

## Education and democracy in revolutionary Grenada

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### ABSTRACT

Through two concerns - increasing access and educating democratically - education became a prominent and permanent issue in the Grenadian revolution. A review of the economic, political and social issues raised by the revolutionary process led to the diagnosis of education as “the most critical factor” in the advance and the consolidation of the revolution. After the North American invasion, all revolutionary structures and vestiges of the accompanying educational activities were dismantled. Nevertheless, it is impossible to erase what those four and one-half years of revolutionary experience meant for the Grenadian people.

### I Introduction<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to speak of democracy in relation to Grenada after the tragic internal events that culminated on October 25, 1983 with the North American invasion. Nevertheless, revolutionary Grenada was involved in a genuine democratic exercise.

The revolutionary leadership - which at the end separated from the masses and opted to shield itself within the narrow internal parameters of a vanguard party - was the same leadership that throughout the struggle against the dictator Gairy and during the four and a-half years of revolution had encouraged peoples' active participation in the definition and construction of a new society. Because of this, the events of October took the Grenadian people as well as the entire world by surprise. A people who had learned to keep itself informed, that had been consulted and encouraged to discuss matters like the national budget, the new school curriculum, the international airport, the government's foreign policy, new laws and decrees; the Grenadian masses were not informed nor consulted when the moment arrived to make a decision that, as was demonstrated, would have drastic repercussions for the future of the Revolution.

Aided by its small size, Grenada seemed destined to test new paths and new dimensions of popular organization and participation.

In a country of 344 square kilometers and 110 thousand inhabitants it wasn't very difficult literally to give national character to practically any event. Nevertheless, it was in this tiny Grenada that first the British colonialists and then Gairy's neocolonial dictatorship had denied the people all possibility of participating in government. The New Jewel Movement (NJM) demonstrated the people's political drive to push for greater participation. “Participation” meant not only a labour-pool of people ready to contribute volunteer work and collective strength to projects otherwise impossible to carry out, but also a thinking people, a people competent to contribute, from its understanding and experience, to fundamental decisions affecting the life of the country.

The deep internal party divisions that surfaced so abruptly involved, among other things, different visions of what democracy meant in the revolutionary project; in short, the relative weight of the Party versus the masses in decision-making. Coard and his group pushed for a greater and firmer centralisation of power in the hands of the Party and the Central Committee, while Bishop and his followers pushed a line of close relationship between the Party and the masses, who must participate directly in decision-making.<sup>2</sup> Within this perspective of participatory democracy the masses were “at the center, (putting) the people at the focus of all of the activities of the government, the state, and the revolution”<sup>3</sup> and the responsibility of the Party was precisely to “guarantee the widest possible process of consultation with the people on major questions”.<sup>4</sup> As Bishop explained in one of his last speeches, democracy meant:

“a government of, for and by the people ... But if it is a government of, for and by the people, then it cannot be just government of the people you elect. It also has to be for the people and it also has to be by them. They have to have a way of participating - that is what the word ‘by’ means. And if that is absent, you don’t really have a democracy”.<sup>5</sup>

In this context, the elections were not synonymous in themselves with democracy, but instead just a mechanism to institutionalise the systems of popular democracy created by the revolution, such as the mass organisations, Workers’ Parish and Zonal Councils<sup>6</sup>, Women’s and Students’ Councils, etc.

In this process of social democratisation, education played a central role, since “real democracy always assumes the informed, conscious and educated participation of the people”.<sup>7</sup> Education itself must serve as an opportunity to democratise, not only by gaining access for everyone, but also in the sense that a democratic educational environment may be designed to combat traditional authoritarianism in teaching, and establish participatory mechanisms for consultation among teachers, students, parents, etc. Beyond that, to counter the image of education as a “formal” activity located only in selected pockets of the society, the Grenadian process of popular organisation and participation was a process of educating the masses.

Through these two concerns - increasing access and educating democratically - education became a prominent and permanent issue in the Grenadian revolution. The new government’s first programmes included a national literacy campaign, revision of the school curriculum; repair of school facilities, construction of the second secondary school in the history of Grenada, intensive teacher training, new secondary school and University scholarships, reduction of school fees, and vocational training programmes. 1980, the “year of Education and Production”, was the year in which the basic premises for the new education in Grenada were consolidated. Three years later, in the “Year of Political and Academic Education!”, a review of the economic, political and social issues raised by the revolutionary process led to the diagnosis of education as “the most critical factor” in the advance and the consolidation of the revolution. In this context, educational issues were charged with renewed emphasis. By then, secondary education was free, there were more than 300 Grenadians studying professions overseas, a basic adult education project was operating, the mass organisations had their own educational programmes, the first promotion of newly-trained teachers was imminent, and a variety of work-study programmes were in their pilot phases throughout the country.

When the North American Marines entered Grenada, the small country was like an educational ants’ nest - covered with catchphrases and posters alluding to the “Year of Political and Academic Education”, to the Centre for Popular Education (CPE), to the National In-Service Teacher Education Programme (NISTEP), to the Community School-Day Programme (CSDP), etc. In St. George’s, the capital, practically all of the work centres exhibited posters and announcements of the day, time, and theme of the discussion which the political education assembly would lead that week. Throughout the country, at the parish and zonal levels, periodic information meetings analysed national and international problems and, in a practice that the people had become accustomed to, government functionaries presented themselves in order to listen to the ideas of the people and to inform them of their own proposals.

Thus, the Centre for Popular Education (CPE), an educational channel targeting the adult population and one of the government's priority programmes that year, was not the only opportunity for adult education. It was only the most formalised project within a larger process of educating the masses, a process that had unfolded since the creation of the New Jewel Movement in March 1973.

After the North American invasion, all revolutionary structures and vestiges of the accompanying educational activities were dismantled. The first 3.5 million dollars the North American administration invested in the "restoration of democracy" in Grenada was allocated to areas of education and health. The CPE and the 72 Adult Education Centres were closed. Peace Corps volunteers were to be in charge of primary school teaching. The new texts that had been laboriously produced during the revolutionary period were eliminated. Because of the broad support that the Party and the government enjoyed among young people teachers and the young were intimidated and repressed. The periodical *Free West Indian* was closed and replaced with the *Grenadian Voice* a periodical directly supported by the United States promoting anti-communist propaganda. Work-study, teacher-training and community-school programmes were interrupted. The "Year of Political and Academic Education" was renamed as the "Year of Liberation". The 13th of March was eliminated from the Grenadian calendar as the date commemorative of the revolution's triumph; it was replaced by the 25th of October, today called "Liberation Day".<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, it is impossible to erase what those four and one-half years of revolutionary experience meant for the Grenadian people. Demoralised and bewildered at first, afterwards intimidated and manipulated by the propaganda apparatus that the Reagan administration mounted and monopolised to depreciate the revolution, the Grenadians are a people who learned to act and speak with their own voices. The singular process in which they were involved will irreversibly affect their consciousness and collective memory.

## II Democracy and society in Grenada

### 1. *The achievements of the revolution*

"The Grenada revolution was a revolution for democracy, for justice, for social progress, for equal participation by the people of our country in all the decisions which affect their lives",<sup>9</sup> said Maurice Bishop in March of 1980, in the commemorative ceremony for the first anniversary of the triumph of the revolution. The Grenadian people knew that those affirmations were not simple demagoguery but were backed by concrete projects and achievements.

Unemployment, one of the most serious problems inherited from the dictatorship (49%), had been reduced to 30% and would be 14% by 1983. The 22,000 unemployed in 1979 - the majority women and youth - were employed in the revolution's projects during those four years in agriculture, agroindustry, construction, fishing, tourism, services, and artisanry, as results of an impressive increase in public sector investment.<sup>10</sup> For 1983 it was estimated that in the coming three years 2,500 new jobs would open up in agriculture, another 2,500 in construction, and 500 in tourism. With these jobs, unemployment would be eradicated in a few years.<sup>11</sup>

Now, after the North American invasion and as a consequence of the sudden interruption of most of the productive and social projects that the revolutionary government promoted, unemployment has again grown drastically.<sup>12</sup>

During the revolution, roads, housing and schools - all totally abandoned - had begun to be reconstructed. In January of 1980, through a great mobilisation of community labour, 65 schools had been repaired that hadn't been touched since 1955, when hurricane Janet lashed the island. A few months earlier, a Housing Repair Programme had been initiated. It was broadened to a national level after 1982 and by 1983 had benefitted 17,240 of the poorest families.



Potable water and electric energy - two services unknown to the great majority of Grenadians - had begun to be extended. During the Gairy era 62% of the population had no potable water and in many parts of the country unused faucets had rusted permanently. In the hands of a British company, electricity reached very few areas and the service was terrible. Three years later the volume of water and electric services had almost doubled in the government's hands, even to Carriacou and Petit Martinique, the two small islands that with Grenada make up the country.

