

overlooked in the campaign, but attributes it to the forced 'caution' which the *calderonistas* had to have 'in order not to face the *cortesistas*, who were presumed to be opposed to intervening in favor of the workers'. Nevertheless, he insists that there was a 'Catholic wing of the PRN ... ready to face its Liberal counterpart ... so as to guarantee the endorsement of the Catholic Church.' Yet the reader is left totally unenlightened on the identity of participants in that sector. Their names remain a mystery and Calderón seems solitary at all times and far ahead of his own party.

It is impossible to deduce from Molina's documents that even the weakest political organisation, inspired by Social Catholicism, with its own well defined and publicised programme and ideas existed, much less any indication of who its possible members were. Indeed the two most important government advisors in labour law and the implementation of the Labour Code were Oscar Barahona and Enrique Benavides, both outstanding former militants of the PC.

In short, while this book is based on excellent research using original sources and documentation, the author is far from proving his central thesis and the volume raises more questions than it answers.

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Harvey R. Neptune, *Caliban and the Yankees: Trinidad and the United States Occupation* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), pp. xiii + 274, \$59.95, \$21.95 pb.

Caribbean writers have routinely appropriated Caliban as a symbol of the struggles of Caribbean people against the mastery of European Prosperos. However, because most of the European colonies lay in the US backyard, the struggle for independence entailed facing not one but two Prosperos. This dilemma became acute in war-time Trinidad. About a year into World War II, the British government decided that, in exchange for fifty 'mothballed' naval destroyers, the USA could establish a number of military installations in the British West Indies (the lend-lease agreement). Between 1941 and 1947 the Americans established and operated key bases in Trinidad, located at Chaguaramas and Waller Field.

Neptune argues that, while independence did not come to Trinidad and Tobago until 1962, what Trinidadians dubbed the 'American Occupation' proved to be a key period for Trinidad national development. It would have been difficult to conjure up a greater contrast with the occupation, and its superfluity of cash, than the preceding decade of the 1930s, which had been economically depressed. Rising unemployment and declining wages had taken their toll of East Indian and black workers alike, whether employed in the sugar or oil sectors of the economy. Labour rebellions and unionisation under Tubal (not Turbal) Uriah 'Buzz' Butler and his East Indian ally, Adrian Cola Rienzi, had thrown down a challenge to employers, and had chimed with labour struggles throughout the British West Indies. As Neptune admits, 'minus these popular attacks on the colonial order, the railings of dissident intellectuals against the demerits of Britishness would have lost considerable resonance' (p. 21).

Trinidadian intellectuals of the 1930s (themselves white or light coloured) set out to banalise Britishness, to disturb its air of invulnerability and, indeed, inevitability. Race was at the centre of this debate, since 'Britishness stood as an identity

inextricable from the culture of white supremacy', and local patriots proceeded 'to undermine the rhetoric of empire' and to expose its 'complicity with tropes of whiteness' (p. 27). The *Beacon*, a local journal, disparaged British-inspired literary and debating clubs as 'monstrous caricatures', and its contributors rejected the notion of the British Empire as a racial democracy, arguing that it was, in reality, predicated on racial hegemony. Disparagement of whiteness and empire went hand in hand with the elevation of elements of popular culture to local significance, notably the calypso – a locally-composed song with salacious topics and/or witty social commentaries.

Drawing on British, Trinidadian and US archives, and reading between the lines of local newspaper articles and reports, Neptune describes and analyses how Trinidadians approached the occupation in ways that were inventive and Caliban-like, siding with the British or Americans as it served their own ends. Examining the economic effects of the US bases on the consumption patterns of the labouring population, the influence of American culture and values on local music, and relationships between American troops and local women, he shows how the occupation increased consciousness of race and class among the white elite, the brown middle stratum and the black masses, though the rural East Indian minority remained largely untouched.

Cash pumped into the colonial economy by the American military at the end of the Great Depression enabled Trinidad's 'barefoot man' to invest in US-style jitterbug shirts (worn outside the trousers), and to portray himself as a saga boy. 'Saga, however, signified more than flair for fashion that meant ready-made success with girls in occupied Trinidad; it marked a sub-cultural lifestyle distinguished by a mode of dressing idealized in the glamorous zoot suit' (p. 120). Zoot suits (with wide-shouldered jackets, ankle-tight trousers, and shirts, ties and hats all in matching colours), were worn with accessories such as fob watches, gold-topped walking sticks and jewellery: all warnings of 'the seductively colonizing commodities of American modernity' (p. 128).

