and led to the decision against Jamaica's participation in the West Indies Federation. (*Biography of Norman Washington Manley*, http:// Government of Jamaica Archives and History.com accessed 15 January, 2013).

Dr. Eric Williams created the People's National Movement in Trinidad in 1956. He began with a close alliance with Norman Manley of Jamaica. He also was an advocate of the Federation and was anti-British in his utterances. One of his gripes against the British was that the rise of industrial capitalism in Britain was fueled by West Indian slavery and that, in turn, the new industrial bourgeoisie saw the maintenance of slavery as a drag on their profits. This position has been criticized. According to Richardson (1998), his claims regarding the Industrial Revolution were greatly exaggerated because profits from the slave trade amounted to less than 1% of the total domestic investment in Britain. (Richardson, David – *The British Empire and the Atlantic Slave Trade 1660 – 1807* in P.J Marshall ed. *The Oxford History of the British Empire: vol 11: The Eighteenth Century*

(1998) 440–64).

Errol Barrow was the president of the West Indies Federation and leader of the Barbados Labor Party. He advocated close ties with the other west Indian countries/nations. He encouraged foreign investment, promoted agricultural diversification, industrial development, tourism and trade unions. Although the Federation was initially optimistically embraced by all and they were essentially progressive politicians, the unity did not last (Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6th edition, 2011, Columbia University Press, N.Y accessed 01/15/2013).

The Federalist Papers provided an analysis and an explanation of the constitution, clarified issues such as the separation of powers and the division of powers. It also gave much needed information to the people in order for them to make intelligent decisions about the issues they faced at the time. Manley, Adams, Williams and others did not prepare anything close or similar to *The Federalist Papers* to educate and/or prepare the people in order for them to make decisions about the issues involved with the Federation and Independence. In hindsight and in reality they appeared to take for granted that the populace were going to follow their respective heads of government because they trusted them implicitly. One can only assume that the people of Jamaica received information which allowed them to vote against the Federation.

Caribbean union is a dream that could become a reality, but a great deal will depend on leadership and statesmanship at the right time. The leadership factor has been a clear weak point in the past and is crucial to the future of a successful Federation. K. C. Wheare stated, “This factor of leadership of skill in negotiation and propaganda can make all the difference between stagnation and an actual desire for union” (Wheare 39-40). The

desire for union seems to be with the people, but there also seems to be a dichotomy between the sentiments of the people and those of their leaders. The leaders were not prepared to negotiate, and go beyond provincial consideration and through statesmanship promote at some cost, a strong Federation. As Mr. Bramble, at the end of the 1956 London Conference stated, “The politician builds for the next election, the statesman builds for the next generation” (Mordecai 58).

Chapter 4

The Caribbean Examination Council (CXC)

Introduction

This chapter is an exploration of the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) and focuses on the educational dreams, hopes, aspirations and expectations of the students in the Caribbean, the activities in which they participate in order to realize them, and the continuing of a pride that started during an era of nation-building and independence from Great Britain. It is a study about nations and students and their relationship to a course of study, an organization, and what continues to happen as they pursue their studies and prepare for life after high school. The organization, the Caribbean Examinations Council, hereafter referred to as CXC, was established in 1972 by agreement among thirteen territories in the English-speaking Caribbean. After a number of negotiations, additions and withdrawals of other countries, the number of participants was fourteen (*CXC Fact Sheet, Black Rock, Barbados 1978).* CXC has its headquarters in Barbados and came into being through educators and politicians who were "self consciously" and "nation consciously" aware of race, class, culture, education and other things that represented inequities in the society at large and in the preparation of the syllabus of the United Kingdom –based General Certificate of Education (GCE) in specifics. The CXC not only wanted to create a society in which the students were better prepared for their examinations, but it sought to develop a syllabus and curriculum which was more relevant to their academic and social needs, and contributed to improving the academic performance and improving pride, which so

often accompanies success in any venture (*Marshall, Roy- Teaching and testing for Excellence, 1998, PDF).*

This study is being conducted in the United States of America by someone who had all of her pre-college education under the British system in a region of the world where per capita income, educational advancement, and other sociocultural factors are presented as much lower than the USA. However, in spite of what is referred to as a culture of poverty, education is very important.

African Americans and Caribbean Americans place a very high importance on education. For us it remains the vehicle through which we can improve ourselves and the future of all African races and peoples. In the United States of America, parents perceive schools as having lower academic standards for and expectations of African American children than they have of others. In addition, teachers frequently perceive African American parents as uncaring, uninterested, with low expectations and lacking the skills needed to help their children (Clark, Kenneth, C. *Dark Ghetto,* New York: Harper Torch Books, Harper and Row Publishers, 1965). The study by Clark remains significant for purposes of this study because it was conducted during a period of upheaval, self-consciousness, nation consciousness and growth. It is very hard to forget the actions and activities of the sixties when I was a high school and college student. This was also the time when the West Indies Federation and the other entities mentioned in this document were nurtured and came to life. If we add to these two positions the current clamor for school reform in which parents and teachers are being urged to form partnerships to counteract the poor academic student performances, we have an even bigger problem. We are forced to examine the negative views of the two groups and try to explain the

home/school connection or lack thereof. If we transpose this argument to the West Indies, we will begin to get the picture as to why the establishment of Caribbean Examinations Council was, and continues to be, so important. The culture of poverty affords a starting point and a different kind of insight and understanding of the problem.

Educational Crisis

An in-depth comparison of the education system of the USA and the Caribbean is beyond the scope of this paper; both subjects have been written about by educational historians and others. However, I will present here a brief overview in order to set the tone of the perceived educational crisis in the USA and the Caribbean. This overview is very narrow, congruent with the notion that the United States is facing an economic/financial crisis.

This study is not so much about the descriptive element of the establishment of the program. It is about nationalism and making CXC relevant. This is also a study about a group of people, the Anglophone Caribbean people, who undertook a step of massive educational and political importance when they created and supported the Caribbean Examinations Council. When they encouraged their children to take the CXC examinations, they, individually and collectively, engaged in activities to support their children in school, the mission and hopes of the Caribbean Examinations Council and their collective power as nation-builders. They have directly and indirectly restructured the education of the children and the nations they represent.

The council specifies that this system of examination is designed for students who have completed five years of secondary school. It emphatically agreed upon the premise

that university entrance would not be regarded as the only criteria for successful completion of secondary education. To fulfill this aim, CXC includes a combination of General Proficiency and Basic Proficiency awards. By offering two types of examinations, CXC addresses a wider range of abilities and interests, and serves a broader segment of students than was done by the University of London and Cambridge's General Certificate of Education (GCE) O-Level examinations. Although the Basic Proficiency examination is new to the region, it can be compared with the traditional vocational examinations of England and other developed regions. This type of examination emphasizes knowledge, understanding and application, in order to ensure that candidates are prepared for the world of work. The General Proficiency examinations are designed to provide a base for more advanced work in a particular area.

Architectural drawing and drafting, agriculture, home economics management and some other practical subjects carries a School Based Assessment (SBA) component. This involves the teachers' evaluation of course work, practical assignments and projects. Through this component pupils are provided with opportunities to express their creativity and to develop and display their practical skills, while providing opportunity for teacher involvement in the evaluation process. School-based assignments aim at performance in the practical examination. While the standard and range of marks awarded by the teacher are adjusted automatically, the rank order assigned by the teacher are adjusted only in special circumstances. Marking schemes provide help in the standardization and consistency of awarding coursework marks *(CXC School Based Assessment Guidelines, Black Rock, Barbados 1983).*

Working in collaboration with other examining bodies, the CXC received

assistance mainly from the Educational Testing Service (ETS) of Princeton, New Jersey, and the University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate (UCLES) (Cambridge). Internationally, the General Proficiency Certificate Grades I and II are accepted by universities in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States of America, while efforts are continuing to widen the areas of acceptance.

Each candidate successfully completing the CXC examinations is issued a certificate. This certificate designated "Caribbean Examination Council Secondary Education Certificate," lists all the subjects in which the candidate was examined. It indicates which proficiency paper was written in each subject, gives assessment of the performance of the candidate in each subject in terms of grade, and includes a statement explaining the grading system (*CXC Fact Sheet, Black Rock, Barbados 1979, 10*).

CXC plays a vital role in the whole promotion of Caribbean consciousness, integration, and cooperation, as the people of the Caribbean face the reality that their values and abilities are in no way inferior to those from outside the region (*CXC Fact Sheet, Black Rock, Barbados, 1979, 10*).

History

The desirability of some form of political and economic grouping among the island nations of the English speaking Caribbean, is an idea which has historical precedents to regional integration which stretch back into the colonial era. It started off with a Federation (1871-1956), which failed because of lack of attempts by the colonial governments to try to integrate the economic and trading relations between the islands. The range of inter-island cooperation was not extended beyond the political/ administrative levels to the economic and social spheres.

Under the colonial regime several organizations were formed ranging from Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) to Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). CARIFTA led to substantial progress in the liberalization of intra-regional trade. In 1972, CARIFTA evolved into a common market (CARICOM) which provided cooperation at three levels: a) economic integration through establishment of a common market with efforts aimed at intra-regional trade, b) functional cooperation in some areas as technical assistance, health, education, training, and sports, as well as various ministerial committees. Some success was achieved at this level in functional cooperation, particularly in the areas of health, education and training, and c) regional bodies for coordinating and implementing regional educational, health and sports programs and activities were established. Among these was the Caribbean Examination Council, which was to be responsible for curriculum and examinations in secondary schools of the Anglophone Caribbean (Thomas 310). Concurrent with the moves to foster cooperation at the CARICOM levels, the smaller islands took initiative toward deepening and strengthening their economic and education integration and cooperation. This was pursued, and in June 1981 the islands of Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Montserrat, St. Kitts/Nevis and St. Lucia were established as the organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). In November 1984, the British Virgin Islands joined the Organization as an Associate Member *(OECS in Perspective, CARIFTA Communiqué, Government of Guyana, Ministry of External Affairs, 1984)*.

Education in the Anglophone Caribbean countries was the responsibility of the British since the eighteenth century. The responsibility for education still remained with

Britain despite the granting of independence in the early sixties. At that time, the majority of primary (elementary) schools enrolled pupils at all grade levels, depending upon the progress of the student in school or his/her age at the time of enrollment. In most cases, however, the period of primary education was divided into two schools: the infant school, which accepts children ages five through seven, and the junior school which encompasses ages seven to eleven.

Secondary schools were either a grammar-type school or a comprehensive secondary school. The major emphasis of the grammar school is preparation for the university, while the comprehensive secondary school offers academic and vocational programs for all students. Students attend secondary school beginning at age eleven. *(White Paper on Education, 1975-2000, Ministry of Education, Government of Guyana, Georgetown 2000)*

The process for evaluation of students was patterned after the British system. External examinations from England were used to evaluate students who leave secondary schools. The syllabi were issued by British Universities, and all Caribbean examinations were controlled by the British.

Many Caribbean officials and academicians felt that independence could not be complete with the curricula still fashioned by British standards, with some still unrelated to the needs of the societies. Dr. William Demas, first Director of CARICOM, described the system as intolerable in the face of the Caribbean cultural and intellectual development (Demas, 1982, 5). There was a great concern over the effect upon education of a system of secondary school education that was run by overseas examination bodies and based on syllabi developed overseas and designed for use in the Caribbean. These

syllabi were geared to meet the entrance requirements of English universities. Programs were purely academic and the less academically inclined pupils were not considered. With the formation of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), other matters pertaining to education were planned. One recently instituted education sector project has been the Caribbean Textbook Project, a cooperating venture among the OECS countries utilizing the expertise of a regional publishing company. Another project was the multi-island project for technical and vocational education.

Formal education in the OCES countries consists of a three-stage system:

1. Eight years of primary education (United States elementary and middle school).

2. Five years of secondary education (United States high school and first year of college level).

3. Three years of senior secondary education at a community college.

Progression from one year to another within the primary school is certified by the Ministry of Education while entry into the senior secondary or community college is determined by the examination results from CXC. The curriculum and the examinations are a function of the council.

To trace the developments that have led to the establishment of the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC), it is necessary to go back several decades. Formal action began in the early 1960s, but the idea that gave rise to such action is much older, dating back almost to the introduction of formal secondary education in the Caribbean. After emancipation, it was felt that the curriculum of the schools in the area was unrelated to

the needs of the populace. There was much concern expressed over the effect of education in general and secondary education in particular, and of a system of secondary school examinations run by overseas examination bodies based on syllabi developed by expatriates and prescribed for use in the Caribbean. With the establishment of the University College of the West Indies, now the University of the West Indies, the cries for change became more fervent. Education personnel and intellectuals advocated strongly for the creation of a Caribbean-controlled system of secondary school examinations. The overseas British-run examinations were part and parcel of the British heritage of the Caribbean, and were highly regarded and trusted by parents, schools and other institutions. At the same time, it was equally obvious that a great effort would have to be made to convince the nations of the need for a change. The greatest ill effects of the overseas examinations stemmed from the fact that the syllabi were geared to meet the entrance requirements of British universities. These syllabi formed the base of the curriculum of the educational programs of high schools. The result was that the programs continued to be almost exclusively academic with agricultural and technical education generally disregarded. Under these circumstances, students who were less academically minded were lost in the system and did not get much out of their years in high school. Thus, the idea of a Caribbean Examinations Council came out of plans for Regional cooperation in education.

Though standards of education and facilities vary from one Caribbean country to another, the structure imported mainly from Britain is similar in all countries with regard to the educational provisions and philosophy, curriculum, methodology, textbooks and certification. All the territories share a common history of education. A formalized

system of education dates back to 1835, when a system of national education at the primary level was established throughout the colonies (Olive Senior, *Working Miracles: Women's lives in the English speaking Caribbean*, Indiana University Press, 1992, 46). Through the Negro Education Grant, the newly freed slaves were the primary beneficiaries. Until that time elementary education was provided either by small private schools for Blacks established through the generosity of plantation owners or efforts of Christian missionaries. The earliest public primary schools were located mainly in the urban areas and were attended by both adults and children. These schools gave the most rudimentary and basic education, usually reading, writing and arithmetic plus religious instruction. Some endowed schools provided limited secondary education; however, these schools were exclusively for White boys, established through charitable bequests of wealthy benefactors. Most children of the White plantocracy usually were sent back to England for their education though this was far more the case for boys than for girls, who, at best, might be provided with governesses at home. For a long time, education served mainly to reinforce the class and sexist biases of colonial society. Upper class men were to be educated and trained to become leaders, whereas the women were to be "good wives and mothers" (Senior 47). With the establishment of secondary girls' schools in the late nineteenth century, separation of boys and girls for their education became a vital part of the educational system. Few coeducational secondary schools existed, and where the great masses of men and women were educated, the purpose of such education was to civilize and make good and faithful servants. The secondary schools continued to cater to the elite into the twentieth century. The fact that these schools were fee-paying effectively excluded the majority of the population. These schools were academic in

orientation and were based on the structure and curricula of English grammar schools. Students wrote examinations based on the standards of Oxford and Cambridge universities set by English examiners, who in all likelihood never had any firsthand contact with the West Indies or Anglophone Caribbean (Senior 46-47).

The curriculum of the schools, copied from England and subject to little or no reform or amendment, continued to be irrelevant, an irrelevance reinforced by imported textbooks, alien imagery and concepts. An education commission of 1931 noted that the timetable of the average school was littered with subjects or with fragments of subjects that bore no relation to the lives of the pupils or the qualifications and ability of the teachers (Williams 150; quoted in Senior 47).

In the post WW II years, however, educational reforms began to go hand-in-hand with the expansion of economic and political systems of the West Indian territories, which began to move to greater autonomy from Britain. The beginning of a revision of the curricula and the introduction of textbooks written and prepared especially for Caribbean schools started in 1939. Another significant development was the establishment of the University College of the West Indies in 1948 (Senior 47). The West Indian Federation started in 1958 and ended in 1962, the same year that the two largest territories, Jamaica and the twin island nation of Trinidad and Tobago, received independence from Britain. Other countries moved on to independence, and the newly emergent states looked at education differently. It was in this political, social, and cultural state that the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) experienced gestation and birth.

The first formal step toward the establishment of the Caribbean Examinations Council was taken in July 1961, when the seventh meeting of the Caribbean Advisory

Committee resolved that a West Indies Examinations Council would be established and that the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate should be asked to pass the responsibility on to the new body when asked to do so. The plan was that the Examinations Council would function within the framework of the West Indies Federation. After the demise of the Federation such an approach was no longer possible. The issue, however, was soon taken up at a meeting of the Heads of Government of Commonwealth Caribbean Countries held in Jamaica in 1964. The matter received formal recognition and a working party was set up. The Working Party, comprising Ministers of Education and their advisors from Barbados, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago, met for exploratory talks on a number of occasions during 1964-1966. These talks led to a strategy for implementing the project. They also developed a philosophy and the principles that should undergird the establishment of the Examinations Council and the conduct of its activities. It was agreed, for example, that while possessing a high degree of relevance, the examinations should be of equal standard to the former overseas examinations, that the change was to be carefully planned to avoid any disruption in the education progress of the students, that it would be necessary to secure the advice and guidance of the overseas bodies, and that the Universities and teaching profession were to be closely involved in the running of the system. Sharing the cost of operating the system and the location of the headquarters should be settled very early in the process.

