CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND REVOLUTION IN GRENADA

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Abstract: In this article the Grenadian revolution of 1979-83 is examined. While Grenada had been a colony of France and Great Britain, it was the United States that maintained its hegemony over Grenada and the rest of the Caribbean in the 20th century. In spite of dominance by the world's foremost power, counter-hegemonic cultures may be seen throughout the region. During the revolution Grenadian culture and language were used by the political leadership to help transform society. The dialectic between language, culture and ideology is complicated by the fact that hegemonic and counter-hegemonic cultures are themselves the products of each other. It is concluded that for revolutions to succeed they should be based on counter-hegemonic culture but they also need new forms of understanding, which are often based in hegemonic culture.

Résumé: Cet article examine la révolution à Grenade de 1979 à 1983. Bien que Grenade ait été une colonie française et britannique, ce sont les États-Unis qui ont maintenu leur hégémonie sur l'île et le reste des Caraibes au 20ème siècle. En dépit de la domination par la plus grande puissance mondiale, on peut observer dans toute la région des cultures anti-hégémoniques. Lors de la révolution, la culture et la langue grenadines, utilisées par les dirigeants politiques, ont contribué à la transformation de la société. La dialectique entre la langue, la culture et l'idéologie est complexe. En effet, les cultures hégémoniques et anti-hégémoniques sont issues l'une de l'autre. L'article se termine sur l'observation qu'une révolution ne peut réussir totalement que si elle est issue de la culture anti-hégémonique, mais elle nécessite aussi de nouvelles formes d'accords qui proviennent de la culture hégémonique elle-même.

> One of the most serious mistakes, if not the most serious mistake, made by the colonial powers in Africa, may have been to ignore or underestimate the cultural strength of African peoples — Amilcar Cabral (1979:147)

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Introduction

Many arguments have been put forward for the demise of the Grenada revolution. The sudden reversal of Grenada's "revo" after the United States' invasion is held up as an example of how the people were controlled, fooled and misled.

Persistent questions have arisen over the past decade. Was the Grenada revolution derailed due to the misguided application of Marxism-Leninism, in particular, the vanguard party idea and military control? Was the leadership out of touch with the people? Was it an élite, class-based revolution? Did the revolution impose a foreign, European ideology where it did not fit? If the revolution was indigenous, why did the people so overwhelmingly reject its leaders and the ideas the revolution espoused? (see Thorndike 1985:176ff.; Lewis 1987:161ff.; Heine 1990; Henry 1990a; Marable 1987; Mills 1990; Devonish 1992).[1]

Whether the revolutionary system consisted of some form of élite domination is not the issue examined here, nor is the related issue of approval or disapproval by the United States, Cuba and the socialist bloc. These are questions mainly for political pundits, journalists and other scavengers.[2] On the other hand, cultural issues are seldom addressed. While Devonish (1986) examined the language policy and Searle (1984a) showed how words helped in Grenada's revolutionary consciousness, few have examined how much Grenada's revolution was moulded by its culture. In short, while much ink has been spilled on what the leadership did wrong, less attention has been paid to what the people were saying, thinking and doing.

This article explores the process by which culture, language and the political apparatus are transformed in the creation of a revolutionary consciousness. The Grenada revolution had a past from which it emerged and a past from which the revolutionary state extracted a sense of continuity toward a vision of the future. There was also a past, involving external elements, that was contrasted to Grenada's cultural revolution. These may be termed hegemonic and counter-hegemonic tendencies. This article explores the counter-hegemonic tendencies in the formation of Grenadian revolutionary ideology. It is further argued that the cultural basis of the Grenadian revolution may easily be submerged, if not completely erased, by a new hegemonic culture. As I have maintained elsewhere, similar ebbs and flows in Grenadian migration are not unusual despite persistent cultural values underlying migration (Pool 1989).

Culture, Language and Power

Social transformation in the Caribbean has been examined in many different ways but the relationship between culture and power is poorly understood. Revolutions in Haiti and Cuba could not have been predicted, and in general we do not know when societies are ripe for revolution. At the same time few

would dispute the argument that the roots of social revolution lie in discontent, oppression and domination.[3] How much discontent will lead to revolution? We know "why" only in a vague way. A missing dimension in economic domination lies in a better understanding of culture. Stanley Diamond argued that Marxists and anthropologists have not understood revolutions because they did not examine culture. In colonial societies the dominated cultures are suppressed because the unity they engender is threatening. Diamond stated that the

> imperial thrust has destroyed cultures and languages in all parts of the world . . . [i]mposed so-called "universal" languages [and] drive[n] out local so-called "dialects." Modernization is imposed everywhere, no matter what the political ideology of the metropolitan power. In fact modernization becomes an end in itself, and all other transformative theory deteriorates into ideology. (Diamond 1988:280)

Post-colonial socialist transformations have also taken a modernization or developmentalist perspective, in part due to the underdevelopment of resources to meet the needs of the people. Revolutionary movements throughout the world have sought legitimacy by meeting these needs.

In the Caribbean many socialists, including those leading the Grenada revolution, were influenced by the Guyanese economist, Clive Thomas in his *Dependence and Transformation*. He identified three contradictions posed by: (1) increasing differentiation in the agrarian structure; (2) the role of the state vis-à-vis production and distribution; (3) the urban/rural contradiction (Thomas 1974:286). Thomas's political economy approach is useful for analyzing the developing structures and institutions of the Grenada revolution, but revolutions must do more than meet the physical needs of the people. The revolution must speak to the people at the same time that the people must speak to the revolution—words and knowledge are vital for success. A new society needs a new person—political, economic, social and cultural.

The Grenada revolution involved more than political economy. As Paul Friedrich has argued, we need to develop a means of analyzing the relationships between language, ideology and political economy (Friedrich 1989; see also Woolard 1985; Irvine 1989; Stromberg 1990). Friedrich identifies three types of ideology: (1) notational, (2) maintaining-changing and (3) masking (1989:295). Language is therefore important as metaphor and as metonym to alter, mask or identify a political economic system (Paine 1981b; 1981c; see also Bloch 1975; Bailey 1981; Parkin 1984; Grillo 1989). In the Grenada revolution the words "communist," "socialist" or "democratic" were key symbols of good or evil, depending on one's own political opinions. Grenada's short-lived revolution did not possess a coherent ideology and there were changes and conflicts within it. It is not surprising that there is considerable disagreement over the meaning of Grenadian revolutionary ideology.

In addition to the political ideology, I would argue that it is important to understand the people's involvement in the revolution. *How did it feel* to be involved in a revolution? How much did the revolution spring from Grenadian culture and how much was externally assembled? On the one hand, we need to examine the creative base of Grenadian culture; on the other, we need to examine the political rhetoric espoused by the leadership of the revolution. Culture involves creative activity, but it is not developed out of nothing. It is necessary to understand the relationship between this creative force and the political economy of revolution.[4] In short how can we characterize Grenada's revolutionary culture? Can language, cultural and historical roots as well as a political economy be brought to bear in an integrated analysis? How are culture and ideology related, or is culture really what we need to focus on?

Until recently anthropologists conceived of culture as a product of accumulated knowledge and understandings about the world. As a condensed version of belief, culture was thought to be conservative since it validated traditional modes of thought and action. Such an analysis has its limitations, not the least of which is a fossilized notion of culture. Culture must include the fundamental repositioning of thought, tradition, action and social formation. Re-thinking culture is a dialectical process, since the new thought-pattern-behaviour must be subjected to continuous critique. Consciousness is but a reflection of reality, filtered through the prism of culture. Increasing attention has been paid to the use of culture in its anthropological sense to analyze social situations in transition, resulting in studies of the culture of oppression and resistance (e.g., Sider 1987; Taussig 1987; Rebel 1989a, 1989b).

