This monograph cutting across traditional linguistic barriers, is an attempt at an extra-disciplinary study of social science development in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean. Social science disciplines, developed in close interaction with the social evolution of the North Atlantic societies were transplanted to the Caribbean, introducing an alien structure in the scientific study of the region. The reaction has been a search for indigenization and the transcendence of disciplines, which led to an interweaving of theory and praxis, since social science thought in the sub-region has been a direct response to the dynamic social processes under the pressure of emancipation, decolonizacion and independence of weakly integrated multi-racial societies. The major conceptualizations of the Caribbean social science are discussed and a tentative assessment is made of its development, that already counts on a rich tradition.

The author, born in Suriname, who studied sociology in Holland, has been a lecturer at the University of Suriname for ten years and is presently a research fellow at INVESP (Instituto Venezolano de Estudios Sociales y Políticos) in Caracas.

REGIONAL UNIT OF THE SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.

P.O. Box 68394 Caracas 1060-A, Venezuela

Glenn Sankatsing Caribbean Social Science An Assessment

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URSHSLAC-UNESCO
Caracas, 1989

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GS 1988

Introduction

In the dynamic Caribbean reality important social and political changes have occurred in a short span, and this ongoing process, particularly since the 1940s, was accompanied by an equally fast development of social thought, which has found its most systematic crystallizations in the social sciences.

After almost half a century of indigenous social sciences in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean, it seems to be time for an interim evaluation particularly in the light of the ongoing discussions whether or not the social sciences in the region are in a crisis that demands paradigmatic changes. No satisfactory answer will be found to this and other questions concerning the course of contemporary social science and its future directions, unless it departs from a critical evaluation of the development of the social sciences in the region. But such a study cannot follow in the wake of the several individual disciplines, because the very distinction of social science into separate relatively autonomous disciplines forms one of the major constraints in the development of the social sciences in the region.

The task of an evaluation of the development and the impact of the social sciences in the region focused on with a holistic methodology can only be undertaken successfully as a joint and collective effort of the social science community itself. Individual scholars can only make a modest contribution to the understanding of this major issue when trying to assess the development of the social sciences in the region. That is basically, what this study aims at: to make a tentative assessment of the social sciences in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean and, thus, advance new elements for the discussion in contemporary social sciences.

But it should be noted that a small monograph on a broad issue necessarily leads to a general treatment, and it is obvious that this study focusing on social science as a whole in two different linguistic subregions of the Caribbean, can not do justice to all the scholars and their contributions in half a century of social science research in the region; but that obviously, falls beyond the primary concern of this study.

To understand the mechanisms of its development and the close relation social science bore with the social realities and processes in the region, attention will be dedicated to the ideological currents that influenced the social sciences, the process of indigenization of the social sciences, the transcendence of a unique Caribbean outlook and the unidisciplinary approach, while attention to the institutionalization of the social sciences and its praxis is related to the specific way in which they are embedded in the social reality. This general development of the social sciences constitutes the background for our discussion of the major conceptualizations in the scientific study of the region.

This tentative assessment is only a first approximation that forms part of a wider ongoing interest in the development of the social sciences in the region and particularly in its epistemological dimensions and implications, that could not be elaborated in this study.

It should be noted that a number of our statements about the Caribbean can have broader implications and could be generalized to other Third World areas or even to the social sciences in general, but that task cannot be undertaken on this occasion, as it would take us far beyond the scope of our present study.

I. The Scope of the Study

A large number of small scattered island and mainland states emerged in the Caribbean as a consequence of the colonization by rival European Powers. As a result, a number of independent states are testing their capacity to survive as such, or are searching for a wider integration in order to solve the problems that colonialism created and to overcome the obstacles it left behind.

This fragmentation is reflected in the differential course that the social sciences have taken in the several areas of the region. But in the particular case of the North European colonization this divergent development was also accompanied by a certain degree of interaction between the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean.

The metropolitan location of the centers for social science in England and Holland, where the bulk of the social scientists of these colonial possessions were trained initially, fostered a cross-fertilization in the social sciences across the linguistic barriers. Particularly in Europe, and to some extent also after their return to the Caribbean, some mutual influence between the two regions could develop.

This convergence in the social sciences of the two Caribbean subregions was facilitated by the similarity of the social problems that originated from a common historic background of North-European colonialism, of implanted societies, a plantation economy, and the common fate of slavery, indenture, maroonage and labour revolts, which characterize these Caribbean societies, while both in the English and Dutch West Indies multi-ethnical societies were formed which would evolve into independent states after a rapid post-war process of bargained and peaceful decolonization.

Although the mutual influence and the similarity of social science developments in these two subregions justify a joint study of their social sciences, one cannot objectively identify the English and Dutch speaking countries as one particular region or subregion.

This brings us back to the old polemic over how the Caribbean should be defined. At times it is conceptualized as the Caribbean archipelago with all the island territories buoyed by the Caribbean Sea. When inspired by a geopolitical outlook the concept of "Caribbean Basin" is preferred, which is broad enough to include the Atlantic shores of the Guianas; a concept which Denis Benn (1984: 29-30) qualifies as an "externally-imposed definition... inspired by external perceptions of interests and needs".

Wagley's (1957) "Plantation America" is even broader, including the Northeast of Brazil and the Deep South of the United States, while a more restricted ethnocultural view defines the Caribbean as the non-hispanic territories in the region.

A more eclectic view, held by the Trinidadian Prime Minister Eric Williams, accepted Cuba and the Dominican Republic but excluded Venezuela with its more than 1,500 miles of coast washed by the Caribbean Sea.

In short, a wide array of geographic, economic, geopolitical, historic, ethnocultural and linguistic criteria were competing in a senseless debate about what legitimately could be identified as 'the' Caribbean.

But this difficult problem of defining the Caribbean unequivocally, which so many social scientists have tried to cope with, paradoxically, is not a real problem, since 'the' Caribbean is not a preexisting entity which, a posteriori, can be identified on the basis of a suitable definition. It is only in function of a particular set of criteria, intentionally and purposively selected for a specific study or contemplation of the region, that a meaningful ad hoc definition can be given of 'The Caribbean'.

For the specific purpose of this study, we delimit the Caribbean area under review as the English and Dutch

Speaking Caribbean, consisting of the three mainland territories of Belize, Guyana and Suriname, and the island territories of Aruba, The Bahamas, Barbados, Jamaica, The Netherlands Antilles, Trinidad and Tobago, and of the territories belonging to the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). It is this area we are referring to whenever we use a shorthand reference to 'the Caribbean' or 'the region'.

In this study 'social sciences' will not be understood as the simple sum of the separate social science disciplines, but instead in its holistic meaning of 'social science', and the distinct disciplines will therefore not be taken as the basis for a classification of social science work.

We recognize that particular social science disciplines played a significant role in the development of the social sciences in the Caribbean, but too heavy a focus on them would limit our understanding of that development, as will be argued at many points in the course of this study.

This monograph, being an assessment of social science development, is neither a bibliographical work nor an 'almanac' of the social sciences on the region, nor a 'state of the art report'.

Although the social sciences in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean have developed relatively recently, the sheer bulk of literature already produced makes it extremely difficult to review the entire field and to keep pace with the expanding body of publications.

There is no urgent need for a single bibliographical review or compilation of the regional social sciences, which would doubtless result in a simple listing of authors and data or some kind of annotated bibliography. Extensive bibliographical research has already been undertaken on the regional social sciences and valuable publications and documentation of a bibliographical nature are already available.

Students of Caribbean societies can count with Lambros Comitas (1977) 'Complete Caribbeana' and with recent updatings like those provided by the Carisplan Abstracts of the Caribbean Development and Cooperation Committee (CDCC).

In the Dutch Speaking Caribbean bibliographical work in the last two decades provides access to social science literature on Suriname (Nagelkerke 1971, 1973; Sticusa 1972), on the Netherlands Antilles (Nagelkerke 1973; Koulen et al. 1984; Sticusa 1985) or on the subregion as a whole (Mevis 1974; Oltheten 1979).

But there are also a large number of issue-oriented bibliographies, such as on the work of Arthur Lewis (Wilkinson 1980), on the Amerindians in Suriname (Nagelkerke 1977) or an index of important Caribbean social science journals (Robb 1980; Evelyn 1974), to name a few to illustrate the variety in bibliographical work on the social sciences in the region.

As this study is not of a bibliographical nature it should be noted that the inclusion or non-inclusion of works in the references is only related to their relevance for the exposition, and by no means can justify any automatic inference about their relevance for the regional social sciences.

This work is not a 'state of the art report' that reviews the several social science disciplines and their accumulated research. Fortunately, sizeable work of this nature is already done.

Students interested in economics can consult the reviews or evaluations of Brown and Brewster (1974), Cumper (1974), Figueroa (1977), St. Cyr (1983) and Bernal et al. (1984). In the field of sociology the early work of Braithwaite (1957b) was actualized recently by Craig (1982b), while Robotham (1984) discusses the emergence of sociology in Jamaica. Other social science disciplines have also been reviewed bibliographically, such as history (Marshall 1975; Bakker 1985), political science (Greene 1974b), public administration (Collins 1967) and social psychology (Brodber 1974).

On several occasions the social sciences in general and their research priorities have been discussed, since the early works of Braithwaite (1957a) and M.G. Smith (1957) to the more recent works of Greene (1977, 1984), Vaughan Lewis (1982), M.G. Smith (1982a, 1984) and Koulen et al. (1984).

Previous social science reviews tended to take as their starting-point the different disciplines, which could provide significant insight in the development in specific fields of study. However, for a general understanding of the development of the social sciences in the region no satisfactory results will be obtained if the methodology applied is based on the delimitations of the different disciplines, because the division into distinct disciplines itself is one of the subjects to be studied, as it has constituted one of the major limitations for social science development in the region.

A final remark should be made about our intention to assume a critical stand, evidently inherent in scientific work in general. It should be noted that 'criticism', in itself not an intellectual virtue since it cannot be equated with 'being critical', suffers from the inherent limitation of its 'a posteriori' nature; an anachronism that should warrant temperance in judgement and moderation in tone. Social science contributions should not be wrenched from their natural environment, nor should they be criticized without due regard to their context. Therefore, an assessment of the social science development can be retrospective, but criticism should always be located in a flashback.

In this study the search for the real contribution and significance of the precursors but also of the contemporaries in the Caribbean social sciences, will be located in their time and historical context, taking into account their limitations but also their unused possibilities.

A critical attitude implies that "the results of scientific labour are accepted and made public without adulteration, independent of their being in harmony with the personal or group interest of the researcher" (Manifest 1981: 4) and it is this attitude that will be pursued in our assessments.

Now that we have clarified the aim of our study we can turn to the birth of the social sciences in the region: the transplanted social sciences.

II. Transplanted Social Sciences

The Caribbean societies emerged as an artefact of colonialism, as a product of conquest, expansion and cold-blooded exploitation, as the scar of oppression, as epiphenomena of colonial economic enterprise.

However, in keeping with the dialectics of nature, what at first was conceived from outside as a docile instrument of production in a distant 'fallow land' soon obtained its own indigenous life, and colonialism was forced to face the reality of an emerging society. In addition to the economic and administrative organization of the colony and its plantations, social peace had to be secured by less expensive and more subtle devices than the naked coercion and brute force of a small white minority. The emerging society became a point of reflection and concern for the colonial administration. It is to this very point in history that the development of social thought in the region can be traced back, when a better understanding of colonial society became imperative for an undisturbed colonial enterprise.

Although social thought in the region, and at a later stage the social sciences, were initiated and nourished from outside, particularly from Europe, their development cannot simply be considered as external to the Caribbean, because even under colonial domination their development is an internal process by definition, since 'external' cannot be mechanically opposed to 'internal' in social processes, due to a dialectical process as a consequence of which the impact of external influences becomes a factor in the internal development itself, as Sonntag (1988: 142) argues for the development of the social sciences in Latin America.

Goveia's (1965) study on historiography, and more explicitly, from the basic arguments of John La Guerre (1982), Gordon Lewis (1983a) and Denis Benn (1987) in their extensive monographs on the issue.

Contrary to what is sometimes assumed concerning the growth of political ideas in the region, there has been a "tradition of continuous intellectual debate on political issues stretching back to the eighteenth century and even beyond" (Benn 1987: 162), which cannot simply be regarded as part of an alien tradition peculiar to a settler class. The "Caribbean society", according to Gordon Lewis (1983a: 328), "managed, over the centuries to give birth to its own ideological expressions, even to an indigenous moral and intellectual culture".

However, the birth of social thought and more specifically of social sciences in the region does not stem from autochthonous factors, but can only be understood as a process of indigenization, adaptation and contextualization of what was developed elsewhere. In the case of the social sciences, much more formalized and codified than social thought, a transplant from the North Atlantic to the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean marked its inception. These transplanted social sciences, which were developed in the context of the North Atlantic societies in close interaction with their own social realities, as a social product of the challenges they faced and the interests they pursued, were transferred to the region in the form of pure unadulterated North Atlantic social science disciplines.

Scientific disciplines are not entities pre-existing in reality or society, but rather deliberately created distinctions and devices as goal-directed human approaches in order to provide answers to the major problems that are generated in the social development of a particular setting. The mainspring of the development of science and more specifically of its disciplines, to a great extent derives from a pre and extra-scientific social process, belonging to the sphere of evolution and social development of humanity, in close interaction with the instinct to survive and the desire to subdue and domesticate nature for its own benefit. Defence against the dangers and the caprices of nature, along with the desire to dominate and manipulate the environment for its own comodity and benefit, formed the mainsprings of the development of the sciences as part of the social practice of humanity. The history of the production of science further reveals that what was at stake was not the benefit of mankind in general, but rather the specific interests of the dominant classes and elites that were in command of the most powerful countries in the world at the different points in time.

It is well documented how the social sciences in Europe, whether as a derivate of, or a reaction against the existing order, developed out of social processes in its societies. Western Sociology for instance, can be traced back to the French Revolution of 1789, that offered the conditions for the rise of positivism in the work of Saint-Simon, which was systematized later during the Restoration by August Comte. Among others, Alvin Gouldner (1970: 94-102) describes those incipient days of sociology, putting emphasis on the existing social conditions and the confrontation between the different social forces in the particular social reality of France at the time, that gave rise to early sociology.

But it was not only in their origin, but also in their subsequent development, that the social sciences have been a product, an answer or a reaction to social developments in Europe, as can be observed in the clear impact the rise of capitalism had in the field of economics.

Another remarkable characteristic of the social sciences in the North Atlantic is that they did not develop as the progressive specialization of a general science of society into different interrelated sub-disciplines. On the contrary, an anarchic and fragmented development of separate balcanized disciplines took place without a general unified science that could serve as a guiding framework for sub-ordinated specializations. Moreover, the different social science disci-

plines are not simply generated by an inherent organizing principle or the internal logic of social science itself, but were shaped to a large extent, by developments in Europe, while extra-scientific criteria played a significant role in their crystallizations as separate independent branches of social science. One need only recall the Eurocentric bias in the difference between sociology and anthropology, where the European 'socius' studied the Caribbean 'anthropos'.

A clear understanding of the development of the social sciences in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean demands a close study of the fragmented form in which the social science disciplines, a social product generated by the dynamics of Western European societies, were transferred to the region. But careful analysis is required since it should be borne in mind that transplantation alone does not invalidate a science or theory.

There is a last point that should be raised before we can turn to a closer study of the development of social science in the region.

The Caribbean found itself weakly endowed with resistance mechanisms to countervail or critically accompany the insertion of foreign developed social sciences at the time of their introduction, in order to prevent their uncritical adoption and to avoid irrelevant or inappropriate elements. In contrast to other Third World regions in Asia and Africa, where ancient and deeply-rooted traditions existed with their own vivid philosophy, religion and intellectual life, the case of the Caribbean is quite different. In this relatively close and easily accessible region the simultaneous operation of all the important European powers destroyed the existing cultures and societies. In the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean, already in the first century after the conquest, indigenous culture was oppressed to such an extent, that it was deprived of any significant role in the future of the Caribbean. In the case of the island territories the Amerindians were simply exterminated, and in the Guianas, those who survived were

chased far enough into the immense Amazon hinterland to leave the fertile coastal areas virtually depopulated for an undisturbed colonial enterprise.

In the case of the Caribbean, lacking a scientific or intellectual tradition, no form of resistance existed at all in the process of implantation of the imported social sciences. It should be noted that even in the case of powerful Asian cultures with a rich millenary tradition, social sciences from the North Atlantic, alien as they were, could easily dominate the scene. Although social scientists in Asia have often tried to incorporate their rich tradition and national cultural background in the social sciences of their countries, it could not influence substantially in their development, given the general climate of domination, as can be appreciated from the descriptions of the development and the state of the social sciences in the different countries of Asia, and the Pacific compiled by UNESCO (1984).

In the case of the social sciences in the Caribbean, the tradition of local social thought did not form a countervailing force because of the ideological dominance of colonialism in intellectual life.

Negro slaves and Indian, Javanese and Chinese indentured workers, who generally belonged to the lowest strata of their societies of origin, were not the bearers of African and Asian intellectual traditions. Once in the Caribbean, they were long deprived of any opportunity of education or intellectual development, as they were too much preoccupied with trying to survive across the centuries, beneath the burden of the forced labour of an oppressed class.

Only in the twentieth century, a privileged proportion of them could form an educated segment, and it was recently, in the post-war period, that the emancipation process of the Caribbean masses could breed new ideological currents that were able to play a significant role in the indigenization of the social sciences.

When, therefore, Western social sciences were introduced by foreigners and by nationals who had studied abroad, no important nucleus of resistance existed in the Caribbean

against their implantation; as a result, they were easily assimilated in the colonial environment, and could acquire even more prestige than in Europe itself.

It can therefore be concluded that incipient academic life in the regional social science was a product of the Western tradition without a significant countervailing force of some national or indigenous culture, tendency or thought in its implantation and early development. But this would not last long, as we are about to see.

When just before mid-century the social sciences were introduced in the Caribbean, all the ingredients were present for a convulsed development in a constant search for adaptation, reinterpretation and indigenization, and it is to this development that we now turn.

III. The Development of the Social Sciences in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean

Social science, although it was taken from an alien environment and historical context, once implanted in the Caribbean region as a social product of North Atlantic, and particularly European origin, could not remain divorced from social reality. In its orientation and the issues and priorities it focused on, it had to adjust itself to the ongoing social, political and ideological processes and developments in the Caribbean societies, even though its disciplines, theories, models and methodology were not designed for such purposes.

In the small Caribbean societies where personal face-to-face relations assume particular significance in social and political life, every major vibration of society was seismographically registered in the social sciences. What had been a colonial archipelago accompanied by three mainland colonies for almost four hundred years had become transformed in only two decades, into a convulsed geopolitical region of independent states. These drastic and sweeping changes are reflected in an equally impressive development of the social sciences in the region.

It was these processes and developments in the post-war period that articulated the insertion of the social sciences in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean, and that led to an adjustment and adaptation that necessarily meant a process of indigenization of the social sciences in the region.

Up to the 1940s, economic literature on the English Speaking Caribbean, according to Brown and Brewster (1974: 48), was dominated by official reports of the United Kingdom Government. But in recent decades there has been such an explosion of social science publications in the Caribbean, that

it has now become extremely difficult to cover the field, let alone keep up with the new literature.

In the meantime the social sciences have been institutionalized throughout the region and major social science conceptualizations have been developed or domesticated for regional use, while others have been applied without modification.

In the process of indigenization, along with more tolerant attitudes, a defensive and even xenophobic reaction developed which rejected everything considered alien in the social sciences, but it had to be abandoned later, when it was generally recognized that the alleged uniqueness of the Caribbean social sciences could not be sustained.

From the internal dynamics of the Caribbean social sciences a more critical approach started to question the delimitations of the different social science disciplines and their relative autonomy, while an awareness grew that existing theory was marginal if unrelated to praxis and politics. At times this awareness even led to a challenging of the status quo.

In order to follow these developments carefully our study of the social sciences in the region will focus on the following interrelated dimensions: the impact of ideological currents, the indigenization of the social sciences, the transcendence of uniqueness, the transcendence of the separate disciplines, the institutionalization of the social sciences, and the relation between theory and praxis.

It should be noted, however, that even though certain clear tendencies can be detected, no linear process can be identified in the development of social science thought, currents and approaches in the region, nor can a clear and strict chronology be established, because alternatives have co-existed during long periods and mutual influence and cross-fertilization affected the different conceptualizations and paradigms, causing constant re-intepretations and modifications of previous theorizing.

The dimensions that we distinguish are therefore analytical devices for a systematic study of the regional social science rather than descriptors of its anatomy.

1. Ideological Currents

In the post-war period, a number of ideological currents which developed in the turbulent social reality of the Caribbean societies, permeated the social sciences of the region.

The colonial ideology, the traditional belief system of the colonial intelectuals (different from what La Guerre 1982 calls the "colonial intelligentsia") was still intact, although under heavy attack. It represented an amalgam of social and political thought based on the colonial status quo, and although a local domestic flavour was added to it, the self-evident nature of colonial dependence was not questioned. It was, however, on the defensive, as it was challenged by three belief systems "that swept over the region with all the force of a tropical hurricane", as Gordon Lewis (1985a: 23) put it.

An anti-colonial and post-colonial nationalism that emerged in conjunction with the process of decolonization formed the major ideological current throughout the region, while the Black Power movement mobilized the black masses and Marxism became a factor in the region. (See G.K. Lewis 1985a: 23-24).

These three belief systems were expressions of the rapid emancipation process of the black and brown masses, as a consequence of changes which took place in education, urbanization and social mobility. The rise of the labour movement and the political mobilization of the masses, along with the social and political outbursts, were the visible manifestations of a rapidly changing social reality.

The nationalist ideology was the logical culmination of the process of emancipation of the local subordinated masses in colonial society. It has been the most substantial and permanent ideological undercurrent of the last half century in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean, and it was influencial in the rise of the other two belief systems. The three leading currents were therefore not rival approaches, but could exist side by side with substantial overlaps.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, conditions matured that could lead to the rise of the nationalist ideology and movements of the region. Wendell Bell and his associates amply address this issue in studies undertaken since 1956 (Bell and Oxaal 1964; Bell 1967, 1974, 1980; Oxaal 1967).

In Bell's view there is a favourable climate for the rise of nationalist movements, when clear-cut inequalities between the local inhabitants and those who represent the foreign power exist and are considered as unjust by a critical number of people conscious of them, and when a local elite emerges that is able to mobilize, organize and lead a social movement that considers further emancipation and substantial social changes an impossibility under colonialism and that sees political independence as feasible (Bell 1980: 10).

Both in the British and the Dutch West Indies these conditions matured after World War II, but although nationalist ideology has been the dominant current in the subregion, its role should be correctly assessed and not overstated.

Unlike in a number of other Third World countries, nationalism in the region did not culminate in a resistance movement for national liberation, since it did not meet with fierce opposition from the colonial powers in the region that had become aware, as a result of colonial experiences elsewhere, that colonialism was outdated historically, and were therefore more inclined to look for a peacefully negotiated independence, before the conditions for nationalism could mature to the extent that a militant political anti-colonial mass movement could emerge in the region.

The independence of India and Ghana shook the British Empire, and the embarassing experiences of Holland with the violent decolonization of Indonesia led by Sukarno since the early 1940s had not been without repercussions in the Dutch West Indies.

The relatively unproblematic decolonization of the British and Dutch West Indies prevented the anti-colonial intelligentsia from politicizing the masses into a broad, militant,

anti-colonial movement and reduced decolonization to political independence, saddling the fragile post-colonial states with the difficult tasks of economic and cultural decolonization.

Another belief system, Black Power, was of a racial origin, and its antecedents in the region go back to the older Rastafari ethno-religious movement which advocated repatriation to Africa from 'exile' in Jamaica. This 'orthodox' Rastafari movement did not have a nationalist posture because of its retrogressive nature and it was therefore perceived by many as detrimental to the movement of self-government and nationalism (Nettleford 1970: 58). In spite of these characteristics it was a socially-based movement induced by the incipient desire for emancipation of the marginal lower class blacks, which had been personified earlier in the figure of Marcus Garvey.

