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Jagan, who has attempted to inspire interest in a conference "of anti-imperialist" forces for some time in the future on Barbados.

25. The PPM publishes a fortnightly newsletter entitled the Black Star, which devotes much of its space to the black power theme. The mimeographed publication, which last appeared in May 1969, is also pro-Castro and anti-US, particularly with respect to race problems and Vietnam. It has described the United Kingdom as "neocolonialist and imperialist." The editor, Leroy Harewood, is a Barbadian who has resided in England. His wife, Verona, runs the Black Star Book Shop, which sells Marxist and kindred ideological material not normally found in Barbadian book shops. The paper has intellectual pretensions and appeal, but may nevertheless attract broader readership by its use of "scare" tactics.

26. The University Student Action Front, formed in 1968, is composed of a small group of students at the Barbados campus of the University of the West Indies. Besides the common theme of black power, there is no known connection between the student group and the PPM. There is no evidence that either group has broad popular support--indeed the students seem to have alienated the overwhelming majority of the population by their rowdy and disrupting behavior at small rallies.

27. Although neither group constitutes a significant political force, Prime Minister Errol Barrow has taken a firm stand denouncing the racist tactics and revolutionary declarations of both groups. In a public confrontation with the student group, the prime minister was especially caustic in deriding black power slogans calling for the overthrow of West Indian society as it now exists. At one point he labeled the movement "highly subversive" and advised the students to "tend to their studies rather than destroying society." The radio discussion probably accomplished the prime minister's purpose of exposing the movement as a nebulous and disruptive force and of letting the population know exactly where the government stands on the issue.

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13. The attitude of leaders of both the predominantly Negro ruling Jamaican Labor Party and the opposition Peoples National Party toward black power groups generally combines criticism with distrust. Government members regard the radicals as subversives who serve as a rallying point for popular dissatisfaction. The government's concern is reflected in the official ban against visits to Jamaica by Stokely Carmichael, H. "Rap" Brown, and James Forman. Opposition party members, many of whom are not Negro and are relatively affluent, avoid connection with black power groups but are cautious to avoid what might be construed as an anti-black position.

14. Government concern over activities of black radicals intensified during the Kingston riots in October 1968. Violence erupted then following the administration's refusal to permit Walter Rodney, a West Indies university lecturer from Guyana, to return to Jamaica after he had attended the Black Writers' Conference in Montreal. A student-faculty protest demonstration against the government's action was taken over by hoodlums and turned into a wave of anti-white terrorism.

15. Rodney, a Marxist and Castro sympathizer, had earlier attempted to set up a Black Power Movement with branches in Kingston, and the University. Prime Minister Shearer charged him with planning a Castro-type take-over. Despite his absence from Jamaica his influence has persisted, notably with Robert Hill and his supporters. Rodney had outlined his objectives at a meeting in May 1968 as follows:

1. Creation of an awareness of what it means to be black.
2. Mobilization and unification of black people to act in their own interest.
3. Rejection of white cultural imperialism.
4. Ensurance of the rule of blacks in black society. This requires revolution. All revolutions have been violent.

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seem to preclude virtually all of the radical groups from exerting decisive influence on government policies in the near future.

35. A few of the black power groups probably have some potential for subversion, although none yet has sufficient resources to constitute a major threat to incumbent government. Except for Guyana, there are no Communist parties in the English-speaking Caribbean; the most serious subversive threat is in fact from black revolutionaries. The revolutionary theme will probably remain a principal ingredient in the doctrine of Robert Hill's black power movement in Jamaica. Nevertheless, Hill's efforts and those of other black revolutionaries will probably be limited to occasional demonstrations and rallies, strikes, and other forms of agitation. There may be times, of course, when public unrest will allow the activists to employ violent tactics and cause serious disruptions.

36. As happened in Curacao in May, there may be occasions when black militants attempt to exploit sudden outbreaks by using violence against whites, particularly foreign-owned business firms and even tourists. Given the strong resentment aroused among some people by the highly visible contrasts in economic conditions, there is fertile ground for exploitation by agitators. The activities of the black radicals are almost certain to help generate a stronger nationalistic feeling in much of the Caribbean. Specific results of this nationalistic influence will tend to arouse pressure for nationalization of white-owned, particularly foreign-owned, enterprises. The University of the West Indies branches in Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados will probably become increasingly important centers of black nationalism. As elections come due within the next two years in Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and elsewhere, the black power groups may well make intensified efforts to gain mass support.