Still we have problems. Most anthropologists do not recognize the difference between culture as source and culture as product. This misunderstanding is in part because the word culture has complex meanings. Furthermore, the anthropologist has his/her own cultural glasses, and represents his/her own "local, personal, or professional moment" as much as that of the colonized (Said 1989:224).

Moreover, the baggage accompanying the concept of culture is a problem. Pierre Bourdieu has shown not only how objectivity is limited, but also how, by means of a "critical break," we can construct "an inquiry into the conditions of possibility" (Bourdieu 1977:3). To accomplish this break Bourdieu developed the concept of habitus, the basis of which is tradition and habit, which immediately transects history: "In short, the habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history" (Bourdieu 1977:82). Habitus is both product and producer. Bourdieu, by replacing culture with habitus, focusses on the dynamic historical process as well as the limits history imposes on possibility. The argument is structural: "The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g., the material conditions of exis-

tence characteristic of a class condition) produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures . . ." (Bourdieu 1977:72)

A more recent clarification is diagrammed as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Symbolic Instruments

such as *structuring structures*	such as *structured structures*	such as *instruments of domination*
Instruments for knowing and constructing the objective world	Means of communication (language or culture vs. discourse or behaviour)	Power Division of labour (social classes) Division of ideological labour (manual/ intellectual) Function of domination
Symbolic forms subjective forms (*modus operandi*)	*Symbolic objects* objective structures (*opus operatum*)	*Ideologies* (vs. myths, languages) body of specialists competing for the monopoly of legitimate cultural production
Signification: objectivity as agreement between subjects (consensus)	Signification: objective meaning as a product of communication which is the condition of communication	
sociology of symbolic forms: contribution of symbolic power to the gnoseological order: sense = consensus, i.e., *doxa*		
Ideological power as specific contribution of symbolic violence (orthodoxy) to political violence (domination)		
Division of the labour of domination		

Source: Bourdieu 1991:165.

Thus, the *sources* and the *proceeds* of social formation as well as the *modus operandi* of individual and collective action and the *opus operandum* of institutional structures are exposed. Both symbolic forms and symbolic objects are incomplete without the symbolic domination achieved through the instruments of domination, i.e., ideology. What we need to understand is how these symbolic instruments interplay in actual social fields. Examination of the instruments alone is insufficient (Bourdieu 1991).

Gramsci offers another means of exploring how culture and power are connected (1971).[5] While many Marxists have seen the benefits of his ideas (Anderson 1977, Bocock 1986, Mouffe 1979, Sassoon 1982, Walker 1984), until recently few anthropologists took a Gramscian approach, and those who did were cautious (Counihan 1986, Austin 1983, Woolard 1985). Hegemony is the central concept here where domination may be understood as consent. Not only does the dominant class have the power to coerce, it also directs or leads the subordinate class through an ideology which is part of a natural understanding of how things work (Hall 1977:332). Gramsci suggested that individuals have a philosophical understanding of their condition, i.e., common sense. People reach a level of understanding through:

> 1. Language itself, which is a totality of determined notions and concepts and not just of words grammatically devoid of content; 2. "common sense" and "good sense"; 3. popular religion and, therefore, also in the entire system of beliefs, superstitions, opinions, *ways of seeing things and acting*, which are collectively bundled together under the name of "folklore." (Gramsci 1971:323; emphasis added)

More significantly, Gramsci viewed culture as a fundamental part of the formation of ideologies, which was in turn important in his theory of the state. While the state leads, coerces and dominates there is still room for the dominated classes to have, as Stuart Hall suggests,

> their own objective basis in the system of productive relations, their own distinctive forms of social life. . . . When these subordinate classes are not strong or sufficiently organized to represent a "counter-hegemonic" force to the existing order, their own corporate structures and institutions can be used, by the dominant structure (hegemonized), as a means of enforcing their continued subordination. (Hall 1977:332)

While Gramsci's ideas are not always clear and varied over the period of his writing, they might be summarized as follows. Culture and economy are the nexus of civil society which is the basis of hegemony in political democracies where the state is not repressive. He conceived of a different model for non-democratic societies where the basis of power is coercion and not hegemony. Language and communication were important in Gramsci's concept of hegemony (Anderson 1977:27). These ideas are particularly germane to the Grenada situations since political democracy during the revolution was both coercive and hegemonic. Aronoff has suggested that this is a two-sided process:

> A political culture tends to be unquestioned to the extent that it meets existential and societal needs; and becomes undermined to the extent that it fails to do so. The more immutable a political culture is perceived to be, the more it tends to constrain political behaviour, and the more evaluated it is. . . . The more a political culture is rationally evaluated, the more likely it is to change. . . . The more

> conspicuously manipulated for political purposes a culture is, the more likely it is to be questioned, undermined and eventually changed. (Aronoff 1983:7)

We are still faced with the problem of where to place culture and how to understand its role. What we need to know is how "salient, effective and meaningful the various symbolic forms of the political culture(s) are to [people] in different contexts and points in time" (Aronoff 1983:16).

Both Bourdieu and Gramsci contribute to the central ideas analyzed below. Culture is often seen as "detached" from production, but Bourdieu makes it clear that culture is part of production and that Marxism has failed by "reducing the social world to the economic field alone . . ." (1991:244; see Raymond Williams 1980). One should place culture within, neither on top of nor opposed to, political economy. For example, some writers have used the concept of political culture in analyzing the transition to socialism. Halliday, writing about Arab culture and religion in South Yemen, suggested that literature, dance, music and archaeology have all led to increasing Yemeni national culture and that this represents a transformed set of political values in a materialist sense (Halliday 1983:49-50). It is remarkable that so little attention is paid to how culture can be a mode of producing and reproducing counter trends (Williams 1981:201-205). U.S. hegemony, based as is it is on global economic and military dominance, cannot be opposed on its own terms, unless there is a complete cultural transformation of the social and economic basis of colonial existence. Tiny Grenada was able to transform itself despite U.S. hegemony in the region. It was able to do so because revolutionary ideology was revelatory—it transformed Grenadians' images of themselves and their roles in Grenadian society and culture.

Culture has often been seen as oppositional and unifying in the Caribbean. In recent years talk of regional unity has increased to the point that A.N.R. Robinson, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, told the United Nations in December of 1986: "we are a crucible where a new civilization is taking place" (cited by Smith 1988:2).[6] Also, the importance of music as an oppositional form in Jamaica was examined by Hebdige (1977, 1990) and Wilson (1990), while language, dance, drama and other creative arts have long been seen as an important integrative force in Caribbean identity (see Nettleford 1978). Appropriate to revolutionary Grenada is the work of Chris Searle (1984a). However useful for a description of the use of language in revolutionary Grenada, Searle's book does not address theoretical questions. The only other study of culture and the Grenada revolution is by Henry, who artificially separates and condenses Grenadian culture (1990b) as part of general Caribbean culture.

How then does culture give meaning to the social, political and economic forces to create a context for revolution? Grenadian culture is not indigenous but rests on centuries of cultural domination and hegemonic ideology which

effectively limited the emergence of an effective counter-hegemonic force. In the following analysis, the main features of Grenadian culture are identified insofar as they help us to understand the 1979-83 revolution. It is argued that hegemonic and counter-hegemonic tendencies are expressed in cultural productions such as sayings, poems, songs and political rhetoric. The changes which took place in Grenada in its revolution and counter-revolution will become clear if we view events, symbols, rituals, ideas and structures as hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces, which revolve when conditions change. To understand the Grenadian revolution we must examine Grenadian culture as used in revolutionary symbols and rituals, and the revolution as an expression of Grenadian culture. I argue that the sudden appearance of a revolution in Grenada is the result of the co-existence of hegemonic alternatives: the dominant one being external, hierarchical and capitalistic and the subordinate one being co-operative, non-hierarchical and potentially socialist.