When the utopia of a 'return' to Africa from 'exile' in Babylon (Jamaica) was later abandoned with the convenient rationalization that "Jamaica is Africa", the objective could be transformed into "building Africa in Jamaica" (Nettleford 1970: 101), and a bridge became possible to the more political Black Power movement that was influenced by the Civil Rights movement in the United States, and in which the emancipation of the black masses in the region became militantly manifest.

From an ideological point of view Walter Rodney (1969) provided the awakening and emancipating black masses with the instruments for mobilization on the basis of a combined class and race approach. Because of his Black Power activism he was refused re-entry to Jamaica where he was lecturing at the University of the West Indies, which led to the violent outbursts in 1968 known as the 'Rodney Riots'.

Rodney would become the most important intellectual activist in the region, since the fusion of scientific analysis and political activity would be a constant in his life, until it was interrupted by his assasination in 1980 in Guyana because

his leadership capacities were perceived as a serious threat to the regime (James 1982). For Petras (1981: 48) Rodney belongs to the "intellectuals who are committed to social *and* political democracy, radical egalitarian *with* freedom".

In ideological terms Rodney represented all three major belief systems that dominated the region: he was an anti-colonial and post-colonial nationalist, a leading Black Power activist, and a prominent Marxist, and as such he has been one of the most influential ideological figures among the Caribbean social scientists. He was able to reconcile these currents in a pragmatic way. His strategy for treating the fundamental race-class issue was to depart from the level of consciousness of the masses with their racial categorization of 'black' and 'white', and raise it by de-racializing the terms to such an extent that they were reduced to mere metaphors, where the terms could stand for 'dominated' and 'oppressors'. Rodney's strategy for dealing with the race-class 'contradiction' was located in political praxis: to transform Black Power into working class power.

In the Caribbean countries with a sizeable East-Indian population where the race problem is defined predominantly in terms of Creole-East Indian, Black Power could not appeal to the East Indians, because of its Afro-American ideology and background. Even Rodney's reinterpretation could not provoke a warm reception on their part. This was a problem particularly in Guyana and Trinidad, but less so in Suriname which due to its isolation from the rest of the region and its strong orientation towards Holland, did not develop a significant Black Power movement.

The historical conditions that gave rise to the growth of the working class in the Caribbean (Rodney 1981 for Guyana), were broadened with the advent of the transnational corporations, particularly in the mining sector. With the turbulent decade of the 1930s, when both the British and Dutch West Indies were shaken by social disorder and violent clashes, favourable conditions were created for the introduction of

Marxist ideology in the region. Even more than the other ideological movements, it offered a radical negation of colonialism since it not only shared the target of decolonization with them, but also strived for a further transformation of society.

The first leading Marxist intellectual in the English Speaking Caribbean was C.L.R. James, particularly after he conducted the first Marxist-based social science study on the region with his case study of the San Domingo Revolution in the late eighteenth century under the leadership of Toussaint l'Ouverture, which would culminate later in the Haitian Revolution (James 1938).

In the Dutch Speaking Caribbean Anton de Kom (1934) produced the first indigenous historiographic work on Suriname and was to become the symbol of all the later leftist movements in the country.

Both James and De Kom got acquainted with Marxism during their stay in Europe, which was later translated into political activism on their return to the region. James was active in Eric Williams' People's National Movement, but was expelled later because of his Marxism, while De Kom, who led the most important political mobilization in Suriname before the Second World War, was banished to Europe where he died in a concentration camp on the eve of the German defeat, after active anti-fascist resistance.

In the political field, Marxism became a significant factor when Cheddi Jagan started his political activity in Guyana in the early 1950s, which led to the emergence of the largest and most influential Marxist-oriented political party in the region.

Although only indirectly and later than in Latin America, the Cuban Revolution catalyzed the influence of Marxist ideology in the region, which could meet with a short-lived success in the Grenada Revolution (1979-1983).

In the field of the social sciences, James' influence can be traced in the materialist approach of Eric Williams' study 'Capitalism and Slavery' (1944), but it was only in the early 1970s that Marxist social science studies got off the ground with Rodney's (1972) study on Africa that strongly influenced

the region and Thomas' (1974) work on dependence and transformation. In the most recent decade, the number of Marxist oriented studies have increased with publications of Munroe (1977), Post (1978, 1981), Rodney (1981) and Beckford and Witter (1982). Among the Marxist oriented social scientist's in the region the most comprehensive studies are conducted by Clive Thomas, who can be considered the leading figure particularly since his recent works on state capitalism and the authoritarian state (1982b, 1984b) and on the mode of sugar production (1984a).

In the Dutch Speaking Caribbean, after some publications of Surinamese leftist student organizations in Holland (Aluminium-Comité 1970; SSU 1974), it is only recently that Marxist oriented social science studies play a significant role. After a study on the Netherlands Antilles influenced by the Latin American 'dependencia' -theorists, a number of scholars of Surinamese origin in Holland started to study the political economy of Suriname with a Marxist orientation (Hira 1980, 1983; Gowricharn 1980, 1981, 1983; Willemsen 1980; Heilbron 1982).

It can be concluded that Marxist ideology gained in influence in the social sciences of the region while these were wrestling with the problem of their indigenization. At the same time, the two other belief systems, Black Power and nationalism, showed a tendency to stagnate (Benn 1987: 171). But Marxism was often understood too much as an ideology and too little as a method of scientific analysis; more as a ready made model and an elaborated cosmogony than as a tool of analysis. It was often unsufficiently realized that although theory and praxis cannot be divorced, commitment can never be a substitute for analysis. There seemed to be a rigid application of Marx' last thesis on Feuerbach that: "The philosophers only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it" (Engels 1888). Maybe they were so dedicated to changing the world, that they forgot to question, enrich and develop the theory of change itself.

Changes in the social structure of Caribbean societies and the accompanying emancipation process since the turn of the

century, were reflected in political and ideological developments that influenced directly in the development of the social sciences in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean. In particular the three belief systems mentioned as expressions of that changing social reality, influenced in the development of the regional social sciences. The colonial ideology was the natural environment for the transplanted social sciences; Black Power focused on race as a vehicle for emancipation; Marxism on class and revolution, and the anti-colonial and post-colonial nationalism (as the permanent broad under-current) filled the agenda with issues such as autonomy and independence, size and viability of self-government, the political system particularly the Westminster system), regional integration, economic growth, underdevelopment and structural transformation.

2. Indigenization of the Social Sciences

The indigenization of the social sciences is the process of adaptation of the current social sciences in order to make them suitable and useful to understand unravel and explain the Caribbean societies and their social processes, by identifying and overcoming the incompatibilities that emerge with their application to the region. The indigenization of the social sciences, however, cannot be equated with an unconditional rejection of North Atlantic paradigms, theories, methodologies or disciplines, exclusively on the grounds of their alien nature. Although the social sciences were implanted from outside in the Caribbean, transplantation alone does not invalidate them for use in the region. Indigenization, therefore, is not synonymous with the mere substitution of nationals for foreigners or black for white, even though these processes can provide favourable conditions for it.

Historically, the process of indigenization did not constitute a development of new endogenous social sciences which were developed autonomously, but rather, what took place

was a domestication and adaptation of existing available social science knowledge and approaches.

Until mid-century social science research on the region was dominated by social scientists from Britain, Holland and the United States. Research issues were motivated by extra-regional interests, criteria and scientific curiosity, and at times research objectives seemed to be shaped by some kind of telepathic intuition of Caribbean reality. Social science studies on the region were conditioned by the assumption that current North Atlantic social science paradigms and approaches or some intelligent combination of them would provide the appropriate device to understand and explain Caribbean social reality. For that reason Adlith Brown (1973: 295) complained in the case of economics that "much of that theory which we have inherited does not address itself to the problems which are of primary concern to Caribbean economies and as such cannot be a useful guide to analysis or policy in the region".

Foreign interests were a significant factor in the pre-war social sciences. Don Robotham (1984: 112) concludes for sociology in Jamaica that its growth was connected with the effort of the "colonial imperialist state to defeat, deflect, coopt, subordinate and administer" the main social struggles. What is described by him for Jamaica can probably be generalized for the social sciences of the region in general, but only for the early years when British and Dutch colonialism were not sufficiently on the defensive in their Caribbean colonies.

Secure social peace in the Caribbean colonies and rationalize colonialism, have been important motives in the social science endeavours of colonial origin in the region up to the 1940s. The West Indian Royal Commission Report, the so-called Moyne Report (1945), that was the broadest social study on the English Speaking Caribbean until that moment, and later studies conducted under the auspices of the Caribbean Commission, were direct reactions to social unrest accompanied by disturbances, strikes and riots both in the British and the Dutch Caribbean territories in the 1930s.

But there were also more subtle external influences of an ideological nature in the social sciences. Marietta Morrissey (1976: 98) calls it the "superstructure of subjugation" that is manifested in the "importation and reproduction of rationalizing ideologies created in the colonial center".

However, this situation in the social sciences was not static because rapid changes were occurring in the region, affecting all aspects of social life and the social sciences would be no exception. The social emancipation of the colonial masses, their urbanization and upward mobility, exerted pressure towards significant social and political changes in the colonies, which was articulated and personified by a leadership of middle class origin and from the intelligentsia, and which led to the emergence of nationalist movements in the Caribbean region.

This new development in the indigenization of the social sciences in the region starts with the case study of C.L.R. James (1938) and the general study of Eric Williams (1944) on capitalism and slavery that challenged current colonial historiography and social science interpretations of the region.

The first product of the indigenization process in the Dutch Speaking Caribbean is Rudolf van Lier's (1949) study on the social history of Suriname, only a year after universal suffrage was introduced in the Dutch colonies.

The development of the social sciences in these two subregions was strongly influenced by these pioneer scholars who were only the forerunners of the first generation of an emerging national intelligentsia and of what was to become a new social science tradition in the Caribbean.

But the development of the social sciences did not take place at the same pace throughout the region. The most important difference is the relatively little attention for theoretical work in the social sciences of the Dutch Speaking Caribbean, where the bulk of the studies has been of a highly descriptive nature.

In the English Speaking Caribbean, Arthur Lewis started to question the validity of Western economic models for the

Caribbean, which led to major theoretical adaptations and to his proposals for the industrialization of the Caribbean; while from an anthropological point of view, M.G. Smith provided the concept of 'plural society' introduced in the Caribbean by Van Lier (1949), with a theoretical basis, thus initiating a long social science debate in the region.

In the Dutch Speaking Caribbean, in contrast, the early studies were of a highly descriptive nature, although they did focus on issues related to the ongoing decolonization process, since they addressed the incipient development plans in Suriname (Sedney 1955; Adhin 1961).

Even within the same colonial linguistic area of the Dutch Speaking Caribbean, a differential development took place. Major social science studies on the Netherlands Antilles would have to wait until the 1970s when René Römer (1970, 1977) offered an interpretation of the development of the Curaçao society, making use of the plural society model and the results of acculturation studies that were conducted in the region. In the field of economics, it would take even more time before the first works of Jaap van Soest (1976, 1978) would appear with an economic historical study on the Curaçao economy and on the development of finance and banking on the island.

This unequal development of the social sciences within the Dutch Speaking Caribbean was a reflection of the different momentum in the decolonization processes in Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles, due to material differences such as the availability of natural resources and the size of their territories, but mostly because of social differences such as population size and a different development of social emancipation since the turn of the century. While recent studies on Suriname are informed by issues related to its independence (Mhango 1980, 1984), the present social science studies on the Netherlands Antilles are still dominated by the decolonization issue which plays an important role in political life (Verton 1977, 1984; Koulen et al. 1985; Lieuw 1986).

It is only recently that the social sciences on the Dutch Speaking Caribbean start to assume a more analytical character. After the general sociological works of Kruijer (1973, 1977) focusing on the relation of the social problems and the development strategies in Suriname, in recent times a more analytical line of study has been developed, based on a political economy approach by Marxist-oriented scholars who conducted analytical historical studies on Surinamese society (Willemsen 1980; Heilbron 1982), while the tradition of highly descriptive studies has not died (Caram 1981; Chin 1987b).

The reasons why the social sciences in the Dutch speaking subregion were relatively less developed, stem from the small scale of its societies with little more than half a million inhabitants in the entire subregion, but also from a strong orientation towards Holland which fostered the linguistic, cultural and social isolation from the rest of the region.

In the English Speaking Caribbean where Lewis' model was adopted by many governments, early results were not very encouraging, and the first criticisms would soon be heard. Caribbean social scientists trained abroad, along with the first products of the incipient local social science faculties, started to experience frustration in their efforts to identify and deal with the mounting problems of the Caribbean, as they lacked adequate tools both at the analytical and the methodological level. Although these social scientists formed an amalgam of ideological points of view, they coincided on their questioning of the North Atlantic social science paradigms and on their critique of Arthur Lewis, which resulted in the creation of the New World Group. This new generation of scholars linked to the decolonization process that was desperately searching for a more appropriate social science, less out of context and more capable of studying the regional social reality and of tackling its problems, would become an important factor in the indigenization process and in Caribbean social science development in general. At times the New World Group could become even acritically radical, rejecting all theories and paradigms of external origin in their search

for a Caribbean social science with its own theory. Even though they obviously overstated their case with the rejection of all things alien (in a language that came from overseas), it contributed substantially to an undermining of the exaggerated prestige and authority that the Western social sciences and paradigms enjoyed in the Caribbean.

The indigenization of the social science disciplines was first undertaken in the field of history in an effort to decolonize historiography. In the English Speaking Caribbean, Eric Williams' (1944) early work was followed by his critical review of the discipline itself (1964) that unmasked several aspects of Western historiography's bias. On the Dutch Speaking Caribbean, after the early historical work of Anton de Kom (1934) and Van Lier (1949) it was only thirty years later that further indigenous work to decolonize historiography was produced by Siwpersad (1979) and Hira (1983).

Several studies (Roberts 1957; Lamur 1973) systematically organized the population data in pioneering demographic work, while the debate on the plural society started to attract the attention of the majority of the social scientists.

As these examples indicate, a significant process of indigenizatio took place in the social sciences of the region. But it should be realized that this only refers to the leading innovatory contributions and the pioneer work, and that it does not embrace the entire production of the social sciences, but rather what would become influential. It should also be remembered that the Caribbean has also been a virgin soil for social scientists trained elsewhere, who instead of a creative application or adaptation of the valuable assets of accumulated social science theory and models, have too often taken the region simply as a source of new evidence to sustain the validity of old tenets and paradigms.

The general view of Caribbean social scientists in the mid seventies was that theory on Caribbean society was still weak. Susan Craig (1978: 234-235) complains that "as yet we have no theory about the Caribbean society... what we have is a number of notions, conceptions, perspectives. But all of

these ideas are skeletal; they remain shells to which very little content has been given". For Don Harris (1978: 18) "what exists as theory in Caribbean social science research is merely a long string of commentaries, much of which is non-essential in tone and substance". In a more recent review of sociological theorizing Craig (1982b: 143) sustains that "there exists no adequate description and interpretation -theoretical framework, if you like- of the structure and the dynamics of change of these societies".

It is still too early for us to comment on these assertions; our reaction will have to wait until we have discussed the major contributions in the Caribbean social sciences.

3. The Transcendence of Uniqueness

As a reaction to the prevailing social sciences and a rejection of its current theories and models for the explanation of Caribbean realities, emphasis was put on the uniqueness of the region and its societies. History was sifted to identify the various idiosyncratic elements in the formation of the regional societies, in an effort to justify the need for a specifically Caribbean social science approach and theory. The 'uniqueness' of the Caribbean often appeared to assume the character of a social scientific category, qualification or argument, and there are precious few social scientists working on the region who have not held at least a weak variant of that "general agreement that the Caribbean is a civilization 'sui generis', that can be understood only in Caribbean terms" (G.K. Lewis 1985b: 229).

But caution is warranted in the application of the term 'unique' for the Caribbean and in its implications. Every region, every country, and in general every unit is 'unique' or 'sui generis', for that is exactly what tautologically differentiates a unit from another and makes it a unit; 'uniqueness' does not permit gradations and therefore no country is 'more unique' than another.

It is for these reasons that the term 'uniqueness' lacks explanatory value and analytical power in the social sciences, and when it has been used uncritically in the Caribbean, it could even narrow the scope of analysis to a parochial outlook by presuming its reality and problems uncomparable with other social realities, even with those of the rest of the Third World.

Particularly in the field of the social sciences this can have serious effects. The North Atlantic social sciences should not be rejected because of the uniqueness of the Caribbean, but rather the specific elements in those social sciences that are not appropriate for the study of the Caribbean should be rejected. Only then can an uncritical, imitative use of social science theory, models and methodology be prevented.

The Caribbean societies have many specific problems that undoubtedly demand a specific study, but too hasty an emphasis on uniqueness introduces all the limitations of a parochial viewpoint.

The initial search for a Caribbean social science with its own theory, that was based on the assumption of the uniqueness of the region, slowly lost ground and other approaches took hold, when the awareness grew that the fundamental problems and issues of the Caribbean societies could not be isolated geographically, since they were only special cases or constituent parts of more general Third World problems. This influenced the nature and the scope of social science studies in the region. In the economic field, the conceptualizations were broadened and Beckford's 'plantation economy' (1972) referred to the Third World in general, Girvan incorporated the study of Chile's copper in his analysis of the region when focusing on "corporate imperialism" (1976), and the very conceptualizations of dependency (Girvan 1973; Thomas 1974), peripheral capitalism (Henry 1985), and authoritarian state in peripheral societies (Thomas 1984b), were expressions of a transcendence of uniqueness in Caribbean social science.

But not only the region as a whole was considered as unique; there also existed an insular myopia. As the Caribbean archipelago and its three mainland territories are fractioned linguistically and geographically, social science scholarship has tended to follow "the territorial imperative, rather than the regional imperative" (G.K. Lewis 1985c: 249), and although specific national issues can justify a national focus, any exaggerated insularity can evidently limit the social science understanding of the region.

An important group of social scientists has been alert against this tendency and has managed to overcome the linguistic division lines in the region. In this respect Eric Williams (1944, 1970) is a leading example, which was followed by later scholars like Gordon Lewis (1968, 1983), Juan Bosch (1970), David Lowenthal (1972), and Gerard Pierre Charles (1981, 1985). All of them were aware of the regional nature of the major problems of the individual Caribbean countries. This tendency is also reflected in a number of important readers on the region (Mathews et al. 1966; Horowitz 1971; Price 1979; UNESCO 1981; Craig 1981, 1982; Lowenthal and Comitas with their 1973 volumes).

But this tendency was still too much limited to the Caribbean area and traditionally the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean remained isolated from Latin America due to the language barrier, cultural differences, divergent national and geopolitical interests, differences in the social political history and an overdose of prejudice. A substantial break-through took place recently with a number of studies by Andrés Serbin (1981, 1983, 1987a, b), but this only constitutes a first step forward in an atmosphere that is still dominated by negative mutual perceptions. The annual conference of the Caribbean Studies Association seems to provide a meeting place for social science interaction across the linguistic division lines that can influence positively further social science integration in the hemisphere.

4. The Transcendence of Discipline

Given its early history, the logical point of departure for Caribbean social science was a narrow uni-disciplinary approach, because the social sciences were not only transplanted to the region as the accumulated achievement of a North Atlantic tradition, but along with them the whole social logic on which they were based was introduced in the region, accompanied by a particular fragmentation into relatively autonomous disciplines.

It should be remembered that no objective criteria for the differentiation of social science into separate disciplines can be advanced and, therefore, any delimitation is based on subjective criteria which are derived from social development and the challenges and interests in a particular social-historic context. Therefore, it is not the subjective nature as such, but rather the specific current disciplines that emerge that should be questioned for their applicability and possible shortcomings in the Caribbean context. Furthermore, it should be noted, that it is not the principle of specialization that should be questioned, since the complex subject matter of human society demands an elaborate division of labour for its study. What should be rejected is the fragmentation of the social sciences into more or less autonomous disciplines, which are not connected by systemic ties or interrelations that can prevent a fractional study of society.

Bearing in mind its fragmented character and the European bias in its origin, we can now take a closer look at the significance of the current departmentalization of social science in the new Caribbean environment and, for that purpose, we shall focus our discussion on a few, selected disciplines.

History as a field of study, unless it is understood in the sense of historical sociology, is not a discipline with its own 'historical theory', but rather a methodological device for recovering the data of the past. Thus, history cannot be considered an "autonomous social science but an auxiliary of

all the social sciences" (Duverger 1967: 62). This is one of the reasons why, in the Caribbean social sciences, the existence of history as a separate discipline has been questionable from the very beginning. The first resistance against the existing social science disciplines came precisely from history with the work of Eric Williams (1944) on capitalism and slavery which was not historiography, nor sociology nor economy, not even a linear combination of them. This critical stand in the field of history is not surprising in an atmosphere of decolonization, since that constituted the most logical point in the social sciences where the search for a national identity first could manifest itself.

Orlando Patterson (1967) tries to handle this problem of the disciplines by calling his 'historic' study of the negro slave society in Jamaica "The Sociology of Slavery", while Walter Rodney (1972) writes 'history' analyzing how Europe underdeveloped Africa.

Traditional historiography on the Caribbean has been ruling-class-biased, as is demonstrated by Eric Williams when he tellingly remarks, with regard to slavery, that the "British historians wrote almost as if Britain had introduced Negro slavery solely for the satisfaction of abolishing it" (Williams 1964: 182).

It is in Caribbean history, understood both as the crystallized human past and the scientific discipline related to it, where the limits of the social sciences for the study of the social history of the region are most clearly revealed. In the Caribbean an indigenous historiography has always faced serious obstacles in its search to uncover the past, because the traces history has left behind are highly biased towards ruling class interests, and thus constitute a selective sample from the events of the past. In the context of the dominated colonial societies of the Caribbean this has taken extreme forms. The historiography of Caribbean oppression, for example, suffers from the inherently insuperable limitation that the most direct witnesses of atrocities and crimes have been their victims, and even the reminiscences of their deaths have been systematically erased. In such conditions of unrecoverable

evidence, the social sciences inevitably come to a dead end in the reconstruction of the past. To try to drive the social sciences beyond that point can lead to another perversion in which history becomes political activism instrumental for the creation of national symbols and national identity. But not every angry slave was a rebel, nor every riot an insurrection, nor every victim a heroe, unless history is confused with ancestor worship. It is between these two extremes that Caribbean history as a social science must find its way.

Particularly in the mainland Caribbean societies the divorce of sociology and anthropology, which derives from its North Atlantic origin, obtained a remarkable dimension in the post-war period. What Western anthropology defined and approached as an isolated community constituted for the emerging state the 'sociological' problem of the incorporation of minorities in the national society as part of the emancipation of the peoples in the decolonization process.

Although it has been claimed that anthropology pursued extra-geographical generalizations for the study of the origin and development of human societies, it was often criticized for serving specific non-scientific interests and, on the other hand, for being excessively nourished by the romantic fascination for the exotic, along with the curiosity of discovering unknown as yet unexplored civilizations, geared towards a receptive North Atlantic audience for its findings.

An extreme example from the region is an article (mentioned in a bibliographical study by Richard Price (1976: 56)), which was written after three brief trips chiefly to collect woodcarvings in Suriname's interior, with a title in which only the articles and prepositions lacked sensationalism: "Africa's Lost Tribes in South America; An On-the-spot Account of Blood Chilling African Rites of 200 Years Ago Preserved Intact in the Jungles of South America by a Tribe of Runaway Slaves" (Kahn 1939).