The ideas set up by the Working Party set the theme for ongoing detailed discussions and provided guidelines for the preparation of the plan. As the discussions progressed, a draft of the *Agreement to Establish the Caribbean Examinations Council* was prepared. The draft set out in formal terms the administrative, technical, legal and

financial arrangements for the establishment and functioning of the Council. It required several amendments, revisions and scrutiny before the final product was created. The Heads of Government Conference held in Barbados in 1967, decided that representatives from the governments and universities should be summoned to examine the possibility of expanding the scope of the proposed Examinations Council to include all the territories represented. No longer was the project to be restricted to Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, but it was to encompass the entire Commonwealth Caribbean. This move was in response to the spirit of enthusiasm, nationalism and integration that was apparent in the area at that time, and it was necessary for the agreement to reflect that spirit. By the time of the fifth Heads of Government Conference in 1969, the CARIFTA Agreement had come into force. The Commonwealth Caribbean Regional Secretariat was established and charged with the responsibility for overseeing and guiding the development of the Caribbean Examinations Council. This unit treated the mission with great urgency and accomplished the following:

1. In 1969, a timetable of action and a proposed budget.
2. Setting up of certain interim arrangements at the Regional Secretariat as a result of the recommendations of a Ministerial meeting held in Jamaica in November 1969.
3. Setting up of an educational desk within the Regional Secretariat on the basis of recommendations made by a Ministerial conference held in Barbados in June 1970.
4. The issue of the Montserrat Accord and the adoption of the Resolution on the Establishment of an Examinations Research Unit at the Joint Conference on

the Establishment of the Examinations Council held in Montserrat in November 1971 *(CXC, Black Rock, Barbados, 1972)*.

The first draft of the agreement took place in Barbados in July 1967. It was revised and amended between 1967 and 1971. It was important to ensure that the agreement reflected in every way, the thinking, philosophy and intentions of the prospective governments. The final agreement was a document written by West Indians as a working formula for dealing with a West Indian situation. In the Examinations Council Agreement are entrenched the provisions for the establishment, constitution, powers and duties, legal capacity, administrative structure, financial and other arrangements necessary for the operations of the Examinations Council. The Chief Executive Officer was to be the Registrar and the finances were to be derived from charges, dues and fees received as well as monies contributed by participating governments and investments. The Council came into effect in 1972 with the first examinations held in 1973 *(CXC, Black Rock, Barbados, 1972)*.

Although at that time of its inception, the Basic Proficiency Examination was new to the region, it was planned with similarity to the traditional vocational examinations of England and other countries. This type of examination emphasized knowledge, understanding and application in order to ensure candidates were prepared for employment after they graduated high school. The General Proficiency examinations are designed to provide a base for more advanced work in any particular area of study; architectural drawing/drafting, home economics management, agriculture, and some other practical subjects carry a School Based Assessment (SBA) component.

Over in the United States, the “Nation at Risk” reported that the reading and

mathematics skills of American students were declining *(US Dept. of Education 1983)*. This report came at a time when literacy and technological advances in the nation were moving ahead and we needed students/workers who were able to contribute to the economic growth. In September 1989, the state governors convened an educational conference to demonstrate their concern for the status of American education. In keeping with his self-given title of the "Education President", President George W. Bush attended the conference. Although the participants had diverse political views and approaches to education, there was one issue on which they concurred—the educational system was in a state of crisis and the economic future of the country was in jeopardy. In 1993, the Department of Educational Statistics issued a report on adult literacy. This study, which was commissioned by Congress, concluded that more than ninety million adults lacked simple literacy. In light of more than one hundred years of public education, we needed to find out, how we arrived at the current "crisis" in education and what could be done about it.

Since the early days of industrialization, many Black people in America and elsewhere have looked upon education as the ticket to jobs and upward social mobility. According to Bowels, "as employers and occupational associations placed ever greater reliance on educational credentials for jobs, schooling acquired a new importance as the gateway to favored positions" (Bowels 137-152). He notes further that school leaders shifted their focus to perfecting the system and paying attention to aggregate economic and social goals. They de-emphasized the individual moral persuasion of schooling. This schooling was perceived as essential to adapting people to new disciplines, the needs of the urban industrial order as well as the needs of a complex society.

In the early twentieth century, during and after a period of great immigration, a large number of young people, especially immigrant children, progressed as far as high school. However, in 1905, a similarly large number of high school students dropped out of school and entered the work force. At that time, the sociological and cultural temper of the day did not speak to a perception of a crisis in education. During the two succeeding decades, however, the student who dropped out of school had to face a different reality. The economy had shifted from manufacturing to service-and the traditional entry-level, low-skilled and unskilled jobs in industry and manufacturing that awaited and accommodated their counterparts in 1905 no longer existed.

African Americans living in urban areas were particularly affected by this shift. Numerous jobs were lost and the new, higher-paying jobs required technical skills and a more educated work force. It was no longer acceptable to be a high school dropout or a high school graduate with no technical skills. As a result, the dropouts had no place to "drop into" in order to fully participate in the economy. Hence, the economic and educational crisis became intertwined because of the restructuring of the economy and a concomitant worry that America was (is) unable to compete in the global economy. Essentially, the educational crisis was narrowly defined in terms of global competition and minimal competence.

> If we are going to produce a more educated workforce then we had better be sure that jobs are being created or upgraded so as to fully utilize and truly reward the skill and ability of that work force. One policy without the other simply will not do. We need both re-planned education and better planned job creation (Harrison and Bluestone 18).

In an attempt to correct the decline both in our position in the global economy and in the academic performance of students, politicians, business men and women, educators

and sociologists have proposed many school reforms including parent/school choices, national academic standards for teachers and students, a longer school day and year, multicultural curriculum, and parent-teacher partnerships. It remains to be seen how American educators will respond to the voices that are asking for change.

According to the *"Time for Action Report of the West Indian Commission,"* a similar crisis in education was experienced in the Caribbean. In the early 20th century there were many jobs and opportunities for employment in agriculture (i.e. sugar cane, rice) and unskilled labor was plenteous. The plantations, along with government-sponsored employment, were the mainstay of most countries. Industrialization also came into being at the same time and affected the USA and Europe. Hence, persons who were able to find work in earlier times now found it difficult to find employment. Persons who had some sort of vocation or craft training always seemed to be able to work and support their families. At the same time, colonies were seeking independence from Britain and were re-writing the hopes, goals and dreams of their people. High on the list of their dreams was a new paradigm for education alongside their dreams of self-government, independence and national pride. By the time CXC was born, it had experienced a period of more than ten years gestation. It had as its ultimate goal and objective the education of people to function in the global market place. Their method of examinations included a classroom teacher-based evaluation and assessment in most areas accompanied by a written examination. This method of assessment has been copied and as of 2012 was being used by schools in England in the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). The content of the syllabus and curriculum included items with which the students were familiar and to which they could readily relate. Thus education and examinations no

longer had the “unreal” element, but became more “rounded” and relevant to their daily lives, once the British focus was removed. In spite of this, the Caribbean has not escaped the economic or educational crisis. Compared to the USA, the Caribbean is still a group of countries making up a “third world.” They consist of a variety of racially and culturally diverse people and educational opportunities run the gamut from those with very little education to those with college degrees and beyond. However, while college graduates might be lower in number, the increasing number of high school students who have taken and passed subjects at the CXC examinations is a source of pride.

It is not my premise that the Anglophone Caribbean students and people can only learn from and relate to members of their own group. However, seeing and experiencing their own represented in what they are studying and by whom they are taught is critical to the educational and socialization process as well as contributing to a sense of what is possible (Comer, James P. 1988 – “Educating Poor Minority Children,” *Scientific American* Nov. vol 259 no. 42-48). Although Winters and others were writing about African American students in the USA, I argue that their sentiments also apply to the Anglophone student in the Caribbean. Teachers, administrators and school personnel who perceive the culture as valuable and valid can bring, and indeed have brought, a different level of understanding and perspective to the school experience.

Volumes have been written by sociologists and other social scientists that address educational and social inequality among racial and ethnic groups and among social classes. There are also several theoretical frameworks, including “culture of poverty” and “social reproduction”. Each offers a different insight into the problem. A “culture of poverty” analysis focuses on families and suggests that certain groups and their culture

do not prepare their children for school. This theory suggests that children from poor and working class families are underprivileged and that their inferior home environments hinder their academic development. The assertion is that children from these classes are poorly motivated, and have underdeveloped language and reading skills. In explaining why these children fail or perform poorly, the "culture of poverty" theorists blame the family and their environment. This thesis places the blame for social dislocation and educational inequality on students, their families and their environments, while refusing to look at the social structural causes of poverty and their consequences. Further research has shown that even when African Americans of all socio-economic classes express a desire to succeed academically and do not consciously resist learning, they still do poorly (Fordham and Ogbu 176-206). Despite these findings, I argue that there is substantial documentation indicating that historically, African Americans (Caribbean Americans, Anglophone) have valued and pursued education even under the most trying circumstances (Lightfoot, Sarah. *Worlds Apart: Relationship between Families and Schools*, New York: Basic Books, 1978)

CXC Objectives and Make-Up

The CXC made a conscious decision to create an organization and draft curriculum, syllabi and examinations that made sure their people were being properly educated, tested and prepared to compete in the global educational and economic world, and by doing so they defied the "culture of poverty."

After more than thirty years, the Caribbean Examination Council is still functioning. It is the main source of evaluating the curriculum and examinations used to

determine what students study in high school. It is also a guiding light in the preparation of students for universities, careers and/or the world of work after high school.

During the discussions and preparations for the establishment of the Caribbean Examination Council, the concerns of teachers and others were expressed. Of primary focus were the differences in academic performance of the students who completed the requirements for the British General Certificate of Education (GCE), and the hope for those preparing for the CXC examinations.

Also, during the preparation for the establishment of CXC, creating a new paradigm for schools and examinations was not discussed as a way of increasing participation and introducing CXC to the region. Moreover, even if it was necessary, it did not follow that it would be welcome or a success, particularly if concerns of parents and others were not addressed. Essentially the purpose of CXC was to introduce a system that was going to increase and improve the academic achievement of the West Indian/Anglophone Caribbean student in a culture that nurtured and supported them.

The underlying assumption was that previously students did not achieve academically because there was a disconnect and a chasm between the content of the syllabus, the academic and cultural needs of the people and the teachers. During CXC's existence the teachers, school administrators, staff, parents and government brought ethnicity, academic achievement and national pride into their thought patterns and planning as if those factors were naturally linked.

More Contemporary History

Several Caribbean governments have asked for a review of education systems,

especially in the area of technical vocational education. The British Development Divisions (BDD) and the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) have established technical vocational education in the OECS countries and have funded its implementation. Currently, there are three such programs:

1. Home economics in St. Lucia.
2. Industrial Arts in St. Lucia.
3. Secretarial studies in Antigua.

There is new awareness of the important role of technical vocational-type subjects in improving the economic well-being of families and society.

An understanding of what is being done presently, particularly if it highlights the value of teachers as being important in the education process would be most helpful. I would suggest that a consequence of such an understanding and the way it is perceived by people who are directly involved can serve as a basis for developing new policies and changing and adjusting existing structures. These studies would and should move governments and others involved in education to change their focus and spearhead current reforms. This would cause them to place more emphasis on the content of the curriculum, give more exposure time to material, encourage higher order thinking skills and place more importance on the role of the teacher.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented data that illustrated how ethnicity and culture were used to affect changes that benefited the introduction of the CXC to the people who

were previously exposed to another educational system. Additionally it showed their preparation for the world of work and/or academia after high school.

I laid the foundation for the major argument of this dissertation that the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) survived because education is an important part of the people and nation states that make up the Anglophone Caribbean. It continues to be my position that CXC is a sociocultural defined environment in which attitude, behaviors, activities, events, programs and interactions have become embedded with cultural meaning.

The actions and changes that led to the establishment of CXC addressed the needs of the students and structures within the education system of the participating West Indian countries. I have also presented data on a socio-educational and structural level to show how the inter-island participation of teachers, parents, students, ministers of education and/or their representatives, and universities (the major decision-making bodies) came to represent accurately the people who are most affected by the curriculum and CXC program.

I have argued that the routine practices of the educators, principals and teachers, helped to educate and empower the students. As illustrated in the 30th anniversary issue of the CXC magazine, the students flourished and CXC continues to flourish. This was heavily dependent on their culture. Through it all, I attempted to advance two dynamics, which work very well to achieve the desired goal. The first dynamic was an environment in which a culture had become an essential feature of the landscape and was used productively. The second involved routine practices of teaching and educating the people regardless of where they were on the social and economic ladder. These two dynamics

converged to structure an environment of education/educating the people whose collective identity was “Anglophone Caribbean” or “West Indian.”

The landscape of educational reform is littered with tried and failed programs. The calls for more parental involvement will join that landscape if not approached and adopted thoughtfully. The call for vouchers and government involvement will experience a similar fate. Whatever the educational reform, it must fit the context and circumstances of the population who will feel the impact. Change proceeds best when it is initiated from within, is guided by strong, effective leadership, and has the support of teachers, parents, students and in the case of CXC, the participating governments. The changes that led to the birth of CXC came about because of growing nationalism and pride. Neither school, governmental involvement in schools or any of the aforementioned entities can solve the deeper social structural problems of any nation; they cannot individually reduce poverty, overcome racism, or eliminate other biases. While educators, by themselves, lack the ability to combat the above-mentioned social problems, they can continue to educate, enlighten and combat inequalities. CXC has shown that educated nations might continue to struggle in other areas, while they prepare their populations/nations to move to a higher level of functioning on the world stage. CXC has also shown that in spite of the time and circumstances which led to its creation, it has survived because of the importance of education that is relevant to and supported by the politics and culture of the persons for whom it was designed.

The appendix has a sample of one of the CXC examinations. It also has profiles and reflections of people who participated in CXC in 1979 along with some who were still involved as of 2012. Theirs are the stories and reflections of success and satisfaction.

They are a testament to why CXC was established, why it is successful, and why it is still alive.

Chapter 5

The West Indies Cricket Team

This chapter tells the story of the West Indies Cricket Team. It focuses on the development of the team, its journey through great glory and the pride with which it is regarded and loved in the West Indies. It is also a study about nationalism and the ability of independent island nations to be unified into a team. Like the other entities presented in this dissertation, the WINDIES is a study in group cohesion. It is about a group of people who undertook a step of massive political and cultural importance when they became a team and continue to perform as a team. Individually they are citizens of different countries in the same region, but collectively they represent the West Indies and play together professionally as a unified team. By so doing they have both directly and indirectly shown the world that in their case, culture, sociology and skill, take precedence over the politics of the region.

In the course description for *How Soccer Explains the World*, Dr. William Rogers says in part that the global power of soccer might be a little hard to understand for Americans "living in a country that views the game with the same skepticism used for the metric system and the threat of killer bees, to grasp fully." However, in Europe, South America and elsewhere, soccer is not merely a pastime, but often an expression of the social, economic, political, and racial composition of the communities that host both the teams and their throngs of enthusiastic fans. Yet, some say that the United States of America is the most sports crazy country in the world, playing nearly every sport ever invented. As we look at the complexities of soccer and the members of the various teams

from different countries, it is truly amazing to see and notice that a team from Japan is not solely made up of Japanese players and a team from England has players/members who are from some African and other nations. The face of soccer has changed and continues to change as the world turns. Several books, articles, magazines and other periodicals have features about various teams, individual members, and countries. Some are more detailed than others and there is some mention of the worldwide acknowledgement of soccer.

The face of cricket in the West Indies is also changing. In the Anglophone Caribbean, the West Indies Cricket team, affectionately known to locals as the Windies, is made up of all West Indians. They are among the main sources of national and sports pride.

In his book *Outcasts United*, Warren St. John describes the extraordinary tale of a refugee youth soccer team and the transformation of a small southern American town (St. John 1989). This diverse group of young people coalesced into a band of brothers, an unorthodox family, while drawing a fascinating portrait of a fading American small town struggling to accommodate its newest residents. In my experience, a sociologist observes and reports on persons, locations, and things that make the life of the community. Social workers look at persons in their situations and try to resolve problems, try to facilitate and create a functioning living experience for persons in spite of their situations. Educators try to create a wholesome and enriching learning environment for persons regardless of their situations. As a social worker and educator, I could not help but feel the impact of the various situations from which, the Fugees team members came, situations in which they found themselves, and the impact those experiences continue to have on their lives.

They demonstrated enormous strength of character, a winning resolve for both the game and for life. Often detoured or distracted by the activities of daily living, they plodded on toward the goal. As a person who grew up in Guyana with British citizenship and all the trappings of the British social system, I do not know of a "Fugees" cricket team (as described by St. John), but I can relate to West Indian people, mostly men, playing and/or enjoying cricket in many locations in New York where I live. Cricket brings together cultures and classes, all sorts and conditions of people. They may not be as widely known or popular as soccer or other sports, but they relish the joys of the "glory days" with amazing details, and with the onset of technology, they are able to get and share information on-line with each other on and off the playing field.

It is important to know and understand the history of cricket and the mechanics of the game before we look at the West Indies Cricket team and the impact cricket has had and continues to have on the lives of the people in the Anglophone Caribbean. In this chapter I will devote time to the subject because it is important for a non-British and/or a non-West Indian to have a mental picture of the game and some understanding of what goes on during the game. A number of recent writers have made it possible to reconstruct something of the game of cricket for the historically minded (Nandy, Ashis, 4). It is said that by the end of the 20th century a crude, old form of cricket was already being played in the English countryside. In its earliest form, the game became popular sometime in the 15th century with its rules formulated in the 17th century. By that time, the English gentry either played it themselves or employed the lower classes to play it (Nandy 5). Reportedly, during its folk phase, before it became popular among the gentry, the game incurred the wrath of the Puritans, whose main objection was that it was a counter-

attraction to church on Sundays. They also scoffed at the seemingly unproductive pleasure and hedonism associated with the game. Some people saw it as a waste of time and avoidance of work. When the gentleman classes became involved, however, the game earned respectability. At that time, the game was noisy, rough and attracted gamblers, bookies and other characters. By the 18th century, the game had become more sedate. The first formal cricket match was played in Sussex in 1697 and around 1787 (ninety years after the first match) the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) was founded. This club, an aristocratic organization in Southern England, (Swanton, *Barclay's* 15-20) became the supreme law-making body, as well as the cultural center of the game for more than 150 years. It brought about the rules, regulations and virtualization of cricket, and later made a virtual ideology out of amateurism. An explanation of how the game is played can be found within the appendices.