A Brief Note on Cuba

The Caribbean has long been exploited by the United States, which eyed the area with interest once the region became less important to the British in the 19th century. By the mid-19th century a growing tide of American jingoistic imperialism thrust the U.S. government into the region economically and politically. The term Manifest Destiny has been applied to this concept openly by individual Americans and their governments since 1845 when the phrase was first used publicly in a New Orleans newspaper. The vision was quite grand:

> We have a destiny to perform, a manifest destiny over all Mexico, over South America, over the West Indies and Canada. . . . The people stand ready to hail tomorrow . . . a collision with the mightiest empire on earth . . . [and] a successor to Washington [shall] ascend the chair of universal empire. (Cited in Thomas 1971:218)

A century later a University of Chicago historian argued that the Caribbean "is strategically one of the most important regions of the earth. To the United States it is so urgently significant that its domination by a strong aggressive power can never be permitted" (Rippy 1940:4). The grandiosity and fervour of the imperialist vision have not diminished in a hundred years.[7]

It is in this context that we must view the Cuban war of liberation (1868-78), the 1895 rebellion of Martí and Maceo and the Cuban revolution. The thwarting of an independent Cuba by U.S. intervention and occupation in the first half of the 20th century has strengthened the resolve of Cubans, who oppose U.S. hegemony over the region. Cuba had its own landed classes and urban merchants as well as a bourgeois culture: the very imperial spirit of Spain was transferred to Cuba in the form of architectural styles, literature and

educational institutions. Spanish imperialism also fostered a sense of *cubanidad* (Lewis 1984:58, 286ff.).

I draw on the Cuban case since Spanish hegemonic culture reached its fullest expression there in the same measure as English culture was lacking in Grenada or other British colonies. In the 1930s the Jamaican Marxist H.C. Buchanan remarked on the strength of Cuban identity after spending several years in Cuba:

> [The] illiterate Cuban guajiro [peasant] beats his chest with pride and declares: "I am a Cuban." It is one thing to see it written, but quite another to hear it, and gauge the intensity of emotion behind those words. This pride of even the most illiterate Cuban is due to the fact that at a certain time in the past they rose and did something monumental. The deeds of a Maceo, a Martí and a thousand patriots who distinguished themselves in prose and poetry, and in the text books of their schools. It is the source of a never-ending folklore, the vital chord to which every Cuban responds. "La independencia," even though reduced to a solemn farce by the stranglehold of Wall Street, is nevertheless the motive force, the ideal of a nation of progressive people.... (H.C. Buchanan, quoted in Post 1978:5-6).

Buchanan failed to recognize the emergent Rastafarian culture as serving Jamaican identity, perhaps because it was draped in a quasi-religious robe. I do not wish to go into the genesis of the Cuban revolution, but it could be argued that the wielding of imperial power and the historical development of *cubanidad* contributed to the revolutionary culture which has characterized the Cuban revolution. In short, hegemonic power contributed to a counter-hegemonic culture.

Background to the Grenadian Revolution: Symbols of Revolutionary Sacrifice

Grenadians have not often rebelled, and a revolution in Grenada was improbable but nonetheless authentic, as Paul Sutton noted (1988:150). To a certain extent a tradition of revolt had to be dredged from the past. Grenadian history provides some fine symbols of independence and resistance. The native Caribs resisted European colonization and were forced to the northern end of the island in the 17th century. Faced with capture by the French, they jumped off a cliff to their deaths at what is now known as Sauteurs.[8] Little is known about these people in Grenada despite some archaeological work, but their petroglyphs are found throughout the island (Bullen 1965).

In the following century, the brown slave Fédon led a revolt against slavery with the slogan "liberty, equality or death," adapted from the French revolutionary slogan. Like the Caribs, Fédon was never captured. Fédon's revolt lasted for more than 10 years, and, when his camp atop a hill was about to be defeated by English troops, he fled (Craton 1982:180-190, 208). Fédon's body

was never found and his spirit still looms over the island. Slavery, the basis of Fédon's revolt, was abolished 40 years later. While it is unlikely that most Grenadians knew about Fédon before 1979, the leadership revived this symbol of resistance and sacrifice, almost as a patron saint of the revolution. Fédon's spirit was embodied in the national press that bore his name (see anonymous, n.d., 1982a, 1982b, 1982c). The People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) recreated a tradition embodied in resistance to colonialism and slavery, but it also created a tradition of sacrifice.

Despite continued planter dominance there was only one uprising in the 19th century. In 1848 "labourers," likely including sharecroppers, became discontented about wages not being paid, a situation prevalent in the former British slave colonies. Several hundred workers assembled at the court house in Gouyave, a small town bordering large estates. Two days later the Lieutenant Governor, backed by troops brought in from the capital of St. George's, gave a speech promising reform and the crowds dispersed (Colonial Office 1848). While reforms were attempted, the former slaves were more able to purchase land in Grenada than on other islands, often under the *métarie* (sharecropping) system. Nonetheless, constraints were placed in the way of land purchases, creating the conditions for peasant co-operation in such traditions as the *su-su*, or revolving credit association, marketing co-operatives, friendly societies and labour-sharing arrangements (see Brizan 1979:17ff.). The large estates were able to survive on immigrant labour from Africa and India (Brizan 1984:183ff.). While planters preferred the African (Colonial Office 1859), indentured immigration from India grew between 1857 and 1890. The descendants of the Indian immigrants constituted less than 4 percent of the population in 1970 (Grenada, Central Statistical Office, 1979:18), and are not concentrated in any one area. The "liberated" Africans eventually integrated into the ex-slave communities. Grenadians identify themselves as a people of African origin, although African traditions are weak. Skin colour, as elsewhere in the Caribbean, remains as a marker of status.

By the beginning of the 20th century Grenada had been transformed from a sugar to a cocoa and nutmeg economy—bananas were a later addition. Increasingly the rural population of smallholders felt the pinch of land scarcity, and the rural workers the squeeze of prices on their meagre wages. In response to social, demographic and economic pressures, the political awareness of Grenadians increased.

Eric Gairy's rise to power in the 1950s was nurtured by the poverty of the unionized estate workers. After leading dramatic and violent strikes followed by substantial wage increases in 1951, Gairy used his union base to launch the Grenada United Labour Party. Quickly moving to contest elections, Gairy and his party won six out of eight seats on the legislative council in 1951 (Singham 1968:170).

Gairy's success shattered the complacency of the larger landowners, and political struggle characterized the next decades. Gairy's charisma was widely acknowledged although his detractors say that he knew how to "bramble."[9] I was told that at the height of his popularity, the people would sing "The Holy Ghost Creator Come" when he attended church. Although Gairy had his ups and downs, even today he is showered by awed admirers when he makes a public appearance. Many Grenadians still admire "uncle" Gairy, a testament to his charisma if not his policies.

Political participation took on new meaning during the 1970s when Gairy turned from a benign leader to a demagogic and manipulative, even vindictive, force in Grenada. More important, Gairy was a symbol of ignorance since he was reputed to dabble in obeah magic and believed the world should be made aware of extra-terrestrials. In the 1970s there was widespread opposition to his arbitrary use of power. Demonstrations were led by Jewel (Joint Endeavour for Welfare Education and Liberation) and MAP (Movements for Assemblies of the People), later combined to form the New Jewel Movement (NJM). The police and other members of the infamous Mongoose Gang, operating under restrictive laws preventing the use of loudspeakers and the printing of papers, harassed the opposition. The NJM leadership, including Maurice Bishop, was severely beaten on November 18, 1973, later commemorated as Bloody Sunday (see Grenada, Commission of Inquiry 1975; Lent 1990).[10] The 1970s saw massive demonstrations against Gairy, re-grouping of opposition forces and even electoral success of the NJM despite alleged fraud by Gairy. Oppression was undiminished, but Gairy days, as the pre-revolutionary period was known, ended when the NJM overthrew his government on March 13, 1979.