Western anthropology overtly or tacitly, was promoted and supported by metropolitan administrations because of its

instrumentality to the material and social cost reduction of colonial domination. A revealing example can be found in Dutch colonialism, where a social science discipline evolved, called 'Non-Western Sociology' (also 'Sociology of the Non - Western Peoples'). According to a Dutch encyclopedia of sociology (De Valk 1977: 195) "it is a specialization in the social sciences which arose in the Netherlands out of the so-called indology, the training of government officials in the colonies, particularly in the Dutch East Indies. When the indology became superfluous because of the independence of Indonesia, the need still existed for a social science directed to application in the Third World, and that was called Non-Western Sociology".

In recent times there is increasing consensus that the differences between sociology and anthropology are fading away; but holding modernization responsible for that is only another prove of eurocentrism.

In an effort to save the autonomy of these disciplines, even prestigeous anthropologists resort to spurious arguments, like distinguishing disciplines by the difference in the methods they apply, as for example is done by Levi-Strauss (1960: 20 and 30). Methods however although they are intrinsically related to it, are strictly instrumental to a discipline and external to its object of study. They are an artefact of dealing with questions that arise, and their value is not given by any character they possess theoretically or intrinsically, but by their degree of instrumentality for a specific discipline or science, and it is for that reason that a distinction between disciplines can never be based or justified by the methods they apply.

In the Caribbean, demography as a discipline obtains particular significance, since its societies were implanted by forced migration and modified by intra-regional population movements to re-allocate the labour force, while major social problems found an outlet in the mass migration to the colonial metropolis, using the same maritime routes in the wake of appropriated Caribbean wealth. However, there has been very little 'demographic logic' in the population figures of the

Caribbean. It can be calculated, for example for Suriname from the figures of Van Lier (1949: 92 and 134), that the number of slaves and freedmen at the time of abolition was less than one eight of the total amount of imported slaves to the colony. A significant dose of "sociology of oppression" in the style of Gerard Pierre-Charles' Haitian study (1973) is needed to make demographic figures meaningful under such circumstances.

Crucial concepts of demography like population pressure and overpopulation which are important in the small territories of the Caribbean, cannot be defined demographically. Caribbean countries like Guyana and Suriname have too many people to feed, but too little to make optimal use of their potential. It also holds for the Caribbean, what Paolo Cinanni (1969: 193) noted in general, that "the concept of overpopulation does not exist in an absolute sense, but only in relation to the development of the productive forces; overpopulation, therefore, is the effect of a particular social economic order". It is for that reason that, demographic factors "have no explanatory capability outside the framework of the social formation" (Watson 1982b: 195).

For these reasons it has always been difficult to distinguish in the Caribbean between demography and other social science disciplines like economics and sociology, unless it is stripped to the 'algebra' of figures on population statistics. For the field of economics this interweaving with demography, is most present in the issue of size, which strengthened the tendency in economics to exceed the limits of the individual social science disciplines, as will be discussed afterwards.

These brief remarks on the place of the current social science disciplines in the region are intended to illustrate the kind of problems that the fragmentation of social science implied for the study of the region, and to explain why early indigenizing social science in the Caribbean was hesitant to follow the strict division lines of the current disciplines. The traces, however, they have left behind in the developments in

the region should seriously be taken into account. In this regard, Lloyd Braithwaite already signalized in the fifties (1957a: 100), that the fact that sociology was not taught in the British Caribbean in the 1950s is related to the "relative underdevelopment" of the social sciences in the United Kingdom, where it "hardly achieved recognition".

The awareness grew that separate autonomous social science disciplines constituted a serious problem for the study of Caribbean societies, and already toward the end of the 1950s Vera Rubin recommended to anthropologists working in the region to "borrow the resources of other social science disciplines" (1957b: 120).

In the late sixties and early seventies the New World Group would adopt a multi-disciplinary approach, trying to "broaden the disciplinary focus by drawing on history, sociology, anthropology and geography" (Beckford 1972: xxiv-xxv) in their economic studies, in order to achieve disciplinary integration. But this new tendency was still of a somewhat limited scope because of the predominantly economic background of its scholars.

The trend towards overcoming the limitations of the disciplines continued, and at an ISER-seminar on methodology and research orientations in 1975 with social scientists of most of the disciplines, there was a general agreement that Caribbean social science research should be interdisciplinary "in scope and thrust" (Lindsay 1978a: iv).

In more recent times, due to a tendency to implement more holistic approaches, (such as the rise of Marxist-oriented social science in the region), more organic relations between the several disciplines could develop.

Although the case for interdisciplinary social sciences has by now become popular, and few scholars will object to it, that does not mean that one of the tiresome problems can be struck out on the check list of the Caribbean social sciences. Gordon Lewis still notes for contemporary North American-sponsored research and publication that most of it reflects the "(North) Americanization of academic studies dominated....

by an excessive departmentalization of thought and research" (G.K. Lewis 1985a: 32).

At the present the awareness of the need to integrate the disciplines is generally acknowledged in the region, but still poorly translated into practice, as will be appreciated later.

5. Institutionalization of the Social Sciences

The social processes in the twentieth century which culminated in decolonization and political independence, form the direct background to the institutionalization of the social sciences in research and training institutes in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean.

In general the developments in higher education in the region got only directly related to the national and developmental interests of the Caribbean countries in the course of this century.

In the age of slavery and the early years of indenture the radius of action of education was limited to the representatives of the colonial power, and the early attempts to establish higher education in the region like the Codrington College in Barbados in 1830 (Braithwaite 1958), were unrelated to the educational needs or the social and economic interests of the sub-ordinated classes.

A peculiar semi-exception of interaction between colonial and national interests can be found in the history of higher education of Suriname, where due to a curious colonial circumstance a School of Medicine was established in the 19th century. As a consequence of protest movements in India against the infra-human treatment of the East Indian indentured workers in Suriname, Britain was forced to pressure Holland by refusing to send more East Indians to Suriname, unless their bad health conditions with a mortality which varied from 17 to 19 per cent, were improved (Tien Jaar U.V.S. 1978: 96), and this directly led to the founding of the School of Medicine in 1882, which later, in 1969, was to become the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Suriname.

At the turn of the century there already existed certain potential for the expansion of formal education among the incipient coloured middle classes, and pressure in the educational field required the growth of primary and secondary education. The initial demand for higher education in the field of the social sciences could be satisfied by scholarships to Britain and Holland, but with the post-war developments in nationalism and decolonization, an institutionalization of the social sciences became an urgent need.

When social science training was established in the region in the post-war period Britain and Holland were directly involved in their institutionalization. In the case of the English Speaking Caribbean the University of London, and in the case of the Dutch Speaking Caribbean a number of Dutch universities (Amsterdam, Tilburg, Groningen) were the direct patronizers.

At the University of the West Indies, the teaching of economics at Mona began with a core of British researchers (Beckford 1984: 47), some of which were graduate students from the United Kingdom conducting field research in the West Indies, who for the most part knew very little about the Caribbean environment (ibid).

As an overseas dependency of the University of London, the University College of the West Indies was established in 1948 for the British West Indies, with its campus at Mona (Jamaica), but it was only in 1959 that a social sciences degree was introduced. From 1958 to 1962 during the short-lived West Indian Federation it functioned as a regional university with British Guiana as a contributing territory. It was the only regional institution that survived the collapse of the Federation, when it became independent from the University of London in 1962 and was established officially at Mona as the 'University of the West Indies', while two additional campuses were founded at Cave Hill (Barbados) and St. Augustine (Trinidad) in 1963.

In the case of the University of the West Indies, the institutionalization of social science training could be based on ongoing research, since the Institute of Social and Eco-

nomic Research (ISER) had already been established in 1950 at Mona, and was expanded later to Cave Hill in 1962 and to St. Augustine in 1970. The establishment of the Institute of International Relations in Trinidad in 1966 stimulated another field of research in the region. (See Williams and Harvey 1985).

The University of the West Indies as a central institution was weakened as a consequence of the persisting crises in the regional integration movement and of the increasing insular nationalism that led to decentralization and to an increased autonomy of the different campuses. It is to be expected that factors external to the academic institution will remain influential for its future development, particularly those originating in the political ambit, since economic crises tend to hit hardest in the social and educational sectors. In the meantime the different campuses are expanding into other areas not assigned to them, apparently to be prepared for any sudden split.

The establishment of the University of Guyana in 1963 brought an end to its participation in the regional university for the British Caribbean. Social science training, that started in the same year, could not count on a research institute and it was only in 1975 that the Institute of Development Studies was established (Fletcher et al. 1987).

The University of Suriname was established in 1968 and its Faculty of Social and Economic Studies started in the year of independence in 1975, two years before its research institute, the Institute of Economic and Social Research (IESO, which is now called IMWO), while the University of the Netherlands Antilles was established in 1979 with a Faculty of Social Sciences which offers a course in management, that still lacks the support of a research institute, and in Aruba a recently established university (1988) is starting off with its first courses in law.

The institutionalization of the social sciences in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean is relatively recent if compared with Latin America, where it goes back to around the 1930s in the cases of Argentina (in 1927), Brazil, Mexico

and Chile (Sonntag 1988: 70). However, in the majority of the countries of that region it only expanded substantially "in the time of global capitalist expansion after the Second World War and the subsequent modernization of the Latin American societies" (Sonntag 1988: 70). The cases of the Latin American countries in the Caribbean Basin are much more comparable with the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean. The social sciences in Central America were not institutionalized until the 1960s (Torres-Rivas 1987: 7); in Colombia sociology started in 1959 (Leal Buitrago 1987: 9), while the School of Sociology in Venezuela started its first courses in 1953 (Castro 1988: 147).

In general, the movement in support of separate national universities is induced by two factors: an expanding demand in the national society for highly qualified staff and a rejection of cultural and educational dependence on training institutes abroad. The establishment of national universities avoided the disruptive massive temporal emigration to the metropole of the talented youth from the Caribbean societies, a proportion of which would never return, and it responded also to the more recent impossibility for the small indebted countries of sustaining a permanent allocation of foreign currency to support an expatriate student population, when less alienated graduates could be prepared in the national context. (See also Van Lier 1968: 6)

However, the recent tendency in the smaller countries of the region to establish their own independent universities can be questioned, as they will be able to sustain an acceptable level for the institute only with difficulty. In the cases of the University of Suriname, the Netherlands Antilles and recently of Aruba with less than 65,000 inhabitants, regional cooperation at the university level appears to be the only possible way of safeguarding the quality of academic training. It should be kept in mind, however, that integration at the university level cannot be conceived independently of the general problem of regional integration, as the several crises

and changes in the University of the West Indies convincingly testify, particularly when pressure was executed to "separate the constituents parts" of the system when "the island nations and their leaders went their separate political ways" (Waggoner and Waggoner 1986: xli).

Some institutionalized or semi-institutionalized social science cooperation across the linguistic division lines (including the Spanish and French Speaking Caribbean), seems to be the next priority in the institutionalization process of the social sciences in the region. The UNESCO-sponsored "Consortium Graduate School", an institutional cooperation of the University of Guyana and the University of the West Indies, and the still to be incorporated University of Suriname, is a first initiative that points in that direction.

The institutionalization of the social sciences, although not itself equivalent to indigenization, constitutes an important condition for its realization. But particularly in small territories engaged in 'solos' which still depend too much on the old metropolis, as in the case of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, institutionalization can be detrimental to indigenization, as in the early years of the University College of the West Indies of which Braithwaite notes that, "although vaguely conceived of as serving West Indian interests in a West Indian context, the University was primarily thought of as a projection of the best of Britain abroad" (Braithwaite 1965: 79).

6. Theory and Praxis

Theory and praxis have never been divorced in the Caribbean social sciences. It should be noted that, unlike developments in other historical contexts, the Caribbean social sciences have never been in an 'ivory tower' nor divorced from social reality. Social science practice in the calm colonial days of the Caribbean was born of a colonial praxis in defense of the status quo and social peace, while, on the other hand, from their very inception in the early post-war period, the indigenizing social sciences were immersed in nationalism and decolonization.

Defense of the status quo and the securing of social peace, challenged by the awakening masses in emancipating societies throughout the region, mark the early twentieth century development of social science research. Up to Second World War, the social sciences were instrumental to law and order, to the status quo and to a tranquil administration of the colony. They were informed by the interests and the concerns of the colonial power, which led for example to the research and consultations in 1938-39 of the Moyne Commission (Moyne Report 1945), that was a direct reaction to the colonial concerns about the social upheavals that accompanied the region in the 1930s, as we have already seen.

With the indigenization process under the influence of the already prestigeous nationalist ideology and the progress of decolonization the social sciences became directly involved in the general movement challenging the colonial status quo in a search for new, viable options.

As a result, the complicated philosophy of science problems related to the de-mystification of the social sciences, to the commitment of social science, and to the relation of theory and praxis, which so much plagued the European intelligentsia, have never figured on the agenda of the social sciences in the Caribbean.

A technocratic social science approach conceiving the regional social science as "value free" and "objective" found an advocate in Acton Camejo (1970). This line of thought however, did not develop into a significant current in the region, partly because of its outdated conception. (In the West European social sciences themselves it had already come under heavy attack with the rise of the 'Frankfurter Schule' and its 'Positivismusstreit' (Adorno et al. 1972)).

Nevertheless, it did count with a number of tacit adherents among the more technocratic social scientists of the Caribbean, who conformed to burocratic settings in an attitude derived from the dependent position that characterizes most social scientists, deprived as they are of options for their establishment as independent professionals.

Arthur Lewis was the first to translate the regional social science into practical models by proposing an elaborated development strategy for the region. The rapid developments and changes occurring in the Caribbean social-political realities forced a new generation of social scientists to search for less dependent and more indigenous models of development. The most important expression of this was the 'New World Group', but as we shall see later, it was not sufficiently embedded in the ongoing social processes in the region.

More recently the capitalist model itself has been questioned; however, without offering convincing alternatives for the particular Caribbean reality. Nevertheless, the transition to socialism became an important issue in the region under the influence of Marxist-oriented social scientists (Thomas 1974; Rodney 1978).

Politics in general tends to be demagogical, power preserving and particularistic, and to focus on perceivable and salable successes, preferably within the government term, which usually is detrimental for a mid and long term planning and, consequently for structural changes. This holds a fortiori in the case of the Caribbean with recently structured and poorly institutionalized states, in which politics is unsufficiently codified or rational, and too recent to possess a solid orienting tradition, and therefore, has been unsufficiently development-oriented, or open to social science recommendations. The social scientists themselves were not always aware of this reality, and they "imagined that political processes had a higher degree of rationality than was actually the case", as Nowotny (1986: 406) observed in general for the Third World. This is one of the reasons why a number of social scientists had to operate to certain extent on the margin of Caribbean society and development, since they had to deal with the politics and politicians generated by a competitive parliamentary system that privileged demagogy, charisma, mobilization capacity and racial group leadership, as the relevant

factors for upward political mobility and for the location of people in positions of command of state power and resources.

The university itself, as a government-funded and sustained institution in the region, possessed a limited capability to challenge the status quo and to contribute to transformation. Eric Williams clarifies this when he observes that: "The University of the West Indies has generally had to cut its cloth to conform with the priorities of its contributing governments, and this can quite confidently be expected to be intensified" (Williams 1974: 11), and therefore, the "Governments, paying the piper, will more and more call the tune" (ibid.: 9). For Maurice Odle (Lindsay 1978b: 131-132) the social scientists were following the Government's policy making line rather than acting as "vanguards in policy making". But the experiences of the New World Group and particularly of Walter Rodney have shown that institutional possibilities to inform public policy are scarce unless one does not challenge the status quo and presents no danger or threat to the interests of the political elite. The opposite case of Arthur Lewis also proves it; he was critical of current social science paradigms, but did not challenge the position of the political elites in the region, and as a response there was not only tolerance, but he was even regularly consulted by the governments.

An independent social science will always be viewed with suspicion by whatever government comes to power, and this creates a difficult dilemma. Since social scientists, particularly in the peripheral capitalist societies, lack an independent profession and significant alternative sources of income, they depend on the government and the private sector for their jobs and carreer, and for institutional and financial support for research and publication. On the other hand the demands of the society and of the very profession inevitably lead social scientists to deal with urgent and acute social problems and their causes, in order to advance strategies for change and transformation. The result can be embarassing "tunes" for those who "pay the piper". The history of the

Caribbean social sciences is full of examples of the kind of conflicts this state of tension can generate, from the harassment Carl Stone (1984) experienced in political polling, in spite of previous accuracy in election forecasts, to the assassination of Walter Rodney.

There have been several reactions of Caribbean social scientists to this dilemma, which can be grouped under four general headings: conformism, neutrality, emigration and rebellion.

The sacrifice of autonomy led to uncritical support and to a rewarding conformism, which demanded a high price because of the abandonment of scientific integrity. 'Neutral' and 'impartial' social scientists locating themselves at an equidistant position between the extremes, claimed independence because of their criticisms of both positions. However, their comfortable position 'in the middle' was defined in function of the extremes, which made it dependent on both because of its barometric fluctuation with the changes in the extremes in order to accomodate to the middle.

Emigration to the more rational, better equipped and less 'backward' metropolitan social science institutes, less mesmerized by politics, deprived the region of a number of its most talented social scientists. For those who stayed, demands for autonomy and a rejection of the status quo by social scientists looking for structural transformation have often led to hostile relations between the social sciences and the government.

Although these four types give a clear illustration of the kind of reactions the dilemma of the social scientists could involve, fortunately they are not limitative, as other pragmatic solutions can be found within the specific social and political contexts with a less rigid contraposition of conformity and conflict. However, it should be borne in mind, that there are no harmonious conflict-free solutions for dilemmas, and as Greene comments for the social sciences in the 1960s: "given the developments of the state system, especially in the independent territories, social science research which addressed itself to policy and programme evaluation... was bound to be 'subversive'" (Greene 1984: 22).

In the search for pragmatic options between 'subversion' and 'uncritical support' there is one element that should be saved under all circumstances. The social sciences in the region, particularly in the field of research, should enjoy a minimum level of autonomy, that protects its mid and long term projects from conjunctural political changes or swings of government, and although no full institutional independence can exist, a fair degree of inertia should be built in, to guarantee a minimum level of continuity as the limiting condition for progress in the development of the social sciences in the region.

IV. Major conceptualizations

The several conceptualizations that have governed half a century of social sciences in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean should be approached as concrete manifestations of a general development, that was closely related to the social development of the Caribbean societies.

Impressive work has been done on a wide variety of issues, from highly authoritative studies to ephemeral publications and from a broad spectrum of ideological viewpoints, disciplinary approaches and rival paradigms. The result is a Caribbean social science research of such a diverse nature, that it seems hardly possible to bring a meaningful order into the wide array of contributions.

For a systematic study, the first step is the selection of the ordering principle to structure the 'disorder'. An obvious device is provided by current social science itself in the form of its disciplines. So far, social science reviews have followed in the wake of the social science disciplines, and although interdisciplinary tendencies were identified, a general understanding of social science development in the region could hardly be achieved with that approach.

The separate disciplines have been influential and at no time lost their authority in the region, but we shall not follow the tradition of focusing on them in the assessment of the social sciences in the Caribbean because, as we indicated before, their very existence creates a fragmentation of the social sciences that should be object of study. We discussed already the North Atlantic origin that made their applicability in the region questionable, and it was also shown that their delimitations were very little respected in the social science endeavours in the Caribbean. Therefore, the differentiation into disciplines, that rather constituted a limitation for the development of the social sciences, will not be taken as the basis for our classification of the social science contributions.

1. Classification of Social Science Conceptualizations on the Region

A different ordering principle of a methodological nature that is useful for understanding the mass of the social science work on the region is the 'unit of analysis', on which a particular conceptualization is based. The 'unit of analysis' is not located in a particular social science discipline, but in social reality itself; it is the part of social reality that is taken as the point of departure of the analysis and as the basis on which a conceptualization of the society is constructed.

Two dimensions of the unit of analysis will be focused on: the social sphere to which it belongs, and its level. For the classification of the social science conceptualizations on the region the relevant social spheres to which the unit of analysis can belong are: culture, economy, social structure and politics, while its level can be: enclave, subnational section, national, regional and international level.

These two dimensions, when represented in a matrix form, produce a classification that proves to be useful to order meaningfully most of the conceptualizations and research settings of the social sciences on the region, as is done in Table 1.

But before we begin our discussion, we should stress that the matrix is only a schema and not a substitute or analogy for social reality. Neither does it pretend to provide a one-dimensional classification or a typology, since our objective is not the establishment of types but rather a meaningful ordering of the mass of existing conceptualizations.

We can now take a closer look at the classification. The unit of analysis refers to the basic methodological tool used in a conceptualization and to what is privileged over the rest, but it does not refer to the range of its theoretical statements. To make this point clear, although in the conceptualization of 'class society' statements are also made about culture, its unit of analysis is of an economic nature.

The enclave level is an isolated setting which is conceived of as an extra-geographic entity that does not form a constituent and integrated part of the larger national society. In cultural studies in the Western anthropological tradition, attention was paid to the Amerindian community that was amply studied in the mainland territories of the region, and to the Guiana maroon societies. Enclave economies are identified in earlier historical periods, particularly in "the hinterland of conquest" (Best 1968), while an enclave study that focused on social structure was done by Richard Price (1976) who dedicated attention to the social structure of the Saramaka maroon society. In the sphere of politics at the enclave level studies were done on the Maroon Kroetoe System, which is a system of administration at the local (village) and society (tribe) level, based on public meetings in which quarrels are settled and major decisions are taken in collective deliberations aiming at the achievement of consensus or acceptable compromises (Thoden van Velzen 1966; Price 1976).

In the conceptualization at the subnational level (Table 2) the unit of analysis is a section of the national society, which forms a constituent part of it. It is generally characterized by the dominance of one section, while the social response against factionalism consists of a national unification tendency.

The 'plural society' is a cultural model at the subnational level, based on ethnic group (cultural section) as the unit of analysis, with a dominant cultural section (white in the case of Jamaica). Acculturation is the social response with the homogeneous society as the ideal long term solution.

In the dual economy model based on Lewis' two-sector economy, the modern economic sector is dominant, and industrialization is the response to overcome the duality of the economy, leading to self sustaining growth. Another economy-based conceptualization at the subnational level is the 'pure plantation economy' model, with a fragmented economy where the dominant staple forms the leading sector and the dynamics of the staple cycle conduces to quasi-proletarianization and the rise of the 'national economy'.

TABLE 1
CLASSIFICATION OF CONCEPTUALIZATIONS AND RESEARCH SETTINGS
(Based on the unit of analysis)

Social Sphere / Level of Unit of Analysis	Culture	Economy	Social structure	Politics
Enclave	Amerindian Community Maroon Society	Enclave Economy	"Saramaka Social Structure"	"Maroon Kroetoe System"
Subnational section	Plural Society	Dual Economy (Lewis' model) Pure Plantation Economy	Gender Structured Society	Crown Colony
National level	Creole Society	Modern Plantation Economy Class Society	Stratified Society	Parliamentary Democracy Authoritarian State Socialist State
Regional level	Afroamerica	Regional Economic Integration	Federation	Geopolitics
International level	African Diaspora	Dependency	Global Alliances	East-West Rivalry

TABLE 2
CONCEPTUALIZATIONS AT THE SUBNATIONAL LEVEL

Conceptualization	Social Sphere	Section	Dominant Section	Response
Plural Society	culture	ethnic group	white (Jamaica)	acculturation
Dual Economy	economy	economic sector (two-sector)	modern sector	industrialization
Pure Plantation Economy	economy	plantation	dominant staple	quasi-proletarianization
Gender Structured Society	social structure	gender	male	women emancipation
Crown Colony	politics	political sphere	colonial government representation	decolonization

A subnational conceptualization based on social structure is the 'gender-structured society' characterized by male dominance and by women's emancipation as the social response to achieve a gender-egalitarian society. In the Caribbean societies women occupy a central role in the family structure. This is particularly studied for the creole family in Guyana (R.T. Smith 1956), Jamaica (Clarke 1957), Curaçao (Abraham-Van der Mark 1969; Marks 1973) and Suriname (Buschkens 1973). But it is only recently that systematic studies have been conducted on gender (Durant-Gonzalez 1976; Powell 1984), particularly in the ongoing broad regional 'Women in the Caribbean Project' (Durant-Gonzalez 1986; White 1986).