During the 19th century, the European notion of progress was applied to the new colonies of Britain. The emerging culture of cricket came in handy to those using those theories to envision and establish hierarchies in the cultures, faiths and societies that were coming under colonial dominance. Imperial Britain now increasingly used the norms of cricket to determine the value and quality of life in the colonies by their actual ways of life; exactly the way it judged western Christianity by its philosophy and Hinduism or Islam by the way real life Hindus or Muslims lived (Nandy 5). According to Nandy, "The culture of cricket was exported to the colonies as the basic model of sportsmanship, and as a 'healthy active pastime,' which would be a counter-attraction to praise and politics…" (5) The British gentry took the lead. British army officers and bureaucrats were the most enthusiastic promoters of the game in the colonies. The British middle

classes were the most vociferous about the character-building potential of cricket. They were convinced that cricket typically mustered British virtues, and the spread of cricket would promote Britain's mission of "civilizing" the colonies. They made the social basis of cricket a little different in the colonies. While in Britain cricket was mainly a relaxation and pastime of the elite, among the British in the colonies the appeal was wider, possibly because it was more difficult to maintain class and ethnic distinctions in view of the limited number of Whites who lived there. The possibility also exists that ordinary British soldiers and lower-level British functionaries engaged in cricket more consciously in the colonies as an index of their upward mobility, nationalism, and British identity. Essentially, the British in the colonies had something that was peculiarly their own (Swanton, *History* 15-20). It was an elite game to which they gave full allegiance, and if that game emphasized certain norms and virtues, the colonized had no choice but to emulate the British in their "National Game."

As elsewhere in the British Empire, Caribbean cricket was based on the way the English played the game (Swanton, *History* 18). Starting at around 1890, in Barbados, English and Australian scores and affairs were reported regularly and in detail in the newspapers. The English were considered the experts and authorities on technique, manners and anything cricket. Their intention was to demonstrate through cricket that the English stock had not lost its power and/or impact in the tropics. In Barbados, for example, even though many cricketers came from Barbadian families, they still considered themselves British. Cricket was the yardstick used to measure "Britishness" and a determination of their success in remaining British, so a victory against any visiting English team was a reason for great celebration and pride. The British attitudes aroused

by cricket exceeded its mere physical activity. It demonstrated loyalty to the "Mother Country." Cricket was also determined by the color of one's skin relative to the "White" British people. For example, around 1900 in British Guiana (Guyana), the Georgetown Cricket Club was dominated by the White elite drawn mostly from the top civil servants (Sports Archives, Government of Guyana, 2000 and *The British Guiana Directory and Almanac, 1900-2000, Government of Guyana*). The expensive application, entrance fee and annual subscription helped maintain its exclusiveness. The British Guiana Churchmen's Cricket Club attracted more junior civil servants and others who could afford to pay a cheaper entrance fee and annual subscription, drawing on clerics and schoolteachers for the most part, although J. T. Chung, one of its captains, was a clerk on a Chinese-owned estate. In Berbice, Guyana, the Regional Commissioner of Taxation ran the Country Cricket Club with the assistance of an auctioneer, a clerk, and an accountant. These clubs preserved their social limits with great pride (Sports Archives, Government of Guyana, 2000 and *The British Guiana Directory and Almanac, 1900-2000, Government of Guyana*). Total acceptance of cricket and its English cultural provenance was demonstrated best by "Brittania Bill," the Union-Jack carrying Black man who met the 1897 English team in Barbados, watched all of their matches, and followed them about, praising their skills, character and monarch (Warner 4-5***)***. In 1905, a Black spectator kissed the arm of an English star bowler.

One of the sociocultural aspects of cricket in the Anglo Caribbean relates to the fact that race and color were the principal means by which West Indian society was stratified. This caste-like stratification was bound to produce frustration, which ultimately sought redress in aggressive behavior (Hesketh-Prichard Report. *The Advocate,* March

22, 1905: 9-11). At the time, other outlets for aggressive behavior seemed rather limited, either because of cultural prescriptions or structural constraint. The non-White West Indian cricketer chose the game of cricket as the only viable means of expression, and it was a socially accepted route to take. In the West Indies, the racist ideology which asserted the supremacy of Whites broke down as the Blacks excelled at the game while at the same time letting go of their frustration on the cricket field. Performance before an audience of West Indians equally emphatic about pleasant and aggressive cricket conspired to produce a change in this beautiful English game.

The game of cricket was exported from England to all of its colonies, including those in Asia, Africa and the West Indies in the 19th century as a way to reinforce the social and cultural order during and after the emancipation of slaves. In 1838, English slaves in the West Indies were emancipated; bringing an end to a system that was very productive for the British. During that time, the two largest groups in the West Indies were the former slaves, now freed Africans, who made up the labor force, and the White aristocrats and landowners. After the emancipation the British influence remained, and cricket was one of the cultural institutions that the English used to socialize the populations and reinforce colonial hierarchies. Cricket was imported to all of England's colonies, not only the West Indies, and it became a common source of control, yet social satisfaction, as well.

Initially, England used its vast military forces and personnel to export the game to the West Indies (Beckles, *Liberation* 37). Newspaper accounts of the early 19th century show how matches were staged between English military personnel. The White planters welcomed cricket in the West Indies, and by 1840 many were having cricket matches on

their plantations (Beckles, *Liberation* 38). Cricket made it possible for the plantocracy to pledge its support for British cultural values, moral codes, behavioral standards, and attitudes toward social ranking (Stoddart, 66). Black people, who were exposed to cricket on the plantations where they made up the indentured staff, also began to become acculturated to the same behaviors, copying the behaviors of the masters and upper classes.

In the Foreword to the Final Report of the Committee on Governance of West Indies Cricket, (October 2007), Professor Hilary Beckles states that the West Indian people had made their greatest single cultural investment in cricket. They made the investment not only in terms of the physical infrastructures that dominate the landscape of each territory, but in the mindscape of the citizens who had every good reason to feel an acute sense of ownership. While there are scattered references to the playing of the game at the end of the 1790s, data is available showing organized matches and the onset of competitions detailed during the 1810s. Within twenty years the game was well on its way to becoming the first expression of popular culture in the West Indies. Cricket also had an inter-ethnic connection and investment. Although the White elite imported, domesticated and appropriated the game, branding it with the "Whites Only" tag, they could not maintain that stance for very long. By the 1860s, cricket had spilled out from the confines of elite society, flowing through the communities of the emerging middle classes into the villages of the masses. Along the way, it crossed all racial and class barriers. There was no other social or economic institution or social activity at that time that can claim this reputation of being a "barrier breaker." By the end of the 19th century cricket was widespread and its legacies of club exclusion were still present, but did not

prevent those who were excluded from enjoying the game.

The colonial, post-slavery Caribbean world into which cricket journeyed from England was built upon the English practice of racial and class division as a tool of public governance and economic control. Cricket became the arena within which the efficacy of these values and relations were scrutinized. In the 1880s, when the first West Indies cricket team went on its maiden overseas tour to Canada (West Indies Tour), it was made up of entirely "elite" White players. However, by 1900, when the region sent its second team overseas, this time for the first time to the United Kingdom, the latter was made up of men of all classes and colors; a true expression and representation of the Caribbean. By the mid-20th century, West Indians had modified and revolutionized the international game in both performance and personality (Beckles, *Development,* 21-23). A brand new game came out of the Caribbean with a distinct flavor that audiences throughout the world admired, respected, loved and celebrated. The game had been thrust upon them by their home countries while they copied the behavior of their English masters, but it was re-imported to England, refined and upgraded. The English were amazed at the West Indies team as were the Indians, Australians and others. It was multiracial, made up of Blacks, Whites, and every possible ethnic combination. They showed a world that was racial and violent yet racially tolerant and cooperative at the same time. Also it was a winning operation because by the middle of the 1960s, the West Indies team had defeated all opponents under the leadership of Gary Sobers, still considered the best all-round player in the world (James, *Beyond 50*). From a sociological and anthropological perspective, the creation of the team showed the world that West Indians were able to put together a cricket team in 1886 and sustain it until the present day, over 125 years is

remarkable and unprecedented. It appears to be their greatest socio-political achievement and has become a model for other areas of collaboration such as the University of the West Indies and CARIFTA. I see it standing with ancestral pride as a form of cohesion for the various countries.

By the 1980s the West Indians were at the pinnacle of international success and were able to remain there into the 2000s. Other sectors of regional life also have emerged and taken their place on the international scene. From the literary arts with Derek Walcott's Nobel Peace Prize for literature, to the choreographer of the closing ceremonies of the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta, to the services economy--cricket remains the pivotal expression of a unified vision and action, exhibiting true regional leadership. It is an experience that has brought the region its greatest source of pride and prestige. The individual and governmental investment of time, space, money, passion and pride has brought a great return for Caribbean people, and there continues to be an expectation of high returns as the team continues to perform. The game enjoys a measure of goodwill across all geographic and other boundaries. There is no doubt that cricket and Caribbean life are inexorably linked and intertwined.

The first West Indies team was formed in 1880 and toured Canada and the United States (West Indies Tour). All of the countries whose members make up the team, were previously or currently British owned and governed. The team members are from Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Kitts/Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago and the British territory of Anguilla, Montserrat, the British Virgin Islands and St. Martin. National teams also exist in their individual countries and compete against each other in local games and

international teams as well (Beckles, *Development* 105). In the 1890s, the first representative sides were selected to play visiting English teams (windiescricket.com– The scorecards of the games played by Lucas's team are on Cricket Archive. Cricket Archive has scoreboards of all first-class matches.). The first major international cricket played in the West Indies pitted the local Whites against English tourists. In 1894-1895, the Middlesex player, Robert Slade Lucas toured the West Indies with a team. In 1897, Arthur Priestly took a team to Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica, which the West Indies team won. In 1900, the White Trinidadian, Aucher Warner, led a team to England, but none of the matches on the tour were given first class status. In 1901-1902, the Hampshire wicketkeeper Richard Bennett's team went to the West Indies and played three games against teams which called themselves, "West Indies."

Contemporary History and Analysis

As noted earlier in the beginning of this paper, soccer plays a great role in the world as manifested by the World Cup activities in South Africa in 2010. So to outsiders, it appears as though people in the West Indies (Caribbean) have been singular in their sports. While all sports, including soccer enjoy considerable public attention and acclaim in the region, cricket consistently earns pride of place with West Indians. Personally, I think it sets the Caribbean apart as the number one cricket nation on the planet, a reputation gained from a century of intense pursuit of excellence and insistence upon performance. Interlocked with the world of music, dance, literature, public theatre, humor and carnival, cricket is the principal arena for the expression of all art forms, a unique pride it does not command in any other civilization. The nationalism with which the West

Indian cricket team, representing a number of nation-states, is able to function so successfully is remarkable.

The West Indies took a major step on the international stage when the West Indies Cricket Board, on May 31, 1926, along with their New Zealand and Indian counterparts, was elected to the Imperial Cricket Conference (ICC), which previously consisted of the MCC and representatives of Australia and South Africa. Election to full membership of ICC meant that the West Indies team could play official Test Matches, which are the designation given to the most important international games. During the early 1930s, 40s and 50s, the team experienced all sorts of fortunes and experiences. Although the members of the teams were multilateral, multi-ethnic and multicultural, their skin color was White or near White. In an era when "White was right" the captains were White Englishmen (Beckles, *Development* 107).

Cricket in the West Indies was forged and influenced by the same conditions, which molded other facets of West Indian social structure and culture. From the colonial experience, three such facets spring to mind: (1) White supremacy, (2) the degree of violence, both physical and mental, which has maimed the personalities of countless West Indians and finally, (3) the concept of divide and rule, which has so successfully kept West Indians of different ethnic and political persuasions at each other's throats (Beckles, *Development* 111).

Until 1957, every subsequent touring team to England was captained and managed by a White or "near-White" West Indian. The exception was in 1957 when Clyde Walcott was Vice-captain under John Goodard. The manager and vice-captains were also White. Over the course of time, there was a dramatic decrease in the proportion

of White West Indians and a corresponding increase in the number of non-White West Indians playing cricket for the region. Although the numbers of White West Indian players declined, effective control and decision-making powers always resided in the hands of the Whites (Beckles, *Development* 111). Thus, in a real sense, the game of cricket mirrored life in general in West Indian society, where a similar dichotomy existed. Out of all proportion to their numbers in the population, Whites represented the top echelons of West Indian society. Whites represented the top and the West Indians were expected to follow decisions the Whites made with respect to who should play, on which grounds test matches in the West Indies should be played and the amount of entrance fee for games. Thus profits continued to be made by the Whites. Non-Whites, as in other facets of West Indian life, labored so that the White administrators might profit from their non-White labor. Thus, when Denzil Batchelor, a White reporter for a British publication, wrote in a manner not atypical of the White expatriate that the West Indian 'picked up the lovely art of cricket as a child picks up a game, not as a factory picks up a trade' apart from the obvious reference to the 'childish nature of the West Indian,' he may have been acknowledging the power of control to White administrators and the role of hewers-o-wood and the drawers-of-water to non-White West Indians (Batchelor 1952, quoted in James, *Beyond a Boundary* 50). We can see this in Barbados, where the caste-like stratification system based on race/color, allotted to Black Barbadians (they were known as 'professionals') the role of bowlers and fetchers of balls delivered during practice sessions in which Whites batted and Blacks only bowled. The emergence of the Barbados League, however, introduced club cricket in Barbados, and Blacks were given the opportunity to bat as well as to bowl. This explains why, for years, the only

Barbadian batsmen one heard of were White: Challenor, Tarilton, Hoad, Goddard, and the only bowlers one heard of were non-White: Griffith, Martindale and E. A. V. Williams.

It is of some importance to note that it was the League's decision to have an annual match between a team from the League and one from the Barbados Cricket Association (which came into being before the League). This led to the weakening of the social barriers between the "professionals" and the "better offs," by allowing Barbadians of disparate social positions to interact on the cricket field, presumably on an egalitarian basis (St. Pierre, 1995, 50).

It was particularly as a result of the Thursday afternoon matches, sponsored by the League that Everton Weeks emerged before World War II as a potential West Indian player. Not only did the number of clubs affiliated with the League increase from 26 in 1937 to 99 in 1966, but the effect of the weakening of social barriers by the expansion of cricket opportunities, thus provided the possibility for other poor but talented performers to achieve fame, as well as enhanced economic position. The fragmentation of this role specialization produced with vengeance a number of Black Barbadian batsmen, who it seemed, were out to settle within a decade the social injustices of decades in the field of cricket.

In Guyana the Georgetown Cricket Club (GCC), on whose ground all inter-colonial and international cricket was played, was a constant hindrance to the development of Guyanese cricket. This was the club of the Whites and the Portuguese, and it was no exaggeration to say that the colony team usually contained at least seven members from Georgetown Cricket Club. Among the non-White, non-Portuguese

element there was the opening pair (in the 1940s) Reece and Westmaas, the premier Guyanese batsman, Robert Christiani, a mercurial symbol of uncontained genius, McWatt the wicket-keeper, Gaskins the master of inswing bowling and sometimes Trim, a truly strong fast bowler, who played as a professional for the Georgetown Cricket Club (Guyana Archives).

These men performed very creditably, and for years Christiani and Gaskin were the best in their respective fields. But for years one watched, as a succession of light-skinned Georgetown Cricket Club Members and their sons, posing as cricketers, represented, or rather misrepresented, Guyana. The teams, of course, were always led by a White or a Portuguese member of the Georgetown Cricket Club, and it took a Black Barbadian, Clyde Walcott, himself a victim of the system, to help shift the basis of selection from one of color to one of merit. This was achieved largely, by his efforts (and to a certain extent those of Christiani) as a cricket coach and a welfare officer on Bookers' sugar estates in Guyana. The rupturing of the ascriptive basis of selection produced a better caliber of batsmen. This, I noted, was in the 1950s when the drive for political independence was beginning to make irrevocable changes in the structure of Guyanese society.

In Jamaica, the position was not dissimilar, though the interest taken by the sugar estates in cricket did help to provide the opportunity for the dispossessed to play the game with the more privileged. The prestigious Kingston Cricket Club's policy of discrimination along color lines managed to preserve the club as a bastion for the Whites and near-White in Jamaica. In Trinidad, we are assured by C. L. R James in his book, *Beyond a Boundary*, that life for the non-White cricketer was one of uncertainty, due to

restricted upward mobility and discrimination along racial and color lines. For example, one gets the impression that W. St. Hill was left out of the 1923 West Indies Team to England for reasons other than cricketing ability or bad behavior. Again, Learie Constantine, after a number of abortive attempts to play cricket and to keep his job in Trinidad at the same time, eventually gave up and went to England where he did both simultaneously. He eventually played professional cricket. This problem pertained only to the non-White cricketer who, unless affiliated with a club as a groundsman or practice bowler, needed regular employment in order to purchase cricket gear. The position of the White cricketer was very different because such a person usually had a better job, had more time to play cricket, and could take advantage of the facilities in order to play cricket (Beckles, *Development* 110).

As explained earlier, race and color were the principal marks of West Indian stratification. This caste-like system, lacking a powerful divine sanction, such as religion in India, was bound to produce frustration, which ultimately sought aggressive outlets. Because other outlets were closed, either by cultural proscriptions (such as 'the White man rules') or structural constraints (such as White ownership and control of the means of production which supported their claim to make the rules of reward and punishment), non-White West Indian cricketers chose the game of cricket as the only available socially approved outlet. In the West Indies the racist ideology that asserted the supremacy of Whites broke down as the transparency of this ideology was laid bare on the cricket field (Beckles, *Development* 114).

Performance before an audience of West Indians conspired to produce a change in this 'beautiful, difficult English game.' This change was essentially one of self-image, for

not only was cricket functional for West Indians, but it facilitated a degree of upward mobility. Removal of frustration was followed by a change in the stratification system away from a purely ascriptive one, to one of achievement. The non-White cricketer was thereby pitting himself, not against the White player, but against a 'super-star.'

Political independence was at the time merely wishful thinking, and Whites were still very much in control of the decision-making machinery at every level of West Indian society. For dark-skinned West Indians, status was to be had by as complete an emulation as possible of the dominant European cultural apparatus. Behavior on the cricket field was no exception. Despite being a region where Whites were a minority until 1960, the West Indies cricket team was always captained by Whites. This was more of a social than racial discrimination. Throughout the fifties, social theorist CLR James, the increasingly political former cricketer Learie Constantine and others called for a Black captain. Constantine himself had stood in for Jackie Grant in the field against England on the 1937-38 tour, and George Headley captained the West Indies in the First Test against England in 1947-48 when the appointed, White captain, John Goddard was injured. However, no Black was appointed as captain for a whole series until Frank Worrell was chosen to lead West Indies in their tour of Australia in 1960-61. In his three years as captain, Worrell moulded a bunch of talented but raw cricketers into the best team in the world (James, *Beyond* 260).