Culture and the Revolution: Singers and Poetry

What about the culture of the revolution? Did the government create a sensibility opposite to that of the dominant culture or did it just flow out of Grenadian culture? In the following examples I will show how Grenadian culture was used, or recreated. The introduction of new culture, if that is possible, was limited and was highly ritualized.

During the 1979-83 revolution there was considerable attention paid to Grenada's past, and the government promoted an image of Grenada as part of a wider English Caribbean revolt, as expressed in reggae and calypso. The sentiments expressed in calypso are more often barbs than calls to action or support for a political party. Calypsos have frequently contributed to and reflected political sentiments, including attacks on the People's National Movement in Trinidad, the Labour Party in St. Vincent or individuals such as the late Prime Minister Tom Adams of Barbados (Manning 1986, 1990).[11] In the Grenadian revolution, calypso, reggae, Rastafarian symbols and famous Grenadians conjoined national and Caribbean identity.

Even before 1979 one sees culture in action. In 1977, after Bishop won his seat in parliament calypsonians started *We Tent*, showing that calypso "is a vibrant, progressive force" (Searle 1984a:180). As one poet/singer explained in 1982:

> There has been an enormous growth in culture since the Revolution. It has brought forward a lot of expression that people were afraid to come out with before. The creative side of our people is now explode! . . . This year . . . there is more calypsonians coming forward than any other time in our history! It's clearly a Revolution in culture too, and it's reflecting the real life of the people. (Boldeau 1982:8)

Various artists, poets and writers came forward. It was comparable to a conversion phenomenon, as described by Manning in Bermudian political rallies (1980).

An important aspect of the revolutionary culture is its language. Hubert Devonish (1986:136ff., 1992) argued that since the revolution did not embrace Grenadian creole as the official language, the leadership could not hope to communicate with the people. While there are no specific documents about the PRG's language policy, it is clear that creole, lexically an English medium, was acceptable and encouraged by the leadership. But how far can one go in defining an appropriate national language for Grenada? Renaulf Gebon, a schoolteacher and poet, frequently used *patois*, lexically a French medium, in his poems. Gebon felt that by using *patois* he was unifying Grenadians in a common language (for a short biography of Gebon see Searle 1984a:154-161). In fact *patois* was in danger of being lost, being understood well only by older people.[12]

Certainly colonial educational systems were irrelevant, as the words of many artists show. This was nothing new. The Mighty Sparrow, who was born in Grenada, sang the following in the 1960s:

> According to the education you get when you small,
> You will grow up with true ambition and respect for one and all.
> But in my days in school
> They teach me like a fool.
> .....
> The poems and the lessons they write an' send from England
> impress me they were trying to cultivate comedians.
> .....
> Listen to this piece of stupidness:
> Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall
> Humpty Dumpty en fall
> Goose Goosey Gander, where shall I wander?
> Ding don dell, Pussy in the well. . . . (Quoted in Searle 1984a:14)[13]

In June of 1983 Maurice Bishop reflected on Sparrow's insight and noted how the lyrics promoted unity:

> You know like old Sparrow. Sparrow is such a great Grenadian, so articulate. Sparrow points out in one of his best songs that the way they were educating us, there were really educating us to make us into fools.
>
> They tell us if you're speaking Dutch, you're the best. If it's English, you're the best, French is the best, Spanish is the best, American is the best. And all of us hating each other.
>
> When in fact we are one people from one Caribbean with one struggle and one destiny. (Radio Free Grenada, June 5, 1983; an edited text is in Bishop 1983b:306)

The oppressors' culture also could be used against imperialism. For example, Michael "Senator" Mitchell wrote the following poem that parodied Psalm 23:

> The imperialist is my exploiter
> I shall always want.
> He maketh me to lie down on fibre,
> While he live and dress in his rich attire. (Quoted by Searle 1984a:165)

Quite often hegemonic culture (American) and a political leader (Gairy) were opposed by counter-hegemonic symbolism. In the following examples Grenadian identity was contrasted with the U.S.:

> Just arrived! Something you've long awaited.
> A fried chicken it's not Kentucky, it's not Chuck Wagon fried chicken
> It's Quality fried chicken.
> It has been made from Quality's special recipe which
> makes a fried chicken golden brown in colour and gives it
> an enticing flavour.
> Rich in local flavours and spices that makes it different from the rest.
> Check us out at Quality Restaurant and Bar on Young Street.
> Our name speaks for itself. (Radio Free Grenada, n.d.)

This advertisement from a local restaurant tried to emphasize the local vs. imperialist contrast even though many Grenadians do not fry chicken. Ironically, much of the chicken eaten in Grenada came from the United States.

A government advertisement was more clear in projecting a sense of national pride in the cultural productions of the people. It appealed to Grenadian culture to promote revolutionary values:

> The fourth festival of the revolution is upon us, bringing with it a range of interesting events and functions.

Song:
Festival is here. Everyone prepare,
we feel so freedom, have no fear,
by living in a peaceful country,
the greatest blessing a man can see.

Yes the fourth festival of the revolution is here and the call goes out for all to be a part of it. For farmers and agricultural workers, craftsmen and artists, there's the productivity exhibitions. Poets, dramatists and singers—there are many cultural shows.

For all there are many values, and last but by no means least, the street dancing marks March 13th, liberation date.

Grenadians, as is tradition, beautify your communities. Put up your buntings and banners, brighten those walls, write up those slogans.

Imagine! We're celebrating four years of revolution! (Radio Free Grenada, n.d.)

Here Grenadian values of beauty, productivity and celebration are highlighted without reference to hegemonic culture. Yet Grenadians were, as the following excerpt from a revolutionary song extols, "free from 'fraid":

Struggle
.....
Refrain
Struggle, struggle for rights!
Struggle, struggle for freedom!
We struggled before we found Grenada's ship to everlasting freedom.
Let justice and equality live on, live on!
Let justice and equality live on.

. . . Now we prove weself,
we put up a fight,
and we show the world
that we are right.
Oh thirteenth of March
is the realist thing
and we know from now
we will make the grade.
We are fully strong
we are free of 'fraid
and we will fight on even to the grave.
Long live the people's revolution, on and on!
Long live the people's revolution!

Refrain[14]

Both of the above songs used some Grenadian creole and French Caribbean folk melodies. Repetition in these cases is a creole form, linguistically characteristic of African-American creoles (Alleyne 1980:173).

An emphasis on youth was created to show that the future belonged to them, since 65.6 percent of Grenada's 92 755 people were under 25 years of age in 1970 (Grenada, Central Statistical Office 1979:12). Young people had been important in the struggle against Gairy and many later became leaders in the PRG (Marable 1987:213-214). Award ceremonies, called emulations, featured the youngest teacher; conferences were opened with young singers or poets. The cover of one publication showed a group of children with raised fists, dressed in National Youth Organization (NYO) T-shirts featuring a flower with a red circle in the middle. The circle was the symbol of the People's Revolutionary Army (see Anonymous 1982a).