Americans arrived in Trinidad at the moment when the local patriotic intelligentsia had declared the calypso the epitome of local culture. The situation was profoundly affected by the US troops, who offered the calypso both money and legitimacy, since many locals assumed the Yankees were cultural authorities. Inevitably, the Americans dramatically reconfigured the music market, exemplified by 'Rum and Coca-Cola', a song released in Trinidad by Lord Invader in 1943 and recorded in the USA by the famous Andrews Sisters in 1944. It related the scandalous sexual relationships between mercenary local women ('both mother and daughter working for the Yankee dollar') and moneyed American men.

American servicemen (often themselves racist) posed many problems for Trinidad society. As Neptune comments, 'if ever there was a place that seduced white men across the colour line, surely this tropical colony was it' (p. 164). The longer the white Americans stayed the less the colour of the girls mattered, and fraternisation was rife. The armed forces responded by outlawing marriage with locals without the commanding officer's approval, and elite whites (deeply opposed to cross-race liaisons) attempted to provide vetted white girls as hostesses for the troops, to little avail. The blacks of the Anti-Aircraft Coastal Artillery, because they were subject to less surveillance, were especially popular with the mopsies of Port of Spain. But local black men were marginalised by the American troops, whether white or black, and the intellectuals despaired at the Americans' corruption of the

calypso and Trinidad womanhood (though they were sympathetic to the financial pressures on both).

This cautionary view is amplified in the coda, which details the circumscribed ‘nationalisation’ of Chaguaramas on the eve of Trinidad’s independence in 1962, and enumerates the various US interventions in the Caribbean from the Bay of Pigs to Grenada via the Dominican Republic. Neptune identifies the USA as the one and only Prospero of the post-colonial Caribbean – attractive but dangerous. However, it is not for this opinion that the book will be remembered, but rather for Neptune’s detailed and perceptive account of the important cultural and political awakenings that Trinidad experienced in the 1930s and 1940s. These awakenings anticipated changes that were inspired by the black intellectuals of the 1950s, who led Trinidad and Tobago to independence and re-wrote history as though the American occupation had never happened.

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Gerald Horne, *Cold War in a Hot zone: The United States Confronts Labour and Independence Struggles in the British West Indies* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2007), pp. 262, \$25.95, pb.

Cold War in a Hot Zone offers both more and less than it promises. Its title suggests that readers will learn about US Cold War policies towards the West Indies, but the book has little to say about that topic. Instead it delves deep into British West Indian politics, the relationship of the labour movements and the independence movements in the region, and the role of the West Indies and West Indians in the racial politics of the United States. The book is filled – sometimes overwhelmingly so – with the voices of participants in the events it describes. The reader emerges with a vivid and detailed picture of the tumultuous period in British West Indian history and its global context, while sometimes wishing for greater synthesis and analysis.

Horne opens and closes the book with the 1953 British-led coup against the elected government of Marxist Cheddi Jagan in British Guiana. The intervening pages describe in great and lively detail the events, organisations, and shifting alliances in the British West Indies in the 30 or so years leading up to the coup. Surprisingly, the volume does not go on to discuss the Kennedy Administration’s involvement in overthrowing Jagan again, in 1963.

Much of the book focuses on the two trends in British West Indian politics leading up to 1953, which Horne calls the more conservative ‘authoritarian labor politics’ and ‘the CLC [Caribbean Labor Congress] left-labor model’ (p. 157). In British Guiana, the former trend was represented by Forbes Burnham and the latter by Cheddi Jagan; in Jamaica, the former by Alexander Bustamante and the latter by Richard Hart. The CLC itself split in the early 1950s, under heavy pressure from Great Britain and the United States, with leaders like Jamaica’s Norman Manley, Barbados’s Grantley Adams, and Trinidad’s Albert Gomes adopting the anti-communism promoted by the colonial powers.

But the story of the politicking and the split in the CLC along Cold War lines is only one of several that Horne tells in this book. Another extremely interesting tale is that of the relationship between the West Indies and racial politics in the United States. We learn that 70% of black New Yorkers hailed from the Caribbean in the