Frank Worrell became the captain of the team in 1960. In the early stages of his captaincy, the team was not selected on the basis of merit and ability alone. Race and color were more important. Whatever commendations came to be showered on West Indian cricket during this period came due to the efforts of individual athletes. In the field

of cricket, as in other spheres of life, the above-mentioned factors were accompanied by the existence of a built-in feeling of insecurity and urgency. Since the darker West Indians could not always count on merit to help him make the team, then he was made to feel insecure because his selection sometimes hinged upon factors over which he had no control. In his desire to reduce this insecurity, the West Indian cricketer placed excessive emphasis on performance—individual performance that would bring him to the top. This depended on intra-team competition and a consequent de-emphasis on team performance (Stoddart 114-115).

The era of Frank Worrell's captaincy started in earnest when he led the West Indian team in Australia during the 1960/61 tour and ended with his retirement in 1965. Worrell, it should be noted, had led West Indian and Commonwealth cricket teams, but these were on unofficial tours and against the mother country. The status of West Indian cricket was due primarily to Worrell's astute captaincy, as well as his capacity to get the best out of team members and more importantly to weld a disparate unit into a cohesive whole. Indeed, the performance of a former captain, Alexander with the bat, and on the field during the 1960/61 Australian Tour, was one example of Worrell's talents to get the most and best out of team members. In his book *Beyond a Boundary*, James recalls that on speaking to Worrell after the tour, the West Indian captain spoke of players primarily in terms of their being good team players, a clear indication of the importance Worrell attached to team spirit. Under Worrell's leadership, the West Indies played 15 Test Matches from 1960-63. This was the period when the West Indies were the world cricket champions.

It is perhaps important to remember that during this period for the first time in the

history of West Indian cricket, the leadership of the team was given to a man universally acknowledged as the best man for the job–a Black West Indian, Worrell. The members of the team, enthused with the knowledge that at last merit and ability in the sphere of cricket had superseded race and color, shrugged off their feeling of insecurity and played as they had never played before (Beckles, *Liberation* 116).

Under Worrell's leadership and emphasis on team performance, anxiety receded and the West Indies became the best cricketing nation in the world. Even in Australia during the 1960/61 tour, despite suspected undue assistance by Australian umpires to the Australian team, and despite the West Indies' loss, the latter's performance helped to transform the game from a dying sport into a viable one reflected in increasing audience participation and gate receipts.

It must be noted that West Indian team members came from different countries. Worrell was a Barbadian and other team members were from Trinidad, Jamaica, and other countries. Worrell, as captain forged a sense of unity, cooperation and appreciation for his team and presented a united front- a Federation of sorts - to create a winning atmosphere and team. All countries representing the team, and even those without representation shared the thrill of victory of the team and team spirit. They also reflected respective national pride.

Frank Worrell, the first Black captain of West Indian cricket team, attended a top secondary school in Barbados and eventually graduated from a British University. He also had a reputation as a cool teacher and had the ability to win matches. He took over the captaincy of the team and changed the image of the game in the minds of West Indians and also the expectations of West Indians with respect to the performance of the

captain, team spirit and the behavior of the West Indian cricket hero. Therefore, by his demeanor, he had made himself acceptable to those in both the upper and lower echelons. “He was the gentleman or as some may prefer to say the “afro-saxon” (Beckles, *Liberation* 120), and he had by his efforts, created in the minds of West Indians particularly high expectations in regard to the question of leadership in West Indian cricket. “He was like the majority of West Indian politicians, a middle class hero leading a “working-class crowd” (Beckles, *Liberation* 120), with few traditional examples of heroism, where history had also predisposed them to accept uncritically a man with a background like Worrell in an era when only Jamaica and Trinidad had attained independence. In spite of the varying opinions about the past and future role of cricket, leadership and its effects on the West Indian people, the game remains a favorite pastime and does battle with soccer, another British import, as the most popular sport in the world.

In 1960, Australia was the best cricket team in the world but on their way down, while the West Indies was on their way up. It so happened that when they met, the two teams were of almost equal strength. The result was a series that has been recognized as one of the greatest of all time.

The West Indies won the inaugural World Cup in England in 1975, defeating Australia in the final. The members of this team formed the nucleus of the side that became recognized as world Test match champions until the beginning of the 1990s (James, *Beyond* 260-270).

During the early 1990s, the West Indies team was still reeling from the retirement of their best players. When the captain, Vivian Richards, retired in 1991, it was an end of

an era. This left a youthful and inexperienced side. Indeed after Richards' retirement the only players with significant experience were the captain and two other members. However, this did not immediately affect their performance. Richie Richardson capably picked up the captaincy. It was five more years before the West Indies lost a series. Making a comeback to international cricket, South Africa played its first Test match in Bridgetown, Barbados, a match, which was attended by few people because of a boycott. In 1992–93, the West Indies defeated Australia in a close match in Adelaide, where a loss would have cost them the series. In 1994–95, the team salvaged a draw in India when, after losing the first Test and drawing the second, they secured a win in the third. In 1992, the West Indies once again failed to qualify for the World Cup semi-finals.

The West Indies made their first official tour to South Africa in 1998–99. It was a disaster, starting with player revolts and ending with a 5–0 defeat. The 1999 World Cup campaign ended in the group stages. The next year, England won a series against the West Indies for the first time in thirty-one years. The West Indies ended the decade with another 5–0 defeat, this time in Australia. In 2004, the Windies won the ICC Champion's trophy, a one-day competition, second only to the cricket world cup, a win that was a welcome gift for the Caribbean which had just been hit by Hurricane Ivan.

In 2005, a major dispute broke out between the West Indian Players Association (WIPA) and the Cricket Board. The point of contention was clause five of the tour contract, which gave WICB the sole and exclusive right to arrange for sponsorship, advertising, licensing, merchandising and promotional activities relating to WICB or any WICB Team. *Digicel* was the sponsor of the West Indian Team, while most of the players had contracts with *Cable and Wireless*. This conflict, coupled with a payment

dispute, meant that the West Indies initially announced a team absent of Brian Lara and a number of other leading West Indians for South Africa's visit in 2004–05, leading to Shivnarine Chanderpaul-an outstanding player from Guyana- becoming captain. Some of these players did, in the end, compete. However, the dispute had not been resolved and rumbled on, leading to a second-string side being named for the tour of Sri Lanka in 2005. A resolution did not arise until October 2005, when a full-strength side was finally named for the 2005–06 tour of Australia. It was on this tour that Brian Lara overtook Australian Allan Border as the highest run-scorer in Test match cricket, despite the West Indies losing the series.

As of 2012, the West Indies Cricket team is not on top of the world as it once was. However, the individual members and countries still support them. The team has not been disbanded. Most members are doing what other professional athletes do in their off-seasons. They are occupied with activities to help to keep them in physical and emotional well-being. Some are at home, others are playing English country cricket. There is still great pride in the team and in their national rank as well.

During Worrell's captaincy, the West Indies Federation fell apart. Politically it was a Barbadian who was the leader of the Federation and that in itself could have been the source of all sorts of resentment and repercussions in the team. Additionally, it was the discord between the twin nation of Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica that led to the crisis in and eventual dissolution of the Federation. Both countries moved on to Independence later that same year. The region was struggling for its own sense of independence and identity, and having a cricket team which was made up of members from the various island nations and at the top of their game was indeed a unifying force.

Apart from the politics of the region, the WICB continued to play an influential role in the management of the team. It was the WICB which continued to select the members and also decided the tournaments and scheduled the activities in which the team participated. The WICB has representatives from the different countries. The primary focus is to create a winning side, because if the team is not victorious, it reflects poorly on all of the countries. That is reason enough for cricket to help to bring and keep the region together.

Chapter 6

The University of the West Indies Then and Now

Introduction

This chapter is an exploration of the history and the relationship of the University of the West Indies to the pride of the people of the Anglophone Caribbean. It has endured the test of time and continues to strive to educate the people of the region:

> the university in one sense is a purveyor of enlightenment; but in another, more primary sense, it is by its very being, a symbol of society's enlightenment- in this case, a symbol of our enlightened acknowledgement of a uniting West Indian identity- that oneness that is so dear to West Indians in Brixton (Sherlock and Nettleford 303).

It is my conviction that the University came into being at a time when the region was anxious to be freed of the shackles of British Colonialism. Britain, also, at that time wanted to be freed from the responsibilities of taking care of the many small island nations. Education and culture, from my perspective, are the two main ingredients used to educate and liberate people. This chapter shows the steps that were taken to educate and liberate. The University continues to function mainly by those who have benefitted from its existence and programs in the midst of political changes.

History

The University of the West Indies is an autonomous regional institution supported by and serving fifteen countries in the Anglophone Caribbean: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St Christopher and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent

and the Grenadines, and the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

The University was initially established in Jamaica in 1948, on the Mona Campus, as a University College (UCWI) in special relationship with the University of London, and achieved independent University status in 1962. The St. Augustine Campus in Trinidad, formerly the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, was started in 1960, and the Cave Hill Campus in Barbados was founded in 1963. In addition, University Centres, headed by a Resident Tutor, are located in each of the other 12 contributing countries. Sir William Arthur Lewis was the first Vice-Chancellor under the UWI's independent charter.

The current Chancellor is Shridath Ramphal. The University of the West Indies is spread over four campuses on three Caribbean islands and also has the Distance Education Centre in Barbados. The University offers undergraduate and postgraduate programs in the Humanities and Education, Law, Pure and Applied Sciences and Social Sciences, as well as clinical and postgraduate programs in Medicine, and also has a summer school. Academic programs are arranged in departments, which cover one or more subject areas (e.g., Language, Literature and Linguistics; Biological and Chemical Sciences; Government, Sociology and Social Work and so on). The range of subjects, which may be combined in a degree option is fairly wide and may cut across disciplines, departments and faculties (e.g., Sociology and Law, History and Political Science, Computer Science and Management). The University operates a two-term system based on a credit scheme. In most programs, students are required to complete 90 credits toward a degree.

The University of the West Indies has provided the English-speaking Caribbean

region with its current leaders in government, business, education, law, engineering, medicine and in many other key public and private sectors. It is probably the only university in the world that can boast eight Prime Ministers among its graduates. (A list of the Prime Ministers can be found in Appendix C.)

The University of the West Indies (UWI) has also nurtured two Nobel Laureates: Sir Arthur Lewis and Derek Walcott, several Rhodes Scholars, and Dignitaries such as: Professor Norman Girvan (former Secretary General of the Association of Caribbean States), Professor Compton Bourne (President of the Caribbean Development Bank),The Hon Edwin Carrington (Secretary General of CARICOM), and Sir Dwight Venner (Governor of the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank).

The UWI is known internationally for academic and research excellence, and within the region, it stands proud as an icon for the promotion of Caribbean integration, culture and pride. The "UWI Spirit" shines brightly as the institution continues to grow in order to ensure relevance, innovation and excellence within the dynamic realities of the 21st century (uwi.edu).

The birth of the University of the West Indies came about due to these fundamentally important factors:

1. A growing sense of nationalism and its accompanying urges to gain political independence from Britain.
2. A determination of the British after World War II to eliminate the growing social, political and economic problems of the region.
3. An increasing interest of the United States of America in the Caribbean (Thomas, 48, 176, 177).

Periodic political and social unrest in the British owned islands was very unsettling to and for the British Imperial Government. During 1935-1938, strikes and riots broke out in all of the British Colonies, starting with St. Kitts in January 1935, and followed quickly thereafter in other colonies (Thomas, 47-49, 56, 122). By 1937-1938, a regional protest developed against hard economic conditions and the imperial cultural regime. In August 1938, a West Indian Royal Commission went to investigate social and economic conditions in order to make recommendations. The report was submitted in December 1939 but proposed no radical changes. It included proposals for the setting up of a West Indian Fund that would provide:

1. extended and improved education opportunities,
2. More and better urban and rural housing,
3. Laws protecting the rights of workers, and
4. Other measures designed to improve existing social and economic conditions.

A few months before the report was issued in September 1939, Britain entered World War II. In the 1940s, before the end of the war, the British Secretary of State for the Universities in the United Kingdom asked for assistance in the development of colonial universities which would produce the future leaders in the islands. Reportedly as the colonies were gaining their independence from the British Government, they were required to rely on local leadership.

Although some money was collected to establish the fund, it was not until the end of the war in 1945 that additional monies were added to the fund. These monies were supposed to keep the fund solvent for ten years. In 1948 a Colonial Development Cooperation was set up to promote economic development schemes in the Colonies

(Hall, D. - *University of the West Indies, A Quinquagenary Calendar,* 1998*).*

In response, a commission on Higher Education in the Colonies was established and subcommittees were appointed for the various individual colonies. The West Indian subcommittee included Sir James Irvine, Vice-Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews (Chairman); Margery Perham, Nuffield College and University of Oxford; Raymond Priestly, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Birmingham; Hugh Springer, Barbadian lawyer and member of the Barbados House of Assembly; Philip Sherlock, Jamaican Secretary of the Institute of Jamaica; Billy Innis, teacher at Queens Royal College in Trinidad; and Joseph Luckoo, a prominent lawyer in British Guiana (Sherlock and Nettleford, 25, 31, 64). It was important to recruit educated leaders with a vision toward a successful institute of higher learning.

The committees and the population saw these meetings as their opportunity to satisfy the longings of the West Indian advocates for an institution of higher learning. The committee traveled throughout the region and interviewed representatives from a wide range of occupational and social groups to get a sense of the needs of the people and to help with program planning, staffing and finances. They made their report and supported the foundation of a university, if and only if, it would be a centralized and entirely residential institution (Hall 2-6).

The report stated that the University would be possible only if the capital cost, together with some provision of recurring expenditure, preferably by means of endowment, was given to the people of the West Indies by the Imperial Government. It also emphasized the importance of general provision for scholarships and student loans, a strong department of extramural studies to promote unity throughout the region, and the

development of the university as an active center of research. The secretary of state for the colonies accepted the commission's report. They deduced that the first step should be the foundation in Jamaica of a University college which, in order to establish its academic standards and win public confidence and esteem, should work for the most part for the external degrees of an already established and respected university. With this in mind, a planning committee had to be formed to select a site for the college, and make application for a Charter of Incorporation. Without the charter, the college could not:

1. enter into any contractual agreements,
2. officially conduct its business;
3. plan the campus and erect buildings,
4. recommend the appointment of the first academic staff and
5. arrange the selection and arrival of its first students.

The first meetings of a Provisional Council of the College were held on January 7-9, 1947, in the house of the British Council in Kingston. There were the usual formalities: Governor, Sir John Huggins, opened the sessions, and a welcoming telegram from the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals in the United Kingdom was read (Hall 7).

The meeting resolved to apply for the grant of a Royal Charter endowing the University College of the West Indies (as it was officially named) "with the necessary privileges and powers." Formal application also had to be made with recognition by the University of London of the "special relationship," requiring all curricula and courses to be submitted for London's approval. The Colonial Office would be asked for an advance of $20,000 to cover initial expenses of creating a library, and the committee received with

gratitude the embryonic UCWI's first benefaction—the gift from Sir James Irvine of his collection of scientific journals (Sherlock and Nettleford 35, 113-114).

The appointment by the Secretary of State of Graham Dawbarn to be the College's architect was noted, and it was unanimously agreed that of the various sites proposed for the College, Mona would be the most suitable. The Government of Jamaica would be approached about its availability. There was discussion of matters relating to the establishment of a teaching hospital, and the need for a building to house the research programs (to be initiated by the college). That had been listed by the Irvine Committee as a matter of importance. So too, had the early establishment of a Department of Extramural Studies, and this was recommended to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sherlock and Nettleford 31).

These early days were filled with overall planning and constant watch over the details of performance. The UCWI consisted of a Provisional Council and a very small supporting staff. The Council had no home of its own, and met wherever space was available at the British Council's house in Kingston, at the Institute of Jamaica. Until a Charter of Incorporation was approved by the Crown and passed under the Great Seal, the Provisional Council had no legal status. Some action was possible because the establishment of the College had the backing of the British government, and there was no doubt that a Royal Charter of Incorporation would be granted. Formal drafting of the application for a charter, and of the statutes by which the College would be governed were clearly of prime importance. By October 27, 1947, the drafts were ready for dispatch to Britain (Hall 9). They set out the powers to make ordinances; the Senate, the supreme academic body empowered to make regulations; and the Faculties of Medicine,

Natural Sciences, and Arts to manage the particular disciplines assigned to them. To ensure that all would be ready for the beginning of school in October 1948, the first academic appointments were made by the Principal under a special enabling provision.

The Provisional Council also recorded that an Institute of Social and Economic Research would soon be established. Previously, at the Council's request, Philip Sherlock, after long consultations in the region and beyond, had submitted "Proposals for the Organization of Extramural Studies in the West Indies." The University of London had agreed that if a course of two years at the UCWI followed by two years at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad could be arranged, the requirements for a London degree in Agricultural Science would be satisfied (Sherlock and Nettleford 111). The Government of Jamaica had agreed to provide the land at Mona and negotiations were now in progress. The site included parts of the old Mona and Papine estates with their slave-built ruins of aqueducts and sugar works. To the east, centered on the road still bearing their name, were the wooden buildings of Gibraltar Camp, erected during the war to house persons interned by the Jamaican government (Sherlock and Nettleford 31).

In preparation for the first intake of students, a small committee made the first of what would become annual visits to the Eastern Caribbean islands to interview prospective students, and to make contact with governments, schools, and medical institutions. A Provisional Senate met on September 2, 1948 to consider the availability of off-campus accommodations during vacations (Sherlock and Nettleford 30-33). In its following monthly meetings, the Provisional Senate continued its business of making regulations governing the academic community. Most urgent were its discussion of

teaching programs, examination procedures and the rules of conduct for staff and students. In November, the Senate's more appropriate business was interrupted by discussion of the registration of dogs on the College grounds (Hall 12).