In the political sphere the 'crown colony' is based on alien control of power, while the domestic social response of nationalism and decolonization movements leads to the rise of the democratic nation state.

At the national level (Table 3) a cultural unit of analysis leads to the conceptualization of 'creole society', that is a product of Afro-European acculturation, but in societies with a sizeable East Indian population a neglect of their cultural identity can stimulate the rise of cultural movements and introduce elements of divergence and conflict.

In the economic sphere the 'modern plantation economy' model which is the outcome of colonial exploitation, the inherent contradiction of foreign domination of an emancipating society leads to responses like nationalist movements, decolonization and anti-imperialism. In the 'class society' model, which is a product of the capitalist mode of production, the classic response to class contradiction is class struggle and revolution.

In the "stratified society model", the social structure is characterized by social differentiation as a consequence of differential vertical social mobility, leading to the contradiction of status and income inequality that is handled in the model by reformist responses via social mobilization, for instance in the labour movement.

TABLE 3
CONCEPTUALIZATIONS AND RESEARCH SETTINGS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Conceptualizations	Social Sphere	Outcome of	Inherent Contradiction	Classical Response to Contradiction
Creole Society	culture	acculturation	neglect of cultural minority	cultural movement
Modern Plantation Economy	economy	colonial exploitation	foreign domination	nationalism decolononization
Class Society	economy	capitalist mode of production	class contradiction	class struggle revolution
Stratified Society	social stratification	differential vertical mobility	income and status inequality	reformism
Parliamentary Democracy	politics	decolonization	weak social economic rights	extraconstitutional seizure of power
Populist Statist System (socialist)	politics	class struggle	weak individual rights	liberalization
Authoritarian State	politics	state capitalism	absence of democracy	broad democratic front

In the political sphere, the 'parliamentary democracy' model is a product of decolonization and is characterized by strong individual civil rights and weak social and economic rights, which can lead to extreme responses like the extra-constitutional seizure of power (Grenada 1979, Suriname 1980).

The 'authoritarian state' (Guyana) is conceived of as the result of crises in the periphery that led to a state capitalism that did not lose its class character (Thomas 1984b), and the response to the absence of democracy that characterizes it is a broad democratic front.

The 'populist statist' model (socialist state) is based on class struggle and is characterized by strong social and economic rights with the suppression of individual rights (Stone 1986b). Responses to it can vary from some kind of liberalization to 'rescue missions' of Western democracy by military intervention (Grenada in 1983; Latin America 'passim'). At the regional level cultural studies focused on Afro-America, economy-based studies on regional economic integration, but federation and, more recently geopolitics were also widely studied.

It should be noted that the distinction between the national and the regional level is relative, since many 'national societies' have been sub-national units in the shortlived West Indian Federation, and for the countries of the Organization of the Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) the picture is even more complicated.

At the international level a cultural approach led to the conceptualization of African Diaspora which obtained relevance for the Rastafari and the early Black Power movement.

An economic unit of analysis led to the conceptualization of dependency, while global alliances such as the Socialist Block, International Capitalism and the Non-Aligned Movement relate to the structuring into broader spheres, whereas in international politics the East-West rivalry was considered as a major explanatory variable in many geopolitical studies.

The classification in Table 1 also makes it possible to distinguish between cultural, economy-based, social structure-based, and political studies, which will be useful in our discussions of the different conceptualizations in the region.

2. Cultural Models

In a large number of conceptualizations of Caribbean social reality culture has been highly privileged over economy and social structure. The cultural model that forms the base of these studies can be traced back to traditional Western anthropology where most of these conceptualizations originated. Culture was conceived of as the basic unit and the building block of the edifice of society. In this line of cultural models, enclave studies were conducted in the region on the Amerindian communities of Guyana, Suriname and Belize, and on the maroon societies in Suriname.

It should be remembered that 'enclave' is used here as a characteristic of the conceptualization and not of the social setting itself; 'enclave' refers to a social setting that is not conceived of as part of the national society, but rather as an extra-national setting which is studied for the sake of extra-geographical generalizations.

Orlando Patterson's study of early slavery (1967, 1970) based on the enclave idea of marginal non-integrated entities with implanted groups that still seemed to be scattered social settings, is criticized by Susan Craig (1982b: 145-146), because of his "nihilist approach", of the "absence of society". In general it should be noted for early Caribbean history that there is no social science justification for excluding the early white colonizer who settled in the colony, from the concept of society.

With the subnational cultural setting as a unit of analysis, the most influential conceptualization has been the 'plural society' model (Van Lier 1949, 1950; M.G. Smith 1965, 1969a). As will be discussed later the unit of analysis of this conceptualization is not the national society, but rather the different cultural sections which it comprises. The cultural

sections of the plural society model attracted particularly the attention of foreign scholars who were fascinated by the cultural variety of Suriname and studies were conducted on the only Javanese population group in the New World (De Waal Malefijt 1963; Suparlan 1976) and on East-Indian religion and marriage (De Klerk 1951; Speckman 1965).

At the national level an acculturation approach conduces to the concept of 'creole society' (Goveia 1965; M.G. Smith 1965; R.T. Smith 1967; Brathwaite 1971, 1974), which is a descriptive devite to understand a particular aspect of the evolution of the Caribbean societies. The 'Creole' was defined as the "native West Indian of European, African or mixed descent" (M.G. Smith 1965: 307), while the "creole society and culture derives from Europe and Africa" (ibid.: 307). This specific appreciation of the term 'creole society' makes it difficult to use it for more recent stages of Caribbean history, particularly in the societies with a sizeable and influential East Indian population like Guyana, Suriname and Trinidad, where the social meaning and impact of acculturation between 'black' and 'white' cultures assumes other forms. While for M.G. Smith the "West Indian society is Creole society" (1965: 307), for R.T. Smith (1967) it is only one of the three consecutive stages he distinguishes: plantation society, the creole society and the modern society. For him creole society had an important external component, as it "was rooted in the political and economic dominance of the metropolitan power" (1967: 234).

In Edward Brathwaite's view there is a creolization process which is a specialized version of acculturation and interculturation. Acculturation refers to the yoking of one culture to another by force and example or deriving from power or prestige, and interculturation refers to an unplanned, unstructured but osmotic relationship proceeding from this yoke (Brathwaite 1974: 5).

At the regional level the cultural model led to the conceptualization of 'cultural sphere' and more specifically of "Afro-America'. Charles Wagley (1957) distinguishes three cultural spheres in the hemisphere: Euro-America, Indo-America and

Plantation America. The last term could be taken as synonymous for Afro-America, a conceptualization which was developed some decades earlier under the influence of the 'black studies' originating in the United States.

At variance with the plural society model, which focuses on the cultural section in the national societies, the cultural sphere approach deals with the cultural section in the whole region, across the boundaries of the national states, but no intent is made to study relations between different cultural spheres in the region (in some sort of 'hemispheric pluralism').

Systematic studies of the African heritage in the Caribbean region did not develop in the region itself, because "changes in the intellectual climate of the United States fostered a new interest among urbane educated Americans in the 'exotic' black cultures of the New World" (Price 1976: 55-56). Soon attention was concentrated on Suriname, where the most interesting maroon societies of the New World were still intact in relative isolation. Melville Herskovits, a United States anthropologist, conducted field work among the Saramaka maroons in the inlands of Suriname in 1928, which laid the basis for the later hemispheric and even transatlantic Afro-American studies conducted by him and his followers. The early studies, done together with his wife, which concentrated on the Surinamese maroons (Herskovits and Herkovits 1934, 1936) were broadened to Haiti (1937) and Trinidad (1947), while attempts were made at general interpretations (1941). These Afro-American studies focusing on the acculturation process in the New World of people of African descent, using concepts like survival, retention, syncretism and reinterpretation to identify the traces of Africa in America and to understand the interaction between cultures, have come under heavy attack. It was argued that cultures as such do not meet and interact, but that it is the social groups and their members, the carriers of culture, who interact meaningfully. Therefore, the acculturation process should not be conceived of as an isolated cultural process detached from the broader context of society. These studies were considered to be

"inadequately balanced by studies of the social situation, processes, and structures involved in such change" (M.G. Smith 1961: 36).

The Afro-American studies led to valuable insights into many aspects of negro culture in the region, but they were handicapped by the limitation that too much emphasis was laid on the tenacity of African culture in the New World (Braithwaite 1957a: 102-103; see also critical comments of Mintz and Price 1976). This contributed to foster a reductionist tendency amongst black intellectuals, particularly with the emergence of the Black Power movement, to see the region as part of the African Diaspora, overlooking the other ethnic components (G.K. Lewis 1983a: 2). To certain extent they influenced the development of social movements that were historically sterile, since nostalgia always takes the opposite direction of history, contrary to evolution, development and progress.

Two conceptualizations of the cultural models deserve more attention because of their relevance for an understanding of the development of the social sciences in the Caribbean: the 'cultural enclave study', because of its nature of non-indigenized social science research, and the 'plural society model' as the most influential conceptualization in Caribbean social science.

Cultural Enclave Studies

The inlands of the Guianas which blend with the vast Amazone hinterland could harbour many Amerindians who were able to resist and survive European colonialism, which concentrated its plantations in the easily accessible littoral of the Atlantic coast. The unpenetrability of the tropical forests also offered a safe alternative to the maroons to establish their free societies which managed to survive several centuries. Together with the ancient Mayan background of Belize, the

variegated character of the three mainland territories of the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean attracted an even more variegated crowd of Western anthropologists, and the region ranked high on the priority list of Western anthropology. A large number of enclave studies were conducted in the region, in which the settings to be studied were not conceived of as belonging to the national society, and could therefore contribute to extra-geographical generalizations about the development and nature of human society in general. The existence of the national society was not denied, but it was too often treated as external to the community under study, and its influence was often seen as dislocative. The enclaves or semi-isolated enclaves were not located in the ongoing irreversible historical processes in which the Caribbean societies were engaged, but were rather treated as timeless, historically transparent social settings. Even though relevant insights were achieved on specific issues like linguistics, folklore and ethnomusicology (an extreme misnomer), from a Caribbean point of view the exotic and deviant nature of life and customs of the communities was overemphasized, at a time when the communities were rapidly fading away under the pressure of interference by religion, education, health care and the money economy. Too little attention was given to the process of their 'de-tribalization' and incorporation into the national society, the indications of which could already be seen on the outskirts of urban centres in the lowest echelons of pre-underground economy and the service sector of prostitution. Development projects in the Guianas with the expanding bauxite sector, hydro-electric works in the interior, roads to distant timber reserves, but also education and airlift medical care, together with 'exotic' Western religions, progressively incorporated Amerindian and Bush-negro communities into the national society. By now it can be seriously doubted whether the traditional Bush-negro community life in the interior of Suriname, which has disappeared to a large extent as a consequence of the recent guerrilla war (since 1986), that left a sizeable part of its people in exile, will ever be restored.

In the case of the anthropological research of Herskovits, the studies on the maroon societies were not the result of a genuine interest in understanding the inner life of those social settings and their development, but were initiated to collect fresh evidence to prove contentions and to validate hypothesis that emerged in the United States in debates on the Blacks, which were an outgrow of North American black studies related to a problem of black identity that was beyond the imagination of maroon societies. It is due to these externally generated research objectives that those studies could hardly make a contribution to the indigenization of the social sciences in the region.

Enclave studies on Amerindian communities in the Guianas were conducted in the southern inlands, like Riviere's (1969) study on Trio marriage, and in general, kinship, religion, belief systems and language were the major issues to be highlighted (See Butt Colson and Heinen 1983-84). But research was also done on the coastal Amerindians and the problem of incorporation and integration in the national society was raised, as in Kloos' (1971) study on the Maroni River Caribs in Suriname. An old debate was revived by the development plan he proposed for the integration of the Caribs in the national economy which was criticized by Magana (1981) as an ethnocidal policy of dismantling Carib society. The main issue in this debate (with a rejoinder of Kloos 1981) was whether for such isolated groups, a laissez-faire policy of not disturbing the peacefully living community, should be preferred to an active development of local opportunities, when the process of incorporation in the national society is already under way and cannot be stopped anymore.

Enclave studies based on culture conducted in the region since the nineteenth century in the form of ethnographic accounts (see Price 1976: 48), that were more scientifically based in the present century, did not contribute to the indigenization of the social sciences in the region nor to a better understanding of the development of the Caribbean societies,

but this should hardly surprise us given the limitations inherent to the enclave-approach of those studies.

Plural Society

'Plural society' has been the most influential conceptualization in the Caribbean social sciences. During four decades it has dominated social science discussions in the region in a prolonged debate. It also filtered into other non-academic and political settings where it occupied a major place, an example of which is the symbolization of it in the first national flag of Suriname by five coloured stars standing for the different ethnic groups.

Culture is the basis of the concept of 'plural society', and its unit of analysis focuses on the national cultural sections in society.

The first point that should be made is, that this model is not originally nor specifically Caribbean. The term was first applied by the economist J.S. Furnivall, when he tried to characterize the colonial environments of the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) and Burma, in a comparative study of those countries in the 1930s and 1940s (Furnivall 1939, 1945, 1948). In his description of such a society he observes that: "It is in the strictest sense a medley of people, for they mix but do not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market place, in buying and selling. There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately within the same political unit" (Furnivall 1948: 304).

The plural society was seen as lacking common social values and a common social will. But the conceptualization of the plural society by Furnivall was not strictly cultural since the economic factor was considered important in those colonial societies. As will be seen later this economic dimension would disappear with the resurgence of the model in the Caribbean.

Soon the term 'plural society' became very popular within and outside social science literature, because an answer was given with a concept that was easy to grasp, due to its highly descriptive nature, to the problem how to qualify those distant different type of societies found in the 'tropics'.

The first one to apply the concept to characterize a society in the Caribbean was Rudolf van Lier. Influenced by Furnivall's early work on the Dutch East Indies (1939), he considers Suriname in an influential socio-historical study as "one of the best examples of a plural society" (Van Lier 1949: 8).

In his view the plural society in Suriname finds its origin in the abolition of slavery in 1863, and was characterized by the big cultural difference between on the one hand the class of the Dutch white and the middle class of Jewish colonists and free coloured, and on the other hand, the lower class of black workers. This situation of plurality became more complex with the immigration of Chinese, East Indian and Javanese indentured workers (Van Lier 1949: 284).

In 1950 Van Lier described the West Indian societies as plural societies (using the term 'segmented societies'), which were characterized by a low solidarity in a society composed of separate segments, where co-operation primarily takes place in the economic and political field, while the power of the state is mostly monopolized by one segment (Van Lier 1950). He maintained his enthousiasm for the term for quite some time, considering the Surinamese population in 1957 "a successful plurality" (Van Lier 1957: 37-38), but in 1971 he became somewhat more reticent. (Preface of the 1971 reprint of Van Lier 1949)

In brief, it can be noted that Van Lier used the term 'plural society' strictly as a descriptive device to characterize the Caribbean societies. It was M.G. Smith (1965) influenced by Furnivall and Van Lier, as he himself admits (M.G. Smith 1983: 117), who elaborated the concept theoretically for the region in the 1950s, and who became its most fervent defender during almost four decades.

Smith, who considers Furnivall's conceptualization of pluralism as a general theory (1983: 107), purged it of its economic dimension and elaborated it into a social scientific model based on culture to understand and explain the complex Caribbean societies.

In a series of articles written from 1952 to 1961 (which are compiled in Smith 1965), he presented his theoretical elaborations of the pluralism theory.

Smith (1960) defines societies as territorially distinct units of people having their own central governmental institutions. Taking as a criterion the shared institutions and their nature, he distinguishes three types of societies: homogeneous, plural and heterogeneous.

In a homogeneous society the population shares a single set of institutions. In a plural society there is formal diversity between sections of the population due to differences in the system of 'basic institutions' (also called 'compulsory' or 'core' institutions), amongst which he reckons: kinship, education, religion, property and economy, recreation and certain sodalities. In a heterogeneous society the members share a common system of basic institutions, but practice differing 'alternative' and 'exclusive' institutions.

Thus, a plural society exists when groups that practice differing basic institutions live side by side under a common government.

To Smith pluralism was "a causal and explanatory principle" (1953:112), and considerations of status, rather than economic forces maintained the social structure. Ethnicity and 'social race' were factors on their own right not reducible to economic factors or social class. Smith took the opposite position of the economic reductionist tendency that explained those phenomena exclusively in class terms.

In his further elaboration of the plural society model, Smith points to the domination of one cultural section over the rest. He sustains that: "Given the fundamental differences of belief, value, and organization, that connote pluralism, the monopoly of power by one cultural section is the essential

precondition for the maintenance of the total society in its current form" (1960: 86).

The dominance is even conceived of as a minority group dominance, because: "The political regime of the plural society is identified by an exclusive concentration of political and juridical resources and functions in a ruling minority organized as a corporate group" (M.G. Smith 1969a: 230-231).

This minority group dominance was criticized as an "unnecessary limitation" (Kuper 1980: 243) of his model. Indeed, understanding the plural society as dominated by a minority cultural section, excludes three sizeable countries in the region to which Smith refers as plural, namely Guyana, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago, which are the best examples of what pluralism stands for.

The situation of domination by one minority cultural group possibly could be 'claimed' by the pluralists for the special case of Jamaica, which was amply studied by Smith, and maybe it is a 'Jamaican-bias' that can account for the limitation of minority rule.

In a further adaptation of the plural society model (M.G. Smith 1969b: 440) a distiction was made between cultural, social and structural pluralism but the nature of the unit of analysis remained cultural, since all those concepts were defined in terms of institutional differences.

There have been several other contributions to the plural society model (Van den Berghe 1967, 1969; L. Kuper 1969a, 1969b), but for our present purpose it suffices to concentrate on the work of M.G. Smith.

As a model the concept of plural society is not supported by empirical evidence in the region, since it was very little applied in research. The only significant intent to test the plural society model is Leo Depres' study (1964, 1967) on the nationalist politics of British Guiana. But as McKenzie (1966) indicates in a methodological critique (of Depres 1964), his efforts to test the theory of the plural society lead to a circular

argumentation in a confusion of explanation and description, of what exists "in fact" with what "by definition", and as a result Depres' study only provides arguments that the theory of the plural society is not a theory but a descriptive category.

The term 'plural society' appears in the title of both Annemarie de Waal Malefijt's study (1963) and the re-study of Parsudi Suparlan (1976) on the Javanese in Suriname, but neither of them elaborates or really applies the concept theoretically, as it is only used descriptively to identify the social context of the minority group of the Javanese.

Edward Dew (1978) applies the model to explain political mobilization, party politics and the political development in postwar Suriname, ascribing a priority role to the factor 'ethnic group' neglecting other relevant variables. But the validity of the plural society model was challenged inmediately after his study, by the virtual absence of ethnicity as a relevant factor in the subsequent developments in that country with the military coup of 1980, a military controlled government (1980-1987) and a negotiated return to parliamentary democracy (1987); a whole period that cannot be dealt with in terms of the pluralist 'paradigm'.

Smith's theory of the plural society caused a fierce debate in the Caribbean. The structural functionalists Lloyd Braithwaite (1960) and Raymond Smith (1962) jumped into the arena and were soon joined by others among which the Marxist-oriented social scientists, and in some sense almost every Caribbean social scientist in one way or another, got involved in the plural society debate.

Braithwaite, who considers "the theory of the plural society logically unacceptable" (1960: 817) and doubts whether the term was sufficiently clear theoretically (1960: 818), holds the view that "there must be a certain minimum of common, shared values if the unity of society is to be maintained" (ibid.: 822).

Harry Hoetink (1962: 151-158), who is only willing to accept the ideal-typical approach of the plural society for the

early times of implantation of the societies objects the minority group domination and considers as a major weakness the absence of racial cleavages as a relevant category.

In methodological critiques Malcolm Cross (1968) discusses a confusion between description and explanation, and he considers it incorrect to define social structure in cultural terms,while he does not consider it a theory, but rather a descriptive classificatory scheme (Cross 1971, 1977).

Carl Stone (1973: 8) questions the explicit assumption of the pluralism theory that "value consensus is the primary basis of political stability and integration".

Susan Craig (1974: 133) points to the lack of historical perspective in the theory of the plural society as it "presumes that the Caribbean societies have not changed one whit since 1820". She also criticizes the theory because its central concept of institution is confined to crystallized, reified, unambiguous actions and ideas, and is not process-oriented (Craig 1981: 152).

Pluralism is considered as an extreme type by Kuper (1980: 243) and the theory of the plural society is not considered by him as a general theory of race or of ethnic relations (ibid.: 246).

From a Marxist point of view pluralism, that is "so mesmerized by everything that it cannot explain anything" (Hall 1980: 343), is criticized, because of its simple dichotomization (Hall 1977) and its "simple binarism of race and class" (Hall 1980), in which no room is left for 'class', as a relevant factor.

Robotham (1980, 1985) sees pluralism as an ideology; it is not a theory but "a scientific abstraction derived from the ideological consciousness of the Jamaican anti-colonial middle class of the period" (1980: 69) and it is "the story of an acculturation process" (Robotham 1980: 71), a view which was vehemently rejected by M.G. Smith (1983).

According to Robotham, the Caribbean society is presented as a rigid and frozen scheme, composed of "cultural sections one on top of another" (Robotham 1980: 82).

Finally it should be mentioned that a critique, that appears as a constant in almost all the criticisms questions the categorical rejection in the pluralist model of economic factors.

We mentioned all these criticisms, spread over time and from different ideological points of view, to give an impression of the impact that the concept of plural society has had in the Caribbean social sciences in four decades.

But still many things are obscure, and since some major points can still be made, we shall give this model a closer look from a theoretical and methodological point of view.

Contrary to what is still widely believed or assumed (Marks 1979: 5; Robotham 1980: 88, 1985: 112; Craig 1982b: 152, C.W. Mills 1987: 70-71; an exception is Morrissey 1976: 107), M.G. Smith does not reject the structural functionalist paradigm.

Before we argue this point, it should be noted that there is a simple reason why the reverse could have been taken for true, because at first sight the plural society seems to be very different from the 'homogeneous' or 'heterogeneous' societies, given the absence of consensus in society as a whole, which seems to make plural societies fundamentally different from the other types that are considered to be governed by principles of structural functionalism.

What now is the exact relation between structural functionalism and the theory of the plural society? M.G. Smith himself is clear on that when he observes that: "In homogeneous societies integration connotes the maintenance and perpetuation of the system as a system by the functional relations of its institutions. This definition if applied to plural societies must be supplemented by distinctions between the integration of the totality, and each of its component sections. The same point applies to the concept of equilibrium and, but only more so, to the notion of stability" (M.G. Smith 1954: 157).

Structural functionalism is "applied" to the plural society and to find out how that takes place we should consult another

of Smith's works. In distinguishing between "social systems" and "society" he argues that" "almost any group structure or activity can be conceived of as a social system of some particular kind or other" (Smith 1961: 40).

Hence, 'social system' is not necessarily the national society in Smith's view, but can be "any group structure or activity" within it. This is the case in the plural society model, because the cultural sections which are for Smith "oriented toward the preservation of their institutional patterns unchanged" (1954: 157), are taken as the point of departure, as the unit of analysis.

If we line up the argument chronologically, it goes as follows. In the theory of the plural society the paradigm is structural functionalism and consequently the model to be used is 'social system'. Almost any group structure or activity can be conceived of as a social system. In the plural society model the social system is the cultural section and it serves as a point of departure to explain the national society and to argue why it lacks consensus.

Our conclusion is therefore that the theory of the plural society is not a theory or a paradigm; its theory or paradigm is structural functionalism, which is creatively applied to the region with its weakly integrated multi-racial societies.