The PRG recognized the importance of both song and poetry. Songs often created a lively mood of celebration at public meetings, using folk music as a medium. Calypso and poetry were both used to attack U.S. hegemony, but they also expressed revolutionary sentiments. Calypsonians and the associated carnival were fully promoted by the PRG. The PRG supported the national calypso contest with the final at Queen's Park and regular broadcasts of the contestants (see Figure 2). Lyrics supported "the revo," contrary to the normal use of calypso. Often the radio calypsos reflected on the festive atmosphere of Grenada's revolution. King Darius sang:

> And now check out the meaning of carnival,
> It should be a happy time for one and all.
> .....
> *Refrain*
> We show them we carnival and we show them festival,
> we show them we carnival, we show them.
> .....
> It's a time when we all come out peaceful
> and enmity gives into unity. (Radio Free Grenada, August 1983)

Carnival, the calypso and the use of Grenadian creole contributed greatly to national identity. Calypso has particular significance for the political content of its lyrics (see Manning 1985; 1986), although few calypsos during the revolution were overtly critical of the PRG. The importance of calypso in support of counter-hegemonic culture is also indicated by the post-invasion banning of certain calypso lyrics (Ferguson 1990:108, McAfee 1990:27). Of course, any government promotes itself through celebration. The PRG recognized calypso as a vehicle for national unity. Other festivals, such as "Fishermen's birthday," celebrated June 29, were much less important. Fishermen in Victoria complained in 1983 that the government did not provide adequately for the local fête (10 pounds of rice and a couple of bottles of rum for a community of 1500 people). Few opportunities to promote Grenadian identity were missed, however.

Figure 2
Calypso Semi-finals, 1981

Source: *Free West Indian*, August 8, 1982.

Grenadian National Identity: Metaphor and Metonym

Direct verbal assaults on U.S. imperialism urged Grenadians to unite, as in this news item:

> The National Youth Organization has joined peace-loving people around the world in condemning the oppressant acts of aggression and espionage being carried out against Libya by the United States and its allies. The United States has been described as insolent and outrageous because of its plans to set up a radio station for broadcasting anti-Cuban propaganda in violation of legal and moral standards. The charge was made by a member of the political bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, António Perez Herrero, at a meeting marking the 25th anniversary of Radio Rebelde, a Cuban radio station. Herrero said, in their unsuccessful endeavours to undermine Cuban integrity, the United States had brought into play the most outrageous practices such as the project counter-revolutionary station. He said that the intention of using José Martí, Cuba's national hero, to identify the station is provocative, gross and also irrelevant. (Radio Free Grenada, n.d.)

In the audio version, the statement of the NYO and the report on Cuba blend into each other to appear as one. It is a message of solidarity with "peace-loving people," "Cubans" and "José Martí" and independence. The PRG encouraged Grenadian youth to join the revolution. Many did so by joining not only the NYO but also the militia so they could defend the revolution if necessary.

In the same newscast, the virtues of a united Grenada were extolled:

> Prime Minister Maurice Bishop has identified national unity as a critical element in the struggle against destabilization plots and to push the revolution forward. He was speaking against the background of an announcement that nine people had been identified by the security forces as being responsible for a recent spate of organized rumour mongering. (Radio Free Grenada, n.d.)

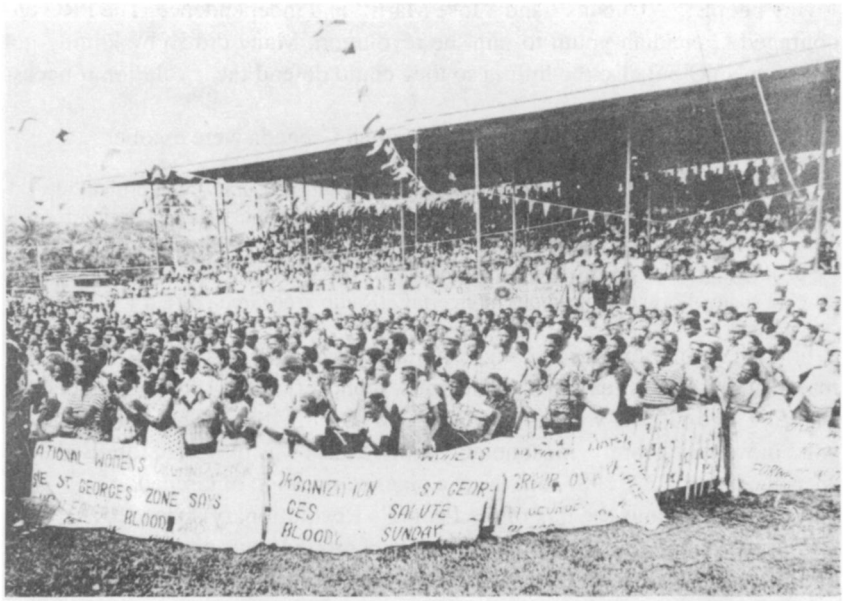
While the revolution was in danger of such rumours as early as 1980 (Anonymous 1980:4), the situation became much more serious in 1983, no doubt contributing to divisions within the PRG (Lewis 1987:48ff.). Grenada's national anthem was used rarely, most notably when music was played before Bishop's speech of March 23, 1983, outlining a planned invasion of Grenada.[15]

At some meetings the flag of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA), consisting of a single red circle on a white background, was displayed, but most often streamers of triangular flags were hung (see Figure 3). Grenada's national flag, red, green and gold with diagonal triangles, was shown less often, perhaps because of its association with the widely opposed independence scheme of Gairy.[16] At one militia exercise in early March of 1983 in Victoria the flag was prominently flown near Selwyn Strachan, Minister of National Mobilization. He also stood on a small raised platform painted red, green and gold, putting him slightly above the militia men and women standing in formation on the field. Not only was Strachan's stature literally raised, he was associated with the national flag/rasta colours. Since many members of the militia were youths who identified themselves with the Rastafarian movement, it was likely that the PRG was trying to associate the revolution with rasta ideology.

A semblance of rasta language was also used as in the following example. At the end of the Jeremiah Richardson Defense of the Homeland Manoeuvre,[17] Bernard Coard gave a long speech condemning the United States' lies about Grenada's airport and relationships with Cuba and Russia. Rousing the soldiers and militia he said:

> The manoeuvre which we have just had over the last three days, comrades, this tremendous work which has been done, this tremendous *creativity* and energy which you have put into your work in the last several days and weeks, we must not fall back, we must not lose that, we must use that momentum to *go forward*, to *go forward* to higher things. Several hundred comrades have joined the militia over the last few weeks for the first time ever in addition to all those that

Figure 3
Bloody Sunday Rally, Seamoon's, Grenada, November 21, 1982



Source: Britain/Grenada Friendship Society n.d.

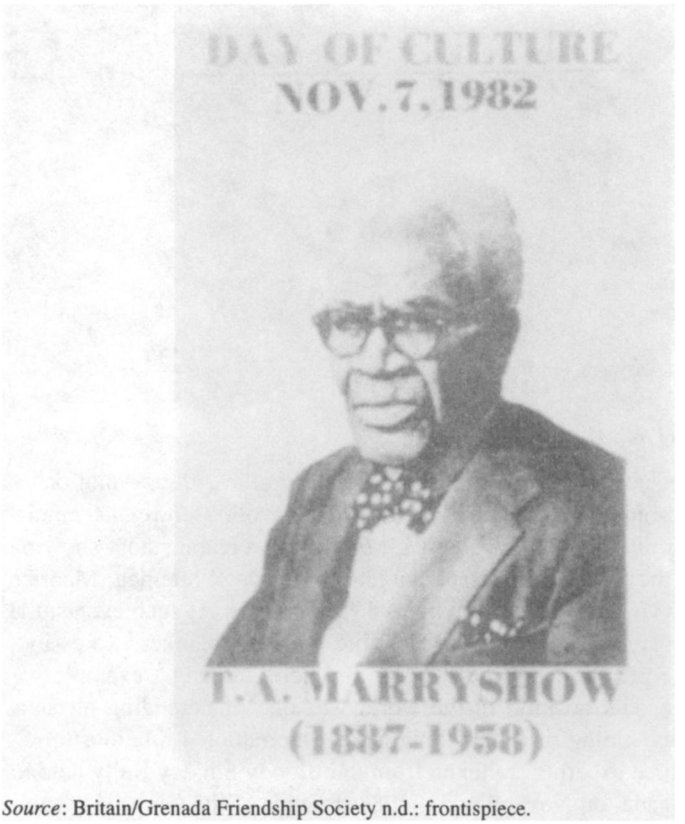
> were already there before. That is a tremendous development and I want you to give a round of applause for all those comrades who have joined the militia for the first time. It means that *the struggle is going forward*, it means that *we are deepening our roots*, it means that our purpose is becoming more and more consolidated and more and more invincible. And so, comrades, the important thing is this: let us continue to build to *higher heights*, let us continue to *go forward*, let us continue not to fall back, but forward to higher things. . . . Are you going to take your militia training seriously? [Yes!] I can't hear you. Are you going to take it seriously? [Yes!] Are we going to move forward ever? [Yes!] Are we going to get to a higher level of preparation? [Yes!] Are we going to make the next manoeuvre bigger and better? [Yes!] Long live the people and [?] Prime Minister of free Grenada! [Long live!] Long live the working class of free Grenada! [Long live!] Long live the farmers of free Grenada! [Long live!] Long live the women and youth of free Grenada! [Long live!] Long live all the working people of free Grenada! [Long live!] Long live the Commander-in-Chief Comrade Maurice Bishop! [Long live!] Forward ever! [Backward never!] Forward ever! [Backward never!] Thank you sisters and brothers. (Radio Free Grenada, April 24, 1983)