On Christmas Day 1948, the Principal received a cable from London. The Charter of the University College had been approved by the Privy Council. Eleven days later, it was passed under the Great Seal. There had been delay in these procedures. The original charter, sent by air in January 1948, had been lost when the aircraft *Star Ariel* disappeared en route to England somewhere between the Bahamas and Bermuda. Now, at last, the University College of the West Indies was officially established; the word had come five days before the next scheduled meeting of the provisional Council in January 1949. On the 10th of January, a third cable informed them that HM King George VI had agreed to be "Visitor" to the College, and that HRH Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, had been appointed the College's first Chancellor (Hall 13). The provisional Council was immediately dissolved and the Council of the UCWI, now with full powers and authority, took its place. In accordance with the Statutes, its membership would, in future, be ex-officio: the Chancellor, the Principal, the Vice-Principal, and the Deans of Faculties; seven members to be elected by the Senate from its membership, but not to include more than four Professors; two members to be elected by the Guild of Graduates from their number; one representative appointed by the government of each contributing colony; and two persons (not of the College) to be nominated by the Chancellor. The now empowered Senate would include: the Principal as Chairman, the Vice-Principal, Deans and Professors, the Director of Extramural Studies, the Librarian, all readers who are Heads of Departments, and such number of representatives of non-professorial staff as

may be determined by the Council. A Board of Selection, to be concerned with appointments, would consist of the Principal or his deputy, two members of the Council appointed by Council, Deans of Faculties involved in selection, two members of Senate appointed by Senate, two 'external experts' (not from the UCWI) nominated by the Principal, and the Head of Department to which an appointment was being made (Hall 13).

The Council then unanimously appointed Philip Sherlock as the College's Vice-Principal, and authorized the beginning of teaching in the Faculty of Natural Sciences in 1949, and the Faculty of Arts in 1950. Academic dress for undergraduates would be fashioned in the style of the scarlet gowns of St. Andrews University in Scotland in recognition of the work of Sir James Irvine after whom the first permanent hall of residence would also be named (Sherlock and Nettleford 95). The Council gratefully accepted the first benefaction to the now fully established University College of the West Indies- a house and 22 acres of land at Bellevue in the hills above Guava Ridge, the gift of Eustace Myers. Then, to ensure continuity of authority between its annual sessions, the Council established the Finance and Building Committee, a standing committee of Council to exercise the powers in all matters connected with the receipt and expenditure of monies and the erection and maintenance of buildings. That Committee also from time to time met with the Hospital Board to deal with matters of common concern. The Hospital Board of Management, incorporated by the University College Hospital Law, passed by the Government of Jamaica in 1948, included both government and College representatives. However, unlike that of the College, the Hospital's recurrent expenditures were to be met entirely by the Government of Jamaica (Sherlock and

Nettleford 95).

The Irvine committee had stressed the importance of endowments to manage the recurring expenses and funding of scholarships. Scholarships by governments to enable students to attend high school were few. At that time, the vast majority of primary school children came from families unable to afford a secondary education. Inadequate provision of funds for scholarships and loans, and the cost of attendance at UCWI prevented high school students from attending who had the academic qualifications to attend but whose families were unable to pay (Sherlock and Nettleford 248).

UCWI was a residential institution serving students from many islands. As buildings were erected, construction and maintenance costs increased. As teaching and research expanded, the cost of salaries and equipment also added to the budget. Thus the financing of the college's expenses brought problems for the governments. Early in 1950, the University Council held its first meeting. The considerable costs of maintaining grounds together with traveling expenses of staff on first appointment had been underestimated. The Government of Jamaica, notwithstanding the College's request to contributing governments, had withdrawn the unspent portion of its first subvention; and academic salary scales would soon have to be reviewed in the light of increases awarded to university professors in Britain. The colonial governments would be asked for more. They would also be asked to support the issue of a special stamp, commemorating the inauguration of Princess Alice as Chancellor, with the proceeds of sales to be given to the College. The governments responded favorably to both requests, but it was only a drop in an ever-deepening ocean of expense (Sherlock and Netterford 208-209, 260-261).

During the first five years, in spite of budget and financial problems, the academic

program was developing, and plans were completed for the introduction of the London Bachelor of Arts (Honors) Degree in the Faculty of Arts. In Natural Sciences, departments had occupied their new laboratories, and teaching for the Master of Science degree had begun in Physics, Chemistry and Botany. In the Faculty of Medicine, the University of London had agreed that the University College Hospital should be recognized as a teaching hospital preparing students for the London Medical Bachelor of Science (MBBS) Degree. Much of the success of the hospital in its early years was due to the work of its first two Matrons in getting it properly equipped and running. Margaret Foster-Smith, followed by Nita Barrow (later to become Her Excellency Dame Nita Barrow, Governor General of Barbados) established the Hospital's nursing precepts, modeled on the idea of respect for the patients as persons and concern for them as individuals, not as disease entities (Sherlock and Nettleford 42).

The Department of Extramural Studies was expanding in work throughout the Caribbean in the provision of classes and special courses, the promotion of work in the field of drama, and the encouragement of creative activity. The Department of Education, under the recently appointed Professor D'Aeth, was about to offer a postgraduate Diploma in Education, to be awarded by the UCWI independently of the University of London (Sherlock and Nettleford 128-130). The first journal published by the College had been the Extramural Department's *Caribbean Quarterly*, its first issue in early 1949. Two years later, the College took over the assets of *The Jamaica Medical Review* and continued its publication under the new title, *The West Indian Medical Journal* (Sherlock and Nettleford 62).

During the first five to ten years, the newly established UCWI experienced

financial problems. Early in 1954, the Lillian Peson committee issued a report stressing that it was time to consider growth into an independent University of the West Indies. The Committee further stated that one of the most delicate points for academic autonomy is the relationship established between university, and government and private sources, which provide the former with its capital and income for ongoing operation. Unless a university has a substantially wealthy endowment, it is most vulnerable to external influences, and it is extremely important that this relationship be carefully defined by procedures that all parties understand. The autonomy of the college, conferred by its charter and statutes, and supported by those principals of block grants from the Caribbean Governments, placed a special obligation on the college-- both to ensure that it used the public money entrusted to it to full measure, and accounted for its stewardship. It was also the responsibility of the participating governments to find a way to ensure the autonomy of the college, while insuring that its public funds were used judiciously. At the end of the first five years the college had a deficit that the governments and the British Government only partially reduced. An advisory committee was later formed by the contributing governments to examine the financial proposals for UCWI and to submit recommendations to the government of the respective countries (Sherlock and Nettleford 256-257, 262-264, 278-280).

In 1953, territorial representatives on Council, concerned about the increasing costs of the College, and public comment on the high ratio of staff to students, had recommended an increase of the student population. The reason for the high staff/student ratios (which existed in the Faculties of Science and Medicine rather than in Arts) reflected the demands of academic degree programs. To earn a BSc, or other degree,

certain courses of study had to be offered whether the student enrollment was large or small. As classrooms filled, staff/student ratios would fall. Staff increases would follow from the introduction of additional teaching programs, or to meet overwhelming student enrollment in existing courses. There were other aspects of the staff/student ratio. In a university, academic staff is expected to engage in research and publication as well as in teaching undergraduates and supervising postgraduate students. The heavier their laboratory, classroom and tutorial duties, the less time they have for research.

There were ways to increase enrollments. One way was to broaden, or less desirably, to lower entrance requirements. This was impracticable because the UCWI was an academic ward of the University of London. Another was to increase in the funding of scholarships and student loan funds. This was more likely to be made available by territorial governments to their own people, if the UCWI were to be decentralized and branches established in territories other than Jamaica. A third way, facilitating the second, would be by taking the College to the prospective student population, in other words, by localizing the institution (Sherlock and Nettleford 232-236).

The Irvine and Penson Committees had strongly emphasized the importance of residence in a centralized college. Most importantly, the close association of students from all the contributing territories in study and in social life was expected to rub away the insular prejudices and encourage a “West Indian” identification and outlook. But they were clearly influenced by a concern that the UCWI should provide a milieu in which West Indians might be polished by exposure to rites and manners patterned on those of the hallowed halls of universities in Britain. The Penson Committee had observed that students from other Caribbean territories found their place “in the social and intellectual

life of the College" as naturally as the Jamaicans did. It may have appeared so; but the College was not a Jamaican institution. Perhaps the Jamaicans, in common with all the others, were adjusting to unfamiliar circumstances and surroundings in which they found themselves at the college. (Sherlock and Nettleford 40-42)

If the UCWI were to remain a centralized residential institution, increases of the student body would call for additional expenditures in the building and maintenance of additional halls of residence. It was already recognized that a fourth hall would be required by 1957 to accommodate an expected student population of 650; and there were projections of 900 students by 1963. Thus, criticism of the cost of teaching might simply be followed by criticism of the high costs of student accommodation. The advantages of a centralized college, therefore, came under question, for such an institution in Jamaica would have to remain residential, at least for non-Jamaicans (Hall 33-35).

In June 1960, at the request of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, Professor Arthur Lewis prepared an estimate of capital and recurrent costs of day and evening student programs for degrees in Arts and Sciences at St. Augustine. The proposal estimated an average of 600 students, a capital expenditure and recurrent costs in excess of one million British pounds (US $1,161,000) for the period ending in 1967. Eric Williams, Premier of Trinidad and Tobago replied that his government was going to provide all the capital and the recurrent costs before classes began. The government of Jamaica followed and offered a capital grant during 1961-1963 to allow an evening program in Arts and Social and Natural Sciences at the Mona Campus. The government of Barbados was now proposing an Evening Institute to teach courses leading to general degrees to 200 part-time students. Eric Williams, Premier of Trinidad and Tobago,

replied that his government would provide all the capital and the $35,000 recurrent expense money before teaching began. After that, recurring costs would have to be met by the Federal Government (Hall 45).

Following the Trinidadian example, the Government of Jamaica offered a capital grant of $240,000 during 1961-1963 to allow teaching at Mona to 500 evening students in Arts, Social Sciences, and Natural Sciences, provided the Federal Government would meet all recurrent costs from August 1, 1968. On February 7, 1962, the Council held its first meeting in the new Council Room. The Government of Barbados was now proposing an Evening Institute to teach courses leading to general degrees to 200 part-time students beginning in September 1962. At the same time, the Government of British Guiana had declined the offer of a College of the UCWI in that country. British Guiana was, in fact, about to withdraw its support of the UCWI and to set up its own college. The reason given was the high cost of sending students to Mona. The Council observed that about 16% of the students at Mona were Guianese, and that their government contributed 10% of the recurrent costs of the college (Sherlock and Nettleford 95-98, 114, 135, 221).

The Council also discussed the impending break-up of the Federation of the West Indies, and all but the most important business was, therefore, put aside. However, later there was one item of great importance. Amendments to the Charter and Statutes of the College had been made and approved, and a paper was now tabled, indicating the University College of the West Indies had now become the University of the West Indies, with full powers to determine its academic and other programs and to grant degrees. The long, very helpful but restrictive, special relationship with the University of London was over (Hall 45).

The UWI financially supported by a federal government would have been a federal institution. The federal government would presumably have been insistent that the University's performance met federal approval of the nature and scope of its research and teaching programs and, as far as possible, satisfied federally approved requests of individual member governments. Whether the federal government would have been able to ensure the necessary financing was an interesting but purely academic consideration (Sherlock and Nettleford 99-100).

From 1962, the UWI was indisputably a regional institution. The root question was whether the independent territorial governments would jointly attempt to define "regional" as distinct from individual "territorial" priorities for the University. In very short time, it became clear that they would not. Indeed, their demands on the University became increasingly competitive. Failure to achieve that measure of regional concern obviously weakened, but did not deny, the University's prescribed role as catalyst in the development of a "West Indian" identity among its students (Sherlock and Nettleford 130-131).

Toward the achievement of that objective, the founding fathers had repeatedly emphasized the importance of the residential requirement of the UCWI. The example of the West Indian community of students in residence at Hans Crescent in postwar London was clear. The reminiscence of early students in residence at Mona carried a similar story. The *Cato Report*, produced when the fully residential requirement of the UCWI was necessarily being abandoned, emphasized the importance of the Student Union as a center in which social and intellectual interchange could still be enjoyed. But that could happen only if there were a sufficient intermixture of West Indians in the student body,

aided by a similar intermixture among the academic staff, and by deliberate policy on the part of the University's administration. The expansion of the University mitigated against all three (Sherlock and Nettleford 46-47).

The long discussions on restructuring ended in July 1983, at a Conference of Heads of Governments held in Port of Spain, when papers were presented by the University and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) on behalf of the non-campus territories, most of which had by then achieved political independence (Sherlock and Nettleford 218-220). The Vice-Chancellor and other senior UWI staff members attending the Conference were reminded that those who paid the piper intended to call the tunes, and that beyond the present proposals for restructuring, there were matters raised in the OECS Paper (which had not yet been studied by the Vice-Chancellor) which must immediately be addressed (Sherlock and Nettleford 220).

In October 1984, restructuring of the University came into effect. Necessary amendments to the Charter, Statutes and Ordinances were made, approved, and came into effect in October 1989. In May 1985, Vice-Chancellor Preston outlined for Council the new managerial and administrative structures (Sherlock and Nettleford 220, 223). By the close of the 1980's, the University had passed through stages of development. The first, from 1948-1962, were the years of the UCWI established to serve as a federal educational institution, contributing to the development of the West Indian nationalism and identity (Sherlock and Nettleford 106-107). The first leaders of the College, though they worked toward that end, were, with the notable exceptions of Philip Sherlock and Hugh Springer, not West Indians. Beyond the UCWI there was no widespread yearning for West Indian togetherness. The federal attempt, though finding some local support,

was fueled by British rather than Caribbean interest. The arrival of a West Indian Principal, Professor Arthur Lewis, and the increasing "West Indianization" of the College's senior academic and administrative personnel, might have led the UCWI, as a federal institution, to an inwardly driven pursuit of Caribbean cultural identity, but that first stage in the history of the UWI ended with the collapse of the West Indies political federation.

The second stage was that in which the emergence of independent governments in the British Caribbean brought a sharp competitiveness, especially between the governments of Jamaica and the twin nation of Trinidad and Tobago. In Jamaica in particular (the seat of the recently chartered University of the West Indies), anti-federal sentiment was strong. The West Indian Vice-Chancellors of the emergent University of the West Indies had to deal with demanding and competitive governments on whose financial provision the University depended, and whose loyalty to a regional University was not always evident. The government of Jamaica in the years of bauxite boom, and the Government of Trinidad and Tobago in the years of oil boom, proposed the establishment of their own institution of higher learning. However,

> The dramatic decline in bauxite earnings for Jamaica between 1981 and 1985 and in crude petroleum and petroleum products export for Trinidad and Tobago between 1984 and 1986 represents only two of the major indicators of the region's growing incapacity to sustain its livelihood at levels consonant with the extension of access of university and other tertiary level education to the increasing number of Caribbean citizens entering the age-groups eligible for such education. The inability to sustain adequate and high enough standards of service to those who attain access, owing to shortage of funds, is at once the result and occasion and a likely deepening cause of persistence of regional penury. Despite seemingly halcyon days in the early years of the UWI when 32 bright, carefully chosen and somewhat privileged young medical students entered Gibraltar Camp at Mona, the later decades of the 1970s and 1980s coinciding with the early years of Independence seemed, indeed, like those

> proverbial 'forty days and forty nights in the wilderness.'
>
> But for those who would wish to follow through with the metaphor, the emergence at 40 may well be the beginning of the redemptive mission—designed to face squarely such times of testing and trial not only through reflection but also in action (Sherlock and Nettleford 261).

The efforts of Vice-Chancellor Sherlock, Marshall and Preston had to be devoted to the preservation of the University as a *regional* educational institution. The aim of West Indianization had to be abandoned; but was not necessarily forgotten. (Sherlock and Nettleford 244-252)

By the end of the 1980s, however, although the University had become essentially an administrative controlling center, with large autonomy yielding to the campuses, that second stage was drawing to a close. Although opposition to the idea of political federation remained, the advantages of social and economic collaboration were becoming clearer. A new generation of political leaders, some of them graduates of the UCWI and the early UWI were taking over, and there were signs that the UWI might again be fully acknowledged as the Regional University. But such acknowledgement would depend as much on the quality of the University's performance as on the recognition of the governments supporting it. (Sherlock and Nettleford 222-223, 244-252)

In September 1988 at the beginning of the tenure of Alister McIntyre, the main campus in Mona, Jamaica, was devastated by hurricane Gilbert. This occurred at the time when the university was getting ready to celebrate 40 years of service. The Vice-Chancellor acted immediately to establish a Relief and Development Fund with Her Royal Highness Princess Anne as the International Patron. The aim was to obtain money, not only for the immediate need, but also for the future. He clearly demonstrated that he understood that UWI could not operate as a center of excellence if she had no money. His

efforts were directed toward three major objectives:

1. The improvement of the financial standing of UWI
2. The restoration of staff morale
3. The overhaul of the systems by which the university was governed (Sherlock and Nettleford 257).

Governance, finances, academic and social programs together with a sense of belonging to a community and/or area are major parts of any university system. The UWI experienced problems in all of these areas since it was established. Immediately after the devastating effects of Hurricane Gilbert, the University received financial aid from some unexpected sources and was able to continue operating. Concurrent with that, in the Grand Anse Declaration of the Caribbean Heads of Government meeting in Grenada in July 1989, it was stated that the University of the West Indies should be accorded the status of a regional Institution and that substantial loans would be raised to support a Regional Student Accommodation Project to provide additional halls of residence. Additionally the heads of government agreed to begin to pay off arrears to the UWI (Sherlock and Nettleford 262-272). During this period of the 1990s, all the participating governments and campuses of the university were hard-pressed for cash. In Jamaica, the local currency had fallen in relation to the US dollar and they could not escape its effect on the economy. At St. Augustine, monthly payments were only about half the budgeted amount. At Cave Hill, there was also a serious cash flow problem. In the 1997-98 academic year, following another restructuring of the administrative and governance of the UWI, a new system of budgeting came into operation, that appeared to restore and assure financial stability (Sherlock and Nettleford 262-272).