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King, who has assumed the African name of Eusi Kwayana, has begun to reorient the organization toward an aggressive racist position, with the avowed goal of destroying white influence in the country. In a statement to ASCRIA's annual meeting last year, Kwayana characterized its goal as turning "our formal political independence into an opportunity for black resurrection, for the material, cultural, political, and spiritual salvation of the black people of Guyana, the Caribbean, and the Western Hemisphere."

22. Kwayana's position as a government official--he is chairman of the Guyana Marketing Corporation and has another post--has given him influence within Prime Minister Forbes Burnham's party, the Peoples National Congress. Burnham sees benefit to himself in having the popular Kwayana in the administration, at least as long as Burnham continues confident of maintaining the upper hand. Burnham probably sympathizes somewhat with Kwayana but the Prime Minister's Western outlook prevents him from supporting Kwayana's more extremist views. The prime minister does permit his party supporters to participate in public black power activities.

23. Another group, the Afro-Asian American Association, founded by Brindley Benn, a Marxist politician, reportedly is behind the Black Power Newsletter. The goal of the group is to develop a revolutionary political integration of both the Negroes and East Indians. Benn's political influence, like that of the small Black Muslim movement, is slight.

BARBADOS

24. The most vocal proponents of black power in Barbados are centered in the loosely structured Peoples' Progressive Movement (PPM). This movement, organized in 1966, attempts to relate racial issues to political and economic frustrations of the lower classes. It also espouses a mixture of Cuban and Peking-oriented Marxism--a concept apparently not deeply understood by its estimated 50 members. It maintains contacts with Guyana Marxist leader Cheddi

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
6 August 1969

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

Black Radicalism in the CaribbeanIntroduction

The Caribbean Black Power Conference, held in Bermuda from 10 to 13 July, was the first coordinated meeting in the region of what are generally referred to as "black nationalists" or "black revolutionaries." Little information has been made public regarding the numerous "workshop sessions" and other activities of the 1,300 participants. The enthusiasm generated by the Bermuda meeting, however, has apparently led to plans for a second such conference sometime next year in Barbados. Available information suggests that for many people the recent meeting symbolizes a real and growing, albeit still relatively ill-defined, interest in the potential of black power as a political and social force in the Caribbean.

Delegates to the conference represented a number of radical groups that exist in the English-speaking Caribbean as well as some in the UK, Canada, and the US. The most active of these groups are probably those in Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago. Other less significant black radical organizations have been formed in Antigua, Barbados, St. Vincent, and two or three other places. The purpose of this paper is to assess the degree of influence and the potential of significant black power, black nationalist, and similar groups in the Caribbean and of their leaders. Conclusions appear in paragraphs 34-36.

Note: This memorandum was produced solely by CIA. It was prepared by the Office of Current Intelligence and coordinated with the Office of National Estimates and the Clandestine Service.

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for black power activities in the Caribbean. Propaganda emanating from Havana has virtually ignored the subject. Robert Hill of Jamaica and George Weekes of Trinidad are the only well-known radical leaders from the area reported to have visited Cuba in recent years. Unlike its fairly frequent contacts with Black Panthers and other radicals in the US, the Castro regime seems to have refrained from more than occasional communications and expressions of moral support for the Caribbean groups.

33. The extent of relations between black power groups in the Caribbean and similar organizations in the US, such as the Black Panthers, is also vague. The activities of the more activist Negro leaders in the US such as Stokely Carmichael and Elijah Muhammad have been followed closely in Jamaica and other places. There have been visits by Carmichael and other US black power exponents to some of the Caribbean islands. These visits have been limited in the past two or three years, however, because of a ban on the travel of certain US Negro spokesmen by the governments of Jamaica, Antigua, and Trinidad-Tobago. The latter government has refused to permit Carmichael to enter the country despite the fact that he is a native of Trinidad.