I have italicized those parts of the speech that were commonly used among the rasta-oriented youth of Grenada. To rastas, higher heights (or Irie heights) was a euphemism for smoking ganja or more generally having a good time. The

principal slogan of the revolution "Forward ever, backward never!" was used extensively by the PRG.[18]

Speeches often were formalized affairs with the leadership at a head table, with banners proclaiming "international solidarity," or "celebrating" First National Day of Culture, with a photo of journalist T.A. Marryshow, Grenadian nationalist and father of the West Indies Federation, 1958-62 (see Figure 4). New groups such as the National Women's Organization, the National Youth Organization, the Productive Farmers Union "saluted" "heroes," such as Butler, a Grenadian-born labour leader who led Trinidad oilfield workers in the 1930s. Speeches contained ritualized expressions, nearly always ending with people raising their fists forward and repeatedly calling out "long live" and "Forward ever, backward never!"

Figure 4
Poster for First National Day of Culture Featuring T.A. Marryshow



Source: Britain/Grenada Friendship Society n.d.: frontispiece.

In contrast, parish and zonal council meetings, set up to discuss local issues as a form of grass-roots democracy, were more informal (see Figure 5). Such councils were an old local institution based in the several parishes of Grenada and on C.L.R. James' idea of people's assemblies (Pryor 1986:30, 174). At one I attended in 1982 no flags or other ritualized forms were considered appropriate. Instead, the local people responsible answered questions from members of the audience about repairing the roads, lack of garbage collection and other services. Grass-roots democracy seemed to be informal but increasingly disconnected with national decision-making. Council decisions were not binding and attendance fell off (Ferguson 1990:109).[19]

Figure 5
Cde. La Corbiniere Leads a Workshop at Victoria Zonal Council, February 16, 1982

Source: Anonymous 1982c:41.

At national events such as the Bloody Sunday rallies, the revolutionary leadership was sometimes included in the honour roll. Before the annual Bloody Sunday rally in 1982 *The Free West Indian* ran a feature story showing photographs of the victims of Gairy's violence, Unison Whiteman, Maurice Bishop and Selwyn Strachan (Anonymous 1982d:16-17). At such events, the leadership sought alliances wherever possible with the blanket expression, "freedom loving people everywhere." We find here numerous examples of metonymy. Grenada's position in the world was one of defending all anti-hegemonic forces, hiding or diminishing actual international relationships.[20] The following three excerpts are taken from the Bloody Sunday Rally held in Seamoon's, Grenada, on November 21, 1982. Friends of the Grenada revolution, such as Harry Belafonte, brought "greetings" from various people, those who stood for freedom. Of Grenada's failure to hold elections he said:

> I bring you greetings from 27 million black people in the United States of America who are supposedly given the right to vote. In a society which boasts of free elections, all we have to show for our efforts is the despicable racist monster by the name of Ronald Reagan [applause]. I am sure that I speak for most of the black citizens of my country when I tell you that we would gladly surrender our right to vote if we could replace Ronald Reagan with Maurice Bishop [cheers and applause]. (Radio Free Grenada, November 21, 1982)

George Lamming then told a story about elections in a characteristic Caribbean style:

> Every four or five years, there is a national cockfight. You have the blue cocks, the red cocks, yellow cocks and you have cocks with spurs, and ones without spurs. And these cocks assemble in this arena and bloody each other up.... They [the people] have absolutely no power of recall.... (Radio Free Grenada, November 21, 1982)

"Comrade" Maurice Bishop spoke at length of the struggle for regional unity. Bishop finished his speech by referring to Grenadian heroes:

> Our duty is to continue to struggle to have our Caribbean Sea declared a zone of peace, independence and development in practice. Our duty is to continue to struggle against imperialism, and development in practice. Our duty is to continue to struggle against imperialism, to continue to build our Grenadian revolution, to continue to walk in the shadow and the footsteps of Fédon, of Marryshow, of Butler, and ensure that we as one Grenadian people, small as we are, will forge that meaningful link to ensure the unity of our people.
> Long live the struggling people of the Caribbean!
> Long live the struggle for Caribbean integration and unity!
> Long live the struggle for Caribbean co-operation!
> Long live the people of Latin America!
> .....
> Long live the Grenada revolution!
> All power and glory to our people!
> Forward ever, backward never![21]

When Bishop visited the United States in June of 1983 he gave a dynamic two-hour speech at Hunter College in New York. In the following excerpt he is building bridges to Black Americans while making a point about U.S. hostility toward Grenada. Bishop's reference to the language of the U.S. State Department is mirrored by Bishop's use of Grenadian/African-American language:

> They give all kinds of reasons and excuses [for disliking the Grenada revolution], some of them credible, some utter rubbish. The interesting one that we saw very recently in a secret report to the State Department, I want to tell you about that one, so that you can reflect on that one. That secret report made this point: that Grenada is different to Cuba and Nicaragua, and the Grenada revolution is in one sense even worse—I'm using their language—than the Cuban and

> Nicaraguan revolutions because the people of Grenada and the leadership of Grenada speaks English, and therefore can communicate directly to the people of the United States [cheers and applause]. I can see from your applause, sisters and brothers, that you agree with the report. And I want to tell you what that same report also said, and said that also made us very dangerous. And that is that the people of Grenada and the leadership of Grenada are predominantly black [applause]. They said that 95% of our population is black, and they are the correct statistics, and if we have 95% of predominantly African origin in our country, then we can have a dangerous appeal to 30 million black people in the United States [wild applause]. [Several people shout "Long live!"] Now that aspect of the report, clearly is one of the more sensible ones.... (Radio Free Grenada, June 5, 1983; an edited text is in Bishop 1983b:299)

Bishop had been invited by TransAfrica (facilitated by the Congressional Black Caucus), and said he had no quarrel with the people of the United States. To confirm this he ended with: "Long live the people of the United States!" (Bishop 1983b:311).