From the first day one of the principal (and most controversial) projects of the revolution began to take shape: the construction of the international airport at Point Salines. Tourism being the most important activity in the country after agriculture, the only airport Grenada could count on - small, poorly illuminated and inconveniently located - was unable to accommodate large airplanes or night traffic. This together with the deterioration of their scarce hotel facilities, put Grenada at serious disadvantage compared to other Caribbean islands.

In reality, the necessity for a new airport and the project to construct one had been an ongoing theme of national discussion since 1955. The revolutionary government was, nevertheless, first to concretise it, and ironically the U.S. Marines were the first to use it. The upcoming 1984 had already been announced as the "The Year of the International Airport", which would be inaugurated with a huge party on the 13th of March, to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the revolution.

In the field of health, one year achieved transformations that Gairy never managed in twenty-five. Thanks to international support from a Cuban brigade, the number of dentists and doctors had doubled; new local health centres had been constructed; and after October of 1980 there was to be free medical and dental care. There were plans to create for the first time in the history of Grenada ophthalmology and intensive care units. The conditions in the general hospital in St. George's were so deplorable that a famous nurses' strike was provoked in 1970 and brutally repressed by the dictatorship. The hospital was reconstructed, enlarged, well-supplied and equipped by the revolutionary government. Before 1979 medical installations were practically non-existent, the service bad, and in any case inaccessible for the great majority, but now health was one of the people's rights.

Education saw enormous advances in that first year. After the "Year of Liberation", 1980 had been declared "Year of Education and Production", targeting the two areas defined as priorities for the take-off of the revolutionary process. The largest allocation of the national budget (21%) was for education. In March, to celebrate that first anniversary, the organisation of the national literacy campaign was advancing 1 and was planned to continue through a basic adult education programme. The newly repaired schools were equipped with furniture and teaching materials. Meanwhile teachers were recruited to fill the vacancies that had resulted from severely overcrowded classrooms and poor teaching conditions during the dictatorship. Given the scarcity of teachers and, above all, the lack of training of more than 60% of those teaching, in October of 1980 a teachers' training programme, NISTEP, was initiated.

The number of secondary school scholarships - which until then had always been reserved for an elite - had doubled, boarding costs were lowered considerably and, after the following year, school board would be completely free, like school uniforms and textbooks. In 1980 the second secondary school in the country's history was constructed. Assuming its international commitments, the government repaid the debt that the dictator had left with the University of the West Indies in Jamaica. While during 1979 there were three Grenadian university students studying outside the country (one of them Gairy's daughter and the other two sons of his collaborators). during the first six months of the revolution 109 young Grenadians left the country to study on scholarships.

The poorest sectors were at the centre of all these efforts. A few months after the triumph of the revolution, a programme for free distribution of milk was initiated for them; by the end of 1982, more than fifty thousand Grenadians had benefitted. In a similar way, the lowest-paid 30% of workers were immediately relieved of paying taxes.

Women, the sector most exploited and oppressed in Grenadian society, achieved substantive gains in that first year. One of the government's first measures was the creation of a Women's Desk as an adjunct to the Ministry of Education. In 1982, in a step unprecedented in any other country in the region, this Desk was converted into the Ministry of Women's Affairs. The first decree of the revolutionary government was intended to abolish sexual exploitation of women in the workplace. In 1980, two other legal measures were taken in favour of women: equal pay for equal work, and a Maternity Law that obliged employers to pay salaries for three months after the birth of a child. All of these measures were responses to the Grenadian women's energetic demands and they reveal the weight placed upon women's transformation. The National Women's Organisation (NWO) grew and consolidated much more than any other popular (mass) organisation during the revolutionary years.<sup>13</sup>

By the first anniversary of the revolution, 10,000 people were organised in various groups in Grenada. There had been an explosion of workers' organisations following legislation in the first days after the triumph, declaring the right of all workers to organise. 1981, declared "Year of Agriculture and Agroindustry", was also the year in which the Ministry of National Mobilisation was created, charged with dynamising the mass organisations and the new democratic organs activated by the revolution. By 1982 it was estimated that one of every five Grenadians would belong to one or more of the 400 organised groups that existed: mass organisations, labour unions, and diverse religious, cultural, sports, and "community action" groups. Also during that first year, a system of Workers' Parish Councils was set up, in which people met monthly with a government official to discuss their local problems and inform themselves of national issues. In the next year, the rapidly growing Parish Councils branched into Zonal Councils.

These social transformations were known and valued by the Grenadian people. They were valued through the simple daily exercise of comparing life "before the revolution" and "now", but even more through the clear awareness that these transformations were achieved only with enormous strength, amidst and in spite of extremely adverse conditions.

Their adverse economic, social, and political inheritance, amassed over 350 years of colonial history and almost three decades of "Gairyism", was the structural framework and the departure point for change. These initial economic and social problems were aggravated by the economic boycott and the anti-Grenada campaign staged by the North American administration and its Caribbean allies. terrorist counterrevolutionary activities, and also the impressive succession of natural disasters that struck the country in the first thirty months of the revolution's life.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of all that, the economy experienced positive growth in four years of revolution, Grenada being the only Caribbean country that showed positive growth rates between 1979 and 1983<sup>15</sup>: the standard of living of the people improved not only because of wage increases but also because of a "social wage" - education, health, housing, and transportation benefits. Additionally, in the mixed economy planned by the revolution, the private sector as well as the public sector accelerated its growth in production and profits. In its Economic Memorandum on Grenada of August, 1982, the World Bank noted that "Grenada has been one of the very few countries in the Western Hemisphere that continued to experience per capita growth during 1981"<sup>16</sup> and it recognised that "the government has sought to encourage private sector confidence in a number of ways".<sup>17</sup>

In spite of the imperialist plans and attempts to threaten the revolution, Grenada not only progressed, but achieved much more than its neighbours. In particular, Puerto Rico and Jamaica with Seaga suffered from the social and economic strategies of the so-called "Puerto Rican model", prescribed by Washington as "the way" of development for the region. More than the "communist menace", what was behind the permanent North American harassment of Grenada, and finally the invasion, was the threat that Grenada could establish the precedent for a new form of socio-economic development that would serve as a viable model for other countries in the region.

## *2. Popular Participation and Democratisation of the Society*

The true significance of this process of socioeconomic and political transformation was the participation of the people. Behind every programme, every achievement, the Grenadian people were not only beneficiaries but active protagonists. That was to imprint a very special sense of integration, of belonging, and of pride in relation to the revolutionary process. Bishop's popularity among the masses - recognised after the invasion by the Reagan administration and today confronted by the new leaders of Grenada - wasn't derived only from his personal charisma as a leader, but from the popularity enjoyed by the revolution itself.

Many of Grenada's economic and social programmes existed because of the people's collective and voluntary efforts, saving the country several millions of dollars. Counting on popular mobilisation and organisation, it was possible to repair schools, begin the Housing Repair Programme, construct community health centres, repair and clean up roads, distribute milk, teach literacy to adults, realise sanitation campaigns, etc.

In all these activities the people revived and gave new value, this time on a national scale, to an ancient practice of communal work with a long tradition in Grenada and in the rest of the Caribbean: the "maroon". The community that organised for a job, lending a hand with food, drinks and music, was now stimulated and supported by the government's contribution of materials, technical assistance and an hour of daily radio time for the brigades' use in convocations and announcements. Thus resuscitating the spirit of the "maroon", the revolution achieved not only a productive mobilisation of the people's energies, but added a new social and political dimension to an autonomous cultural tradition firmly rooted in the masses. A young Grenadian described the relation between the "maroon" and the revolution:

"The 'maroon' form is the way we pass round the village and ask people to give us help. Some give us corn, some give peas and yam. Then we put all together and cook, and those who come in the 'maroon' form on a Saturday is free community work. The maroon spirit is one of the best we have right now, because the people getting the feeling that they together again. And maroon form is what we always do, our ancestors too, so is very close to cooperatives, and with the Government getting us together again, the people feeling like they are in maroon form all the time".<sup>18</sup>

But the people didn't only participate with their actions; they also gave their ideas, intervening in the discussion of local problems and in the formulation and implementation of solutions. Women, for example, met in June 1979 in the first National Conference of Grenadian Women to discuss their role in the revolutionary process, analysing their problems and suggesting responses. With the theme: "In search of solutions to the problems confronting Grenadian women", questions were analysed including the high cost of living, working conditions of working-class women, the poor quality of health services especially in pregnancy and child delivery services, lack of water, electricity and means of communication, housing conditions and the necessity of improving their education to qualify for better jobs.

A year later, in May of 1980, the NWO decided to broaden its membership "to all women who want to see our country develop and move forward, and our women achieve full equality as part of that process of development".<sup>19</sup> They initiated a campaign addressing concrete objectives: organisation, education, and the creation of new services and employment for women.