Conclusion

34. It seems likely that black radicalism will persist in the Caribbean although it probably will not become a major political force in more than one or two countries in the near future. The extent to which this trend continues will depend heavily on local conditions and the availability of effective leadership for black power groups, something that is presently in short supply. In Guyana, the ASCRIA seems sufficiently well established to remain as a definite influence on official policy, at least as long as Kwayana is the dominant figure. In Jamaica, Negro radicals show signs of overcoming some of the obstacles now severely limiting their effectiveness. Nevertheless, serious deficiencies--lack of leadership, poor organization, shortage of funds--would

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East Indian. East Indians also constitute an important share--nearly 37 percent--of the Trinidad and Tobago population. Translated into politics, these racial divisions mean that no easy black-versus-white alignment is possible. Nor is there always a clear-cut political party structure based on race.

4. Despite the social and political complexities, black radicals see fertile ground for exploitation in the social unrest resulting from depressed economic conditions.* They argue that while the political leadership in their countries is Negro, the regimes are "black fronts manipulated by white power." They contend that US, Canadian, and British companies and the local white minority together with Chinese and other non-Negroes control the economies. (Light-skinned Negroes are often lumped together with the "economic class.") In fact, class and color are related and the darker a man's skin the more likely he is to be unemployed and underprivileged. Governments are targets of criticism by the radicals because the political leaders are held partly responsible for the continuation of white economic control.

5. Although most of the governments have enjoyed long periods of stability, there have been several severe disturbances, and violence could erupt without warning in almost any part of the Caribbean. In each of the serious riots that occurred in Curaçao earlier this year and in Jamaica and Bermuda in 1968, race was a major factor. This is especially true in Jamaica where lawlessness has been frequent during the past year or two.

6. Bermuda illustrates the complexities. The serious disturbances that occurred in April 1968 appeared to have had their underlying causes in anti-white sentiment and resentment by the Negro community at the economic--and to some degree political--

*While most of the English-Speaking area is independent or semi-independent and the governments are democratically elected governments, the problems of poverty and unemployment are severe. In Jamaica, for example, the current unemployment rate is about 20 percent; it is only slightly lower in Trinidad-Tobago and Barbados.

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The Political Context

1. Progress toward political independence in the British Caribbean has been accompanied by the gradual emergence of a number of Negro-based radical groups. These groups have in common a strong interest in acting as a "black conscience" for the political systems, i.e., ensuring that the interests of the Negro population are given prominent consideration in government decisions. All stress the qualities of "blackness" and place heavy importance on arousing awareness among Negroes of their cultural heritage and identity. A few black power organizations espouse a revolutionary line, advocating overthrow of the government even when it is controlled by Negroes.

2. Black power groups in the Caribbean, unlike those in the US, have to contend with the reality that governments in most of the region are controlled by Negroes. This is true in the major English speaking entities--Jamaica, Guyana, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, and the Bahamas, all of which have governments headed by Negroes. Moreover, these leaders have been involved in fairly recent movements to end white domination. Even in the Bahamas--not yet fully independent--a Negro administration was installed in 1967 after a white government lost power through elections. Although there was no violent "anticolonialist" struggle in those countries that achieved independence in the 1960s, Negro leaders have to some extent earned credentials as anti-imperialists, and consequently are not obviously vulnerable to charges of "lackeyism." On the other hand, they have the disadvantage of being responsible for the perpetuation of political institutions inherited from the colonial powers. Also, leaders like prime ministers Barrow of Barbados and Williams of Trinidad and Tobago are products of Western education and are regarded by some as bound to European values.

3. The multiracial makeup of society in most of the Caribbean also is an important fact of life for black power advocates. Large segments of the population of many countries and dependent territories are East Indian, mulatto, Oriental, or indigenous racial groups, not just black and white. In Guyana, for example, the population is nearly evenly divided between Negro (or mixed Negro) and

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seems to be well organized and to have had some training in terrorist tactics.

International Lines

30. There is little evidence of coordination among the various black radical groups in the Caribbean. At most there probably are occasional exchanges of information. No joint activities of any size have taken place with the exception of the conference in Bermuda last month. During that meeting, considerable attention was given to long-range plans for international coordination of the black power movement. The moving force behind the conference was Roosevelt Brown, a member of Bermuda's opposition Progressive Labor Party. He devoted much effort and some money to drum up support for the meeting throughout the region. The source of his funds is unknown.