In 1990, Council had approved a ten-year development plan and the Government of Jamaica had agreed to endorse an application to the International Development Bank (IDB) for a supporting investment loan of US $70 million (Hall 123). By the end of 1991, arrangements for the loan were nearly completed. Fifty-six million US dollars would be made available by the IDB, $10 million by the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), and $4 million from other sources; but the IDB loan would be subject to the liquidation of governments' arrears to the University beginning on August 1, 1991; and the completion of negotiations with the CDB for the US $10 million would be spent principally on distance education development in the non-campus countries (NCCs).

In 1993, the University called its first ever "Gathering of Graduates." Held at Mona, during April 14-18, the Gathering was a grand reunion and international convention of the graduates of the UCWI and the UWI. Derek Walcott, UCWI graduate and winner of the 1992 Nobel Prize in Literature, was guest speaker. The occasion was a success. About 1,500 graduates attended, interest in the University was rekindled, and the Guild of Graduates responded with greater effort in support of the University's search for financial stability (Hall 123-129).

As a result of the Vice-Chancellor's effort, the cooperation of participating governments and the helpful and often generous responses of international funding agencies, foundations and other groups, the University of the West Indies started its 50th year in 1998 with financial stability. The huge arrears of participating governments are almost completely paid up, and a Campus Endowment Fund now strengthens each of the three campuses. The University now earns approximately 25% of its annual budget (and this promises to increase), the participating governments provide 60%, and tuition/fees

from students is about 15%.

As of 2012, the Chancellor is Sir Shridath Ramphal, a Guyanese of Indian heritage/ancestry. The University still receives financial support from the participating nations and recently welcomed Bermuda as a Member State. Its enduring mission is to propel the economic, social, political, and cultural development of West Indian Society through teaching, research, innovators, advisory and community services and intellectual leadership. Finances on the global scene change rapidly and this has been reflected in the Caribbean countries in the 2000s. However, while the Anglophone Caribbean countries struggle with finances, they continue to support the UWI as best as they can, and the students continue to excel.

In a presentation to the special convocation in honor of the 40th anniversary celebration of the UWI, Hon. Shridath Ramphal said

> …The university indeed has owed both its existence and its development to enlightened political leadership…none know better than the Vice-Chancellor of the University how much is owed, in a positive sense, to the Governments of the region. They were in the front line of encounters with West Indians politicians and all would testify to the strength of the ultimate political commitment whatever the turbulences of the time…Beyond the politicians and the University's academic leadership, are the staff and students …from a few hundred in the first ten years to over four thousand in the second decade to some eleven thousand men and women in every walk of professional life and every branch of civic leadership. The region is already greatly in debt of its University…The university has helped to give back to the region a sense of pride and self-knowledge forming and strengthening that belief in ourselves which the political process of decolonization made fully possible… (Sherlock and Nettleford 303-305).

The University of the West Indies is alive and well. A beacon of hope and a source of pride for those of us who claim or have an Anglophone ancestry.

Chapter 7

Other Attempts at Unification

At the turn of the 19th century, the Federation was favored although not achieved. Major Wood (Lord Halifax) was not so optimistic when he visited the West Indies in 1921-22 to investigate the political developments of the Caribbean. In his report he stated:

> The establishment of West Indian political unity is likely to be a plant of slow and tender growth. If any advance in this direction is to be achieved, it can only be as the result of a deliberate demand of local opinion, springing from the realization of the advantages of cooperation under modern world conditions…I am satisfied that, so long as public opinion stands where it does today, it is both inopportune and impracticable to attempt amalgamation of existing units of Government into anything approaching a general federal system (Wood 32).

The most he could recommend was a union between the Windward Islands and Trinidad, but this did not materialize. History has shown Major Wood to have been correct in his forecast. Others also recommended closer union and the British Moyne Commission of 1938 recommended that:

> The principle of Federation in the West Indies, which we regard as the proper ultimate aim of policy should be initiated in a practical form by an amalgamation of the Leeward Islands and Windward Islands (West Indian Royal Commission Report 373).

Throughout the 19th century and to the present time there have been talks, discussions and proposals, both official and unofficial, promoting Federation. The Moyne Commission further reported, “In the political sphere we found a widely canvassed the idea of some form of federation of the West Indies Colonies into a single political unit” (Wood 424). Despite what may be termed widespread appeal among the people and

popular feeling, a federation was not formed until 1958 and ended disastrously in 1962 (Calvocoressi 505-510).

After the demise of the Federation the region launched out to try to create a union through CARIFTA, the *Grenada Declaration* and other entities. At that time, S. S. Ramphal, former Attorney General of Guyana, said:

> I suggest to you that the West Indian Nationhood can be both real and attainable and that to make it so has become a mandate of history to our generation. To the carrying out of that mandate we must bend our energies now without dogma, without preconditions, without unalterable formulae, without non-negotiable positions, with a willingness to search for the right ways and the right means, with patience in persuasion and with tolerance where we fail to persuade, but with a clear and unyielding commitment to the creation of a West Indian Nation (Ramphal, *Nationhood* 2).

Also, at that time, the region appeared to still need some sort of inter-island collaboration. It might not necessarily have been the need for a new government to replace the Federation, but there was a need to fill the void created by the death of that plan. Such a desire gave birth to a few institutions, most of which addressed a functional need. They first attempted to create a union through the Caribbean Free Trade Agreement (CARIFTA) and the Grenada Declaration. This section describes some of those organizations and agencies that were created along with a commentary about the political climate and social ramifications of the time.

CARIFTA

Starting with efforts by Trinidad and Tobago as early as 1963, dialogue continued and culminated in the signing of the Caribbean Free Trade Agreement (CARIFTA) at Dickenson Bay in December, 1965, between Antigua, Barbados and Guyana. By May 1, 1968, the establishment of CARIFTA was on a sound footing, including the participating

countries Antigua, Barbados, Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago. Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent became members on July 1, 1968. Jamaica and Montserrat on August 1, 1968, and much later in May 1971, Belize, the other mainland territory also became a member. (Erisman 60, 62 - 63).

In some respects, it was brought about by the possibility that Caribbean exports would lose their preferential treatment in Great Britain if it joined the European Economic Community. CARIFTA was to allow free trade of goods throughout the region as well as regional cooperation in other areas. Its purpose was to overcome the problems inherent in small economies and to build a market based on the nearly five million inhabitants in the region. The general principles of CARIFTA sought to expand economic cooperation by:

> …eliminating import duties and quotas in intraregional commerce, establishing a Caribbean bank to provide development capital with primary focus on satisfying infrastructural requirements in the area of tourism and agriculture, and organizing the institutional mechanisms necessary to assure that the program proceeded smoothly and efficiently (Thomas, *The Poor* 307).

It seems ironic to me that after the birth and death of the political structure of a Federation (1958-1962), what could not be achieved and was partly the cause of its dissolution in 1962, was established within a period of six years. Even more significant was the fact that most of the participants in the Federation were all very much on the scene. Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. Compton, Prime Minister of St. Lucia, Mr. Bradshaw of St. Kitts, Mr. Cato of St. Vincent, Mr. Gairy of Grenada and Mr. Barrow of Barbados were still very actively involved in the politics of their respective island nations. They argued that regional free trade benefited the more-developed countries (MDCs) such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and

Barbados, because they already possessed substantial industrial bases. The LDCs further feared they would experience increased economic vulnerability at the hands of their larger neighbors. Between 1967 and 1973, in the region as a whole, the "proportion of intra-regional trade to total trade increased from 3% to 5%... then to 9% by 1982" (William G Demas and Jasper Scotland, *Experiences in Regional Integration and Cooperation: The Case of the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM)*. *The Latin American Experience* ed. Altaf Gauhar, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press 1985, 162). More than 90% of the goods traded intra-regionally were free of trade barriers. However, intra-regional trade expanded mostly between MDCs. Trade among the MDCs rose from 60% in 1967 to 69% in 1971. During the same period, trade among LDCs decreased from 1.9% to 1.4%. The unequal distribution of trade caused friction and polarization, and served as fuel for the LDC/MDC dichotomy. As a result the LDCs pushed to deepen integration and force the industrial base to spread throughout the entire region.

Caribbean Development Bank

Several years after CARIFTA's formation, the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) was established to provide support for CARIFTA's activities and help provide investment capital primarily to the islands of smaller size that possessed a narrow resource base. As a sub-regional financial institution, the CDB was supposed to contribute to the harmonious economic growth of member countries and promote economic cooperation and integration in the Caribbean. Jamaica rejected the CDB because the leaders were espousing a more independent path for Jamaica with little tolerance for integration. Another reason is that it perceived the Eastern Caribbean as

more “parochial and inferior” to itself and the other more developed countries (MDCs) (Payne, Anthony, *The Politics of Regional Cooperation in the Caribbean-The Political Economy of Regional Cooperation* 79-80). Fortunately, there was a change in Jamaica’s leadership, which openly embraced regional integration.

Even though CARIFTA was more practical than its predecessor, it still failed to take into account, “the situation of openness and dependence and the problems of poles of growth and stagnation within the region” (Glenn. W. Atkinson– “Economic Integration in the Caribbean Community: A Problem of Institutional Adjustment” - *Journal of Economic Issues* Vol 16 no. 2 June 1982, 508). Likewise, it failed to engage in activities conducive to the pursuit of post-dependency politics. Instead of developing and promoting its bargaining power in relation to the industrialized world, CARIFTA’s activities focused on commerce solely within the Caribbean region. By so doing, CARIFTA precluded the development of post-dependency institutions and organizations capable of acting as agent for collective bargaining with the outside world. Is it not ironic that after the establishment of the political structure of a Federation in 1958, what could not be achieved and was partly the cause of its dissolution in 1962, was established within a short period of six years. Even more significant was the fact that most of the Prime Ministers of St. Lucia, St. Kitts, Trinidad and Tobago, St. Vincent, Barbados and Grenada were all still on the scene.

However, we should have learned by now that the mere establishment of an institution does not necessarily result in the performance of its function. Ramphal had warned that “it is both wise and necessary to draw upon the primary lesson of the Federal experience which is, that we must never again mistake the forms of unity for its substance

(Ramphal, *Nationhood* 6). CARIFTA was meant to be a starting point, and we should have moved on, but we stagnated once again, to my mind, mimicking the fears and actions of the West Indies Federation. It seems that a new fear arose, similar to, and based on those that led to the failure of the Federation.

This is not to say that there has been no progress. There has been a great deal of cooperation on the question of a Common External Tariff. Custom Officers in the region had training courses and have been meeting under the auspices of the Caribbean Secretariat. This has led to the Brussels Tariff Nomenclature, a standardized system for classification of imported goods for statistical and duty determination purposes, being widely accepted as the standard, and which is now in the process of being implemented. However, much more is to be achieved if the group is going to move on to the stage of a customs union. The CARIFTA agreement had clearly set out that studies were to be initiated immediately on the common External Tariff, a uniform duty rate (custom duty) adopted by a common market or trading pact group to be assessed on imports from countries outside that market or group. It accepted the principle of harmonization of fiscal incentives to the region as well as a location of industries policy designed to favor the less developed countries where practicable.

These steps are necessary if capitalists and industrialists are to be met by a unified front, so they could not play one country against the other for better concessions regarding taxes and other regulations. These measures would reduce not only competition among the island states in attracting industries and capital, but frictions over tax concessions on raw materials, thus making their products more competitive. The location-of-industries policy is being resisted, as it is clear that insularity is once again at

work. The attitude of the larger nations is if we can have it, why allow it to go to a smaller country? Delay is very dangerous too. As time passes, failure to implement these plans is causing frustration, resentment and animosity among the territories. Charges of fraud and deliberate profiteering are being leveled by member territories against each other, providing the breeding ground for dissolution. In an uncharacteristic and depressed vein, Ramphal writes:

> We have not agreed on a common external tariff. We have not even agreed that we are ready to discuss the report on it. We have not reached agreement on regional industries or on a location of industries policy. We have not reached agreement on the harmonization of fiscal incentives; we have failed singularly to establish a regional carrier of the Caribbean, much less to maintain and improve it. What is disappointing, what is disturbing, is that there is not good reason to believe that agreement will be reached on any of these matters within the foreseeable future (Ramphal 18-19)

In some quarters of the Caribbean Secretariat where it is expressed that the big countries such as Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago are prepared to move upward in keeping with CARIFTA, it appears that the smaller territories are holding up progress. Whichever is the case, the delay produced wide divergence in economic policies that are likely to mitigate against closer union. While CARIFTA was credited for bringing the Caribbean countries together and for strengthening their bargaining position, the common consensus was that greater co-ordination in the region was necessary.

The next attempt occurred in 1973 when, with the signing of the Treaty of Chaguramas, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) replaced CARIFTA (CARICOM Secretariat). CARICOM was established not only to promote economic development of each single member state and the region as a whole, but the enhancement of the effective sovereignty of the member states of the region and the self-determination of its people

and allowed national governments to pursue their respective policies within a regional framework (Demas, William G., Essays on Caribbean Integration and Development, Mona; Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) 1967, 117). According to the Treaty of Chaguaramas, the goals of regional integration were "to change the centuries old pattern of dependent underdevelopment in the Caribbean countries…" (Demas and Scotland 11). The Treaty was intended to provide a realistic framework for regional development, in conjunction with realistic self-reliance and integration by focusing on region specific challenges. Agencies engaged in functional cooperation and provided services on a pooled and regional level. By integrating key areas of policy, beginning with economic integration through a free trade regime, then a common market, integration would affect other areas. The spillover process would increase the tasks and power of the central institutions, and would gradually encroach on politically sensitive areas, and foster growth of the political community (Moore 152).

CARICOM was established during the time when Britain decided to join the European Community. With the change in status, the dichotomy of interests between the lesser and more developed countries became evident. The former, dissatisfied with the unequal distribution of benefits that accompanied CARIFTA, were willing to join the European Community as British dependencies under a "Part IV arrangement" (Byron, J. "CARICOM in the Post- Cold War Era: Regional Solutions or Continued Regional Contradictions." *Working Papers series No. 178* Institute of Social Studies, August 1999, 5). Had they followed through on this plan of action, the regional integration movement would have been forever weakened and irreparably damaged. As such, CARICOM evolved as a much-negotiated compromise, intending to preserve a fragile unity in the

region.

Those countries (LDCs) were able to obtain concessions they hoped would help their development and put them on a more even footing with the MDCs. Furthermore, the smaller countries of the Eastern Caribbean were able to develop their own economic and political subgroup within CARICOM over the following ten years. They signed the Treaty of Basseterre and thus established the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) in 1981. (The OECS countries are Antigua, Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and the British Virgin Islands. They are all LDCs.) After the development of the OECS, the small countries of the Eastern Caribbean were able to expand their administrative capabilities, promote cooperation among its members and enhance their bargaining power within CARICOM and internationally. The creation of the OECS led to a multi-layered system of regional integration which enabled CARICOM to accommodate varying degrees of integration and cooperation in the region. CARICOM had good/great initial achievements. Yet, its size posed a problem. In spite of that, CARICOM managed to acquire the ability to function as a mechanism for initiating and implementing collective bargaining in the global arena. To achieve market integration, Caribbean countries would have to remove barriers to intra-regional trade and establish a common external tariff and protective trade policies. There was also no common market, the main reason being that there was no explicit commitment to the free flow of factors of production (Ramsaran, 170).

Unlike its predecessors, CARICOM represented the highest degree of economic integration and cooperation in the English-speaking Caribbean and was able to establish a

common external tariff, a harmonized system of fiscal incentives for industry, double taxation and tax-sparing agreements, and the formation of a Caribbean Investment Corporation (CIC) designed to channel equity funds to the LDCs (Hope 25).

The establishment of CARICOM coincided with the international oil crisis, which affected the Caribbean region and the world as a whole. As the only oil and natural gas producing Caribbean country, Trinidad and Tobago was the only Caribbean country that benefited from the world oil crisis. Unfortunately, the other Caribbean countries were experiencing severe budgetary and balance of payment problems. The cost of living increased and the only corrective measure available to regional governments included, raising taxes, increasing import restrictions and exchange controls, and subsidizing essential consumer goods.

To alleviate some of the strain on their domestic economies that resulted from the oil crisis, regional governments borrowed heavily from external sources. Between 1975 and 1980, Jamaica's borrowing increased from $160 million to $1.421 billion dollars. Guyana's borrowing rose from $83 million to $571 million, and Barbados' borrowing increased from $101 million to $712 million (*World Bank Debt Tables*, Wash. D.C. vol. 2 1988-89, 89-90 and 90-2000). Likewise, the decline in intra-regional trade had several causes. Partial blame was apportioned to Jamaica and Guyana. In an attempt to deal with the balance of payment crisis that resulted from the rise in oil prices, falling commodity prices, production problems at home, and an international recession, they imposed restrictions on imports from other CARICOM countries. Article 28 of the Treaty of Chaguaramas provided that a member state could impose quantitative restrictions on regional imports to safeguard their balance of payment positions (Ramsaran 173). The

actions of Jamaica and Guyana were severely criticized. In retaliation, Trinidad and Tobago implemented its own trade restrictions. The oil crisis exemplified how fragile and susceptible the Caribbean region is to external influence. It also served to open wounds that were not healed completely since their first attempt at integration with West Indies Federation. The pain of the failed West Indies Federation keeps raising its ugly head in some unlikely places and is probably the one major factor preventing another total political and economic union.

CARICOM further strived to create the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ), another attempt of unification. The CCJ is the legal arm of the Caribbean Single Market Economy (CSME) charged with the responsibility of interpreting and applying the treaty that established the CSME. The CCJ will ultimately determine how the CSME functions and it will have exclusive jurisdiction in its application, and will strive to make sure that the laws of the CSME are uniform and predictable. The major issues of funding, expertise of judges, and independence from national institutions and politics are major concerns to CARICOM members. Today, the Caribbean Court of Justice only acts as the final court of appeal for Barbados and Guyana though it is housed in Trinidad.