Both the plural society model and the stratified society model (Braithwaite 1953; R.T. Smith 1962, 1967) are based on the structural functionalist paradigm, but this affinity is not reflected in the social science debate as there existed relatively more affinity and less polemic between the stratified society model and the class society model. There are two reasons that can explain this. The first one which we already discussed, is that the plural society model was perceived as being at variance with the structural functionalist paradigm. The second reason is, that the plural society model differs from the other two models on both dimensions of the unit of analysis. While the unit of analysis of these latter models is at the national level and only differ with regard to its nature (economy versus social structure), the unit of analysis of the plural society model is at the subnational level and in the

ambit of culture (see Table 1). It is this two-dimensional difference that can be held responsible for the lack of affinity in the social debate we referred to.

In the race-class debate of the last forty years in the Caribbean insufficient attention of the social scientists to these underlying methodological differences, along with a heavy stress on the ideological dimension, contributed to the confusion and the unsystematic nature of the debate, a great deal of which could have been saved otherwise.

Let us now take a final general look at this influential plural society model.

The model is based on the axiomatic assumption that pluralism is an independent, causal and explanatory variable, and a factor in its own right, not reducible to other social factors. The whole fabric of society is built on culture and the extreme emphasis on the gregarious cultural sections gives society an archipelago-like structure; the national society almost becomes a contextual variable for the institutionally autonomous cultural sections.

As a static model it was not capable of dealing with the most important issue of Caribbean post-war history: the process of social political change. The limitations of structural functionalism on which the plural society model is based, is one of the reasons that made it difficult to "investigate underlying structural forces which break up, as well as maintain a given cultural configuration" (C.W. Mills 1987: 83). The capacity of a people and a society to influence the course of history, particularly at the advent of disastrous developments such as race conflicts, is not taken into account sufficiently, which gives the model a deterministic nature.

In the societies of the Caribbean, on the one hand, the issue of return movements, to Africa, India and Indonesia, although they existed in history, has no convoking or mobilizing capacity, and on the other hand, in the larger societies of the region the conditions for a separatist movement such as the historic, cultural or religious identification of ethnic or

other groups with part of the territory are absent. In such a situation important social pressure is exerted towards nation building, which generates social developments which the plural society model has problems in dealing with.

As a conceptualization of the Caribbean societies, possibly difficult to question for the early years of the emerging societies in the region (Hoetink 1962: 151), its pessimistic premisses on the incapacity to build a harmonious society and nation in the multi-ethnic societies of the Caribbean, made the plural society model somewhat anachronic in the decolonization atmosphere that dominated in the post-war period and in the search of the societies for selfreliance. Fortunately, this did not constitute a major problem in the region, as such an argument against autonomy was only sporadically advanced by some anti-independence movements, but not by the colonial powers themselves that did not use it to legitimate their colonial domination, since they had become aware in the post-war period that traditional colonialism, seen in terms of their own interests, was already historically outdated.

The plural society theory, notwithstanding its lack of empirical support, could not only survive but at times even enjoy a high prestige in the Caribbean. One of the major reasons was that M.G. Smith made an important contribution placing race and ethnicity, which had been almost taboo in the social sciences, high on the social science agenda. As Vera Rubin observed: "The candid discussion of race relations and politics may seem contrary to the national interests of emerging nations, but it would seem essential to bring this emotion-laden area under objective scrutiny in order to understand the political problems of wielding a multi-cultural, multi-racial society into a homogeneous nation" (Rubin 1962: 433).

Another reason for the influence of Smith's theory was that while it was perceived as an original Caribbean theory that could challenge both the Marxist and the structural functionalist paradigm and contribute to the indigenization of the social sciences in the region, on the other hand, there has been an astonishing incapacity of rival theories to present

a satisfactory alternative explanation or model, particularly in the case of its most fierce Marxist opponents who, with their economic reductionist models, were unable to grasp race and class as they were articulated in the Caribbean societies.

3. The Critical Economists

The first conceptualization of indigenous economic thought in the Caribbean was Arthur Lewis' model which initiated a "critical tradition" (Bernal et al. 1984) in Caribbean social science thought. The later conceptualizations of 'plantation economy' and 'dependency' that developed in reaction to that first model was only a continuation of the search for indigenous solutions for Caribbean problems.

This tradition took 'economy' as the basis of its analysis, and the 'building block' of its conceptualzations was a unit of analysis of an economic nature. But it should be noted that 'economy-based' model is not the same as 'economic model'; 'class society' for example is an economy-based model, but not an economic model, and the same holds for 'plantation economy', since they are not based on the social science discipline of 'economics', but on economy as part of social reality. The difficulty in English of distinguishing with the term 'economic' between tangible social reality and an academic fabrication should be taken into account, since it can lead to incorrect assessments, and particularly the kind of difference that exists between a 'sociological problem' and a 'social problem' is obscured in the term 'economic problem'. It may be noted in passing that this limitation does not exist in German that can differentiate between 'wirtschaftlich' and 'oconömisch' while it is more serious in Spanish, Dutch and French, that do not even distinguish between 'economy' and 'economics'.

After this clarification we can take a closer look at the early economy-based studies in the region. As a consequence of the social and political developments in the Caribbean societies and the discussions they originated in the early

decolonization process about the viability of independence in the region, 'economy' obtained particular relevance in the societies of the region, and the problems of underdevelopment and development, economic growth, unemployment and persistent poverty acquired priority on the checklist of independence.

In the 1960s these historical circumstances gave rise to a number of economy-based social science studies in the region. But as a reaction to the North Atlantic social sciences that could not deal satisfactorily with the specific problems of the post-war Caribbean, it led to the emergence of critical economists and to attempts to indigenize the social sciences in the region.

The unit of analysis of the Lewis' model (see Table 4) is at the subnational level. The economy is conceived of as comprised of two sectors, a traditional rural 'subsistence' sector and a modern capitalist sector, jointly forming the 'dual economy'.

In the conceptualization of 'plantation economy' the 'pure plantation economy' model is located at the subnational level and the 'modern plantation economy' model at the national level, while the 'dependency' model that studied the contemporary plantations (the transnationals), deals with the international level, and finally, the economy-based unit at the regional level pays attention to the issue of regional economic integration.

These influential conceptualizations in Caribbean social science will be the subject of our next sections.

Lewis' Model

Arthur Lewis has been a pioneer in the indigenous social science study of the region. He was the first indigenous Caribbean economist (T.W. Farrell 1980: 66) and undertook the first attempt at theory construction for West Indian economic problems (St. Cyr 1983: 3). When Lewis presented his economic thought and strategy for the Caribbean in the

TABLE 4
ECONOMY BASED CONCEPTUALIZATIONS
OF THE CRITICAL ECONOMISTS

Level	Economy-based conceptualization	Unit	Scholars
Enclave	Enclave economy	Enclave in hinterland of conquest	Best and Levitt
Subnational	Dual economy	Two sector: subsistence and modern sector	Arthur Lewis
	Pure plantation economy	Plantation	Best
Regional	Regional economic integration	Region	Demas Mc Intyre Brewster and Thomas
National	Modern plantation economy	National economy	Best and Levitt Beckford
International	Dependency	Transnational corporate economic system	Girvan

early post-war period (Lewis 1945, 1949a, 1950), he introduced a new critical approach that would become the leading one in the next decade. At a time when the decolonization process was rapidly advancing and the plea for independence emerged all over the Caribbean, the question of the feasibility of independence and the possibilities for economic development figured high on all the agendas, both of politicians and academics. It was these circumstances that gave rise to the first generation of Caribbean social scientists of which Arthur Lewis formed part.

Lewis, although occupied with the major problems of the Caribbean, did not see the region as a 'unique' area and his studies soon abtained a broader character which led to general theoretical studies (Lewis 1949b, 1954, 1955, 1958b), with which he gained international prestige.

Lewis himself indicates in an autobiographical note, that he was worrying about a general problem concerning Third World economic development, walking one day in 1952 down the road in Bangkok, when he suddenly found the solution: "Throw away the neo-classical assumption that the quantity of labour is fixed. An 'unlimited supply of labour' will keep wages down... The result is a dual (national or world) economy, where one part is a cheap reservoir for the other" (W.A. Lewis 1980: 4).

Although a substantial part of Lewis' work addresses itself to general problems of the Third World, it should not be considered 'less Caribbean' or as not belonging to Caribbean thought for that reason, because as we discussed already, no such a thing as 'a proper Caribbean social science theory' strictly confined to the region exists, and Arthur Lewis was well aware of that.

Lewis' theoretical work has been reviewed on several occasions as in a special edition or the Journal 'Social and Economic Studies' (St. Cyr 1980; T.W. Farrell 1980; Worrell 1980), but also as part of more general reviews of economic thought in the region (St. Cyr 1983; Bernal et al. 1984). For the purposes of our discussion his model will only be highlighted here from a Caribbean perspective, with particular

attention to his strategy for economic development of the Caribbean societies.

Lewis considered the Caribbean economies as a 'dual economy', that consisted of two sectors: a traditional 'subsistence' sector based on agriculture, and a modern capitalist sector, and his model was therefore, according to our methodology, an economy-based conceptualization with the unit of analysis at the subnational level.

Lewis was not dominated by the Keynesian theory which was the most influential paradigm in economics at the time; rather he resorted to the "classical tradition, making the classical assumption and asking the classical question" (Lewis 1954: 400). His modified Ricardian influenced classical approach brought him to the two sector model of the economy, with "unlimited supplies of labour" in one sector servicing the other modern one, and that particular characteristic became the basis of his model and strategy of industrialization for the economic development of the Caribbean societies.

His argument on industrialization went as follows (W.A. Lewis 1950). The case for rapid industrialization in the West Indies rested chiefly on a situation of over-population with an unemployment that had become endemic, which had made industrialization indispensable for those economies. The principle obstacle to industrialization was the laissez-faire economic philosophy of the British West Indian Government, that argued that it was not necessary for a government to promote industrialization actively, for if industries were worth establishing, then private persons would do it. Lewis, for his part, proposed an active government initiative to promote industrialization, but realized that the necessary conditions, such as capital, entrepreneurship and market relations, could not be provided domestically. His solution was industrialization by invitation of foreign capital to produce light manufacture for the region and for export, courting it with a series of incentives like: tax holidays, subsidies, temporary monopoly rights, infrastuctural provisions, import restrictions to diminish competition, and low wage guaran-

tees. To secure the latter in the case that powerful labour unions should manage to hike up wages, the government should control the real purchasing power with a simple cut in wages or, since that would be politically difficult to implement, by devaluation. Compensation could also be given by some indirect subsidy such as price increase and further import restriction by raising tariff barriers, or also by giving a direct subsidy to the particular industry. This whole venture would be directed by a special central agency, an 'Industrial Development Corporation'.

There was one last necessary element for the model to operate: a labour supply high enough to contain wages, but with the unlimited supplies of labour in the dual economy that last ingredient for success was also added.

Lewis was optimistic because the proof of the feasibility of his model was not so far away. "Some key is needed to open the door behind which the dynamic energies of the West Indian people are at present confined. The key has obviously been found in Puerto Rico" (Lewis 1950: 54). "But the initial cost may be very high", he argued, "you have.. to begin by rolling your snowball up the mountain" (Lewis 1950: 54). However, subsequent developments in the region showed that Lewis mountain turned out to be too steep for a snowball in the Caribbean tropical heat, and this brings us to the critique of Arthur Lewis.

The Lewis-model was embraced throughout the Caribbean and as time passed by there was evidence to evaluate its success, and criticism began to appear.

The most systematic criticism of the Lewis' model would come from the next generation of social scientists gathered in the 'New World Group' (Best 1967; Best and Levitt 1968; Girvan 1971); a group that would be sufficiently important to merit separate treatment.

A good testcase for the model was Jamaica. It had experienced a high level of foreign investment and a significant economic growth in the period 1950-1965, with an annual rate of growth of the gross domestic product of about 7.2 per cent, while the real national income per head increased 4.5 per cent

per annum. (Jefferson 1967, 1972). Thus, the Lewis' model was in full operation in the case of Jamaica.

For Norman Girvan (1971) who analyzes this case, foreign capital investment led to a growth that did not make the economy more self-sustaining, but rather more dependent, nor did it relieve the material deprivation of the people, and he therefore concludes that, even when capital inflows are large in relation to the size of the economy, they cannot be a substitute for structural change.

Not even the Puerto Rican case which for Lewis himself constituted the proof, could easily stand up to the test, and two other members of the New World Group (Brewster and Thomas 1967: 60) called it "as much a showpiece of industrialization as of unemployment and the maldistribution of wealth and income".

Another postulate of Lewis' self-sustaining growth, that foreign capital investment would stimulate local entrepreneurship was rejected for Trinidad, where it could not be detected that people were "learning the trick of the trade and entering in the field" (Carrington 1968: 149).

For the New World Group Lewis' expectations for self-sustaining growth were "based on a crude mix of Ricardian and Keynesian economics, the former being revised to allow for technical progress in agriculture, and the latter for autonomous capital inflows to an 'open economy'" (Levitt and Best 1975: 34).

If we try to make an assessment of Lewis' model, it is noted that there were serious and urgent problems it could not handle, and particularly the crucial variable of unemployment was unmanageable in his model.

The unemployment rate, generally taken as one of the indicators to monitor development, was even questioned by him: "if we wish to measure our achievements in development, we must measure them not by the fall of unemployment, but by the increase in employment. The success that we have in creating employment is what is relevant rather than our failure in reducing unemployment" (Lewis 1958a: 45).

Lewis himself was frank on unemployment. Unable to grasp the immense problem of its increase in developing countries as a surplus of rural labour force, he admits: "Personally, therefore, I regard this part of the problem as insoluble" (Lewis 1958a: 45).

This insolubility was due to a methodological weakness of the Lewis-model itself. The unlimited supplies of labour were not just a given or a constant, but were generated by the operation of the model itself. Industrialization in the modern capitalist sector itself generated those labour supplies, because "the more work you provide in the towns the more people will drift into the towns, and there is no certainty that you can win the race" (Lewis 1958a: 44).

Lewis' strategy generates 'unlimited supplies of labour', and maybe a clearer term to understand why unemployment caused unsoluble problems for his model would have been 'unabsorbable generation of labour supply'. His attempt therefore, to tackle the problem of unemployment that was generated by his very model was an effort to "square a vicious circle" (To use an expression of the Caribbean writer Albert Helman (1954: 8)).

Arthur Lewis made valuable contributions to Caribbean social science which were significant at a time when growing nationalism was demanding a strategy for development in an atmosphere governed by discussions about the viability of independence in the region. Lewis provided a strategy that received recognition and had appeal. He dominated economic thought and policy for more than a decade and, as St. Cyr (1983: 7) observes, "despite of its lack of scientific realism" his model "continues to fascinate young minds and inform public policy". At the same time he has been severely criticized although recently a certain bias in his favour can be appreciated, maybe because it is regarded as an unrewarding task to criticize a Nobel-laureate.

Arthur Lewis was censorious but he was not a rebel, and his criticisms did not exceed the margins of tolerance of the status quo. He had arduous debates with the British Colonial Office, that rejected the industrialization of the British West

Indies (see T.W. Farrell 1980), but he did not challenge the capitalist system as such, and his statements were not in contradiction with the interests of the emerging economic and political elites in the several Caribbean societies, not even with those of international capitalism, that was kindly invited to participate in the project. Lewis was looking for solutions within the capitalist system. Defending one of his arguments he remarked: "If you don't like this, then you must think in terms not of a capitalist but of a socialist economy, because this is how capitalist economies work" (Lewis 1958 : 52). With this statement unconsciously, Arthur Lewis was formulating what a number of Caribbean social scientists indeed would do in the next decades, namely question capitalism and its capacity to offer solutions for the Caribbean problems, and consequently searching for alternative models. But before that should happen, a new generation would appear on the scene: the New World Group.

The Radical Caribbean School: Plantation Economy and Dependency

A new generation of critical social scientists that emerged as a reaction against Arthur Lewis, whose strategy for industrialization was already in operation in several countries in the region, but also as a product of a search for the deeper causes of underdevelopment, dominated Caribbean economic thought in the sixties and early seventies.

The critical stand of a number of scholars, predominantly economists, brought them together in the 'New World Group'.

This new tendency in Caribbean social science thought is characterized as: Caribbean Dependency Economics (Girvan 1973), Historical/Structural/Institutional Approach (Girvan 1973), Caribbean Structuralism (Harris 1978), Plantation-Dependency School (Greene 1984), Radical Caribbean School (Bernal et al. 1984), and sometimes as New Worldism or just as the Plantation School.

The last term is vehemently criticized by George Beckford who does not recognize any 'plantation school' or "foolishness like that" (Beckford 1987a: 23); the term Historical/Structural/Institutional refers rather to a methodological qualification, whereas 'New Worldism' points to an intellectual movement. For our purposes here we will use the term 'Radical Caribbean School' (Bernal et al. 1984).

This tendency in the Caribbean emerged some time after a similar line of thought developed in Latin America, but Girvan contends that the Latin American and Caribbean schools of thought based on the concept of external dependence and the institutionalization of underdevelopment, which apply a similar methodology, "emerged virtually independently of one another" (Girvan 1973: 1), a position that is strongly rejected by Cumper (1974), who sustains that Girvan exaggerates the degree of independence of these streams from each other.

In the Radical Caribbean School two interrelated conceptualizations dominate: the Plantation Economy and the Dependency model, which originate from the same line of thought, but focus on different levels of analysis. Their search for structural characteristics in the Caribbean economies led to a historical analysis of the structure and development of those economies since the early days of colonialism. This resulted in Lloyd Best's classical article on the "Outlines of a Model of Pure Plantation Economy" (1968), which was followed by a series of publications together with Kari Levitt (Best and Levitt 1968; Levitt and Best 1975), that introduced the term 'plantation economy' in Caribbean social science. They could draw on earlier plantation studies of Sidney Mintz, Eric Wolf and Charles Wagley, that were now theoretically molded into a model.

Briefly, they distinguish three types of New World hinterlands: of conquest, of settlement and of exploitation. The latter, the hinterlands of exploitation characterize the Caribbean 'plantation economy', which is seen as a direct extension of the economy of the metropole and its raison d'être is to produce a staple for metropolitan consumption or trade.

They further distinguish between 'pure plantation' (the ideal type), the 'plantation modified' (with marginal activity of settlers, runaway slaves or nomadic natives), and the 'plantation further modified' in more recent times.

In terms of the conceptualizations in our schema three types will be distinguished (See Table 4).

Enclave economy which can be found in the hinterlands of conquest with "units of production which tend to be self-contained and self sufficient" forming "enclaves" (Best 1968: 294). In the hinterland of explotation the 'pure plantation economy' is a conceptualization at the subnational level with a segmental economy. Best himself points to it, when he notes that "in as much as plantations dominate and are 'total' in character, the Pure Plantation Economy is a segmental economy. The 'firm' is the meaningful unit of economic analysis" (Best 1968: 307). According to him: "The hinterland is composed of a single industrial sector fractured into plantations" (Levitt and Best 1975: 41). Finally, for the 'plantation further modified', to which we shall refer as the 'modern plantation' economy, the national economy is the unit of analysis.

The process of development from 'pure plantation economy' at the subnational level to the 'modified plantation economy' at the national level, according to Levitt and Best, is related to the "staple cycle", in which one staple (agricultural export product) passes through a foundation period, a golden age and finally a period of maturity and decline, after which it is substituted by another staple. In the period of decline, it is argued, the export sector tends to grow at reduced rates or even to contract, which leads to a reduction in the demand for labour. This conduces to a modification of the typical unit of production, because the redundant labour force is moved out of residence in the plantation, and that leads to a transition from fully-bound labour to quasi-proletarian. This forms the background of the emergence of a national economy which is complementary to the traditional export-sector (Levitt and Best 1975: 44-45).

Influenced by these works, George Beckford (1972) tried to explain the contemporary societies in the Third World with

a plantation background. One question that engaged him particularly clarifies his viewpoint and commitment: "why is it that after four hundred years of direct participation in the modern world economy the plantation economies of the world still find themselves underdeveloped with the bulk of their inhabitants living (rather existing) in the most wretched conditions of poverty?" (Beckford 1972: xxiv).

Beckford (1972: passim) makes some remarkable statements concerning change and transformation in plantation economies. According to him, the plantation system generates serious resource misallocation with high costs to the society. Structural factors from within the system impede progress and therefore the plantation economy never gets beyond the stage of underdevelopment and is perpetuated, because the dynamic for economic development is not within the plantation sector, but outside it. He concludes that "the plantation system generates its own self-perpetuation by effectively containing internal threats to its destruction. Consequently, a dynamic equilibrium of underdevelopment is endemic in plantation economy" (Beckford 1972: 212).

When the plantation economy model was applied to the contemporary Caribbean societies, it developed in a natural way into a new conceptualization: the dependency model.

Norman Girvan (1967, 1970, 1971, 1976) was to become its key figure with studies done on the oil and bauxite sector in the Caribbean. These sectors which are crucial for the economies of the four major countries of the region (Guyana, Jamaica, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago), were dominated by multinational corporations. For Girvan (1970: 93) "the functioning of these industries in the national economies in which they are physically located can be better understood by an analysis of their functioning in the *corporate* economies of which they are an organic part". This was due to the fact that the multinational corporation (transnational corporation) is institutionally integrated at the international level,

and weakly integrated at the level of the national economy (ibid.).

The unit of analysis of Girvan's dependency model is therefore international, since it is formed by the transnational corporate economic system. This unit was developed by the "denationalization of the mineral industries" of the respective countries which "was merely the corollary of the multi-nationalization of the metropolitan corporations" (Girvan 1970: 516). Their operation in the region can therefore conceal existing economic relationships in the region, particularly between the Caribbean and Latin America (Girvan and Jefferson 1968: 94) and can even result in regional fragmentation of the Caribbean itself (ibid.: 95).

Other New World scholars also discussed the dependency problem. The dynamics of the system is of external origin for Havelock Brewster (1973) who defines economic dependence as "a lack of capacity to manipulate the operative elements of an economic system" (Brewster 1973: 91), and therefore the economic interrelationship to which economic dependence leads is a dimension that is not graspable at the national level and "cannot be rectified through instruments of technical policy" like planning or Central Bank Policy (ibid.: 93). For George Beckford, who shares this line of thought, "economic dependence describes a situation where a people have neither control over, nor power to direct the use of their economy's resources" (Beckford 1975b: 80).

The Radical Caribbean School was severely criticized from different ideological angles, but most of the criticism came from Marxist-oriented social scientists.

As an overreaction of the New World Group to the North Atlantic social science paradigms, which was not considered applicable to the Caribbean, there existed the danger to "fall into the trap of exaggerating the degree of exemption" of the Caribbean from the structural characteristics of other societies, according to Oxaal (1975: 46), who considered this "one of the cardinal tenets of the earlier New World Group which may be called the assumption of Caribbean exceptionalism" (ibid.; 45). But it was not clear what exactly was rejected of

Western economics by the members of the New World Groups since they also drew on it for their models (Cumper 1974).

For Ohiorhenuan (1979/80: 398) the "fundamental flaw of the plantation model is its economism -its neglect of the social processes underlying the structural disarticulation which it describes". But this 'economism' was not only present in their object of study where the economic unit of analysis was highly privileged, but also in their disciplinary approach which drew too much on the discipline of economics, even though they were aware of its limitation; as Lloyd Best (1968: 323-324) notes, "the barriers between sociology, political science, economic history, anthropology and economics, as such, need a drastic lowering".

The descriptive nature of the conceptualizations of the Radical Caribbean School was criticized by Mark Figueroa, because they focused on the "thing manifestation" of the purely economic, which led them to a "fetishistic approach in their treatment of the multinational corporation, staple cycle and plantation" (Figueroa 1977: 46).

"As a description of static reality", Trevor Sudama notes, "the model may have some utility, but as an analytical construct which seeks to establish causal relationships and explain the dynamics of historical change, the model is clearly unsatisfactory and of little use" (Sudama 1979: 77). This is also the reason why it is said to possess a relatively low theoretical level and why this new tendency is not considered a theory by Don Harris, whose tentative assessment of the school is "that it is concerned with typologies which purport to demonstrate the social features which characterize the Caribbean Economy" (Harris 1978: 19).