31. Other black nationalist leaders such as Kwayana of Guyana intend to force some kind of alliance that includes several black power groups in the Caribbean. Some success in this direction has been achieved by the New World Group, which has established branches on several islands. The intellectuals who constitute the bulk of the membership have become important spokesmen for nationalism in the area and publish the quarterly New World, which has high standing in the Caribbean. Operating from its headquarters at the Institute of Social and Economic Research at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica, the New World Group has for several years promoted radical changes in economic and political policies, preferably along socialist patterns. To date, its various chapters have dedicated themselves mostly to discussions of local issues and its intellectual approach has been only passively received by the general public. The members consider the US one of the deterrents to improvement of the Negro's status in the hemisphere.

32. Cuba is interested in exploiting black power groups for subversive purposes, but there has been little firm evidence of active Cuban support

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10. Among the more prominent leaders in the militant camp and probably the most revolutionary is Robert Hill, editor of Abeng, a weekly newspaper that promotes a violent line. Hill seems to be primarily interested in forming a revolutionary movement on an international level as well as in Jamaica. During a speech at a Black Writers Conference in Montreal last year, Hill stressed the need to form a United Black Revolutionary Front and said that nothing would stop black men from creating a new society. Fond of quoting Marcus Garvey, (founder of the Back to Africa Movement in the early 1900s) whom he refers to as the "father of the modern revolt," Hill condemns such moderates as the late Martin Luther King as "traitors."

11. Hill's position as editor of Abeng allows him to exercise an important influence in Jamaica's radical circles. Even among the so-called "Abeng Group," however, there is a split in opinion. Some want to propose positive options to current government policies with the aim of completely reconstructing present political and economic programs. Another faction apparently believes that the institution of the establishment must be smashed so that "from ashes a revolution can reconstruct Jamaica." Hill professes no particular admiration for Cuba, although he traveled there in 1967 and regularly visits the Cuban consulate in Kingston.

12. Other groups are at times willing to give at least symbolic support to Hill and his followers. Among these are the New Creation International Peacemaker's Association, a racist religious organization headed by Claudius Henry. Henry formed the group, which has about 1,000 members, after his release from prison in 1967, where he had served a sentence for treason. The Rastafarians, an African-oriented religious cult, is becoming more closely associated with black power activities at the University of the West Indies and elsewhere. The organization seems interested in revolution as a means of forcing the government to support repatriation of blacks to Africa. The African Revolutionary Movement (ARM) has attempted to set up a training program for Jamaican revolutionaries, but probably has not succeeded in drawing more than 20-25 members. Two other small black power groups have been founded in recent months--the African Youth Movement and the Black Solidarity Committee. Neither of the latter two groups has been active, although the former seems to have made some inroads at the University.

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DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

Intelligence Memorandum

~~Black Radicalism in the Caribbean~~

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6 August 1969
No. 1839/69



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OTHERS

28. A potentially very influential group in St. Vincent is the Education Forum of the People, formerly the Bridge Boys. Its leader, Kerwin Morris, is considered the leader of the black power movement on the island. Membership of the Forum reportedly is approximately 200 and consists largely of civil servants; virtually all of the leaders, including Morris, are teachers. The group has considerable influence because most of the educated young people of St. Vincent belong to it. They provide a potentially decisive political force because popular support is more or less evenly divided between the ruling Labor Party and the opposition Peoples Political Party. On Antigua, the Afro-Caribbean Association, formed early this year by Robin Bascus, chairman of the ruling Antigua Labor Party, is a strong exponent of black power. Premier Vere Bird has accepted the organization as valuable to the general public but has cautioned the group to limit its political activities. The extent of black power enthusiasm or other manifestations of race consciousness on the other English-speaking Windward and Leeward islands is difficult to assess. The low level of economic development, the lack of sophisticated communication media, and the infrequent contact with the outside world tend to isolate the people from black power proponents.

29. The United Black Association for Development in British Honduras is a small but growing black radical organization. Its leader, Evan Hyde, a Dartmouth graduate, has expressed strong anti-US sentiment and seems determined to pursue an activist, nationalist line. A loosely organized black militant group in Curacao evidently was involved in the riots that occurred at the end of May. Stanley Brown, the apparent leader of the black radicals, was arrested on charges that he was implicated in arson during the disturbances. Brown's newspaper, Vito, concentrates on inflammatory material of a racist nature aimed at stirring up latent resentment against the predominantly white establishment. Brown's group

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16. It is unclear to what extent the Shearer government's fear of the subversive threat from black power groups is warranted. There is some evidence that pro-Communists are attempting to gain support from such people as Hill and that a few activists among both black power groups and extreme leftists favor consolidation of forces. Black radical leaders in Jamaica, however, acknowledge the almost total lack of cooperation among various elements in the black power movement.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