In the beginning of 1980, all the teachers in the country met to analyse the educational situation they had inherited and to posit future alternatives, in the form of a new school curriculum. The discussions and the suggestions that were offered there would serve not only as a framework for delineating a new curriculum, but also as a spark for the revolution's other key educational programmes, such as the teachers' training programme (NISTEP) and the Community School Day Programme (CSDP).

One of the most important examples of popular participation within the Grenadian process occurred between January and March 1982, with Bernard Coard, Minister of Finance, fomenting discussion about the National Budget. In an exercise without precedent in the region, the Grenadian

people were urged to inform themselves about and to discuss the budget at all organisational levels and through all participatory channels created by the Revolution.

A majority of the new laws and decrees set forth during those four and a-half years had previously been presented to the masses for their consultation. One of the most important examples was the Maternity Law of October 1980. The new law was circulated, published weekly in the newspaper, widely analysed and discussed by unions, mass organisations, and zonal and parish councils before being approved. Similar processes, although less widespread and intensive, revolved around the Rent Law, the literacy Campaign, the Agrarian Reform and the NISTEP. Likewise, the decision to place the electric company in state hands was based upon popular consultation, since the people had denounced the British company's abuses and demanded this measure. The initial outlines of the new constitution were being discussed in Granada, and it would have had to pass through similar analysis and discussion on a national level, although the revolution hadn't had time to implement that process.

How was the people's participation carried out? Obviously, the inherited 'democratic' structures were incompatible with the new way of understanding and practicing democracy. Gairy's Parliament, with a membership of 15 representatives of the wealthiest sectors of Grenadian society, was exactly the antithesis of the goal for democracy proposed by the New Jewel Movement: "a participatory democracy that seeks to involve all of our people: workers, farmers, fishermen, youths, students, women; all of them on a regular ongoing basis in making decisions and coming up with solutions for the problems that we have identified as being the real problems that are holding us back".<sup>20</sup> To build this democracy in Grenada meant, then, to build simultaneously structures for popular organisation and participation, "based on the people, relevant to the people's life and to their real problems, to ensure their participation on a daily basis in this revolutionary democracy".<sup>21</sup>

Partly spontaneously, the Workers' Parish Councils emerged parallel to the mass organisations, the militia and other forms of community organisation. These councils were initiated by the New Jewel Movement in embryonic form during the last months before the triumph of the revolution. Later, they resulted in the Zonal Councils, with the goal of guaranteeing greater decentralisation of popular power. Within a short time, decentralisation led to the need for a close coordination between the Parish Councils, Zonal Councils and the mass organisations. All these popular organs were still in transition, readjusting to the new conditions and tasks of the revolution, and to the people's new level of learning and consciousness.

Never before had the Grenadian people experienced the opportunity to participate in what had always been strictly "matters of government". Now, they were encouraged to get involved, to see "politics" not as something alien, but as an important dimension of their daily lives. All of the issues that imperialist powers advanced to criticise the revolution served opportunely as issues for leaders to discuss with the masses: relations with Cuba, the international airport, political prisoners, freedom of the press and religion<sup>22</sup>, the elections. Without doubt, the discussions with the masses still reflected shortcomings. But what is certain is that in Grenada the people informed themselves more broadly than in most representative democracies either in the Third World or among the central powers.

The Grenadian people never had experienced political participation. Born in slavery, submitted for almost four centuries to colonial and neo-colonial domination, they had just recently been liberated from a corrupt and bloody dictator.<sup>23</sup> This was an oppressed people, silenced, carrying on its shoulders its race, its dialect, its culture. These people had always been prevented from organising, and were told that strikes and protests were "evils" of the same sort as an epidemic or a natural disaster. Gairy pleaded to God in his celebrated "National Prayer" that these evils wouldn't strike Grenada, and in His name, sent the "Mongoose Gang"<sup>24</sup> to prevent or eradicate them. Except to deposit their votes in a fraudulent election "won" by Gairy every five or six years, the people had never experienced any other participatory mechanism. Now that they were encouraged to discuss, they had to break through great barriers of prejudice, insecurities and fear. As one teacher suggested in reference to the new school curriculum, everything would have to be begun anew,

“teaching the children to stand up and speak boldly at the same time educating parents who tend to hush their children up”.<sup>25</sup> The revolution had begun to unleash an energy that had been well guarded for centuries. “The revolution make me young again. I young now as if I just in me teens! Me energy come through that happiness of the revolution. Long live the revolution!”<sup>26</sup>

The advances in popular participation and in the general tasks of democratising the society were recurring themes in Bishop’s discourses and interviews. Asked in 1981 what he found to be the most important achievement of the Grenadian revolution, he responded: “I think one major achievement has been that we have been able to mobilise our people to participate in helping to rebuild the country. If I were pressed, I would say that is the single most important achievement, because it is not something that comes easily; it is not something that many other countries have been able to do... Our people feel a new sense of pride, a new sense of dignity, a new sense of belonging, a new sense of patriotism, and I think this is definitely a direct consequence of the revolution”.<sup>27</sup>

That was the Grenadian people’s perception of their revolution. After four years, their misery continued to be rooted in unjust economic and social structures whose transformation would take many years. Nevertheless, beyond all material benefits, the Grenadian people valued their participation in the revolutionary process as one of the substantial transformations that it had brought to their daily lives. It was a process with highs and lows. The euphoria and intensity of the first years had visibly declined in 1983, in part as a natural process (observable in all revolutions), and in part due to a series of organisational and political deficits, attributed by Coard’s group to the poor conduct of government and of the Party. In the Party’s Central Committee communication of October 16 in which the reasons for Bishop’s house arrest were presented g problems and criticisms received by the Party in recent months were listed. These included: arbitrary harassment and firing of revolutionary sympathisers by hostile elements; negligence of machinery and agricultural equipment; administrators’ and supervisors’ abuses; growing deterioration of roads; constant blackouts; disorganisation of the CPE, the militia, housing repair programmes and mass organisations, we well as the impunity of counterrevolutionary elements in some communities and work centres.<sup>28</sup> In the historic final meeting of the Central Committee on October 15, Austin and Coard’s supporters spoke of “dispiritedness and dissatisfaction among the people”, and “disenchanted and uninspired party cadres”. Facing all these problems, Austin proposed a solution based on firmer direction of the Party and stronger authority assigned to Bishop and Coard. Meanwhile Bishop viewed the solution as requiring closer ties to the masses and “rejuvenation of the revolutionary spirit”.<sup>29</sup> Clearly, the argument involved differing conceptions of the role of the Party and of the masses in the development of the revolutionary process, particularly in the solution of the problems listed.

### *3. The New Jewel Movement and the banner of democracy*

The process of social democratisation that was achieved through the Grenadian revolution cannot be understood without comparing it to the pre-revolutionary period. The New Jewel Movement’s strategy and outlines of its ideological-political goals were already taking shape during the years of struggle against the dictator. The fight for democratic liberties had been the basis for the party’s formation and was the most active issue in the struggle. It was the principal source of the New Jewel Movement’s popularity and legitimacy among the masses during the six years between the party’s foundation and the revolutionary triumph. Even earlier, the struggle for democratic freedom had sparked the brief lives of the two movements that fused to form the NJM: the JEWEL (Joint Endeavour for Welfare, Education and Liberation) and MAP (Movement for Assemblies of People).

Through their political actions in defence of democratic rights, a group of young Grenadian professionals gained rapid notoriety, some of them returning to Grenada after finishing their university studies overseas. Eventually this group integrated to form the core leadership of the Party. Bishop himself had returned to the country in 1970 to organise a demonstration of solidarity with



the Black movement in Trinidad. In a short time, he took up his law practice to defend a group of nurses who in November 1970 were arrested and imprisoned during a protest march in St. George's.

Although at first sporadic, these actions came to acquire an organised character after 1972, with the creation of JEWEL and MAP. Both emerged, like the great majority of leftist movements and organisations in the region, in the context of the Black Power movement that exploded in the Caribbean in the early 70's. The two movements were born with common anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist orientations that translated into a struggle against dictatorship, for the Grenadian people's immediate vindication and in solidarity with all the exploited and oppressed people of the world.

The two movements had each made progress during 1972. Concentrating on rural areas, the JEWEL was involved in the promotion of community activities and edited a small bulletin, *Jewel*, which in a short time became an important tool for popular mobilisation. MAP had focussed on urban areas, gaining strength among youth - the sector most harassed by Gairy's police and most affected by unemployment - and women, who proved to be among the most dynamic forces both in the struggle against the dictatorship and in the promotion of the revolutionary process. In early 1973, a famous incident indicated the identity of interests of these two movements. A wealthy English lord arbitrarily fenced off a beach from public access. Popular protest fell upon Gairy's deaf ears. Irate leaders of the young New Jewel Movement organised a "People's tribunal" in which Lord Brownlow was found guilty by farmers who proceeded to break through the fence and march to the beach. This incident was a symptom of the revolutionary unrest that simmered in Grenada, marking an important moment in the popular movement's progress toward the regime's breakup, and in the establishment of the New Jewel Movement among the masses.