Regional Development Bank

One major development and attempt at financial unification came with the creation of the Regional Development Bank. The Regional Development Bank established in late 1970 is expected to be the instrument of major assistance to the smaller territories. This has been one of the major achievements of CARIFTA. However, the bank attracted a great deal of attention, outside the traditional Caribbean area, and is

likely to be used as an instrument of influence. The applications of Columbia and Venezuela for admission to the bank, and their subsequent acceptance are important developments. They decided not to draw on the Bank for the first five years, and in any event, not to apply to draw greater than their contributions. One wonders at such a gesture. It is clear that Columbia will not immediately, or in the foreseeable future, benefit from such participation, and commitment in these times cannot be viewed as an act of altruism and would be viewed with suspicion. Venezuela's role is much the same, but this development was envisaged by Ramphal after suggestions to broaden the Regional Development Bank. He had this to say:

> *Suffice it to say at this point, that in moving in a direction which dilutes the intimacy of the Association, by introducing at this formative stage States that bring to it totally different social, political and constitutional norms, a new language, a new culture and new methods of operation, we must in the nature of things enormously increase the difficulties of securing consensus for our joint progress upward toward an economic community* (Ramphal, *Nationhood* 11).

Finally, there was taking place a lateral development in the form of the EASTERN CARIBBEAN COMMON MARKET comprised of the Associated States and this came into effect on July 1, 1968. The members resolved to ensure, by common action, economic and social development of their countries by eliminating barriers that divided them. This program provided for member States to amend their tariffs to a mutually agreed level within three years. Also there was to be freedom of movement. Obstacles to the freedom were to be removed within the said time. They also agreed to harmonize incentives to industry and establish a common policy toward movement and capital. At the time of the Federation, one of its goals was national independence. All the units, except Montserrat, but including those which did not join the Federation, namely,

Guyana and Belize (British Honduras), have all reached that goal. In the case of the smaller territories, "the state of semi-independence," has tried to fill the breach.

One wonders if the change of status to independence or statehood made any change in approach and attitudes. I think it is fair to say that it has. The experiences of the defunct Federation are still fresh in West Indian minds—an episode to be forgotten, a time when we paraded our conflicts, insularities, and fears for all the world to see. Have the lessons been learned? This is a difficult question, as we seem to take three steps forward and two steps backward. Optimism and a sense of great hope followed CARIFTA, Grenada Declaration, etc., only to be dashed by subsequent expressed fears, denouncements and vacillation. If we can measure progress by the establishment and maintenance of CARIFTA, then we may say that some of the lessons were learned and some progress has been made. However, CARIFTA is not an end in itself; it is just a second stage development along a road leading to an economic community. The fact that we have been wavering at this point so long shows a great deal of inconsistency. The view of Forbes Burnham, the former Prime Minister of Guyana, was that "CARIFTA contemplates much more than a free trade area. For a free trade area cannot stand still. It must either move on to a higher level of economic unity or disintegrate" (Burnham 249-250). This statement is important to remember. However, this is going somewhat ahead. National independence and associated statehood forced the Caribbean to face the stark realities of the international scene. The position was beautifully expressed as follows:

> When communities of millions with ancient traditions of sovereignty feel it necessary to combine in order to survive, communities whose populations must be counted in tens rather than in hundreds of thousands must inevitably pause before entering the international jungle clad only in the loincloth of national independence. (Ramphal, *Nationhood* 11).

The same writer elaborated on what I would term "dependence in independence," referring to the position of leaders of new states:

> But it does not take its leader long to recognize that the modus operandi of the international system deprives these guarantees of much of their practical content: that political independence, is a Shibbaleth without economic strength and economic independence and that equality of status even in the UN Organization, is more formal than real save on those rare occasions when important issues are decided not by consensus of major powers but by votes of the Assembly – and even then some States vote under peril of reprisal. (Ramphal, *Dialogue* 13).

No doubt, this awareness of the practical economic issues of independence or statehood, coupled with their experience of a federation, produced the desire for economic integration. This view is supported by Alister Hughes who stated, "necessity drove us into CARIFTA, but we are still unable to see ourselves as one people and this economic union has become an instrument which emphasizes our division." He went on to say "We continue our perilous individuality when larger, richer countries seek unity. For our own sake, may our eyes be opened before it is too late…" (Hughes, *Lost Opportunity* 4).

This section dealt with the background and a socio-political analysis of the agencies and organizations named herein. They were all established in the years after the demise of the West Indies Federation, and continue to be alive in 2012 in spite of the political and/or economic climate of the world. As stated earlier, they appear to me, as attempts to fill the practical needs of the island nations at that time and even today. It is indeed remarkable that they are still functioning with offices and headquarters in different countries. For example, the headquarters of CARICOM-the CARICOM SECRETARIAT-is located in Guyana. The CCJ is housed in Trinidad, but the judges and legal personnel are citizens of different islands. It might appear simplistic to say- since

these two and the others continue to function- why it was not possible for the West Indies Federation to do so. One might also ask why the West Indies Federation couldn't be alive today when cooperation and unification appear to thrive in spite of the political and economic climate of the times.

Chapter 8

Failure to Unify

In this study I have presented data, facts and figures about the West Indian Federation, the Caribbean Examination Council, the West Indies Cricket team, the University of the West Indies and others. My original intent was to examine those entities and reflect on the failure of the Federation while pointing out that the others thrived and flourished. The connecting thread of all the entities is identity. We must bear in mind that the one entity that failed was a political union. The others, although couched in economic, social or cultural forms, certainly have political overtones.

Creating one Anglophone united Caribbean "state" is not an easy task in light of the region's history, geography, cultural diversity and economic strengths and weaknesses. Each country is affected in a different way by extra-regional and international forces. At present in 2012, it seems that all Caribbean leaders and a large number of other interested groups regard federation as a thing of the past. Efforts immediately after the demise of the federation to foster a "little eight" and other regional political organizations have always failed. Within the past decade, various parties have tried to form some regional political grouping of the Windward Islands including Prime Minister Manning's initiatives, but all have come to naught.

The *Grenada Declaration* in 1971 was one of those attempts at integration that I found interesting and spoke directly to the need for a strong regional identity and integration. With the demise of the West Indies Federation in 1962, another plan was conceived under the auspices of the *Grenada Declaration* of 1971. At the time, the only

marginal unit was Trinidad and Tobago, which seemed torn between a desire to participate and a need to be cautious following her previous experiences. Thus, Trinidad and Tobago was the only unit over which some doubt existed and therefore needed to be courted. Even if the Declaration had been announced immediately, Trinidad and Tobago and any other unit that cared to join could have left the door open for later admissions. There was, therefore, in my view, no need to delay the plans. Delay had been a problem for West Indian unity in the past and seemed destined to be repeated. West Indians have been described as a nation of talkers but action was needed. As Honourable Forbes Burnham, the then Prime Minister of Guyana said, "Suffice it to say that discussion, argument, rhetoric and semantics without follow-up action, have served only to disguise the failure to act" (Burnham 246).

What was the nature of the *Grenada Declaration*? It outlined a commitment to West Indian political unity and provided for the appointment of a Preparatory Commission by November 30, 1971. This commission was to be established, if possible, within the Commonwealth Caribbean Regional Secretariat. The members of the Commission were to be nominated by participating territories; the Chairman was to be selected by agreement. They were not to make political decisions, and questions of policy were to be referred to a Council of Ministers drawn from the participating territories. The Declaration also provided that once there was agreement on the Constitution, it would be the aim of participating territories to secure the necessary Parliamentary approval for the establishment of the new State, after which elections would be held throughout the State, assuming that to be the decided agreement. The Declaration was signed by the Honorable P. O. Le Blanc, Premier of Dominica; Honorable E. M. Gairy, Premier of Grenada (he

chaired the proceedings); Honorable L.F.S. Burnham, Prime Minister of Guyana; Honorable R. L. Bradshaw, Premier of St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla; Honorable J. G. M. Compton, Premier of St, Lucia; Honorable P. M. Cato, Premier of St. Vincent.

As was agreed at the conference, follow up action was to be taken by the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Caribbean Secretariat. However, there were no responses to telegrams sent to the Prime Ministers of Barbados and Jamaica, and this was interpreted by the organizers as a rebuff. A reminder was dispatched to all Heads of Governments on October 9, 1971, inviting a written reply to the Secretary-General, before October 31, 1971, stating their positions.

On October 29, 1971, the Premier of Belize replied that it was not possible at this stage for Belize to participate, but gave its blessing to the grouping as it seemed eminently sensible. On the same day, the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago issued a statement, indicating an irrevocable commitment to the goal of economic and political unity in the Caribbean as stated in the Chaguaramas Declaration. However, he could not commit to the plan, since he needed the fullest possible consultation with the people of Trinidad and Tobago. The Trinidad and Tobago Government nevertheless pledged its form and unyielding support to the cause, offered $15,000 (TT) toward the cost of a preparatory commission and provided a technocrat to assist in its work. (*Minutes of proceedings of the Grenada Declaration–Report of the Secretary General of the Caribbean Community Secretariat*, Georgetown, Guyana, The Caribbean Community Secretariat (CARICOM), 1971)

One wonders if this response did not indicate resentment for failure to involve most of them at the inception of the plan. Despite this attitude from the non-signatory

governments, I believe there was much about which to be optimistic. At least Trinidad and Tobago had given its blessing. By and large, the unification movement was seen as sensible and propitious. Sir Arthur Lewis, historian and former Chancellor of UWI, had considered poor leadership to be one of the two major factors contributing to the failure of the First West Indies Federation, and it seems that history repeated itself. It is my opinion that Prime Minister Eric Gairy of Grenada did irreparable harm to the integration movement when the *Grenada Declaration* was published. His pronouncements were both premature and unnecessary. Even if he had grave doubts at the time, he should have behaved as a statesman and given the partners in the venture an opportunity to discuss their problems and try to work out a satisfactory compromise. Here again, history was repeated. This sort of open diplomacy is what Sir Arthur Lewis described as a "lack of understanding of the principles of social intercourse between equals" (W. Arthur Lewis 8).

As a result of their actions, a Special Heads of Governments meeting was held in Georgetown, Guyana on November 8, 1971, to review developments relating to the *Declaration of Grenada*. The meeting was attended by four Heads of Governments from Dominica, Guyana, St. Vincent and St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla and a representative Minister from Grenada. St. Lucia did not attend. The meeting rightly expressed the view that:

> They regretted the public statements attributed to the Heads of Governments of two signatory states subsequent to the publication of the Declaration and prior to the convening of the Meeting and more particularly those statements which called in question the good faith of signatory Governments. They reaffirmed that the Heads of Government signing the Declaration did so unconditionally and in full recognition of the fact that other Commonwealth Caribbean countries might not have acceded to the Declaration either initially or at all. (Press Release No.

49/1971, 1-2)

During the meeting the Secretary-General was able to inform them that Barbados had expressed regret to subscribe to the *Grenada Declaration 1971*, stating that the Government felt that Commonwealth Caribbean efforts and energy should be concentrated on regional economic integration and political association might follow later. The four remaining countries decided, despite these setbacks, to continue their commitment to political unity.

There is no doubt that both Prime Ministers Gairy and Compton did a great disservice to the cause of West Indian political unity and in the words of the Press Release:

> The public expressions of doubt and of repudiation attributed to the two signatory states had strengthened the forces of reaction within and without the Region who work continuously against the advancement of effective West Indian unity and who are resistant to change in the social, political and economic status quo. To this extent, these expressions have impaired progress under the Declaration—even though they cannot altogether frustrate its purposes (Press Release No. 49/1971, 2-3).

The last sentence expresses some hope, though it seems that the forces of reaction succeeded in halting the integration movement. This latest move toward West Indian unity expressed in the Grenada Declaration appeared to be the West Indian "Waterloo." Remembering the words of C. L. R. James:

> If we are indeed a Nation, at some future stage, there will arise new politics and new politicians. Until they arrive, we have to put up with what we have. Obviously everywhere the people now look upon those political anachronisms and misfits with doubt, suspicion and a growing anger.
>
> There is another aspect to this when "we either move to union, to unity, or we perish as a people (James, *Federation* 3).

In the 2000s, the present state of development of the Caribbean area displays both frustrating and illogical features. There is every reason for us to unite fully in economic

terms. We are small units on a world scene which is moving constantly into ever larger units. It would seem that in the future what was predicted by George Orwell in his book *1984* may yet be fulfilled. We are witnessing expansion: European Economic Community, the now defunct Warsaw Pact countries, the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group (ACP) and overtures by the powerful United States and its satellite organization—the Organization of American States. How can we hope to stay out of this worldwide movement toward larger and more powerful economic blocs? It is not only in economic terms that this unification process is evidenced. Since the creation of the United States, federation of various forms have been the vogue, and it seems that in the not too distant future, economic unity will be meaningless without political unity. In any event, it seems a very natural development. On every score, therefore, there is a strong argument for unification of these tiny states for their survival. Will this be achieved? Facing the hard facts and not allowing emotion to corrupt a conclusion, the answer would appear to be no, at least not in the near future. At this point in time, the world has seen a lot of changes that might be having an impact on the unification of the Anglophone Caribbean/West Indies. It is no small caveat that the Soviet Union broke up and Eastern Europe has experienced nationalism, sometimes extreme, employing ethnic cleansing. It is my opinion that people in the West Indies are not so far removed that they are unaware of what is happening on the world stage. While the European money market is experiencing difficulties with the EURO, one of the things that the Anglophone Caribbean will have to face with unification is that of common currency. For those who are committed to a West Indian union, the *Grenada Declaration* proved a non-starter. It is hoped that we must either proceed to union with confidence or remain as individual states. It is my opinion

that political and social factors must be seriously taken into account in order to achieve regional integration in the Caribbean. Also, institutional changes must challenge the existing socio-economic bases in order for any policy innovations to be effective. As the region has entered the 21st century, the countries of the Anglophone Caribbean need to strive toward creating their own opportunities, and restructure their economies in a way that will foster competition, and smaller countries should have the ability to participate in more regional decision-making. To my mind, the political landscape at this time does not appear to champion the cause to include countries such as Haiti, Cuba, the Netherlands Antilles and any Latin American countries that show an interest in becoming a member in any of the aforementioned entities. This is important because in order to give the Caribbean strength in unity and expand, wider participation is needed. If things continue the way they are, Caribbean union remains a dream. Furthermore, CARICOM and the institutions that have the ability to make integration happen are in need of human, technical and financial resources.

Chapter 9

Conclusions and Reflections

An article titled, “West Indian Unity is threatened,” highlighted a most important aspect of what the bond is between West Indians, and why we should feel as one.

> Traveling from one end of the Commonwealth Caribbean to the other, we are all at home with one another, the similarities are great and are unequalled among any group of people. This oneness has contributed to our history of association with Great Britain under one flag. We were all tied politically and economically to the same mother country. It is therefore not surprising that we built up the same institutions. No matter how splintered we now appear, the emotional ties common to the West Indians will somehow win out. The case for West Indian unity at all levels is as strong if not stronger today (Hughes, *Guyana Evening Post, April 1976*).

What of the Federation which was set up between 1958 and 1962? A great deal has been written on the West Indian Federation and its demise, including the causes. The list of ifs, ands, and buts was never ending and was partly the reason that the march toward Federation dragged out over ten years. Despite all this, there was some optimism when the Federation was finally launched. It came formally into existence on January 3, 1958, when Governor-General Lord Hailes was sworn in.

At the beginning of this dissertation I stated that I was going to focus on collective identity and attempts at unification in the Anglophone Caribbean. One of the entities, the West Indies Federation failed. The others, the West Indies Cricket Team, the University of the West Indies and the Caribbean Examination Council survived. It is my premise that the Federation failed because it was a political arrangement and the others survived because they were more cultural than political. Along the way, I looked at other attempts at unification that had political overtones but also survived because their

structure and function were more cultural than political.

In this chapter I conclude the dissertation by evaluating the success or failure of the Caribbean Examinations Council, the West Indies Cricket team and the University of the West Indies with respect to attempts at collective identity and unification based on political and cultural initiatives. I will show that the appropriateness of the content of the Caribbean Examination Council did a lot to foster a sense of pride and accomplishment in the students, changed the educational landscape, made education relevant and at the same time forged an identity. I will also summarize the other material to show that indeed cultural factors did play an important role in the longevity of the Cricket team, and the University of the West Indies and education and culture go hand in hand with the life/survival of the Anglophone Caribbean people.

However, this had to be viewed in the context of the participating units where there was great disparity in size and population. Formulae had to be worked out to reconcile representation in the Federal Parliament, conflicting demands on customs union, immigration, income tax, industrial development, and other major issues. It appeared as though none of the parties wanted to exchange a cordial give and take. The smaller islands and each island government wanted to retain and maintain control of its particular island's affairs. The Federation was wracked by struggles among the governments, the two largest member islands - Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago - and the smaller islands.

At the inauguration of the Governor- General, Lord Hailes there was the usual round of speeches by the leaders of delegation. Perhaps the theme in Mr. Manley’s speech of “feeling our way slowly,” a line which he had taken consistently since the

London conference of 1956, did not make the impression it should have. He stated that in its first years the Federation would have to move cautiously and slowly. The first years would largely be years of planning and laying foundation (Mordecai 75).

Professor Arthur Lewis later supported this cautious approach and expressed the view that any start, no matter how limited, was better than no start. He felt that with the experience of the working Federal institutions, the powers of the Federal Government would be enlarged as the situation demanded (Lewis, *Agony 75*). The speech during the inauguration of Parliament was couched in the most cautious and conciliatory terms, which was in the spirit of both the constitution and the feelings of the persons who represented the various governments forming the union. The aims were expressed as arranging economic field surveys and analyzing developmental plans and resources, to study housing conditions and formulate regional plans among other things. The speech gave no cause of alarm. This approach was short-lived as the parsimony of the federal budget soon forced the Prime Minister, Sir Grantley Adams, to make some rash and undesirable decisions and statements that drove a wedge between himself and Dr. Williams and Norman Manley. This started with the issue over the site of the Federal Capital, Chaguramas, followed by the Jamaica oil refinery issue. The government officials also exposed themselves to much criticism when they voted themselves increases in their personal income and allowances, in spite of their expressed concern about the limited funds at their disposal. The motion, made by Mr. Ken Hill of the opposition, calling for a review of the federal constitution was the beginning of the end. This was followed by a steady decline in relationships among the officials in the Federal Government.