Indeed, the concepts of 'plantation' and 'staple' are metaphorized to such an extreme that they even lose their metaphoric logic like the case of tourism when it is considered a staple, or when Beckford notes: "When I say plantation system I am not talking about agriculture and planting food, I am talking about the planting of labour, as the critical element" (Beckford 1978: 24).

The Radical School saw the Caribbean as an "overseas economy" dominated by a "series of international firms" and not as a dependent capitalist formation dominated within the world system of imperialism" (Bernal et al. 1984: 42-43). It was insufficiently realized that plantation economies were clearly a variant of capitalism and a subsystem of international capitalism, and that most non-plantation Third World economies shared many of the features of plantation economies, and it is therefore "not foreign capital that must be looked at but capital as a whole" (Watson 1980: 52).

There was another characteristic of the school that was object of criticism, which was particularly present in the view of Lloyd Best. In several articles in 'Tapia' (the organ of his political movement), he sustains that (in the case of Trinidad) there are no classes at all. He categorically rejects Marxism, although his interpretation of it (Best 1967) raises suspicion that he was familiar with it from second hand references, particularly from the versions popularized by the Western capitalist tradition. In this respect the Radical School is criticized because it lacks a methodology of class analysis, and although production is considered to be the basic explanatory variable in the study of social systems, the concept of social class is missing (Morrissey 1976: 112), and instead an "important role is assigned to the capitalist state as a deliverer from foreign domination" (Watson 1980: 51). Due to the fact that a descriptive and empiricist approach could not be posed at the level of systems, "the laws of motion of Caribbean capitalism went unexplained as the accumulation process was never exposed for the Caribbean as a part of the world capitalist system" (Bernal et al. 1984: 42).

The New World Group fell apart, attempts to transform into a political movement and to obtain political leadership failed, like Best's Tapia movement, and most of the Group's members ended up in bureaucratic or technocratic assignments or as government advisers (see Payne 1984a: 7-9). A few of its members who did not abandon the field of active research developed towards Marxist-oriented positions, like Walter Rodney and Clive Thomas at an early stage, and

George Beckford later. The latter is the most salient case of the evolution of the New World Group's members. He himself frankly admits this process when he notes that: "Social change on any scale informs the work of students of society. I have therefore developed with this development" (Beckford 1969: 132). At the end of the seventies he acknowledges that the plantation model should be placed in a wider setting when he remarks that the Caribbean reality "is located within the international capitalist system and has a particular place within that system of social and economic organization" (Beckford 1978: 23).

Arthur Lewis and the New World group: A Comparison

The difference between Arthur Lewis and the Radical Caribbean School is sometimes ascribed to 'paradigmatic differences', a qualification that has a greater capacity to obscure than to clarify.

Lewis and the New World Group coincided on a number of points. They were critical of Western economic paradigms and looked for an indigenized social science and both tried to transcend the limits of a single discipline. Lewis addressed himself to a broad range of social science issues, and in addition to economic subjects he also published on labour (1938), education (1961) and federation (1965), while the New World Group was explicitly searching for an interdisciplinary approach. The unit of analysis of both tendencies was of an economic nature and their major concern was with the alternatives for development within the capitalist system. However, while Lewis saw a harmonious model with the close cooperation of international capital, the Radical School was precisely concerned about foreign dependence and tended to an anti-imperialist stand to solve the structural problems of development, transcending the level of 'economic growth' and at variance with Lewis, it saw a contradiction between national and international capital.

Besides the different level of the unit of analysis we mentioned earlier, (subnational vs. national) maybe the major difference is in the way they dealt with the economic status quo. Lewis was 'pragmatic', he took the existing economy as a starting point, and instead of questioning it he made an inventory of the problems and developed a theoretical model geared towards the outline of an economic strategy. The Radicals questioned the status quo, looked for the underlying causes in a historic, structural, institutional approach and focused on the evolution of the Caribbean economies and their most fundamental critique of Lewis was precisely that he overlooked the structural limitations of the economy.

Thus, Arthur Lewis and the Radical Caribbean School coincided in questioning the status quo of economics, but they differed in questioning the economic status quo, looking in opposite directions: Lewis towards the future with his strategy, the Radicals towards the past for underlying factors and structural characteristics.

But there is one crucial area where Arthur Lewis and the Radicals coincide: their idealistic view of social change.

Arthur Lewis holds the view that: "Every society has to learn to rise above its divisions, whether of class, race, religion, language or tribe. As I have said, what in the end does the trick is economic development, which abolishes both the vertical and the horizontal divisions. Abolishes the horizontal divisions by putting the emphasis on performance rather than upon family or tribal affiliation. And abolishes the class divisions by displacing both the property owner and the proletariat and expanding the numbers and powers of those in the middle. The end of this is the class-less, detribalized society, where nobody cares what race or religion you belong to" (W.A. Lewis 1967: 12).

But also, for George Beckford at the time of the New World Group "the precondition of all preconditions for change and transformation is a structuring of the minds of people to accomodate the change. Once this is accomplished all other things will develop" (Beckford 1972: 233). A similar position

is held by Lloyd Best when he summarizes his view saying: "Thought is the action for us", adding that "we cannot be so presumptious as to assume that there are not elsewhere other men who will accept them (other types of action) as their responsibility and address their attention to them with a dedication and a competence equal to our own" (Best 1967: 23).

In both tendencies the level of reasonableness and rationality of society seems to be overestimated along with the moral force of rational arguments, as a consequence of which the influence of social forces in society, whether of class or other origin is insufficiently appraised, particularly when it regards social changes that affect the backbone of society, which convert those forces into the motor of history. As a result neither of the tendencies dedicated systematic attention to the central issue of social change with which the turbulent post-war Caribbean was wrestling.

4. Holistic Search

A number of approaches in the social sciences were based either on a cosmogony or on a broad orientation in which the disciplines were not taken as a point of departure. Studies based on such an orientation can be discussed under the heading 'holistic search', because of the attempts which are made at a fusion of disciplines as a product of an issue-oriented approach, and of the steps that are taken in the direction of transcending the individual disciplines. Under the influence of the rise of nationalism and the decolonization process a large number of such studies were conducted in the pre-and post-independence period, taking the national society as a unit of analysis. This led to studies on the state and the nation, on race, class and stratification, on decolonization and size, and on the political system and democracy, while the region as a whole was the concern of studies on regional integration and on geopolitics.

Race-Class Debate

In the discussion of the relevance of race in social processes it should be remembered that social status is not a simple linear function of the amount of pigment or a yardstick of its absence, since it is not race but the social perception of it that makes it relevant in society. It should be further realized that ethnicity is not synonymous with race, and that no physical characteristics should be included in the concept of ethnicity (as John Rex 1977: 47 does), as two different cultural groups belonging to the same race or without perceivable physical differences can constitute different ethnic groups.

Race, historically, has been one of the most important factors in the region in suppressing class behaviour by the creation of vertical solidarity within ethnic or racial segments conciliating different and even opposing classes, and on the other hand, by creating horizontal antagonisms stressing cultural, religious, and linguistic differences between people within the same class.

The Caribbean was for a long time plagued by a false dispute between the deterministic economic reductionism of dogmatic Marxist origin which insisted that race and ethnicity could be totally reduced to class, and on the other hand, the non-reductibility thesis of the plural society model, which argued that race and ethnicity were independent factors in their own right not reducible to class at all; they were two extreme viewpoints bordering a vast extra-dichotomous 'no man's land'.

This dichotomization dominated the social science debate in the Caribbean region, where race has been permanently present; first in colonial racism which was as a consequence of slavery, and not the reverse as Eric Williams (1944) has demonstrated, and afterwards along with the processes of emancipation and decolonization in inter-ethnic competition, which could originate dangerous tensions and conflicts, as was the case in Guyana in the early 1960s and in Suriname on the eve of its independence.

It was this persistence of race and ethnicity in Caribbean social processes that forced social scientists to quit the veil of taboo with which racial issues were traditionally covered, and to question the dichotomous nature of the debate.

Several social scientists pointed at the neglect of the race factor and the "failure to integrate race with class in the analysis of Caribbean society", which weakened social science work (Beckford 1978: 25). Norman Girvan sustains that as race cannot be reduced to class it cannot be concluded that "revolutionary politics and ideology can be 'de-racialized' in content to any significant degree" (Girvan 1975: 30). This is in line with Gordon Lewis, who sustains that the theory of economic exploitation alone is insufficient to explain the totality of the Caribbean exploitation. "The exploitation of the Caribbean masses was not simply one-dimensional. It was two-dimensional. And the racial exploitation left behind deep psychic wounds quite different in character and quality from those derived from economic-class exploitation" (G.K. Lewis 1983a: 6-7).

The difficult problem of the interplay of ethnic group and class in the social reality and evolution of the Caribbean continues to fascinate the social scientists and to form an incentive to look for more convincing explanations. Possibly, one of the major points that should be taken into account in the race-class debate is the relatively poor contextualization of the concept of class in the region.

In the Caribbean there has been no simple historic materialist development from a 'primitive' to a slave mode of production, with a subsequent development to capitalism, since on many occasions evolution and history were violently interrupted. 'Primitive' Amerindian societies did not develop as a result of internal contradictions into a new stage, since their obliteration only made way for an implanted slave society, and when slavery became obsolete and a fetter to metropolitan capitalism, once again a non-endogenous process took place when indentured labourers were transmigrated from one distant colony to another as a hybrid of slave and proletarian. In this respect Clive Thomas observes that

the state in the peripheral capitalist societies, such as those of the Caribbean, has in no way been "a 'natural' outgrow of the development of the indigenous communities of the New World" (1984b: 10), since it was not only determined by internal developments in the colonized territory, but also externally by the imposition of the colonizing power, and for that reason "the origins of the colonizing state are to be found in the process of colonization itself".

Classes in the Caribbean did not develop merely by some process of internal indigenous logic, but to certain extent they were deliberately created, and although they were further shaped by posterior domestic economic developments, they never entirely lost their nature of appendicular artefacts of the capitalist development in the metropoles. Not only in slavery and indentureship but even under contemporary "corporate imperialism" (Girvan 1976), they constitute its manifestations in the peripheral economies. The fact that the "survival and growth of the corporate economy (of the transnational corporations) as a whole transcends the survival and growth of any one subsidiary" (Girvan 1970: 511) in influential economic sectors in the Caribbean, undoubtedly influences the class development in the region.

Classes in the Caribbean, as Thomas argues, are fluid and less clearly demarcated, because substantial sections of the working class have some access to private property (taxi, small store) and have skills which are salable on a part-time, spare-time basis (carpenter, seamstress). Even the classic relation between the economic and the political sphere is reversed in the post colonial period, as the economic power of the dominant class flows from their political power (Thomas 1984a: 58 and 62). While traditionally the consolidation of economic power by the bourgeoisie has preceded the acquisition of state and political power, in the capitalist periphery the reverse is generally the case, because political and state power is being used as "an instrument for the consolidation of a developing ruling class" (Thomas 1983: 29).

Many social scientists have pointed to the relatively limited development of the classes in the region because of

deep ethnic, sexual, cultural, linguistic and religious divisions in a social and economic context with a weak indigenous material base for their existence and with a substantial class mobility, and in a political context due to political clientelism, nepotism and corruption that generates a sizeable amorphous middle class of civil servants, and other sectors which operates as a powerful de-antagonizing buffer between opposing classes.

In the particular case of the Caribbean societies class as a social force has been affected seriously by migration, which always constituted an intervening factor in the region, whether fostering labour competition by immigration, or reallocating labour by intra-regional migration, or exporting surplus-labour by emigration to the metropoles which at times could assume a massive character that was able to influence the social developments in the region, because in extreme cases as Germani (1964: 174) puts it "emigration may be a substitute for revolution".

It is for all these reasons that the important concepts of class and class struggle need to be contextualized with care before any operational meaning can be attached to them, and this can prevent too rigid postures which lead to a confusing race-class debate in the region. Classes do exist and constitute an important factor in social processes and development, but since their role as a social force is not given once and for all, it is precisely the origin and nature of 'class' and the concrete characteristics it assumes in a particular social historical context that should be assessed in social science analysis.

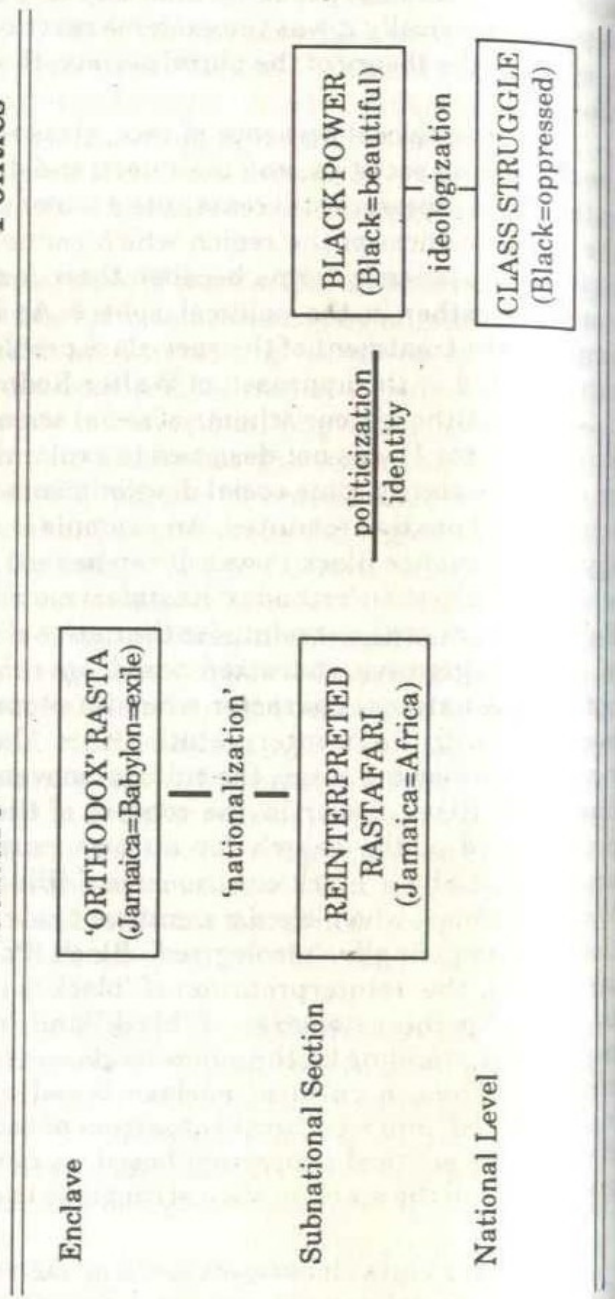
In the race-class debate in the Caribbean the extreme position of pluralism, with its non-reductibility argument, was countered at the other extreme by the equally untenable position that race and ethnicity, in their social meaning and their influence in the social processes, were totally reducible to economic factors, since they were considered as part of the superstructure and as artefacts or derivates of bourgeois manipulation, divide and rule policy, racist ideology or propaganda. But in the Caribbean such a superstructure

seemed to be too heavy to be sustained by its fragile 'economic' base. Paradoxically it was the extreme reaction of the second position to the theory of the plural society, that prolonged its life.

The unequivocal presence of race, class and ethnicity in the Caribbean societies, and their deep and diffuse influence in the social processes still constitute a major priority area for the social sciences of the region which cannot be dealt with strictly in academic terms because their major manifestations are rather in the political sphere. An interesting example of the treatment of the race-class problem in that field can be found in the approach of Walter Rodney to deal with this issue. Although our schema of social science conceptualizations (Table 1) was not designed to explain 'real life' it can be useful to clarify some social developments in which social science and praxis are united. An example is Rodney's strategy to de-racialize Black Power. It can be seen in Table 5, that what was at first an 'orthodox' Rastafari movement in exile in Babylon (Jamaica), not related to the national society because of its retrogressive character based on religion (culture), obtained a national character when its utopian nature was overcome with the reinterpretation that "Jamaica was Africa". In a following stage, the cultural movement was politicized into Black Power in the context of the emancipation process and of the search for an own particular identity accompanied by a 'black consciousness' (Black is beautiful). Walter Rodney, who played a significant role in this politization process, finally 'ideologized' Black Power into class struggle by the reinterpretation of "black is oppressed", and by reducing the categories of 'black' and 'white', to mere metaphors, standing for the opposing classes engaged in class struggle. Thus, a cultural enclave based on religion was 'nationalized' into a cultural subsection of society and politicized into a political subsection based on race, to be 'ideologized' later in the ambit of class struggle at the national level.

The race-class debate occupied a significant place in Caribbean social science, as could be appraised from the

TABLE 5
WALTER RODNEY'S RACE-CLASS STRATEGY



polemic around the 'plural society model with sharp opposing postures during four decades. Fortunately in more recent contributions less rigid and more balanced positions can be perceived with a corresponding hesitation to adopt extreme positions. Two approaches are particularly important in this new conceptualization of the race-class issue, focusing on the historical development of the regional societies.

Concerned about ethnic features, Malcolm Cross (1978) distinguished between 'ethnic saliency' as an awareness of ethnic divide and, following Orlando Patterson (1975), 'ethnic allegiance' as the attachment to putative culture. He sustains that economic decline and political change, but also spatial and social mobility from one group into the domain of the other tend to increase ethnic salience, and he argues that "even where ethnic divisions are salient it does not follow that the members of ethnic groups necessarily perceive their ethnicity as a critical allegiance" (Cross 1978: 38). For Cross, economic and cultural factors jointly influence in ethnic processes, and 'allegiance', for instance is considered to be determined both by the political and economic interests and by the perception of political and economic inequality.

Another approach that is based on the social processes in the Caribbean societies is Stuart Hall's (1980) contribution on "race, articulation and societies structured in dominance". He argues that Gramsci's concept of hegemony may help to counteract the overwhelming weight of economism that had been so characteristic in the analysis of colonial societies, particularly for the understanding of the relation between basis and superstructure and the role of ideology. For Hall (1980: 339) it is clear that at the economic level "race must be given its distinctive and 'relatively autonomous' efectivity, as a distinctive feature", and it should therefore be analyzed in which particular way the different racial and ethnic groups were inserted historically, and which relations have tended to "erode and transform, or to preserve" the distinctions through time as "active structuring principles of the present organization of society" (Hall 1980: 339).

These two contributions are welcome in a social science atmosphere in which the race-class debate has been too polemic and apologetical at the theoretical level and too little the result of concrete historical study of the evolution of the Caribbean societies in their race and class aspects. In the ethnically complex societies in the Caribbean, forces to integrate and to antagonize both vertically and horizontally operate simultaneously, leading to contradictory processes of fragmentation along ethnocultural lines (language, religion, customs, arts), and of polarization along class lines in a social reality in which nationbuilding constitute the only peaceful option. Therefore, an abandonment of a one-dimensional approach both for race and for class seems to open new possibilities for social science research in a priority field where the outcome can vary from disruptive racial wars to social revolutions.

Democratic Nation-State

Drastic political changes have taken place in the region in a relatively short span: from slave societies where freedom was subversive to independent republics with universal suffrage. The democratic nation-state in the Caribbean was the logical outcome of this process, when a peacefully negotiated decolonization resulted in political independence. This process of decolonization of the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean was the culmination of major social and political changes that occurred since the early twentieth century, which originated the emergence of nationalism as the major ideological current, particularly in the post-war period.

These important social developments and changes were the object of a number of social science studies related to decolonization and the political system. Studies were done on the constitutional and political developments in Trinidad and Tobago (Ryan 1972), Jamaica (Munroe 1972), and Guyana (Lutchman 1974). The political development from a plural society focus was studied in Guyana (Depres 1967) and

Suriname (Dew 1978), while the ongoing decolonization of the Netherlands Antilles has been studied from a political perspective (Verton 1977, 1984). Particularly in the territories with a sizeable East-Indian population the race issue in politics got major attention (Ryan 1972; Greene 1974a; Lutchman 1974; Azimullah 1987). This factor became extremely important in regional politics, as Harold Lutchman observes for the case of Guyana: "The greatest single factor which has influenced the nature of its politics and administration is race" (1978: 51).

In the meantime several regimes have appeared on the scene in the Caribbean, which are classified by Carl Stone (1986b) in three types. In a study on the Caribbean Basin he distinguishes between: the 'democratic pluralist', the 'authoritarian' and the 'populist-statist' type. The 'democratic pluralist' type is participatory on the input side and is characterized by strong individual and civil but weak social rights, because "most citizen participation is concentrated on the participation in the selection of the political elite" (Stone 1986b: 12). The 'populist-statist' type is participatory on the output aspects of policy implementation, while emphasis is placed on social and economic rights with suppression of individual political rights.

These different types, sometimes under other headings, are amply discussed in the Caribbean social sciences, and we will therefore dedicate some attention to them.

Parliamentary democracy in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean did not develop in an indigenous process as the culmination of a struggle protagonized by the dominated classes; rather, the Westminster system was introduced from outside by the colonial metropoles in order to fill a vacuum, when colonialism was forced to step back and capitulate to the social pressure of the emancipating masses. Not only the Westminster model as such, but the "associated political behaviour also was expected to accord in general with British forms", as Lutchman (1978: 49) observes.

The new political system was not the outcome of a dialectical fermentation of political forces in an ongoing domestic tradition, or the result of the demands of existing political parties, but the very emergence of those parties derived from the advent of the Westminster system. It is erroneously believed that the virtues of parliamentary democracy are "deeply ingrained in the culture" of the Caribbean (Thomas 1984: xxi-xxii). The emerging political parties which tried to conquer the new political space were based on the existing clustering of colonial society in social groupings and they normally followed the social cleavages to form a "loose political structure" that is "demagogic rather than democratic" (Ayearst 1954: 71-72).

Several social scientists did not consider the Westminster system consistent with the social and political developments in the region.

For Louis Lindsay (1976: 63) the new institutions "have proven to be inadequate largely because they have not been devised for societies such as our own, but are parts of the inheritance of the colonial era - borrowed from the imperialist power and imitatively implanted in the local environment".

The Westminster system, he argues requires a relatively high degree of socio-cultural homogeneity, and if it is lacking "attempts to operate the model lead inevitably to the intensification of conflicts between social groups which perceive themselves as being divided along racial, ethnic, linguistic or other similar lines" (Lindsay 1978b; 322). Westminster politics is considered unsuitable to the task of promoting development, because of certain inherent features within that model which generate widespread political corruption in the region and lead to the "artificial tribalization of social life into factional partisan groups" (Lindsay 1978b: 324-325).

There have also been studies on other aspects like Arthur Singham's (1968) case study of Grenada that points at the prevalence of highly personalistic regimes to which the operation of the Westminster system leads, while Edwin Jones notes that the stress on political competition made it necessary for the parties to build up close "clientelic relationships

with big business and in some instances with the labour movements" (Jones 1975: 250). For Paget Henry (1983: 281-282) "only relatively small areas of the institutional space of societies are usually democratized" and therefore, democracy as a principle of social organization is "always found to be a part of a larger institutional context whose principles of organization are essentially non-democratic". For his part, Perry Mars points to the fact that parliamentary democracy in the Caribbean facilitated the access to power of economically influential groups, because of a "historically demonstrated affinity between access to wealth and access to power" (1986: 72), that is to say, that those who control the wealth always try to control the controls.