It is not sufficient to call for unity in the text of his speech and the "long live's" and raised fists are not only for media consumption. A ritualized version gives unquestioned authority to a statement. I would argue that charismatic speech, in the service of culture, is reconfirmed by ritual symbolism when the leader is trying to change culture into an ideology (Aronoff 1983; Hegland 1983). Portis has also made the important point that

> the most important personal consequences of politics are thoroughly symbolic, and the symbolic rewards of "cultural democracy" are likely to be more meaningful than the tangible rewards of distributive policies. Although popular control of these meaningful symbolic rewards is possible, such control could occur only through the mediation of charismatic leaders. (1987:221)

However important these symbols are, charismatic leadership has limits and no government can live by symbolic rewards (see Noguera 1992 for an excellent analysis of the uses of charisma in Grenada before and after 1979).

Bishop himself recognized the power of culture and referred to Gairy and Butler, idols of the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic respectively:

> We have produced here in Grenada perhaps the greatest, the most brilliant and audacious of pioneer Caribbean trade unionists. I am referred of course, to Tubal Uriah "Buzz" Butler, that huge monumental igniter of the spirit of the Caribbean masses, who, born in Grenada, moved to Trinidad to accomplish his great deeds of leadership of the burgeoning Caribbean working class. His volcanic influence there sent our entire region throbbing with a new will and resistance, which soon broke out through all the islands. But let it also be said that we produced Eric Matthew Gairy, perhaps the most degenerate and decadent manipulator and corruptor of the trade union movement that our islands have ever spawned.
>
> *Butler vs Gairy:* To say them with the same breath makes one gasp! But we have seen both their traditions and disciples alive in our Caribbean. Our duty

> now is to strive to emulate the one and make certain that the other will never be created! (Bishop 1983c:227-228)

Bishop noted that Marryshow was a "symbol and dynamo of unity," who died shortly after the West Indian Federation came into being. Bishop said of the federation's failure four years later:

> Suddenly there was no Marryshow to heal these wounds and bind the parts of the whole together once more. And so, comrades, we have to continue his unfinished work, to bring together again everything that was lost. That is not a mere sentimental or nostalgic gesture for us in Grenada, it is a part of our blood, ours mixed with Fedon's, mixed with Butler's, mixed with Marryshow's. It is a part of the responsibility; of the tradition handed down to us, part of the task passed to us from the giants of our history who have laid the foundations for us and our progress. (Britain/Grenada Friendship Society n.d.:6)

Bishop even used Marryshow's words:

> "Africa! it is Africa's direct turn. Sons of New Ethiopia scattered all over the world, should determine that there should be new systems of the distributions of opportunities, privileges and rights, so that Africa shall rid herself of many of the murderous highwaymen of Europe who have plundered her, raped her and left her hungry and naked in the broad light of the boasted European civilization. Africa would then be free again to rise her head among the races of the earth and enrich humanity as she has done before...." (T.A. Marryshow, quoted by Bishop in ibid.:5).

Bishop added: "Comrades, thus spoke Grenada in 1917. Thus speaks Grenada in 1982" (ibid.).

Post-Revolutionary Culture

Once the Grenada revolution had been derailed, the hegemonic and the counter-hegemonic revolved once more. The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, while obtaining little post-revolutionary electoral support, still attracts many Grenadians to rallies. The blame for the demise of the revolution is often placed on Austin and the Coards, as suggested by the Mighty Sparrow's calypso, *I want to go back to Grenada*:[22]

> I wan' to go back to Grenada,
> to teach the Cubans how to fight.
> They let America take over,
> complainin' about Reagan's might.
> Lord I hear, everywhere,
> is only bombs, in the towns.
> People runnin' helter skelter,
> lookin' for place to shelter.

Refrain:
Señor, Por favor
La manera que tengo mi corazón
Viva, viva, viva la revolución
For if Cuba had arrested Coard and Austin
America wouldn't have had excuse to come in.
Llevame a Granada, llevame,
Llevame a Granada, llevame.
Judas, Lucifer, and Jezebel mustn't get away.

Where those psychomaniacs come from,
to create so much a bacchanal?
Who ought to be insane asylum,
and make a lunatic general
Dusk to dawn, curfew on,
Wrong or right shoot on sight.
Supported by construction workers,
and machines guns and rocket launchers.

Refrain:
Señor, por favor . . .
. . . Austin, Bernard and Phyllis Coard mustn't get away.

Gairy squander all the money,
and the mongoose treat people like geese.
Then Bishop take over the country
through party traitors he's deceased.
Bajan come, John come join
Eugenia and Seaga
Had to import Yankee soldiers
to stop the Grenada massacre

Refrain:
Cuba, que pasa?
. . . The two Lucifer and Jezebel, mustn't get away.

In these refrains Judas = General Hudson Austin = betrayer, Lucifer = Bernard Coard = the devil, and Jezebel = Phyllis Coard = unbeliever.[23] Still many Grenadians felt that prison was sufficient punishment for the "traitors" and that capital punishment was too great a price for their actions, despite an enduring love for Bishop. Living on a small island and frequently in small communities leads most Grenadians to protect themselves against such reversals in social and political domains. One Grenadian explained to me: "The people are like bats. When there is war between the animals and the birds, Grenadians fly in the air when the birds are winning. But when the animals are winning Grenadians fold up their wings and crawl around on the ground." Grenadians felt that while the "traitors" had gone too far, they could see themselves in such positions and were sympathetic to Austin and the Coards.

Despite the control exercised by the U.S. after its invasion in 1983, feelings of continued support for the revolution are frequently voiced. Many millions of U.S. dollars were actually put into "reconstructing" Grenada. The vast majority went into completing the airport and paying consultants' fees (McAfee 1990:28-29). As a rural development worker said:

> We hear over the radio all the time that the United States is giving us so many thousands of dollars for this project or that. But by the time the experts and bureaucrats take their share, we don't see any of it. That's why when people hear these announcements they say, "here comes more of that radio money," because that's all it is—radio money. (McAfee 1990:29)

With high unemployment and the promises of American aid dashed (McAfee 1990:32), the pride of person which Grenadians had in the revolution is replaced by a government which they think is not looking out for them. As one Grenadian remarked in 1984 "The U.S. owns us now." Lyden Rhamdhanny, a minister of the PRG, put it this way:

> What the United States has brought to Grenada is window-dressing, not real development. Real development has to involve people directly in planning projects and setting priorities. We can't just sit back and wait for money. People need to learn and think about the problems involved in things like, for instance, how water is treated and supplied, instead of taking that sort of thing for granted or looking to foreign so-called experts. One legacy of the revolution is that now people understand things like that much better. (Quoted by McAfee 1990:32)

Respect for what the PRG accomplished remains in a widely held view of the U.S.-supported government: "This government's still running off the steam generated by the revo" (quoted by McAfee 1990:29). One has to ask, if words were hiding reality during the revolution, what are they doing now? Is it better to believe in yourself and be threatened by the world's foremost power, or to be poor and not believe in yourself?

Conclusions

The Grenada revolution was certainly a complex interplay of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic tendencies. However, there is no mistaking the fundamental shift in ideology, which was based on Grenadian culture. The feeling of belonging to a new society was a constant source of strength for Grenadians, as indicated in this post-invasion comment:

> People in Grenada are . . . very willing to take action. We have a tradition of rural cooperatives and grassroots credit unions . . . you don't see as much of this kind of cooperation as during the PRG. . . . The PRG didn't have much time or much money, but we had our own government. Everyone had a sense of belonging, so there was more willingness to come out, on Sundays if necessary, to get things done. (Anonymous, quoted by McAfee 1990:32)

Before the revolution, traditional language was something to suppress. Revolutionary language and other cultural roots had to come not only from the leaders but also from the people. In Grenada the leadership saw this potential, and used it well in communicating a new ideology.

In short, there are two principal cultures in Grenada, one based on metropolitan forms of thought representing the hegemonic, and the other rooted in the reality of making a living in Grenada, i.e., the counter-hegemonic tendency. Out of one develops the other. One can view them as a clash of symbol systems, but that would be to oversimplify the case. These tendencies are rather in complementary opposition.