Because of the notoriety of its accumulated actions, only two months after its founding the NJM was able to convene 10,000 people - a quarter of the Grenadian electorate - in a People's Convention on Independence, in May 1973. The Conference called for the people's active political participation in the negotiation of independence from Great Britain, already in process by that time. Six months later, 10,000 Grenadians were convened again by the NJM for a People's Congress. Gairy was publicly judged, found guilty of 27 crimes - among them murdering, corruption and incompetence - and was urged to resign within two weeks. Gairy responded with brutal repression, imprisoning six of the principal leaders of the movement. The impact of these actions upon the masses, upon the young NJM, and upon the dictatorship was decisive.<sup>30</sup> On "Bloody Sunday" - as it was called by Grenadians - the dictatorship cemented its loss of popularity and strengthened the NJM, helping to identify it as a true alternative for the masses.

The movement and its leaders immediately became targets of Gairy's "Mongoose Gang" and the new parapolice squads, created with support from the U.S., Pinochet's Chilean dictatorship, and other fascist governments. While the movement gained support among the masses, the dictatorship lost ground nationally, isolated itself internationally, and increased internal repression. In the last years, more torture and frequent disappearances attested to the government's use of increased support and training in Pinochet-like repressive actions. The NJM chose to take up arms when all other forms of struggle had been exhausted: pacifist protest, meetings, street marches, popular assemblies, recourse to bulletins and newspapers. The movement had even tried to abide by the "rules of the game" and the dictator's requirements, as in the electoral and Parliamentary disputes.<sup>31</sup> The movement began to build a party, creating a military arm, the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA). After 1978 the NJM concentrated on the penetration of labour unions and the organisation and political education of the masses.

The taking of power in March 1979, far from being a "coup" controlled by a small group of party leaders, was the result of a struggle initiated by the NJM with strong popular support. The famous "peaceful revolution" suppressed the dictator's forces in less than half-an-hour with only two deaths, partly because of low morale among Gairy's police and partly due to the NJM's generosity toward their old assassins, but mainly because "Grenadians were clearly ready for an alternative to Gairicism".<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the revolution hadn't emerged in Grenada only as a response to Gairy and to

the recent years of terror, corruption, and interminable privileges for the elite. It was the culmination of a long historical process, scarred by violence and by multiple people's uprisings, that had begun more than 350 years earlier with the arrival of the French and the consequent extermination of the Carib indians who populated the island. The French arrival marked the beginning of a prolonged and crisis-plagued history of colonial domination in which the French and English fought for control of the island. Grenada finally landed in British hands for the last 190 years of the colonial regime. Independence in February, 1974, not only brought no favourable changes for the Grenadian people, but instead legitimised Gairy's lust for power. His profile was that of a corrupt maniacal dictator, fascist in the last years.<sup>33</sup>

In Grenada's history, Gairy was no more than a culmination of the long history of oppression and injustice against which the revolution fought. That history included "total dependence on imperialism, a reality that meant extreme poverty, characterised by massive unemployment, with more than half of the workforce out of work; high malnutrition, illiteracy, backwardness, superstition, poor housing and health conditions, combined with overall stagnation and massive migration".<sup>34</sup>

Confronting the magnitude of this task the NJM always considered the work of social democratisation as first among its priorities. The conviction and criteria for that priority were clear; it was to be "the process which would facilitate all other developments".<sup>35</sup> The NJM programme outlined in the 1973 Manifesto established two priorities: the need to face the population's fundamental socio-economic problems (high prices, low salaries, education, health and housing), and the need to institutionalise "people's assemblies" as opportunities for public discussion of these problems. "People's assemblies" began to operate primarily at the community level, discussing and reading the Manifesto. With the help of support groups organised mainly among women and youth, between 1974 and 1976 the NJM initiated widespread discussion about local and national issues, to raise consciousness and general information levels among the people, but also to articulate the people's consciousness through dialogue, confrontation and argument.

In the NJM's 1974 statement of principles, "people's participation, people's politics and people's democracy" were the first of the ten points outlined as the axes of the "new just society" proposed by the movement. The other nine points outlined "people's cooperatives for the collective development of the people; health care based on need; full development of the people's talents, abilities and culture; full control as a people of our own natural resources; employment for all; a decent standard of living for every family; freedom of expression and religion; liberation of black and oppressed peoples throughout the world; a united people, a new society, a just society".<sup>36</sup> Guided by these original principles, the NJM established its government. The objective of democratising the society sums up and cuts across all of the other goals for transformation on the economic, political, and social levels. Under the conditions of tremendous underdevelopment that characterised the Grenada of 1979, to reproduce the old Parliament would have been, as the NJM leaders maintained, to reproduce the masses' social and political marginalisation.

What was at stake in the Grenadian revolutionary process. before as well as after the taking of power, was the building of "a new democracy". The goal was a democracy that considered the people's active participation not as an afterthought postponed until 'ideal' political, economic, educational and social conditions could be created; instead participation was to take place simultaneously with and articulate the revolutionary process. "Without education" the revolutionary leaders asserted, "no genuine people's democracy can be built, since real democracy always assumes the informed, conscious and educated participation of the people".<sup>37</sup> Therefore, the education of the masses became a priority in the construction of democracy.

### III. Democracy and education in Grenada

#### 1. Colonial and neocolonial education

Throughout the revolutionary period, the NJM emphasised the importance of education to the development of democracy. Recognising the tremendous educational needs of the people, government leaders found that educational approaches forged through colonial and neocolonial domination required radical transformation. “Nearly 400 years of colonial rule left many deformities in our country”, declared Jacqueline Creft, Minister of Education, at the First International Conference of solidarity with Grenada, in November 1981, “but it would be true to say that such deformity had the most serious and pervasive consequences for our education system”.<sup>38</sup> Illiteracy and semi-literacy among adults; lack of educational opportunities for children and youth; untrained, poorly paid and socially undervalued teachers; schools that were overpopulated, abandoned, or too scarce in rural areas; secondary and university study too expensive for the great majority: those were only the visible effects of the negligence and the elitism with which education had been treated in Grenada.

Underlying all of this was an educational system designed in the image of the British system - a system of cultural domination, economic exploitation, and political and social oppression of the masses. An education divorced from the reality and history of Grenada, it denigrated the people's indigenous culture and values, perpetuating class and race divisions. It was an education destined to reproduce colonial power structures. This is how one teacher described the colonial school: “Singing consisted mainly of old English, Scottish and Irish ballads: ‘The Ash Grove’, ‘Loch Lamond’, ‘Annie Laurie’, and ‘Bobby Shaftoe’. If we were overheard singing calypsoes we were ordered to go and wash out our mouths because those were ‘devil songs’. Much of the information passed on to us from our teachers dealt mainly with what happened in England. The books we read from were the ‘Royal Readers’. The poems we learned came from them. In our Arithmetic we were taught pounds, shillings and pence when in actuality the currency we were spending was in dollars and cents! The History we did, apart from Columbus and his voyages, was about English adventurers, Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, Morgan the pirate. We were told nothing about the negroes - ourselves. And so we lived in ignorance of who we were and how we came to be where we were”.<sup>39</sup>

Independence from Great Britain in 1974 did not modify this situation. On the contrary, under the Gairy regime these colonial tendencies were reinforced, endowed with new values directly imported from the new ‘centre’ - the United States. Education became, for the few who had access, a competition for social advancement reinforced by the following selective mechanisms: high cost, qualification and evaluation criteria, reduced admissions to the sole secondary school and the University of the West Indies. Education became a ticket to escape the island in search of work, money, and personal prestige. “Education is a decoration”, said one of Gairy's ministers. And Gairy himself admitted that the principal problem of the New Jewel Movement leaders was that they “had too much brains”.

#### 2. The New Jewel Movement and education (1973-1979)

Responding to this environment, the NJM gave priority to the people's education as both an instrument and objective of their struggle. Even the names of the two movements that joined to form the NJM made that goal explicit, Welfare, education and liberation had been the banners raised by the JEWEL on the rural level. In essence, the “people's assemblies” that defined the MAP strategy were conceived as an educational tool for the masses.

When, after 1976, the NJM decided to modify its strategy from popular mobilisation to popular organisation, its educational approach was modified and intensified as well. Secretly meeting on the beaches, political education courses were held among unions and youth. Each meeting, each march, each act of solidarity with other people was transformed into an educational event. The newspaper “The New Jewel”, even from its clandestine position, became a fundamental organ of popular

organisation and education. With a readership of 10,000, it became the daily with the greatest circulation in Grenada.