17. Several black power groups have been organized in Trinidad and Tobago in recent years. One of the most active organizations is the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC), which was formed in early 1969 to protest the imprisonment of some West Indian students who had participated in a race riot at Sir George Williams University in Montreal, Canada. Its leader, Geddes Granger, describes the organization as a "pressure group designed to deal with all aspects of matters affecting the society of Trinidad and Tobago with special emphasis on black people's rights." Since its formation, the group has held a variety of meetings and demonstrations to support such issues as the Transport and Industrial Workers' Union (TIWU) strike in April 1969 and the strike and subsequent riots on Anguilla. It is willing to support virtually any cause in opposition to the government. Granger has been able to associate the group with major labor groups by having George Weekes, president-general of the Oilfields Workers Trade Union, and Clive Nunez, chief organizer of TIWU, address NJAC.

18. The Black Panther Organization, under the leadership of Aldwyn Primus, is also involved in demonstrations and meetings to further the cause of the black man. Primus is fond of preaching violence, racial hatred, and revolution. His group has had a minimum amount of success, and failure of his doctrine to attract mass support has recently forced him to concede that Trinidad and Tobago are not ready for such a doctrine. A third group, the Young Power

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domination by the white. The police force, which is about 80 percent white, was also the object of hostility from a discontented sector of the Negro community. The British attributed the arousal of these latent feelings to the injection of a racial bias issue into election speeches by some Progressive Labor Party candidates and by two Negro speakers brought in from the US. Racial disturbances earlier that month in the US are also said to have had some influence.

7. So far, even on those occasions when the radicals have had genuine issues to exploit, such as during the prolonged strike of transport workers in Trinidad earlier this year, they usually have shown little capability for taking advantage of the opportunity. During the Trinidad strike, local Black Panther members reportedly were reluctant to participate even though invited by the strikers to do so. Again, little was heard from black power groups when Anguilla leader Ronald Webster unilaterally declared independence last year and defined his move as an assertion of the black man's desire to overthrow white domination.

Groups and Leaders

JAMAICA

8. Black power activity seems to be increasing most rapidly in Jamaica. In recent months there has been considerable interest shown in forming new black power groups. At present the leaders seem to be concentrating on organization and recruitment, particularly at the local branch of the University of the West Indies. Local officials have expressed concern over the extremist aspects of black power groups.

9. The black power movement is divided into two main groups, both of which appear to be centered primarily in Kingston. One seeks to obtain economic betterment for black Jamaicans through legal nonviolent means, to increase pride and dignity among Negroes, and to achieve full equality with other races. The second group aims to have Jamaica dominated by Negroes to the exclusion of other races. It wants to destroy the present system of government and the social structure and replace them with socialist institutions, but admits that it has no coherent plan of action.

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Movement, is dedicated to a change of government by any method or means. Most of its activities consist of meetings and ill-prepared demonstrations at which it calls for unity among black people.

19. Black power groups in Trinidad and Tobago have had a unique opportunity to fill the vacuum left by the virtual absence of political opposition to the government in power. They have been unsuccessful because of poor leadership, lack of organization, and concentration on purposeless demonstrations that have failed to capture the imagination of the people. The political influence of these groups is nil, and they have little popular appeal. The leadership has failed to interpret the minds of the population and transfer nebulous theories of black power into issues with which the populace is genuinely concerned. The lack of cooperation among the various organizations also probably tends to undermine their image with the public.

20. In the first stages of development, the black power groups in Trinidad and Tobago were probably considered a serious threat to stability by the government of Prime Minister Eric Williams. Since then, however, the irresponsible, illogical, and weak leadership of Aldwyn Primus and Geddes Granger, along with a failure to attract mass support, has reduced apprehension within the government. The vacillation and indecision on the part of these groups during the recent TIWU strike gave further evidence that the black power movement presents no serious threat to the government at this time.

GUYANA

21. The main black power organization in Guyana is the African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA). It was formed in 1964 primarily for purposes of developing educational programs related to African history, culture, and language to emphasize the African heritage of black Guyanese. ASCRIA's present membership is about 200, and it has several thousand sympathizers. Since 1968 the group's founder and present leader, Sydney

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