We should not forget the real role of capital, cultural and economic, in serving the needs of people either. During the revolution major strides were made in delivering health care and improved living standards in housing, piped water and in other areas.[24] More important, individuals felt they had a role to play in Grenada. After the revolution, the people saw little of the money pumped into Grenada, but that did not really matter because they had really lost much more. Many individuals committed strongly to the revolution replaced their revolutionary thinking with its opposite: they migrated to the U.S. or Canada to seek their fortune as Grenadians had done for much of this century.

Radical social change in the Caribbean has often been based on counter-hegemonic culture, but it is rarely successful. When the educational system is based on hegemonic models—the institutions of imperialism at Oxford, Harvard and the like—most participants, including leadership, can see only that view. One can argue that the revolution was led by an élite, or as Devonish (1992) has put it, a "priesthood," but where did the PRG get these ideas? As people educated abroad their ideas were in part based in hegemonic U.S. culture and its dominant institutions. Radical changes are rooted in the everyday experiences of oppression. Caribbean people who worked outside their country even for a short time, such as Buchanan in Cuba, fought for a new kind of Caribbean that would benefit the workers and producers. Had the Grenada revolution been based *fundamentally* on working-class and peasant culture, where would it have gone?

This article has examined revolutionary ideology and the Grenadian culture from which it sprang. We need to analyze situations like Grenada with a new eye, not the functional models that assume one culture = one society = one cognition. As Maurice Bloch has argued, the "presence of the past in the present is . . . one of the components of that *other system* of cognition which is characteristic of ritual communication . . . (1989:14). With ritual communication we can grasp the key of the relationship between culture, ritual and leadership in much the same way that we have examined shamanism. With many Third World societies undergoing national liberation and revolutionary transformations, our tasks go beyond kinship, myth and religious ritual.

In the Grenada revolution the PRG used culture and history, re-creating a new identity and an ethos of co-operation. Non-indigenous forms of culture such as the "Long Lives!," the "comrades" or the PRA flag were ritualized. Ritualized communication was one technique in promoting a revolutionary ideology, but ritual is limited if it fails to comprehend the counter-hegemonic culture of the people. While strides were made in serving Grenadians and little of what they *saw* as real achievement was contradicted by what they *heard*, the revolution was not adequately based on counter-hegemonic forms of culture. We are faced with a contradiction: how to develop *new* forms based on the old. If the Grenadian revolution tells us anything, it is that effective structures *and* cultural symbols must be based on counter-hegemonic culture (the structuring structures of Bourdieu or the common sense of Gramsci). To do otherwise may lead to dead ends.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. There is an enormous literature on Grenada's revolution over the past 10 years which cannot be cited here for reasons of space. Audine C. Wilkinson's excellent bibliography (1988) contains nearly 400 citations on Grenadian government and politics, most of which refer to the revolution and aftermath.
2. See Chris Searle's scathing attack on V.S. Naipaul's *Sunday Times Colour Magazine* article on Grenada. Searle writes: "So what was Naipaul's mission? Not only to accompany an imperialist violation and the destruction of the sovereignty of a tiny state by the world's most formidable military power: but also to show to the world . . . that the Grenada Revolution was fraudulent: 'a revolution built on words, ideas and slogans, with no reality on the ground' " (1984b:46).
3. An *Economist* article on Grenada shows a photograph of a reclining youth on the pier of St. George's harbour with the caption "It doesn't look ripe for revolution" (Anonymous 1989:44). Can we really tell?
4. In a revolutionary context we should recall what Marx meant by *praxis*, namely, "the free, universal, *creative and self creative activity* through which . . ." people create and change their "historical, human world" (Petrović 1971:384; emphasis added). In other words, "Men make their own history, but they do make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past" (Marx 1963:15).

5. See Brackette Williams' use of both Bourdieu and Gramsci in his analysis of Guyanese ethnic and power relations (1991).
6. Political integration in the English-speaking Caribbean was the subject of a study by the West Indian Commission headed by Sir Shridath Ramphal. Completed in late 1992, the 600-page report was roundly criticized by the Caricom heads of Government (John 1992-93:6). Windward Islands' unity, which includes Grenada, has also been discussed in recent years (Bousquet 1992, 1992-93).
7. Rippy was described in the book jacket as "the foremost American authority on Latin American diplomacy," and in his preface the author took pains to explain: "Whatever the conclusions finally reached by Latin Americans regarding some of the subjects discussed in the present work, they should not forget that neither the capitalists nor the government escaped from the widespread criticism of the people of the United States. Only rarely has their mood been other than one of vigorous opposition to imperialism" (Rippy 1940:viii). An incredible statement for an American to make!
8. From French, *sauter*, to jump, leap.
9. A Grenadian term for being a good talker, with the implication of stretching the truth.
10. Also, a special issue of the *Free West Indian* was put out November 17, 1982, to mark the anniversary.
11. All three parties suffered overwhelming defeats in subsequent elections, which might be traced in part to the power of calypso.
12. I was told by a woman in her 60s that as a child she was beaten at home and in school for speaking *patois*. While she understood and spoke *patois* I never heard her speak more than a few lines despite seeing her daily.
13. Of course many Caribbean intellectuals have questioned the imperial education system at least as far back in the British Caribbean as J.J. Thomas in his marvellous book *Froudacity*, written in the 1880s (1969).
14. *Struggle* was sung by the Tamarina Folk Company and produced by the Committee for the Festival of the Revolution under the label "Liberation." Transcribed from a record in the author's possession.
15. Taken from a live broadcast on Radio Free Grenada, March 23, 1983, in the author's possession. Also published in Bishop (1983a:279-286). A special issue of the *Free West Indian* outlined the speech with the headlines "Attack will come in days or weeks" (Anonymous 1983).
16. At independence the flag was changed from blue, green and yellow bars with a central nutmeg pod. Independence was feared because Gairy would not have any foreign power to back up his persecution of opposition parties. Canadian and British warships were sent to Grenada "ostensibly to participate in the 'independence celebrations,' but in reality serving as a subtle warning of imperialist support for the Gairy government" (EPICA Task Force 1982:47).
17. Jeremiah Richardson was a young militant killed by the police in 1973, which led to a protest demonstration of some 5000 people who surrounded the police station and closed the airport for three days (Marable 1987:209).
18. "I" is the last letter in Rastafari (Haile Selassie's common name). Also meaning the number one and only, the letter "I" is strewn throughout their speech. I is included in other words to glorify them. Rastas would avoid using back, under or any negative prefix or suffix. The words "power" becomes "I-ower" and "total" becomes "I-tal." A powerful word is thus "Irie" (pronounced eye-ree). "Evert'in' Irie" means nothing could be better. To take the "herb" ganja (*Cannabis sativa*) is to reach "Irie 'ights," the ultimate in spiritual uplifting.
19. The meeting on November 10, 1982, was attended by 25 people and was the only parish council I attended during my fieldwork. Apparently no other meetings were called during the period I was in Victoria.
20. I do not doubt the sincerity of the following speakers but question only whether they unwittingly were following a line.

21. These speeches are transcribed from a live broadcast on Radio Free Grenada on November 21, 1982. Bishop's speech was published by the Britain/Grenada Friendship Society (n.d.).
22. Sparrow, usually associated with Trinidad, was born in Grenada and contributed to the Grenada revolution by giving free concerts (Searle 1984b:49).
23. While Judas is obvious, the reference to Lucifer comes from Isaiah 14:2 "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! How are thou cut down to the ground, which did weaken the nations!" Jezebel introduced the fertility worship of Baal into Ahab's court (1 Kings 16:31-34).
24. Even the most sceptical analysis of the economic performance of the Grenada revolution by Frederic Pryor (1986) cannot hide the accomplishments of the revolution.

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