The opposition in Jamaica took advantage of Adams' position as second choice to Manley and leveled charges of "backseat driving," which added fuel to the fire of discord. This led to a very strained situation, which worked to the benefit of the opposition. At election time in Jamaica, Mr. Manley had little choice but to campaign for the opposition. Eventually, on a visit to London in January in 1960, Britain gave Mr. Manley assurance that they would not block Jamaica from opting out of the Federation. Further, it would seem that Jamaica received assurance that she could move on to independence, separate from the Federation. This, above all else, could have led to the destruction of the Federation. Bearing in mind that the accepted theory at the time was that only through Federation could independence be achieved, the members were prepared to make some form of sacrifice to achieve that goal. When it was seen that the goal could be achieved without Federation and its complications, it must have held some attraction. The Lancaster House Conference, which was held in London on May 31st, 1961, to consider the independence for the Federation, started on a confident note, but ended with what seems like the death knell for the Federation. The conference ended in disarray with continued plans for a limited or restricted Federation. To some, this was better than nothing, to others it was nothing. However, what was more significant was the final split between Manley and Williams (Mordecai 377). Subsequently, under pressure from the opposition, a decision was made to hold a referendum on the issue of secession. The result of the referendum was in favor of secession, and heralded the beginning of the end (of the Federation). The date, which should have been the West Indies Federation's independence, instead saw its collapse.

In his epilogue to *The West Indies, the Federal Negotiations*, Sir Arthur Lewis

outlined a long list of errors, which if avoided MIGHT have saved the Federation, but this is all conjecture. Sir Arthur, himself, identified leadership in the Federation as the crucial factor and described it as ineffective. How did these highly intelligent men, devoted to Federation, come to make so many errors? Lewis identified two major counts: 1) a failure to understand the nature of a Federation, and 2) a lack of understanding of the principles of social intercourse between equals.

These are some of the points that K.C. Wheare has identified as crucial in his book, *Federal Government*. I tend to agree with him and wonder if we can truly say that these three brilliant and highly educated men, Williams, Manley and Adams, lacked understanding of what they were getting into. It appears to me that as a people, we intellectually accept the idea of federation, but emotionally fear it. I believe the answer also lies in the lack of communication. At the time, the jealousies of the various positions, fear of the larger countries, lack of confidence and commitment to a relationship and culture, and the great fear of the unknown. Finally:

> the leader is unwilling to give up his position of importance in his small society possibly for one of lesser importance in a large society. Moreover, he bases his position on the personal allegiance of his followers. He is not in a large scale society. Therefore while accepting the idea of integration, he is in practice unwilling to make it a reality (Robinson 41).

The leaders of the Federation were intelligent men who surely understood the ramifications of the system. I believe they were divided between loyalty to the idea of federation and loyalty to their particular country/nation for which each was a leader. Whilst willing to promote a Federation, they were afraid to pay the price of giving up small or large issues during the give and take of negotiations required to make the federation work. There is no doubt that the failure of the Federation resulted from

numerous mistakes in leadership, diplomacy and tactics. There was no commitment by the leaders and no give and take. Insularity ruled the day. One example of failure in unification lies in the fact that since the demise of the Federation, the emphasis has been on "functionalism," to create common institutions such as the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ), CARIFTA, and CARICOM. They have all suffered from varying amounts of support and enthusiasm on the part of groups and nations. The CCJ only acts as the final court of appeal for Barbados and Guyana, though it is housed in Trinidad.

The University of the West Indies is a pillar of education that has served to uplift Caribbean society. It has survived with financial and other support from the island nations. When the University moved from being a college within the University of London, to a self-standing and self-supporting academic institution, it took a major step in showing the world that it had something to offer. As such, it became and continues to be an example of successful collective identity in the West Indies. They have also established off-site campuses in other islands, offering the opportunity for a college/ university education without always having to move away from home. Most of the graduates are functioning well within their communities, but the university has experienced financial and other crises. There have been times when government could not, or did not pay their financial apportionments in order to keep the institution solvent, yet it did not collapse, and there were other times when government and others paid what they were supposed to and kept the ship of education afloat. It is not unusual to hear someone say, referring to UWI, "You, Wee" and "I" have to support it with pride.

The Caribbean Examinations Council is the baby of the triumvirate. It came into existence at a time when the region was crying out for change in many areas. It has

survived for more than thirty years and is an example of a successful unification around the common goal of education in the region. It has been sustained and expanded, in spite of the general tendency to fragment. This study, relevant to CXC, parallels one of Schnieder and Coleman's (1993) findings: That African American parents participate in activities that directly benefit their children. I have again taken the liberty of expanding "African-American" to "Anglophone Caribbean." It is my opinion that the people, parents, governments, teachers, and others who participated in the establishment of CXC continue to support it because they see the direct and immediate impact it has on the lives of their children and communities.

There is little doubt, that C. L. R. James was correct in identifying cricket as a major bulwark against social and political changes in the English-speaking Caribbean (James, *Federation* 5). In Barbados and the other colonies, until 1914 at least, the colonial elites established a cultural primacy through cricket as much as through money and political position. These elites of society established and maintained their positions by setting up their values, traditions and standards which were accepted by the populace at large as the cultural program most appropriate to the community, even though the bulk of the community had no access to the institutions that inculcated the program. One main reason for the important place held by cricket was the significance of the game to the imperial power itself. Cricket and its associated moral code were regarded in two specific lights by the Caribbean elites: as a means of forging a close cultural bond with the imperial power, and as a means of establishing themselves as the arbiters and agents of that imperial philosophy within their own social and political environment. Consequently, agencies such as the church and elite schools became as important in the

Caribbean as they had been in England in fostering the skills and social traditions which carried in them the imperial messages of cricket. The feats of the cricketing and social elite were cheered on by the masses, who shared a belief in the social importance of the game, if not access to its playing arenas. The controllers of cricket were quick to point out that Caribbean crowds appreciated fine play, irrespective of teams, sportsmanship, courage and temperament, the essential qualities of imperial cricket ideology. Although the crowds were noisy and demonstrative, the elites interpreted this as only to be expected, coming as it did from the descendants of excitable Africans and mixed blood population: "Indeed it was considered a testament to the social power of cricket that such crowds were not even more noisy and demonstrative" (Beckles and Stoddard 26). In all aspects of Caribbean cricket that the colonial elites' hold, organization and philosophy were deep-seated, with ramifications into political, commercial and cultural life.

The West Indies Cricket team is the oldest of the entities presented in this dissertation. It continues to hold a respected place in the hearts of the people of the Anglophone Caribbean. Most people do not remember or care to know of its negative history as it relates to the British. They enjoy the feeling of pride and joy associated with watching or participating in such an interesting game and the opportunity to socialize with friends and family while enjoying this regional pastime. The team represents a successful collective identity and unification. The members hail from different West Indian nations and Guyana. They even compete against each other in inter-island competition. However, when the West Indian Cricket Board selects a team, the members become a unified front and enjoy victory or defeat as such.

Throughout this work, I have sought to look at the Anglophone Caribbean/West

Indies by viewing attempts at collective identity and unification based on political and cultural initiatives. I have used previously published and analyzed data as well as material from literature, and my own personal thoughts and experiences. I relied heavily on the available published data and used them to formulate my own personal assessment. The choice of material, my own emphasis/bias and conclusions are no doubt colored by the fact that I am a product of the West Indies culture I attempted to analyze.

Future research in the area of regional integration, unity and/or identity should be done by sociocultural scientists and should focus on a common currency, regional health care, indigenous popular culture and education. I would have liked to include more about the effect and the message of indigenous popular culture, including religion and its influence. Even a scant knowledge of West Indian and African culture shows what a potent force religion is and can be on the lives of people. Both the orthodox and the newer, fast-growing unorthodox churches and sects have spread their wings of influence and impact on the lives of the people. Essentially, the impact of religion as expressed in its various forms is an area that would no doubt bear fruitful study even beyond the parameters of this paper. Further research is also needed in the areas of a common currency (similar to the EURO), the education system, and the larger society. Although I have discussed CXC and UWI, I am aware that a great deal more attention needs to be focused on things as they are happening today. There is a very good and detailed five-year plan for UWI into 2012, but at this time, there is no material available to show what started in 2007 and where things are now. This is also true of CXC and the cricket team as well as plans to federate or not.

One of the areas of frustration encountered in traveling from one country to

another is the impact of a common currency. Gone are the days when, as British colonies, we had the privilege of using the British pound wherever we went. Today, in 2012 the Guyanese dollar is not worth much (if anything) in Barbados and both the Barbadian and Guyanese dollar are worth different amounts when exchanged for the U.S. dollar. Some sort of common currency, similar to the EURO deserves research.

There is no organized plan for regional health care and further research and planning is needed regarding the inadequacy of regional health care. The University of the West Indies has a medical school that trains doctors, nurses and other health care professionals. At this point in time there is no facility that is identified as the regional place for cardiac care, thoracic surgery or sports medicine. For example, persons who have extremely serious cardiac problems could be sent to the Regional Cardiac Care hospital in Jamaica. Others with thoracic problems could be treated in Guyana, and serious orthopedic problems have a facility in Trinidad. At the moment patients who fall into any of those categories, have to travel to the USA, Canada or England in order to receive any kind of care that is beyond the scope of their homeland. If there were regional centers established in the neighboring island nations, treatment would be faster and cheaper.

Political scientist, Gordon Lewis once said, “only an economically and politically integrated Caribbean could maximize the sub-region’s economic and political power, and provide insulation against its provincial divisions” (G. K. Lewis, *Growth* 343). More than four decades later, there seems to be little movement in spite of the various entities that have made strides in that direction. In spite of the sentimentality attached to the idea of Caribbean unity, CARICOM needs to present practical and tangible gains through an

increase in intra-regional trade, and clear the hurdles that block the region from achieving the political integration it so badly needs. Widespread education of the people is essential in making the Anglophone people aware of why integration is so necessary, and how it is so essential to development on all levels.

In spite of the social, political and other events in the world that might have affected them, then and now, the West Indies Cricket Team (WINDIES) has remained an institution reflective of unity in the Caribbean. During the time of the Federation, Frank Worrell was the captain of the team. As the Federation fell apart, it could have easily destroyed the team, if the focus was taken off the politics of the federation and redirected onto a team that had members from countries that were also part of the troubled Federation. Frank Worrell was a Barbadian by birth. Erroll Barrow, the first Premier of the Federation, was also a Barbadian. There were members of the team who were from Trinidad and Jamaica. It was the trouble between the Prime Ministers of those two countries that led to the crisis and eventually, the dissolution of the West Indies Federation. One or all of the politicians involved could have easily found a way to withdraw support from the team and possibly dissolve it. Also the individual members of the team could have shown resentment to their captain and other team members, thus destroying the unified team. According to group dynamics, groups are as strong as their weakest links. In this case, if there were any areas of dissatisfaction or the taking of sides in the decision to end the Federation, these did not affect the group. They were not playing as Barbadians, Jamaicans, Guyanese, Trinidadians or Grenadians. They were playing as a group - the WINDIES- and the West Indies Cricket Board of Control (WICBC) remained focused on the team rather than on the politics of discord which

demolished the Federation. At that point in time, the region was struggling for its own sense of political independence and cultural identity, and having a cricket team which was made up of members from the various island nations and at the top of their game was indeed a unifying force. Apart from the politics of the region, the WICB continued to play an influential role in the management of the team. It was the WICB that continued to select the members and also decided the tournaments and scheduled the activities in which the team participated. The WICB has representatives from the different countries. The primary focus is to create a winning side because if the team is not victorious it reflects poorly on all of the countries. That is reason enough for cricket to help to bring and keep the region together.

At the start of this paper, I set out to look at whether or not unity was possible, or whether it can be accomplished and maintained both politically and culturally. In the end, I conclude that three institutions that worked toward unification have survived and developed into themselves, but have failed to bring about unification. Unity is a work in progress with no clear prognosis as to how, when or even if it will ever become a reality.

Appendix A

How the Game is Played

In cricket, a team is called a "side." Each side consists of eleven players. Teams are usually referred to as a New York eleven or "side," or an England eleven or "side." Two teams of eleven players each face each other on a huge grassy oval, often as large as a football field, in the center of which lies the cricket "pitch." The pitch is a closely cropped area, occasionally covered by a mat, 22 feet by 5 feet, at either end of which stands a wicket. A wicket is three vertical stumps connected at the top by two horizontal pieces called bails. The batsman and bowler face each other from opposite ends of the pitch, standing in front of the wickets in areas demarcated by lines called creases (popping creases, bowling creases, and return creases) (James, *Beyond* xvii). The distance between them is about the same as that between a baseball pitcher and batter. Rules specify where each must stand while throwing or batting and which parts of the body may extend beyond the crease when doing so. The boundary is the line that encircles the perimeter of the entire playing field. Across the field are placed in designated positions, members of the fielding or bowling team.

"Point, cover point, silly point, long-stop, extra cover, mid-off, silly mid-off, short-leg, and long leg all refer to specific fielding positions." (James, *Beyond* xvii). There are more than thirty positions, including the bowler and the wicket keeper who functions much like a baseball catcher, with an equally critical and subtle, yet oft unheralded role. Orientation on the field and corresponding directions are taken. Laterally from the batsman's stance which is perpendicular to the bowler similar to the batter and pitcher in baseball. The "off" side is that facing the batsman. The leg or "on" side is behind him as he stands to receive the ball thrown to him. The bowler must throw with elbows straight, delivering the ball with the over arm, catapulting motion much like a jai-alai player and less like a baseball pitcher who uses more wrist and elbow when attacking the plate. The "off-break," "leg-break" and "dead shooter" describe different pitches, which can vary widely and dramatically according to the speed, spin and swerve with which the ball is delivered. The "googly" for example is a kind of screwball that turns in a way designed to catch the batsman by surprise. It is a very powerful tool in a game that revolves, to a great degree, around the effort to catch the batsman unaware and make him "pop-up" by hitting the ball with the edge, rather than the flat part of the bat.

The bowler hurls the ball alternating from each wicket in sets called "over," six to eight balls per over depending on the country where the game is being played. When the required number of balls has been bowled a new "over" begins with a different bowler. The captain of the fielding team may allow any of his players to bowl so long as no one bowls two successive overs. A "maiden over" means an over in which no teams have scored. The condition of the pitch itself is critical to the game. The bowler essentially delivers a short-hop ball to the batsman. His effectiveness can change greatly for better or worse by the surface the ball hits, hence the attention to a wet, uneven or "matter" pitch.

The bat is wooden, slightly over three feet long, slightly wedged but flat like a paddle. The ball is made of leather and weighs slightly more than a baseball. It is almost nine inches in circumference. Players play in pairs with one wicket. Their task is to keep the thrown ball from hitting the wicket by batting it away. Here they resemble hockey goalies but with the added benefit of being able to score points depending on how and where they hit the ball. In addition, they attempt to score points by running across the pitch to the opposition wicket, in effect exchanging places with each other.

The batsman tries to hit the ball in a way that gives him enough time to run to the other end of the pitch while his non-batting partner runs to his end before any of the men on the field team retrieves the ball and throws it back to one of the wickets. The key for the batsman, therefore is not necessarily to hit the ball as hard as possible, but to hit it where there are no fieldsmen, which can even mean hitting it backwards or behind himself. The fielding team, in anticipation of or in response, is constantly moving, changing positions in an attempt to get the batsman to make a mistake and get him out. There are many psychological calculations throughout the game by the batsmen, bowlers and fielders. Each time the two batsmen cross on the pitch and successfully reach the opposite end before the fielding team can dislodge a ball in either wicket, they score a run. They may exchange places up to six times per stroke or hit. If the ball reaches the boundary of the field before being stopped, a total of four runs are scored automatically. If it reaches the boundary without hitting the ground, six runs are scored. Extras or additional runs may also be scored for the batting team if the bowler has used an illegal hurling motion or stepped across the crease illegally; similar to a “back” in baseball. In some cases, when the ball is bowled in this manner, the batsmen may still run across the pitch to score even more additional runs in much the same way as a baseball basemen may advance on a wild pitch. A player (batter) scores a “century” when he scores one hundred (100) runs in a single innings before he is dismissed. A batsman can be dismissed in a number of these ways.

1. If the bowler can dislodge a bail in the wicket with the thrown ball, or the batsman does the same accidentally with his bat or body.
2. If a fielder catches the ball that the batter hit before it touches the ground, or dislodges a ball while the batsmen are running.
3. If the bowler has (LBW) a leg in front of the wicket, an illegal interference, where he keeps the ball from hitting the wicket by stopping it with something other than his bat, batting hand or glove.
4. If he illegally moves behind the crease while receiving the ball (i.e., he steps out of the batter’s box) handles the ball illegally or deliberately obstructs the field.

Each team gets a turn to bat and competes an inning when ten of its eleven members have been dismissed or are “out.” One-day matches usually consist of one inning per side won by the team which scored the most runs in their single inning. Test or international matches can go on for thirty hours of play, sometimes lasting as

long as six days, with the winner determined by the aggregate score of two or more innings. (James, *Beyond* xi-xx)

Appendix B

Organization Summary of the

University of the West Indies

Appendix C

University of West Indies

Prime Minister Alumni

Dr. the Hon. Kenny Anthony – P.M., St. Lucia;

The Rt. Hon. Owen Arthur – former P.M., Barbados;

Dr. the Hon. Denzil Douglas – P.M., St. Kitts and Nevis;

Dr. the Hon. Ralph Gonsalves – P.M., St. Vincent and the Grenadines;

The Hon. Patrick Manning – P.M., Trinidad and Tobago;

Dr. the Hon. Keith Mitchell – P.M., Grenada;

The Rt. Hon. P.J. Patterson – former P.M., Jamaica;

The Hon Erskine Sandiford – former P.M., Barbados.

Appendix D

Map of Caribbean Region

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