Except for an effort to teach literacy in the rural community of Tivoli, it would be impossible to locate any antecedents in formal education instigated by the NJM. Its efforts in this sense were directed at building consciousness among the people about the legitimacy of education as a right. The educational process that the Movement started during those years was education of the masses in its widest sense: a tool and a method for struggle, a space for the people's expression and arguments in which they exercised their right to their opinions and developed their capacities along with the struggle itself. Thus "the great achievement of the pre-revolutionary struggle was not getting rid of Gairy. It was educating and preparing people for a new and better system of government".<sup>40</sup>

### *3. Education in Revolution*

Economy, national defence, and popular power were defined as the three fundamental pillars of the revolution. Education was considered to be a tool for national development, social democratisation and cultural independence. the role of education was crucial in sustaining the coherence of the revolution's objective. But an education consistent with these objectives was not a simple issue. This approach to education had to be formulated through a long process of transformation, not only within the educational environment but parallel to and articulating with economic, social and political transformations.

Following the tradition of other contemporary revolutions, particularly those of Cuba and Nicaragua, one of the revolutionary government's first objectives was an intensive national literacy campaign. To combat adult illiteracy in Grenada was not a task of the same magnitude as Cuba had faced in 1961 or which Nicaragua would also confront in 1980.<sup>41</sup> But it was a strategic project responding more to a justice issue for the sectors deprived of education than to the prioritisation of problems the revolution was to address. Educational development was an immediate necessity because of the serious shortage of skilled human resources for government services, state enterprises, and the variety of new jobs that were rapidly being generated.

This situation was addressed in three ways: 1) internationalist support, 2) scholarships for overseas study, and 3) general implementation of on-the-job training. Internationalism, one of the characteristic traits of the Grenadian revolution, was expressed not only through active solidarity with other people's struggles, but also through the profound esteem with which Grenada received internationalist collaboration. Attracted by the revolutionary process, professionals from the U.S. and Canada, Europe, and most significantly from the English-speaking Caribbean, brought their skills to Grenada to support the construction of a new nation. Many of them occupied high positions in the Ministries and in different government programmes.

Soon after the revolution, scholarships were offered for pre- and post-university overseas studies. The first 109 Grenadians left in 1979 to study in Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean. In 1983, the quantity of scholarships available exceeded the number of students who were qualified to take advantage of them. Meanwhile, the only realistic way to face the problem internally was with the adoption of vocational training in all types of production and in practically all work centres. By 1983, several programmes had been implemented: In-Service Training Units for Public Employees, the Mirabeau Agricultural School, the Hotel Training School, the Cooperative Training School, the fishery Training School, the Vocational and Technical Institute of Grenada, etc., along with training programmes in nursing and policework. One of the most interesting training programmes was NISTEP, aimed at the professionalisation of teachers. Teachers attended NISTEP one day a week, and during the other four days of the week they put into practice in their classrooms what they had learned. While the teachers were in training, their students learned practical skills: artisanry, carpentry, agriculture, sewing, etc., from volunteer teachers recruited from their communities. This

Community School Day Programme (CSOP) emerged as a necessary complement to NISTEP and was one of the most innovative educational programmes of the revolution.

The shortage of qualified human resources was the revolution's most serious short-term problem. By the end of 1982 that situation had become a crisis: weak business administration, deficient book-keeping and record keeping, disorganisation, poor training in modern methods of production, and use of primitive technology, were all reported as common and fundamental deficiencies in the functioning of state enterprises. "All these problems are related to each other", Bernard Coard said in the report, "for all are related to one factor: education".<sup>42</sup> In his New Year speech in January 1983, Bishop emphasized: "We have to recognise that we cannot build a national economy; we cannot reclaim our economy from the grips of imperialism without a well-trained and highly skilled work force. This low training of our people is a major weakness and if we do not move fast to correct it, the progress of the revolution will be held back".<sup>43</sup>

The problems identified in the economic report involved not only a question of qualified labour skills but also a question of the quality of workers' consciousness. The national presentation and discussion about the yearly economic report emphasised that dual effect: with in-depth information and greater comprehension of the sources, possible solutions, and hard-won achievement in regard to the serious economic problems faced by their government, workers and the general population would assume more responsibility for training within the Revolution. It was in this context that 1983 was declared the "Year of Political and Academic Education", and the theme of education re-emerged with a new urgency. The Centre for Popular Education (CPE), which had lost momentum after the literacy campaign, began to regain strength on a national level. An intense propaganda campaign was initiated, calling for volunteer students and teachers, and better job opportunities were offered for those who earned a CPE certificate. At the same time, Workers' Educational Days were instituted; in each work centre, one afternoon a week, the workers met to discuss current national and international issues.

Educational programmes carried out by the mass organisations intensified and multiplied. With the support of the CPE and the Ministry of National Mobilisation, panels, discussion forums, cultural and political events were realised, and theatre groups flowered spontaneously among the organised youth and different community action groups. Women, organised in the NWO, started a series of seminars and courses that dealt with themes as varied as the history of Grenada, the national economic situation and its alternatives, the government's foreign policy, the importance of education in establishing popular power, the importance of women's participation in building a new democracy, methods of organising and working with women, first-aid skills, the Maternity law, etc. Many of these seminars were developed in rural areas to compensate for the educational marginalisation to which the agricultural workers had been condemned in the past.<sup>44</sup>

1983 was a year of authentic educational "emergency" in which education was seen as a condition for the advance of the revolutionary process. "Education is a must", had been the fundamental slogan advanced by Bishop when he inaugurated the NISTEP programme in October 1980. The fact that education became an imperative of the Grenadian revolutionary process has to do not only with urgent production needs, but with the very conception of the revolutionary project: a project in which education is a key factor for the development of the new man.

#### *4. The conception and expression of education in the Grenadian revolutionary process*

Several principles that are historical trademarks of revolutionary educational thinking and ideology became the central axes of the Grenadian government's educational strategy: an education tied to daily reality and oriented towards its transformation; an education based on the unity of intellectual and manual labour, theory and practice, school and community. Beyond discourse about those principles, it is important to analyse their concrete expressions in the government's policies and programmes, along with their contradictions. In our judgement, four fundamental principles defined the Grenadian revolution's educational policy: a) education as everyone's right, b) the link

between education and productive work, c) education as a tool for liberation and cultural independence, and d) the link between education and internationalism.

### **a) Education as everyone's right**

The selective and discriminatory character of education in capitalist societies has come to be one of the central points of the critique of education and thus access to education has been suggested as one of the people's fundamental rights. Access is usually seen in terms of expansion of the educational system, that is, to offer 'real opportunities' to study to those traditionally excluded by the educational system. This perspective fails to account for other dimensions that are part of this universal right to education. Capitalist education reproduces the dichotomies of social hierarchy, so that discrimination is reinforced even when broader access to education is achieved. Therefore, the problem is not only increasing access to education, but allowing access to a different education, one which wouldn't reproduce the system of differential social domination.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, expanded access to education unaccompanied by access to the labour market - another area of selectivity and discrimination - is severely limited in its democratising effects.<sup>46</sup> Finally, the workers' right to educate themselves would imply their right to a study-time within their work schedule.<sup>47</sup>

How was this principle of education as everyone's right practiced and understood in Grenada? From the first it was recognised that to make this principle a reality involved not only political intentions and school infrastructure, but profound political, social and economic transformations. To fight unemployment and guarantee minimum living conditions for people traditionally excluded from education was another part of the problem. But the major battle was to fight the values and attitudes toward education forged within the dominant system. The literacy campaign and the CPE programme were palpable demonstrations of social resistance to these changes. During the four and a-half years of revolution, young people and adults were permanently involved in a motivation campaign.

To repair schools and construct new ones, to reduce boarding costs, offer free secondary education, distribute free textbooks and school uniforms, to multiply rapidly the number of scholarships for secondary and university study, to start a national literacy campaign and a basic adult education programme: these were all measures taken to provide mass access to formal education. Training programmes mounted in diverse production and public service areas were also part of this effort to involve the masses in some kind of education. The permanent climate encouraging study created by the revolution was concretised by enormous educational facilities. Integrating educational activities within the work schedule rather than proposing study as a free-time activity was an acknowledgement of the workers' right to educate themselves.