Other social scientists, however, stressed the positive side of the Westminster system in the region. Parliamentary democracy "has worked well enough" for Gordon Lewis (1985b: 227), who considers Grenada and Suriname only as exceptions to the fact that the regional electorates have chosen the constitutional path (ibid.: 228), while Scott MacDonald (dedicating his book among others to "Suriname, our cat"!) concludes that the Westminster model has been successful for the case of Trinidad and Tobago (1986: 217-218). Carl Stone for his part does not only point to the capacity of parliamentary democracy to survive in the region, but he even challenges the view that the feasibility of parliamentary democratic rule is closely related to "urban, affluent, industrial societies with advanced capitalist economies" (1986a: 194). In the case of Jamaica he notes that the "democratic system has shown a remarkable capacity for survival and adaptation to change over the four decades of electoral politics between 1944 and 1984" (ibid.: 191). It can be noted however, that the interpretation of this assertion can be different if the operating geopolitical factors are taken into account. On pain of economic boycot, military threat or invasion, no other political system was tolerated in the region by the old and new metropoles, except those that were in line with their interests. From that point of view the "remarkable capacity for survival" of Jamaica's democratic system to a centain extent could also

turn out to be a pragmatic wisdom for survival in a situation where alternatives were not looking bright. This leads to the general point that the Caribbean social sciences when coping with the question of the parliamentary system in the weakly integrated, multi-ethnic societies can not prescind a geopolitical analysis.

Undoubtedly the parliamentary system has many shortcomings in the region, but if compared with other regions in the hemisphere with a high incidence of military coups and frequent changes of constitution, the Caribbean can be considered to have relatively stable political systems. However, the question to be answered by the social sciences, is whether Grenada and Suriname were exceptions or only the first signs of a new trend.

In the study of the authoritarian state, the case of Guyana's 'cooperative socialism' has occupied a central place and it particularly inspired Clive Thomas who did major work in this field (1982b, 1983, 1984b, c). He sustains that "cooperative socialism is an ideological rationalization for the development of state capitalism in Guyana and for the creation of a new class of indigenous capitalists, 'fathered' in the first instance by the state" (1983: 47). In his general study on the authoritarian state in peripheral societies (1984b), which is characterized by a relative autonomization of the state in the periphery without loss of its class character, his major point is that "the crisis of the society and the world economy together engender a crisis that threatens the continuation of the regime in power", and the authoritarian state as "the specific product of the conjuncture of world capitalism and peripheral capitalist development" is the ruling class response to the crisis confronting the society (1984b: 88). But it "does not mark the end product of political degeneration and crisis", because "further stages of reaction are possible, including military dictatorships" (ibid.: 128). For Thomas the response should be a broad democratic front against authoritarian rule.

The last regime type, the 'populist-statist' which is conceptualized by others as the 'socialist state', brings us to the issue of social change.

Transformation

After some decades of economy-based models in the tradition of the critical economists, and cultural conceptualizations such as the 'plural society' model, the important issue of social change was still left almost untouched in the social sciences in the region. The concern of the social science models was predominantly with alternatives within the status quo of capitalism in a dependent society and the questioning of its peripheral nature was in function of a search for a more equitable place in the international capitalist system. As we saw before, in the case of Arthur Lewis this world system was invited to contribute to solutions, and in the case of the New World Group the 'modern plantation' should be administered nationally by national capitalism.

But the serious problems of the societies in the region were not alleviated, because underdevelopment and dependency persisted along with their social manifestations, while the ethnic problem threatened nation building and the stability of Westminster democracy. This political system that conquered the whole region was not the antipode of the colonial government system, but rather its logical successor due to the peaceful concerted decolonization process which led to a gradual evolutionary adaptation in a process of new peripheralization.

The post-war political mobilization experiences were disappointing and frustrating, partly due to a divorce between political leadership of middle class origin and the working classes (Mars 1985: 130). There was a stubborn racial problem which had penetrated into all the spheres of society and the weak state institutions were too fragile to guarantee consistency in politics. There existed a climate in which foreign influence could be exerted with impunity in the

national political scene, directly by classic interference or even military invasion or in a more sophisticated way by covert action and economic and diplomatic pressure, as the political history of Guyana, Jamaica, Grenada and Suriname clearly demonstrate.

One of the responses of the social sciences to this situation was the rejection of the capitalist status quo and emphasis on social change based on social action. A new field of study was embarked upon with its focus on transformation (Thomas 1974) or transition (Rodney 1978).

The Marxist orientation became predominant in this new line of research but, particularly in its early versions, it did not provide an indigenous study of the Caribbean societies or a model based on it; it was often not even a social science paradigm but rather a doctrine, because society itself was not the object of study but of application, and it was too busy with the "surveying of political doctrines and making textual exegeses to the relative neglect of the study of contemporary political forms" (Thomas 1984b: xviii).

In the Caribbean many concepts have been used in the search for models of change: revolution, reform, transformation, transition and non-capitalist path of development. They differed from the older dependency model of the Radical Economists in their rejection of capitalism.

The major scholar in this tendency, Clive Thomas, holds European development responsible for having generated the underdevelopment of the rest of the world by destroying the indigenous social forces which might have led to the transformation of their precapitalist modes of production, because it was the "dialectical process of the internalization of the capitalist system" that formed the contradiction that gave rise to the "development of underdevelopment in Third World societies" (Thomas 1974: 50).

This new theorizing in the Caribbean was in line with earlier approaches in Latin America, which is aptly summarized by Sergio de la Peña when he observes that the underdevelopment of the backward societies or "capitalist anti-development" as he calls it, was not a social syndrome curable by means of specific actions, nor the result of atmospheric conditions or racial antecedents or vicious circles, and not even a by-product of capitalist growth, but the necessary condition for capitalist development (1971: 123).

The first study in this new tendency is Clive Thomas' work on dependency and transformation (1974), that tries to answer the question whether there exists a feasible road for a transition to socialism once state power has been transferred to a "worker/peasant alliance" in small underdeveloped countries within the neo-colonial form of relationship. He was dealing with a problem neglected by Marxism, because socialist economic theory had tended to be preoccupied with the growth of industrial capitalism within the 'center' countries (Thomas 1974: 34), and as such this work is a serious effort to transcend Caribbean 'uniqueness' because of its concern with the entire periphery.

Thomas (1974) bases the transformation to socialism on a production geared towards satisfying community needs with a strategy of convergence of domestic resource use and domestic demands, while exports are understood to constitute an extension of that activity. His approach was criticized for not giving an adequate treatment of the problem of size, which made the applicability of his model questionable for small countries like in the Caribbean (T.M.A. Farrell 1976). The study left a major area untouched, because it did not address itself to the previous question of how power could be seized in the particular societies he was dealing with, and therefore the central issue of social and political change itself was not discussed.

Another influential Marxist-oriented approach that was introduced in the region was the 'non-capitalist path of development', which was advanced by Soviet theorists (Ulyanowski 1974; Solodovnikov and Bogoslovsky 1975) in an effort to provide a strategy towards socialism for countries without a developed capitalism in the Third World. This non-orthodox Marxist approach had a substantial impact on political movements in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean, which

can be most clearly noted in the case of Guyana's PPP and Grenada's New Jewel Movement (Jacobs and Jacobs 1980), the WPJ in Jamaica and to a lesser extent in Suriname after the military coup in 1980, where Simonia's (1974) work on this matter was translated into Dutch.

The non-capitalist path model is a neo-Marxist approach which claims to provide an alternative development path towards socialism without the necessity of passing through a stage of mature capitalism. It is a strategy based on a broad alliance of progressive forces under the leadership of revolutionary democrats of petty bourgeois origin, which can benefit from the existence of the socialist world to hold power once it is taken over.

This approach met with many criticisms in the social sciences. It was considered as historically and politically inappropriate for the region for it incorrectly postulated an anti-imperialist stage, and it was considered to reflect "the ideological needs of the USSR as a major world power more than the theoretic-philosophical needs of Marxism-Leninism" (Watson 1982a: 19). Clive Thomas criticized it because "in practice a great deal of overemphasis is placed on the anti-imperialist posture of the state", which led to a "considerable underplaying of internal class struggles" (1978: 20). In general he criticizes the thesis of the non-capitalist path for its neglect of the democratization of social life, for it is assumed that the struggle against imperialism will automatically be democratic. This, for him, contains the seeds of the rationalization of dictatorial and authoritarian rule such as in the case of Guyana (1978, 1984b).

Both the non-capitalist path and Thomas' theses on transformation were based on a situation in which the power question was already settled with progressive forces in control of the state, while the previous question was left unanswered, namely how state power could be conquered, whether constitutionally or extra-constitutionally.

Constitutional means are confined to the Westminster system. But Perry Mars (1986: passim) considers this system disadvantageous for the radical and revolutionary movements, because of the tendency of that system to support capitalism and favour a middle class control of politics in the Caribbean, while Carl Stone (1986a) points out that the characteristic of this competitive system favours the reformist tendencies of the center to the detriment of conservative and leftist tendencies.

Parliamentary democracy in the Caribbean societies sustained in a symbiosis of welfare and poverty, is not always capable of defusing explosive conflicts by means of patronage, race manipulation and other similar mechanisms. This had already resulted in two cases of extra-constitutional seizure of power in the region in the cases of Grenada (1979) and Suriname (1980), which opened the way for a new discussion in the field of political change and transformation. One of its aspects refers to the relation between what can be called 'political' revolutions and "socially based revolutions'. The case of the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean was limited to political revolutions led by individuals lacking a mass base or without significant labour union support (Maingot 1983: 38).

A socially based revolution in which social forces are mobilized, and can mature and come into action against the status quo, can be transformed more easily into a political revolution with some kind of stability than in the reverse case. A political revolution not preceded or accompanied by a solid social movement will encounter extreme difficulties to survive, particularly in a hostile geopolitical environment, as recent Caribbean history reveals.

In the political revolutions of Grenada and Suriname (see Cárdenas 1988) power was seized by extra-constitutional conspiracies of small militant vanguard groups with no substantial direct participation of the social classes or of the organized masses which were only convoked afterwards; power was seized by surprise at times of conjunctural crises and loss of authority of the political elite, taking advantage of

the negligence and carelessness of a weak underdeveloped ruling class to defend its interests.

The most important task after the seizure of power is to develop the solid social base necessary to convert a political revolution into a social revolution. This question of the relation between transformation and democracy starts to draw the attention of the social scientists. Particularly the case of Grenada raises the interesting question of the capacity to modify a conspiratory method to seize power into a broad democratic movement to consolidate power; what guarantee exists that the method will be abandoned inmediately after power is secured, particularly when there is no solid social base on which new democratic structures can be inmediately build? In the case of Grenada such was clearly not the case, and it only showed that if conspiracy against the status quo does not lead to democratic forms of rule and participation, it can easily turn into a conspiracy within the conspiracy by a 'vanguard' of the vanguard. In the cases of the political revolutions of Grenada and Suriname, to a large extent the failure is due to the fact that they were "without the sanction of a successful revolution" (Thomas 1982b: 25) that was socially based.

Particularly after the Grenada experience social scientists in the region started to pay attention to the issue of political democracy in the processes of structural political change, which seems to be in line with a wider trend of theorizing as can be found for example in the recent contribution of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) with emphasis on "radical democracy".

Perry Mars (1985) points at the middle class nature of Caribbean political leadership that imposes serious limits on political movements in the Caribbean that are geared towards transformation. For the left wing movement the mobilization efforts are negatively influenced by the colonialist nature of the political structure and the middle class composition of the leadership, which impels such a movement to take totalitarian rather than democratic routes, which is counterproductive given the "brittle political system and the

multiracial nature of the societies" (Mars 1985: 143). His major thesis is therefore that "the class character of Caribbean political leadership imposes serious limits on the capacity of Caribbean political movements to effect far-reaching and fundamental transformations in Caribbean political and economic structures" (Mars 1985: 128).

In recent Marxist thought emphasis is put on the democratic nature of the socialist project with the rejection of any attempt to oppose political democracy to socialism, because the view that "political democracy is a bourgeois confidence trick" is a grave error (Thomas 1987: 17), and autoritarianism in the West Indian context, whether of the 'left' or the 'right', is "inherently limited in its capacity to promote all-round social and economic development" (ibid.: 28). Drawing on the work of Rosa Luxemburg, Thomas sustains that socialism cannot be built without a democratization of all social relations, including the power relations of the state (1983: 46), and therefore a 'left' authoritarian state is a degeneration in the struggle for socialism (1984b: 135).

This democratic line of thought is a meeting point of Marxist-oriented scholars and other social scientists, as can be seen in the similar line of thought of Gordon Lewis, who argues that "a new democratic left, in seeking a new social order, must ensure that it is a mixture of social radicalism and democracy. It must expose the fallacy of the argument that free elections, a free press, and open intellectual enquiry are 'bourgeois' inventions that can be readily discarded" (1985b: 246).

This ongoing discussion in the Caribbean social sciences on the issue of structural transformation points to the need for a more elaborated theory of social and political change for the Caribbean, that can take it beyond the schemes of old tenets that too often have dominated the scene in post-war Caribbean.

Regional Focus

In the political history of the Caribbean the significant role of the 'region' as an entity is clearly reflected in social

science research. At three points in time it attained particular relevance: under colonialism, during decolonization and the new peripheralization and in geopolitics.

Colonialism in the Caribbean was bound to be regional since the dictates of empire imposed regional policies. The collapse of Empire in the twentieth century was accompanied by two processes that took place simultaneously: the process of decolonization and the new peripheralization. The decolonization process, as we already argued, a consequence of sweeping political changes, started as a regional issue and it was only after the collapse of the West Indian Federation that individual independence of the nation-states was opted for, but the loss of ground of European domination only constituted a shift from colonialism to neo-colonialism.

Paget Henry (1985) in a case study on Antigua, identifies two contradictory trends in the transition from the late colonial to the postcolonial period, which are "the anti-imperialist struggles in the periphery and the opposition of the United States and the Soviet Union to European imperialism" (Henry 1985: 203). For a while, this appeared to permit the peripheral countries to "liberate themselves from their roles in the international capitalist system". However, as U.S. interests began to assert their hegemony "a new process of peripheralization started that soon reversed what had appeared to be a decline in peripheral domination" (ibid.: 203).

This relief of the guard, that was based on the Monroe-doctrine, found institutional expression in the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission in the 1940s, which was a joint commission of Great Britain and the United States for the coordination of colonial policy in the region and the preparation of new structures of dominance for the changing social and political reality. It was soon broadened into the Caribbean Commission with the incorporation of France and Holland (Springer 1962, 1973).

The process of new peripheralization attracted the attention of social scientists and it formed the basis for the conceptualizations of the dependency model of the Radical Caribbean School, particularly in the studies of Norman Girvan on oil and bauxite in the region, and of a later monographic study of Carlo Lamur (1983) on the "American take over" in the bauxite sector in the region.

Paget Henry argues that the new types of peripheries do not require the use of colonial superstructures for their stabilization (1983: 204). It should be noted however, that superstructures of dominance could not be entirely dispensed with if stability was to be secured at this new stage, since it can be generalized for the peripheral region that whenever a genuine democratic movement emerges which transcends the political level by demanding also social and economic rights, it will necessarily assume a nationalist character and come into conflict with imperialism, which is then forced to recur to geopolitical devices to safeguard the minimum political conditions for its operation. These superstructures which the sphere of geopolitics can provide are necessary for the simple reason that domination without dominance leads to repression and resistance.

Regional Integration

Two aspects in the regional focus received particular attention in the Caribbean social sciences. The first one is an internal search from within the region to integrate, and the second one is a tendency from outside the region to maintain hegemony.

The rise and the fall of the West Indian Federation (1958-1962) drew significant attention of the social scientists of the region (among others Springer 1962; G.K. Lewis 1968; Mordecai 1968; Domingo 1973). The main issue that informed these works was the tension between the necessity to federate based on long term regional interests and, on the other hand, the island nationalisms.

The Caribbean developments do not seem to form an exception to the general trend in the history of the formation of states, particularly in the Third World, that there has been

a higher propensity toward fragmentation in the world than towards integration. Particularly in situations of artificial grouping of territories by colonialism into unitary states that do not correspond to a pre-existing socio-cultural setting, it turned out to be easier to mobilize social forces on sectional and parochial grounds with concretely identifiable interests than to find a solid basis for unification with the pursuit of general and common long term interests. In such circumstances separatism could originate more influential movements than integrationism, due to the lower mobilization capacity of the latter, and therefore, integrationism has been mostly on the defensive in situations where geographically identifiable subunits possessed unequal advantages with regard to their natural resources and economic possibilities.

This situation has been clearly the case for the Caribbean. According to Ramphal (1971), the geography of the region "increases the probability that separate communities -which are island communities within the state- will have peculiar areas of dissatisfaction", and this makes it "more likely that these differences will exert fissiparous tendencies as they become more acute. In an archipelago the search for solutions to political problems all too readily turns to separatism and finds expression in secessionist movements" (Ramphal 1971: 246). The recent autonomy of Aruba from the rest of the Netherlands Antilles and the threat to further desintegration only confirms this.

The collapse of the West Indian Federation underscores the vulnerability of the integrationist movement in uniting entities with unequal economic resources and prospects. It was the desire for individual decolonization of the major Caribbean countries that brought an end to the West Indian Federation, when the Jamaican referendum voted against federation as a consequence of which Trinidad also decided to withdraw. But the rise of the separate nation-states based on the Westminster system did not bring an end to the regional movement, although a clear shift was made from political to economic integration as the first priority, since the latter was seen as a prerequisite for broader political integration.

In the social sciences the issue of integration was related to the discussion on the viability of small states in the region. Small size, particularly related to economic and human resources and to the strategies for economic development in the underdeveloped countries of the region took priority on the agenda of many social scientists, especially after William Demas' (1965) classical work on the economics of development in small countries. He considered small size as a particular constraint to economic development, which demanded regional solutions. For him "economic regionalism offers one important avenue for small underdeveloped countries to achieve the possibility of a more fully self-sustained pattern of growth" (Demas 1965: 35).

In the same line of thought, Alister McIntyre observes that "one must distinguish between structural dependence - the dependence that arises because of the size and structure of the economy and cannot be helped, and functional dependence- the dependence which arises as a result of the particular policies chosen, and can therefore be avoided if alternative policies are pursued" (1966: 166). It was "structural dependence" at the national level that led to the plea for regional integration.

Since Demas' study the problem of size obtained an important place in the regional social science (see V.A. Lewis 1976), although different views coexisted. For Brewster and Thomas (1967: 334) "one painful inheritance of slavery is the claustrofobia of size and our response to it", but size is not considered as the cause but "the context of economic specialization" (Thomas 1974: 54). Lindsay for his part observes that "myths of resource insufficiency, and beliefs in collective nonviability have created a tenacious syndrome of dependence among our people" (1976: 47).

Later on, when the Cuban Revolution was stabilized, it provided an argument that small states were not necessarily powerless in the international arena, and therefore the issue was not "whether small states can generate power, but how" (Manitzas 1983: 143).

Shortly after Demas, a new dimension was added to the discussion on regional integration with a detailed technical study of Brewster and Thomas (1967), who proposed an integrated production of goods by pooling available resources. In their view import-substitution does not mean what it literally suggests, namely the reduction or elimination of imports, and they warn against "misconceptions and naivites usually associated with the interpretation of import substitution" (ibid.: 332), because it is the extent and quality of differentiation of the productive structure which takes place, that is the direct measure of growth and success of import-substitution.

Demas' view led also to other critiques from the New World Group. Lloyd Best (1971: 29) objects that he is in fact "defining away the possibility that a small country can ever become fully independent".

In the seventies and eighties the plea for integration remained strong in the regional social sciences, particularly in the further work of Demas for whom the three essential reasons for Caribbean economic integration are: "the need to widen markets; the need to pool and combine natural resources and to programme regional economic activities; and the need to strengthen... collective bargaining power vis-a-vis powerful external entities and forces" (1975: 74).

The collapse of the West Indian Federation in 1962 was followed by years of suspicion, hesitation and reflection about regionalism until the establishment of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (Carifta) in 1968 which developed into the Caribbean Community (Caricom) in 1973.

These developments were closely monitored in the social sciences (Payne 1980, 1984b, 1985), by Caricom itself (Ten Years of Caricom 1984) and by the World Bank (Chernick 1978).

There has been wide support in the regional social sciences for the idea of regional integration, although it was never exempt from critical comments on its prospects. Economic integration is considered as a particular aspect of the development of the region and not as a panacea (Brewster and

Thomas 1967: 332) and its impact can go deep because genuine integration threatens the basis of existing trade relations between the 'mature' and 'immature' economies (ibid.: 332). From the viewpoint of the transformation of the Caribbean societies it is noted that if the relations of production are not changed "any method or instrument of integration in use will only contribute to the perpetuation and possible deepening of the underdevelopment process" (Thomas 1974: 280-281), and it is warned that "regionalism does not do away with classes and the historical materialist base of social development" (Thomas 1979: 299).

In the evaluation of the regional movement Anthony Payne ascertains that Caricom promoted "coexistence of regional integration at one level with regional fragmentation at another" (1980: 284), and adds that "Caricom is now simply a fact of Caribbean political and economic life which nobody seems to want to destroy but nobody seems able to rescue" (Payne 1985: 228). For Alister McIntyre the regional movement is "in deep trouble" because of a reluctance to adhere to regional commitments and there is even a reversal in decision-making. He stresses that if the people's of the Caribbean "want a place for themselves in the world", they are bound to work together (1984: 16). That is also Denis Benn's view when he observes that they must "seek to survive together or they will perish individually" (1984: 38).

Social scientists, despite of the failure in the political field to make concrete progress, have never abandoned their support for regional integration, which could be particularly noticed as a constant in the work of William Demas (1974, 1976, 1981, 1987), who has been one of the most dedicated advocates of regional integration. The urgent need for the regional option was the 'mathematical' outcome of their analysis, and probably, there has been no other issue in Caribbean social sciences with such a high degree of consensus. But a united Caribbean nation is still far away. Recently C.L.R. James (1981) expressed his firm belief in the feasibility of the birth of a nation in the whole of the Caribbean, which

was criticized by Gordon Lewis (1985a: 28), because "such grandiose schemes smack of romantic utopia-mongering". He has more belief in a functional federation conceived of as the "creative invention of institutional mechanisms for regional cooperation rooted in basic, limited common purposes in which all participating governments have a ready, practical interest" (ibid.: 27). Political 'Federation is not considered feasible by him, because there "are still too many governments and politicians jealous of their own little slice of sovereignty to surrender it to any central regional authority" (G.K. Lewis 1985b: 245).

Due to these considerations it will not be any easier for Caricom to achieve a wider regional integration including the full membership of Suriname, the Netherlands Antilles, Haiti and the Dominican Republic, all of which enjoy observer status in the organization, because it is very improbable that a broadening of Caricom can take place if the current differences are not overcome first. Integration of a hemispheric nature of the Caribbean and Latin America that finds its proponents particularly among the intellectuals of the two subregions (Bryan 1983: 12), will have to deal with a number of major diverting tendencies to be of any significance (See Bryan 1983; Manigat 1983c).

Geopolitics

Post-war geopolitics in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean is the direct result of the new peripheralization of the region. The imminent decline of British and Dutch colonialism and their subsequent decline of control in the Caribbean area catalyzed by the accelerating decolonization process, led to a new peripheralization based on a modern application of the Monroe-Doctrine, in which old European metropoles made room for the North American influence in a new geopolitical situation that started to change only recently with changes in hegemonic control as a consequence of which new actors appeared on the scene, affecting the traditional forms of domination.

Leslie Manigat (1988a: 39) observes that the crisis of the Caribbean seen from a geopolitical perspective is tri-dimensional: it is a crisis of domestic structures of the individual states particularly of their development model and "choice of society"; it is a crisis of regional structures, and finally, it is a crisis of the Caribbean insertion into the international system.

In the social sciences these changes opened up a new field of study which closely monitored politics at the regional level. The establishment of the Institute of International Relations in Trinidad in 1966 gave significant institutional support to this new line of research in the 1970s and 1980s.

Social science research embarked upon new issues such as the international relations and foreign policy of the newly independent states (V.A. Lewis 1976, 1983b; Ince 1979a), foreign control in the region (De Kadt 1972; Pearce 1982; Barry et al. 1984; Maingot 1985), the role of the middle powers in the region, and recently militarization, while three specific topics received substancial attention: the East-West rivalry in the region, the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) and the Grenada invasion.