The principle of education as a right in Grenada had a correlative principle: education as a responsibility of the revolution, a responsibility of the people and the government together. "If you know, teach; if you don't, learn" and "Each one teach one" were slogans born of the literacy campaign and used frequently during the four years. It was in this spirit that teachers and trainers received NISTEP's guidance and advice; it was this spirit that animated farm workers, artisans, fishermen, and community members to share their skills and abilities with children on the teachers' training days. That was the spirit that managed to get the bureaucrats out from behind their desks, re-educating them in their capacity to teach and learn from the masses in the Workers' Parish and Zonal Councils all over the country. Access to information and discussion of national as well as local issues was another dimension of the people's right to education. "To be honest with the people, tell the people the facts, get the people to know the real truth of the situation"<sup>48</sup> was one of the formulae defined by the revolutionary leadership as a key for the progress and consolidation of the revolution, as "one of the best ways to defeat destabilisation, to defeat imperialism, to defeat counter-revolutionaries ... so that destabilisation does not come like a thief in the night".<sup>49</sup>

In retrospect, it is clear that this principle was not applied consistently; and the effects of that inconsistency were tragic. Nevertheless, there was in the government and in the Party a will and a

commitment to the masses' right to information. Few governments are concerned about the people's awareness of economic measures, foreign policy, educational and health policies, etc. And even if this information is divulged, the government's intention rarely is to promote the people's genuine comprehension of that information. In Grenada, the people were not only informed, they were educated to understand that information. The clearest example is the country-wide discussion of the national budget, where, together with detailed and didactic expositions of the economic policy, leaders made a great effort to explain and demystify economic terminology.

To make education a right of the people implies the right to a different education. What were the traits of that new education, as expressed in revolutionary discourse?

An education closely linked to Grenadian reality and history, contributing to forge national unity and identity, and to recover the best social values and cultural traditions of the people.

An education that brings productive work and study closer together, conceiving of that relationship as a permanent process, not restricted to the school environment or school age, but integrated with the real world, the community, and the society.

An education posing problems that contribute to the development of analytic capacities and practical skills, and which proposes a transference and a creative application of science and technology, adapting them to the possibilities and real needs of Grenada.<sup>50</sup>

A participatory and collective education which as such must involve the active participation of all social sectors of the country.

An education that, if well conceived and guided toward the Grenadian reality, would demonstrate internationalism as one of its fundamental components.

As other revolutionary transitions have shown, to make these principles a reality, not just in theory but in educational practice, requires a complex process of transformation and collective learning on all levels. Education is an area historically most resistant to change - one of the firmest bastions in which authoritarian, elitist, discriminatory values are continually reproduced.

Grenada, in this sense, was no exception. The distances between theory and practice were great. However, the steps that were taken in those four and a half years were important and, in many respects, innovative even with respect to other revolutionary processes.

## **b) Education linked to work**

The relationship between education and work has been interpreted and applied in many ways. from the popular perspective, and more specifically within the framework of a critique of capitalist education, many dimensions of the problem emerge. Capitalist education has been characterised as an alienating education, divorced from all practical content and productive work, thus reinforcing the social value of intellectual work while stigmatising manual labour. Accordingly, capitalist education reproduces social differences and assigns a lifetime role of manual labour to the dominated sectors of the society. In the field of labour education, critics point to the role of education in training the labour force for the exigencies of capitalist development, inculcating in workers the skills, values and attitudes necessary for more efficient performance in their work. Workers are educated to adapt to the existing structures rather than to question or transform them. In that context, even the so-called 'permanent' or 'continuing' education - advocating an alternation between work and study during the whole lifetime - is no more than a more modern and deceitful version of the same pattern.

What is suggested is the need for an education that prepares one for work, but for a different work, in which workers creatively apply their skills and abilities. That idea supposes an education capable of generating and developing these capacities. Obviously, the structures and social relations that sustain capitalist society are the ones that must be transformed to make this kind of education and creative work a reality. The close link between education and production, between study and work, was a dominant issue in the educational strategy outlined by the Grenadian

revolution. This concern was first a response to the labour force requirements for quality and skill on all productive levels; but second, it reflected the need to create an education that was in itself a productive activity, capable of contributing to its own self-sufficiency. Beyond these economic considerations, education linked to production is justified on ideological and pedagogical grounds. To articulate clearly the goals of an education tied to practice brings intellectual and manual labour closer together and encourages new values and attitudes about manual work. Since agricultural work is the basis for the Grenadian people's economic and physical survival, to reinforce the social value of farm work was particularly important.

Grenada inherited a common paradox: an economy based in agriculture in which agricultural work ranks lowest in the social scale. The education imparted in the schools not only made no explicit reference to agriculture, but reinforced negative values and attitudes toward agricultural work and toward manual labour in general. "We were seeing", said a teacher about the textbooks used in Gairy's times, "men dressed in jacket and tie regardless of what they were doing and who they were. We were accustomed to seeing men in jacket and tie only when they were going to church or on some official business".<sup>51</sup> Education, a reinforcer of a 'visa mentality' to flee the island, had also forged a 'desk mentality' that made "youths leave school clinging to certificates which make them feel that the only job possible to them is behind some desk".<sup>52</sup> As the celebrated "Spice Island", nutmeg, cocoa and bananas make up 97% of Grenadian national exports. But a Grenadian child could "pass from kindergarten to University and never see a cocoa tree, or a banana, or a nutmeg".<sup>53</sup> The teachers, themselves trained with the same values, saw agricultural work as a denigrating activity and they refused to "dirty their hands" with it. This was one of the central problems to be confronted through the revolutionary process, with work-study projects implemented in several schools around the island. The rural as well as the urban teachers were ignorant of agricultural work and at first resisted the development of agricultural and artisanry activities in the schools. Parents, accustomed to the idea of education for their children leading to a future in medicine or law which would make up for their own efforts and lack of education, also initially rejected all possibility that their sons would cultivate a little plot, weave baskets or prepare their own school breakfast within the sacred time and space of school. To overcome these problems, particularly through re-education and training of teachers, brief manuals of agriculture and artisanry for teacher training were being prepared in 1983, in coordination with the Ministry of Agriculture.<sup>54</sup>

At different times during the revolution, slogans linked education and production: "Every worker a learner, every learner a worker" was one of the slogans brought out during the literacy campaign. "Education is production too", was the central message that Maurice Bishop directed to Grenadian teachers meeting in NISTEP and which, after that, was diffused as one of the fundamentals in Grenadian education. The repair of schools and school furniture, through the combined efforts of students, parents and community members, was one of the first actions that concretised the unity between work and study, and between school and community on a national scale. The enthusiasm of this first experience was carried through with a commitment to permanent efforts not only to repair but even to build new schools, particularly in rural areas.

In 1981, in the farms of La Sagesse and Bocage Diamond, the first pilot work-study projects were initiated. Assimilating Cuba's experience with the "country schools" in the first years of its revolution, 60 students were taught about agriculture and then integrated into a variety of agricultural jobs, helping local farmers to prune cocoa plants, select seeds and box bananas. The next year the work-study approach was extended to two other pilot projects in St. George's, but with new dimensions: first, integrating work and study during the entire school year; second, in addition to agriculture, artisanry skills were developed to respond to the revolution's projection that tourism, the second source of the country's economic support, would be strengthened. The Community School-Day Programme (CSOP) was one of the most fertile and multidimensional expressions of the integration of work and study. Each Friday, the school received visiting farmers, artisans, tailors, or fishermen from the local community who taught the children their skills. In other cases, children received visits from government functionaries, workers in state enterprises, etc. Other times they left the school to visit cooperatives or agroindustrial installations, or to see fishermen, artisans, farmers in their own



environment. In a short time, the programme's success and the quality of the students' products, particularly in artisanry, made it possible to sell them to GRENCRAFT, the Grenadian artisanry enterprise created in 1981. Articles of straw, wood, fabric, toys, etc., were exhibited in expositions and for sale. In this way the schools began to contribute to their own self-sufficiency. In fact, it was the CSOP, just barely beginning to mature and consolidate by 1983, which opened the way for the wider implementation of work-study pilot projects, slowly transforming parents', teachers', students' and community members' ways of thinking.

NISTEP, the programme because of which the CSOP was started, was another of the programmes in which the work-study principle was applied in a novel and integral manner. Initially also with resistance, the teachers were understanding little by little the importance and the validity of the training that the revolution offered them, parallel to and integrated with their own work as teachers. The new theoretical and methodological skills acquired each Friday in NISTEP were put into practice and evaluated immediately in the classroom, under the supervision and advice of other more highly trained teachers. In this way and thanks to the voluntary support of the Friday 'teachers', Grenadian teachers were able to advance in their training, integrating their own work with study and with the work of others. A notable impact of the CSOP upon the teachers was precisely in helping them to learn agriculture and artisanry skills in order to respond to the enthusiasm of their students.

Undoubtedly, in the CDSP as well as in NISTEP, the revolution discovered the most interesting expressions of the classical unity between work and study. Both programmes found themselves reaching new potentials and discovering unplanned dimensions of their mandate along the way. The CDSP, initially planned only as a way to 'occupy' the students one day a week while their teachers were in training, became a highly productive alternative for the integration of work and study. It was an alternative that permitted a break from roles traditionally assigned to teachers, transforming the community into a collective teacher and converting the educational function into a polyvalent social function.<sup>55</sup> As expressed by the slogan of the CSOP, it attempted an educational alternative in which "a committed community reaches out to its children". But in addition, it attempted a double-edged education in which children left school to learn directly in the community: visiting public offices, mechanics' shops, supermarkets, hotels, the radio station, etc., even occasionally crossing from the classroom to the house or workplace of their volunteer teachers. The CSOP was an embryo in which an "education for life and in life" began to grow, an education which, following the precepts of Jose Marti, was insisted upon by the leaders of the revolution.

### **c) Education as a tool for cultural independence**

Cultural domination, a constituent part of the system of domination and of its reproduction, is one of the privileged functions of the educational apparatus in capitalist societies.<sup>56</sup> Thus, cultural liberation is seen as one of the fundamental objectives of a new education. Paulo Freire's educational paradigm, emerging in Latin America in the 60's, emphasised culture and "cultural liberation" as a central dimension of "liberating education". In societies like Grenada, subjected to a long history of colonial domination, cultural domination is a condition for reproducing the relation between colonisers and colonised. Nevertheless, the victory of the colonisers in their struggle to impose their culture is never complete; the colonised people, who resist that domination, manage to maintain their own living cultural expressions, even if through bilingual or bicultural forms, or in hybrid manifestations that concretise the superimposition of the coloniser's world over that of the colonised. Amilcar Cabral notes that cultural resistance, one of the many forms that resistance to domination takes, is a fundamental force for national liberation movements.<sup>57</sup> Grenada, a country in which 95% of the population is of African origin, inherited an education profoundly denigrating of 'negritude' and of the values and traditions associated with it. Education was based on the superiority of whites over blacks, making social ascent and consumption the motives for education. An elitist hierarchical mentality was inculcated in Grenadians, strengthening and reinforcing the colonisers' devaluing image of the populace. Devaluation of themselves, their culture, and their

country, resulting in a profound inferiority complex, were the effects of colonial education on the masses. Learning to speak “good” English and dress and behave as the English were requirements for moving up in Grenadian society. “We were taught”, said Bishop, “to look to Europe for the answers to all our problems. Our own country was overlooked, as we were taught to stare/over the Atlantic Ocean to London for our political institutions, our drama and songs, our poetry and literature, in the same direction as the boats steaming north-eastwards full with our nutmegs, bananas and cocoa which were carried to be sold in European markets for the benefit of European profits. Economic and cultural imperialism became two sides of the same coin.”<sup>58</sup>

*i. To “regrenadianise” history*

To “regrenadianise culture”, in a sense analogous to Amílcar Cabral’s term, “reaffricanise culture”, used of Portuguese-colonised Africa, was one of the tasks of the revolution in its struggle to build the new man. In that task, to “regrenadianise” history was an essential element in the search for national identity.

The official history taught in Grenadian schools was an extensive chronicle of the pirates, the conquerors and the kings of England. The celebrated rebellion led by Fedon and a group of slaves around 1795 against the despotic British colonisers was incorporated into Grenada’s history as a barbaric act, described in these terms by the Encyclopedia Britannica in 1800: “... the assassinations committed in this place, along with the robbery and devastation that marked their acts in other parts of the island. are terrifying for all of humanity”.<sup>59</sup> In spite of the colonialists efforts to strip ‘virtue’ from Fedon’s liberating gesture, the Grenadian people remembered and created legends and songs about it. Conscious of the enormous historical vacuum, Bishop dedicated months during his years of study in Great Britain to hand-copying books about Fedon in the London libraries. Upon returning to Grenada, the notes were distributed all over the island. 184 years after the Fedon rebellion, the New Jewel Movement found in it an important source of inspiration for the actions that culminated with the assault on True Blue and the overthrow of the dictator.

Together with Fedon, the revolution proclaimed Theophilus A. Marrayshow as a national hero. He was the principal inspiration of the nationalist Caribbean movement and of the Federation that integrated the countries of the eastern Caribbean between 1958 and 1961. In Fedon the revolution recognised a great source of patriotic inspiration, the symbol of rebellion and colonial liberation; in Marrayshow it recognised the symbol of Caribbean unity, a principle proposed by the New Jewel Movement throughout the revolutionary process.

*ii. To recover and dynamise the people’s cultural expressions*

Music, dance, literature, poetry, and drama were sparked with energy by the revolution. During and after the literacy campaign, the enthusiasm and creativity of the people were liberated in poems, songs, hymns, dramatic works, and letters. Calypso, up until then denigrated and prohibited as “diabolical”, survived the invasion of European musical forms and continued to be an integral part of daily life in Grenada. Two months after the triumph of the revolution, a great popular calypso concert was held, with more than 25,000 attending. The celebrated Grenadian “Mighty sparrow”, who has been called “the greatest interpreter of calypso of all time”, was presented by Bishop as one of the “authentic sons of Grenada”, and applauded by people who found a genuine symbol of their cultural identity and national pride in Sparrow and in calypso. Some of Sparrow’s songs about “Grenada without Gairy” eventually became hymns of the revolution. Other creations began to emerge after this first reunion with calypso. By 1982, Grenada was ready to convene the first Caribbean Calypso festival, which resonated throughout the Caribbean with profound significance for the integration of Caribbean culture.

*iii) To define sociolinguistic policies*

Perhaps one of the most interesting elements of the revolution's new cultural approach was its language policy.<sup>60</sup> One of the most significant and visible manifestations of both cultural imposition and resistance was the intimate coexistence of two linguistic norms in Grenadian society: standard English, the socially valued norm imposed directly by the colonisers, and the Grenadian dialect; phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically differentiated from the standard and, as such, stigmatised as "uncultured", "bad" English. Only a minority - the educated minority - managed standard English in Grenada. The majority of the people spoke only the Grenadian dialect that was "unacceptable" in school and in any public event or printed document. A portion of the population managed bi-dialectically, reserving their own dialect for informal colloquial situations and bringing British English out to shine on formal or ceremonial occasions.

To esteem the people's cultural expressions became, among other things to value their language, the living manifestation of cultural identity. The revolution officially recognized the existence and use of Grenadian English on all levels and in all environments, whilst recognising standard English as a second language, taught explicitly in order to offer the Grenadian people contact with the outside world and access to universal science and literature. This sociolinguistic policy was extended beyond oral codes. It affected the written language, breaking up formalities and norms in the world of print. Books, documents, school texts, and newspapers began to print popular local speech, even choosing as slogans and titles the people's colloquial expressions: "Is freedom we making", and "To construct from morning", are examples - two titles of books from Fedon Publications, a series initiated by the revolution. Liberated from linguistic barriers and from self-censoring of the authentic tongue, Grenadian culture overflowed with poetry, songs and small dramatic productions. "I think that the English language", said a young Grenadian, "although it's one of the hardest languages, it's also one of the most beautiful. It's not a language of oppression for us like it was in slavery and colonialism. That is all over. Now we need English to express our culture, so the language will live on with our culture".<sup>61</sup>

*iv. To combat and overcome alienated expressions of popular culture*

The revolution revitalised the potential of all expressive cultural forms which, like the "maroon", based on cooperation and solidarity, had been regarded for centuries as forms of cultural resistance to individualistic and segregationalist values imposed by colonialism and neocolonialism. At the same time, the revolution proposed to combat and overcome all of the other cultural forms and institutions that could not serve as constructive tools for the people's liberation. Superstition, 'macho' values and attitudes, chauvinism, etc., traits of the old society and expressions of underdevelopment and backwardness, were fought in the family, in mass organisations, in Parish and Zonal councils, in the CEP, in NISTEP, etc.

The emancipation of women was one area given priority by the revolution. It is true, as one author said, that the strength of the national Women's Organisation in Grenada was not utilised "to deal with the fundamental problems of the man-woman relationship which beset the community", and that "in spite of the creativity and innovativeness of the People's Revolutionary Government, there has been a growing tendency to closely tie their strategy for women to the traditional strategies used in older socialist countries which have failed to: 1) successfully challenge the sexual division of labour, 2) equalise the responsibility for housework within the home, and 3) transform the oppressive bourgeois family".<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, the revolution in Grenada did confront women's issues with emphases and measures uncommon even within other social revolutions. To make the male-female relationship and its transformation the criteria for evaluating the profundity and/or efficacy of transformations in women's situation would be to oversimplify the objective and subjective reality from which Grenada, and specifically the Grenadian woman, departed. An authentic and profound transformation of male-female relationships is a long-term historical task which involves profound transformations in society as a whole.

There is no doubt that Grenadian women made an important leap during the revolutionary years, supported by multiple legal and practical measures taken in their favour but, above all, through their own organisation and participation in the process. Although small, changes were perceived, as expressed by a woman agricultural worker: "The kind of bad treatment the men give the women before, they done with that. The Revolution bring we love, and is that love that teach the men different, bring them work and cause them to respect we".<sup>63</sup>

#### **d) Are education in and for internationalism**

The Caribbean that had been constructed by the European metropolis was a fragmented Caribbean, a gathering of atomised islands, distanced one from another not only by large stretches of ocean but even by different languages. Attempts at regional and sub-regional integration since the 1930's had fallen apart; among them was the Federation of the English Speaking Nations of the Caribbean under leadership of Grenada's Marrayshow.