The gradual decline of United States' hegemony in the region made way for the emergence of regional middle powers which were amply dealt with in the geopolitical studies (Maira 1983; V.A. Lewis 1984a, Serbin 1987b). Venezuela has been one of the active regional middle powers operating in the Caribbean, as a consequence of its proximity to the region, a 1,500 mile Caribbean coast line, its strategic, economic and maritime interests, and particularly because of its border dispute with Guyana and the demarcation of the maritime frontiers with Trinidad and Tobago. An active policy of Venezuela towards all the regional territories and its particular attention to the political developments of Grenada and Suriname led to an increasing number of studies in Venezuela

itself, as can be appreciated in two readers on its relations with the region (Serbin 1983, 1987).

The Cuban Revolution in 1959 that challenged the Monroe-Doctrine but particularly its stabilization constituted one of the most significant long term factors in the regional geopolitics.

In the first period Cuba's influence was limited to the party and movement level particularly with radical postures, and it was only in the early 1970s that Cuba appeared on the scene in the Caribbean as an active regional middle power with the simultaneous establishment of diplomatic relations in 1972 with Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago (L. Manigat 1988a: 46) and it obtained particular significance with its involvement in the political processes in Guyana (Burnham, Jagan), Jamaica (Manley), Grenada (Bishop) and Suriname (Bouterse).

Brazil which has much in common with the Caribbean because of ethnocultural similarities (M. Manigat 1988: 263) concentrated its Caribbean focus on Cuba, Suriname and Guyana. Particularly in the cases of its Caribbean neighbours, Suriname and Guyana, Brazil developed an active policy (Ely 1987) to handle these difficult 'deviant cases'.

Besides these three major actors two other Latin American middle powers operated in the region: Mexico (Maira 1983) and Colombia (Cepeda 1988), while from the north Canada's presence has always been significant, because: "For Canada the Commonwealth Caribbean constitutes perhaps the only place in the world where Canada enjoys a 'presence' in the international relations sense of the term" (Levitt 1988).

Finally, the European presence (Britain, France and Holland) which historically dominated in the region, has never disappeared, and particularly because of the expansion of its interests in the region (like the launching pad in Kourou in French Guiana) and its active diplomacy in the region (like in the Central American conflict), social science interest in the geopolitical presence of Europe has increased.

Another field of study was related to the fact that the "non-Hispanic Caribbean states, most of which do not have regular military units became militarized overnight" (Phillips and Young 1986: 2). This led to a number of studies in the 1980s with a general focus on the region (Phillips 1985; Phillips and Young 1986: García Muñíz 1987), while more specific studies were done on Guyana (Danns 1983, 1986), Belize (Young 1986), Suriname (Sedoc-Dahlberg 1986) and Jamaica (García Muñíz 1988). All these studies on security and militarization were closely related to the international and national political development in the region.

The East-West conflict has been constantly present in the major geopolitical events of the region and most scholars consider the East-West rivalry as a major tool of analysis to understand and explain geopolitical developments and processes in the Caribbean Basin (Levine 1983; V.A. Lewis 1984a, b). The United States' fear of communism is ascribed a "major role in shaping international developments" in the Caribbean (Millet 1979: 14), and the region is seen as a "zone of intense political rivalry between Western capitalist and Eastern communist influence" (Stone 1985: 13). In general, the impact of exogenous superpower competition in the region, whether by direct action or articulated in the national context, is conceptualized as a major explanatory variable for the study of geopolitics in the region, while material factors of an economic nature, such as the economic interests of the superpowers, are less privileged in the analysis.

For the description of conjunctural geopolitical developments in the region there can be no doubt of the relevance of the East-West rivalry in the Caribbean. The Soviet strategic and ideological interests and its support for revolutionary movements, met heavy actions of the United States in the region, whose proximity to the area historically has been the reason for more specific hegemonic claims in the Caribbean. But, since the basic conduct in the international scene is essentially based on direct interests of which the economic are

usually most significant, a unilateral emphasis on the East-West rivalry obscures the analysis of geopolitics in the region. In the regional analysis these two variables should be integrated, and for that purpose the concept of 'hegemony' can be particularly useful.

Hegemony of a political power in an international context can be understood as the degree to which a combination of coercion and consent establishes authority and leadership without a direct resort to visible force or violence. It does not draw on naked power but on the awe towards power; therefore, the contribution of 'power' to 'hegemony' does not lie in its application but rather in the persuasive capacity of power as a potential and latent entity without the need to resort to direct force or violence. It is for this reason that loss of power leads to loss of hegemony, but the reverse is not the case, because loss of hegemony normally leads to a temporal increase in the direct use of power, in desperate efforts to restore authority. Hegemony, therefore is dominance by consent, by accepted 'moral' authority and leadership, and it is mediated by dependency, ideology and political alignment that eliminates alternative independent positions, while it is based on the coercive capacity to sanction deviant behaviour that contains a challenge to it.

The specific relation between hegemony and power should particularly be taken into account in geopolitical analysis. Hegemony, although it is based on power is not equivalent to it; power submits and belongs to the ambit of domination, while hegemony legitimizes and belongs to the ambit of dominance.

With this concept we can now take a closer look at the geopolitical analysis in the regional social sciences.

Ample attention of scholars of geopolitics was attracted by the Grenada Revolution in which the issues of transformation at the national level and geopolitics coincided. It was discussed by its adherents (Jacobs and Jacobs 1980) and evaluatively (Ambursley and Cohen 1983b). Even more interest was raised by the Grenada invasion that was discussed by several scholars (Payne et al. 1984; Mandle 1985; L. Manigat 1988b), while Watson's (1985b) critique of the petty bourgeois nature of the Bishop fraction led to critical reactions. Even a State Department version saw the light (Sandford 1985), while the Grenada Documents were published at length (Seabury et al. 1984).

The United States' invasion of Grenada with the moral support of a number of friendly states of the English Speaking Caribbean is generally considered as a reassertion of United States' hegemony in the region. For Leslie Manigat: "The Grenada events have thus inaugurated a new era, one in which a reality wrongly believed to belong to the past has been dramatically reaffirmed. In effect, U.S. hegemony over the region has been reasserted" (1988b: 217). Our discussion of the concept of hegemony, however, points to the reverse, namely that the Grenada invasion is rather a proof of the loss of United States' hegemony in the region, because what at one time had been self-evident and uncontested needed to be proven now with the 'argument' of the invasion. Moral authority made way to military power and the Grenada invasion was a warning, even to those Caribbean countries directly involved in it, that loss of hegemony was not equivalent to loss of power. Manigat's conclusion that with the Grenada invasion "the U.S.A. is again lord and master in the Caribbean" (1988b: 217), can therefore be questioned, because it only proves that it is again 'master', but not 'lord' anymore. At variance with the invasion in the Dominican Republic and the expulsion of Cuba from the O.A.S. no hemispheric support could be secured, and the Grenada invasion was not even put on the O.A.S. agenda.

In the analysis of the Grenada invasion again the 'uniqueness argument' looms up when the invasion is considered exceptional for the region under study. However, the same arguments used to sustain this can be applied to assert that the invasion was by no means exceptional, but that it brought an end to the exceptional situation of the English Speaking Caribbean to be exempted from military interventions, when

they had been erroneously assumed to be some kind of attribute or privilege of Latin America.

It should be noted that the Grenada invasion was not a counterrevolution, it was not even related to an existing domestic social movement or social force; it was a conquest from outside, from the horizons of the Caribbean Sea, unrelated to domestic protest or action, but rather the product of major foreign interests, because as a key-person in the Grenada invasion observed: "It is not nutmeg that's at stake in the Caribbean and Central America. It is the United States' national security" (Ronald Reagan's statement to the Washington Post, quoted in Phillips 1985: 99).

Everything indicates therefore that the Grenada invasion was not an exception but an example of a reaction to the decline of hegemony.

A next issue that drew particularly the attention of scholars of recent geopolitics in the region is the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) which is an expression of geopolitics in the economic field. It is an initiative of the United States towards the Caribbean providing duty free entrance to the United States of a number of goods, and it officially aims at fostering the economic development of the states in the region, as its formal name 'Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act' indicates. It is not a regional plan but a national plan of the United States for a new peripheralization of the Caribbean. It is not regional but on a bilateral base, since it is based on the relation of the United States with each one of the respective Caribbean countries separately and operates like a fan of dyadic relations toward the Caribbean Basin with the pivot in the United States. The CBI is an expression of the fact that the Caribbean Basin is "critical to the ability of the United States to play its role as a world power with wide-ranging global commitments" (González 1988: 278).

Social scientists in the region have generally been critical of the CBI. It was questioned because of its bilateral character that threatens regional integration (Polanyi-Levitt 1985: 230), and because of its lack of feasibility due to technical problems for improving the level of production in the Caribbean (Palmer 1984: 69) and developing a national capitalist class (Watson 1985a). It was also criticized because of its aim to integrate the Caribbean Basin into the North American system (Heine 1988: 56; Watson 1986: 232), and in general, because its main purpose was an attempt at reasserting hegemony in the region (Watson 1985a: 32; Hillcoat and Quenan 1987: 77).

The Grenada invasion and the CBI served the same basic interests although using different devices. The CBI was meant to strengthen the new peripheralization and reassert hegemony by creating bilateral dependency relations with the Caribbean states while they themselves entered in competitive triangular relations with the United States, and on the other hand the Grenada invasion was a deployment of military force against a Lilliput-state to restore power, an action that could only further erode hegemony. These contradictory actions are what Xavier Gorostiaga (1985: 16) calls a "geopolitical logic" that is not a "conjunctural problem" but an "essential component of the ideological structure of Empire" and a "natural response to the decline of American imperial power".

In the geopolitical studies on the region it was not always realized that even though the East-West rivalry was related to the problem of hegemony it could never substitute it as a major variable in the analysis. In fact, there is a consequent classical hegemonic response to nationalist, anti-imperialist and mass movements in the region, which predates the Soviet October Revolution and can therefore never be explained by an East-West rivalry. It is related to a natural propensity in the peripheral countries for movements based on nationalism or focusing on autonomy and sovereignty to come into conflict with foreign domination and imperialism of which their countries are a victim, independently of the existence of global East-West rivalries. In the Caribbean the East-West rivalry

was only the modern version of the Monroe-Doctrine, both of which were based on underlying interests and geared towards suppressing international economic contradictions by dichotomizing any third option into one of the poles of the extra-regional rivalry.

It should be noted in the case of geopolitical studies that it is not possible to isolate a particular region, and therefore the geopolitical analysis of the Caribbean cannot be separated from the wider context of hemispheric relations. The field of geopolitics can therefore become a meeting place for the social sciences of the Caribbean and Latin America.

Geopolitics in the Caribbean Basin is only one aspect of a general hemispheric development and is related to the decline of United States' hegemony in the hemisphere as part of a global loss of empire, indications of which can be found in the emergence of SELA, the Annual Meeting of the Latin American Presidents, the refusal to support United States' Central America policy, the reincorporation of Cuba in the Latin American family, but it is most clear in the emergence of the Contadora Group, which as Johnny Cova observes, "is the Latin America answer to the Monroe-Doctrine: Latin American solutions to Latin American problems" (1987: 153), and as was observed elsewhere, when stripped of all rhetoric its real intention seems to be a first step towards an "OAS without the United States" (Sankatsing 1988: 8).

The hemispheric approach in geopolitical studies is important for another reason, because geopolitics in the Caribbean is not only relevant from the point of view of the hegemony of extra-regional superpowers, but also with the focus on intra-regional hemispheric 'south-south' cooperation. In the relations between the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean and Latin America several persisting territorial disputes have stood in the way (Ely 1983; L. Manigat 1988c), particularly the border disputes of Guyana and Venezuela, Belize and Guatemala, and the demarcation of maritime frontiers between Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela. Con-

junctural developments like the Malvinas/Falklands War (Ely 1983) only widened the gap that already existed due to historical differences and negative mutual perceptions, and further weakened the options for a closer integration between the Caribbean and Latin America.

New patterns of peripheralization that can appear on the scene point in the same direction, as they can lead to what Leslie Manigat (1988c:355) calls, "a dismembering of the Caribbean through the adoption of a go-it-alone policy by individual nation states of the region", particularly in closer relations with the United States (Grenada, or as an effect of CBI), Great Britain (Anguilla), France (Haiti), Holland (The Netherlands Antilles, Aruba, Suriname), the Soviet Union (Cuba).

The recent growth of the number of social science studies on geopolitics particularly in the 1980s point to new social and political processes that are gaining relevance in the region.

The progressive interweaving of social , economic and political issues at the national level in a wider international network of relations and the interpretation of national issues in geopolitical terms by the major actors in the region is clearly reflected in the social science research on the region.

V. Conclusion

When the social sciences, developed in close interaction with the social evolution of Europe, were transplanted to the Caribbean in the form of separate disciplines, a particular alien structure in the scientific study of the region was introduced, that harboured serious limitations for social science development in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean. The separate social science disciplines were not even fragments of one central unified body of social science, but rather more or less autonomous social science fields of study, each with a differential evolution.

On the one hand, the advent of the social sciences in the region constituted a positive development as a rich tradition of thought and accumulation of knowledge was made accessible to the region; on the other hand, however, their transplantation to the region originated a number of complications related to their usefulness and applicability.

For early Caribbean social scientists who were confronted with difficult problems of application this led basically to two major responses in the post-war period: indigenization of the social sciences and the transcendence of the individual disciplines, as was amply discussed. These reactions were positively influenced by the close relation and interweaving of theory and praxis that was characteristic for the region. It can be concluded from this study that in the Caribbean the development of the social sciences, particularly of its major conceptualizations, has been a direct response to the social processes that took place in the region since the 1940s.

The ongoing emancipation and decolonization processes, particularly when the advent of political independence became inevitable, exerted significant pressure to institutional-

ize social science training and research in the region, and the newly established social science centres formed the institutional base to support the indigenization process and provided the basic infrastucture for further domestication of social research.

The problems and challenges that these contradictory aspects of the inception of the social sciences harboured, providing a scientific tool of analysis that could be questioned at the same time for its applicability, have often been ignored by metropolitan social scientists, as can be appreciated in the euphoria of Franklin Frazier, who noted in an introduction to an important publication on the Caribbean (Rubin 1957) that "the aplication of the scientific method to the study of both European and non-European societies has been a phase of the triumph of the scientific spirit which has been one of the main characteristics of Western civilizations" (Frazier 1957: v).

However, in a relatively short span Caribbean social scientists managed to give rise to a rich tradition of regional social science.

After half a century of indigenous social research in the Caribbean it is pertinent to raise the question whether a better understanding of its societies could be achieved and whether more valid or at least more reasonable explanations could be given for its social processes and developments.

Several social scientists have commented that the development of theory in the social sciences on the region is rather weak. As we discussed before it was observed that what we have are "skeletal ideas" and "shells with little content" (Craig), "a long string of commentaries non-essential in tone and substance" (Harris), and no adequate description and interpretation of the structure and the dynamics of change of the Caribbean societies (Craig). In the case of the Dutch Speaking Caribbean due to its smaller scale the descriptive nature and a parochial view were even more salient (Sankatsing 1980). Henry and Stone (1983: xiv) identify a "paradigmatic crisis that the study of development in the Caribbean is currently experiencing", and ascribe it to the fact that "new paradigms have not been adequately reworked so

that they are able to capture and reflect accurately the specifics of the Caribbean situation".

Although these assertions about the theoretical weakness of the regional social science cannot be denied, two nuances should be advanced. The first point is whether other societies and regions of the Third World or even of the North Atlantic have been able to achieve a better understanding of the structure and dynamics of change and development of their respective societies; there does not seem to exist support for an affirmative answer to this question. The second point relates to the absence of a 'unique' or strictly Caribbean social science as a consequence of which no exclusively Caribbean theories can exist, since many problems that are being experienced in the region only form part of a general problem, and therefore, an eventual theoretical weakness or crisis of the Caribbean social science rather points to a general crisis in the social sciences.

Crisis in the social sciences do not stem from endogenous factors within the disciplines, but rather from the confrontation with reality, social praxis and social history, and it is questionable whether this confrontation between theory and social reality has been less satisfactory in the Caribbean than elsewhere, and whether in this particular region social knowledge has been more at variance with social reality.

It can be concluded from the evidence advanced in this study that the indigenous social sciences in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean have made substantial progress since their inception in the 1940s and can already count on a diversified body of indigenous social science thought and theorizing which materialized in a number of major conceptualizations related to Caribbean reality. As we could see in the course of this study, substantial social science work has been done and many original contributions were generated by indigenous Caribbean social science research, which even gave international fame to several Caribbean social scientists, such as M.G. Smith, George Beckford, Norman Girvan, Lloyd Best, William Demas, Rudolf van Lier, Clive Thomas,

Walter Rodney, to name a few, while Arthur Lewis was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1979.

But the development of social science in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean has not been uncomplicated due to the constraints that accompanied its non-endogenous nature, such as those which stem from its differentiation in disciplines. Since the early days of Eric Williams and Arthur Lewis until modern times, efforts were made to overcome the limitations of the separate social science disciplines and the early abandonment of a uni-disciplinary practice gradually opened the way for a multi-, inter- and even transdisciplinary approach with an increasing integration of the separate disciplines. However, there is a limit to this progressive advances if the premisses of the social science disciplines are not questioned and if the social processes of production and legitimation of science on which they were grounded historically are not taken into account. The challenge to transcend the individual discipline is still open for the future, in order to achieve a non-desintegrated, holistic social science with a central discussion on theory, paradigm and methodology which can lead to what can be denominated an 'extra-disciplinary approach' (of which this study is a modest attempt).

It should be realized, however, that no solution will be found in a global and amorphous social science without specializations, since such a complex subject matter as the Caribbean societies and their social processes cannot dispense with specialized studies. What should be pursued therefore, is specialization that corresponds to the major problem fields and challenges in the Caribbean (Van Lier 1979: 10), in which social reality itself will impose the integration of disciplines. It should be realized that the ideal of an 'extra-disciplinary' social science constitutes a sharp modification of existing social science practice and a threat to current social science disciplines and practice and, consequently, that it will meet with substantial resistence rooted in old convictions and due to the opposition from a number of social scientists who derive their status from it.

In the field of social science methodology caution is warranted and social scientists in the region should be on their guard against a propensity to consider the field of methodology as less subjective and less context-bound than theory, since that can lead to an underestimation of the limitations of the application of current methodology for social research, as can be seen for instance in the observation of Manners (1957: 80) that "methods already in use, methods which have already been tried, may with profit and very little modification be applied to the analysis of contemporary Caribbean and certain other Third World communities".

However, it should be taken into account that methods and techniques, as instruments of research, are developed in the pursuit of solutions and answers to specific problems and questions that rise in a particular social context, and consequently that there exists no automatic applicability of such methods to other social historical settings. This is particularly the case for the social sciences, in which apart from the mutual generative relation between theory related to the development of a particular social historical context, and its methodology, further divergence took place because of the differential methodological development of the separate social science disciplines.

In the case of Caribbean social science already in its early post-war efforts at indigenization in the work of Arthur Lewis, but even more so with the advent of the New World Group, externally generated models and a methodology that was developed in function of an alien social context, were seriously questioned. This critical stand was continued in the more recent questioning of the sophisticated quantitative techniques that are based on assumptions of a level of measurement that the social variables lacked in the region (just as elsewhere).

At several points in this study, particularly when the different social science conceptualizations in the region were discussed, a descriptive and phenomena-oriented approach was identified. The theory of the plural society, for example, was called a "descriptive classificatory scheme" (Cross), while

the 'plantation economy model' was seen as a "typology" (Harris), a "description of static reality" (Sudama) and was criticized because of its "fetichistic" approach and focus on the "thing manifestation" (Figueroa). It should be realized however, that overemphasis on facts, events or phenomena can be detrimental to social research, since a 'deification' of facts does not take into account their probabilistic nature and can therefore obscure the analysis.

Reinhard Bendix (1964: 24) observes that in the analysis of the social sciences the future must be conceived of as uncertain, but not only from the viewpoint of the present but also from the past, because the eventual development of past events was also uncertain. Edgar Morin shares this view when he notes that there can be no longer "a definitive explanation of the past nor an arrogant futurology: one can, one ought to construct possible and improbable scenarios for the past and for the future" (Morin 1977: 308). Eddie Greene deals with this same question when he observes that "our models of the historical development of real societies must be probabilistic rather than deterministic" (1983: 258). It should be realized therefore, that it is not the facts that should be the object of study, but the genesis of facts.

Only when this is understood can justice be done to the words of the late Elsa Goveia who observed that "in history time supplies the continuum but not the principle of change. To discover that principle it is still necessary to do what so many of the West Indian historians did: to seek, beyond the narrative of events, a wider understanding of the thoughts, habits and institutions of a whole society. In the society itself, in its purpose and in its adaptive processes will be found the true genesis of history" (Goveia 1956: 139).

There is a particular danger for the social sciences following the conjunctural movement of events and social developments, of themselves becoming 'conjunctural social sciences' that 'oscillate' with events and become a victim of the 'caprices' of evolution. Social science, excessively preocupied with events can be reduced to 'scientific journalism' when dealing with contemporary reality, and when turning to the

past, to some kind of 'analytical historiography'. It should be noted that the Caribbean social sciences have not been exempt from this tendency, and therefore caution is warranted for the future.

Particularly at times of crisis when progress in the social science tends to stagnate because of their perceived incapacity to deal with the central issues of society, there exists a danger of moving away from theory and fall into empiricism with ephemeral, phenomena-oriented research.

The agenda of the social sciences in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean cannot be divorced from the tradition of half a century of accumulated social science practice, and in general terms research can be expected to continue in the wake of the major issues which have already been the concern of the Caribbean social sciences.

The responsibility of the social sciences towards society will underscore the relevance of studying visible urgent social problems which have always figured on the already classical list of social evils, such as unemployment, poverty, marginality and criminality, the problems of housing, health care and education, and the list can only be expanded with new conjunctural problems that have loomed up in recent times, such as drug traffic and 'narco-governments', the debt problem, and the social problems related to AIDS that seems to find a superconductor in underdevelopment and poverty. However, as they belong to a particular level of problems and constitute the epiphenomena of underlying factors, a substantial part of research should be dedicated to these structural factors.

The major issues that will figure on the agenda will continue a long tradition of Caribbean social sciences. Along with the race-class debate, the problems of economic, social and political stability and change should be dealt with, and a theory of social change seems to constitute the next priority not only at the national level.

At the regional level, the issue of integration on wich there has existed an almost consensual support amongst social

scientists, will continue to attract attention, while geopolitics starts to constitute a new field of increasing relevance which can form the most significant meeting place for Caribbean and Latin American social scientists.

But there is one general condition that seems to be imperative. For the social sciences to be able to address themselves to these and other major problems that will gradually appear on the scene, freedom of research and writing is an indispensable condition. In the fragile intolerant democracies of the Caribbean where no other institution seems able to overcome prejudicial intellectual polarization, the university has a special responsibility to constitute a platform for scientific and ideological dialogue. A high degree of tolerance is required without the monopoly of any one tenet, paradigm or world view, and an almost 'totemic' respect for intellectual liberty should characterize this institution in a society where almost every sphere of life is permeated with partisan politics.

The social scientists themselves should help in creating such favourable conditions for the progress of social science in the region, with joint efforts and cross-fertilization of ideas in a climate of free and open dicussion that is not plagued by an apologetical defense of dogmatic tenets as has too often been the case in the past.

In backward societies the social scientists form part of the privileged sector, and therefore a heavy burden is laid upon their shoulders in the politically brittle Caribbean societies, where 'persistent poverty' persists along with high incomes 'per capita selecta'.

In the history of the social sciences in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean, the social scientists have never failed to assume their responsibility as this brief study has been able to demonstrate and it can be expected that the future will be a continuation of the past and that the new challenges that these weakly integrated multi-ethnic societies generate, will continue to fascinate the students of society who will only prolong the work that several generations of social scientists have done in the course of a turbulent half century in the English and Dutch Speaking Caribbean.

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