As an early defender of the Federation, the New Jewel Movement adopted as its banner the integration of the Caribbean, "conscious of the fact that we have one basic history, one basic cultural background, one geographical region, and we do undoubtedly have one basic future as a people", seeing that it was necessary to "end these attitudes of narrow nationalism, of isolationism, of racism, of chauvinism".<sup>64</sup> As Grenadian leaders recognised, national unity couldn't be separated from a Caribbean consciousness, and from internationalist consciousness. This internationalist principle, an essential element of revolutionary ideology and in particular of the NJM, had profound effects in Grenada. Internationalism infused all of the revolution's programmes and was defined and practised as a "crucial part of the educational process" of the people. During the years of confrontation with Gairy, the national struggle was combined with an articulation of permanent solidarity with other peoples. The active collaboration of Pinochet's dictatorship in sustaining Gairy's government was denounced by the New Jewel Movement in a campaign against the repressive Chilean regime, a campaign that was soon echoed in other Caribbean islands.

Solidarity was institutionalised within the revolution - even by designating "solidarity days", as a "debt and a responsibility" of the people and the revolution. Through the daily *Free West Indian*, the textbooks for adults and children, the diverse training programmes, meetings, panels, public events international seminars and conferences, the Grenadian people learned more about the reality of other countries and expressed their solidarity for the people of Chile, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Namibia, Angola, the Western Sahara Democratic Yemen, North Korea, Mozambique, Vietnam, Belize, Puerto Rico, Guatemala, Panama. A great number of international meetings held in Grenada since 1979 helped to break up the isolation to which Grenada had been condemned, and for the first time people were in contact with the reality of the rest of the world. "I see quite clearly", Bishop said at the third anniversary celebration of the revolution, in the presence of many delegations from all over the world, "that while, of course, Grenada remains physically an island, Grenada is no longer really an island! No more can we ever see ourselves as separate, cut off, a little rock in the world's great seas".<sup>65</sup>

The ending of Grenada's solidarity with the people of Cuba, a principal target of North American discomfort, was insistently proposed by Washington as a condition for 'dialogue' with the Grenadian government. Time after time, challenging North American hostility and blackmail, the New Jewel Movement recognised the Cuban revolution's decisive role in inspiring the Grenadian revolution, not only because of Cuba's moral, material, and human support, but of its mere existence. The affirmation that "if there had been no Cuban revolution in 1959 there could have been no Grenadian revolution in 1979",<sup>66</sup> emphatically repeated during those four years, must have left no doubt in Washington about the inefficacy of its economic pressures and its military displays on the Grenadian coasts.

Perhaps the most eloquent expression of Grenadian internationalism, that which awakened most pride in the people and in the government, was the participation of two young Grenadians in

Nicaragua's Literacy Campaign. Between October of 1980 and March of 1981, while Grenada developed its own literacy campaign, two volunteers from CPE went to collaborate with the Nicaraguan Crusade in the Atlantic Coast area. One of them, James Wilson, commented about his experience in Nicaragua: "News of Grenada had never reached there, especially that particular place (Barra de Rio Maiz) as it was very underdeveloped. So I arrived from a country they had never heard of. But I wasn't so strange to them because I was the same race as them - we were all black people. And these people were often the descendants of West Indian immigrants who had travelled to that part of Nicaragua. Some of the old people even remembered their family connections to slavery, and they certainly remembered when they had migrated from Colombia to that part of the Nicaraguan coast ... So then we discussed the revolution a lot in the classes, and I told them I was from a revolutionary country and what we were doing in our Revolution here, and how we had been in the darkness ourselves under Gairy. So then they began to realise how much in the darkness they had been under Somoza and how their own revolution could change their lives ... So I could show them the parallel between our experience in Grenada and theirs in Nicaragua".<sup>67</sup> The two youths represented for Grenada "an impressive feat for such a young Revo".<sup>68</sup> By the middle of 1983 a small book relating this experience was being edited and was to be used as reading material in the schools and the CPE. After this first experience, according to the Minister of Education, 20 more volunteers were offered to Nicaragua to join the continuing work after the literacy campaign in the Atlantic Coast region. The brigade was ready and was just waiting for confirmation by the Nicaraguan government.<sup>69</sup>

Historically and geographically isolated for centuries, the Grenadian people suddenly had begun to widen their frontiers and break out of their confinement. In spite of enormous limitations in international communication and even within the country, the population's interest and level of up-to-date information about what was happening in the rest of the world was impressive. The perspective of reciprocity was present from the beginning. A Grenadian student on the fourth level of the CPE expressed his personal concern: "We here in Grenada closely follow the struggles of other peoples who want to liberate themselves. We know of El Salvador, of Nicaragua, of the struggle of Namibia and of other peoples. We are in solidarity with them. We learn about them. But I wonder if they also know about us, of our Grenadian revolution. And if we are teaching them something, too".<sup>70</sup>

The reality is that Grenada became front-page news and elicited world solidarity exactly because of its tragedy. Except for Cuba, where Bishop, the revolution, and the Grenadian people always enjoyed the deepest sympathy and solidarity, the other peoples of Latin America knew very little of Grenada in revolution. Even today, lessons taken from the Grenadian revolutionary movement are based exclusively on the tragedy itself, and not on the revolutionary process. There is still a lot to learn about those four and a-half years; not only for the Grenadian people, but for the other peoples with whom Grenada demonstrated active solidarity.

## **IV Three cases of popular education and participation in revolution**

### *1. The Centre for Popular Education (CPE)*

#### **a) The National Literacy Campaign**

Compared to more massive national literacy campaigns, the Grenadian literacy campaign appears to have been a miniscule event. Between 5% and 7% of the Grenadian population was illiterate; 2,738 signed up for literacy training and around 2,000 signed up to teach. For this small country, however, that was a gigantic phenomenon, perhaps not so much because of the numbers but because of the campaign's social, cultural and political significance for the people and for the revolutionary process in Grenada.

In May of 1979, with the creation of the Centre for Popular Education (CPE), the national literacy campaign began to take form. This was to be just the first phase of the CEP's educational

programme. After 1981, basic adult education would be initiated and later, skills training in basic trades. The revolution was cut short long before it was able to complete this project. When the Marines entered Grenada, the CPE was just getting started with its second semester of basic adult education.

The data about illiteracy were unreliable: the OEA quoted a level of 1.7% in 1979, while in 1980 the World Bank cited 15% illiteracy in Grenada. Therefore, national surveys were conducted to determine the real number of illiterates during the planning phases of the campaign and again while the literacy campaign was functioning. Volunteer literacy teachers were trained: women, men, youth, and even children from all over Grenada and from all social sectors. Young professionals from other Caribbean island who had participated in similar experiences in their own countries were also invited to join the permanent team of the CEP. Paulo Freire and other international experts were also convened to advise in the preliminary CEP discussions. The Cuban campaign of 1961, literacy projects in which Freire had participated in Latin America and Africa, and that developed in Jamaica by the JAMAL Foundation were important sources of inspiration and consultation. The Nicaraguan Crusade, just starting up during the same period, served also as a parallel point of reference.

Neither teachers nor students were asked to meet ideological or political requirements. As the basic slogan of the CEP claimed, the candidate's readiness to learn or to teach was their main concern: "If you know teach; if you don't learn". In 1983, an ex-leader of the campaign commented: "This experience showed us that each and all of us have a role to play in the construction of this country. Even without being revolutionary. Simply being patriots".<sup>71</sup>

Four fundamental principles emerged from the preliminary discussions:

- the revolution must be the central issue around which to articulate the contents of literacy training
- basic vocabulary taught would be that in common use by Grenadian adults
- gradually, new vocabulary would be introduced
- a key principle of the method would be repetition.<sup>72</sup>

The primer "Let Us Learn Together" was composed of simple sentences and texts that dealt with issues crucial to the Grenadian revolution. Health, education, child nutrition, the international airport, defence, savings, production, the history of the Grenadian people's struggle, national unity and the unity of Caribbean people were the axes around which the common message was articulated: the need to join forces to build together a new, just society.<sup>73</sup> The materials were written in standard English, with the understanding that this represented a second language for the students. In other words, while they were learning to read and write, the adults would also learn to establish an equivalence between their dialect and standard English.

Just as in other revolutionary processes within which national literacy campaigns have been carried out, the Grenadian campaign was based on the principles of bringing the school to the people and depending upon voluntary work by young students, teachers, women and workers. Bishop and other party leaders had studied the experiences of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique and had learned from them "that you do not always need a classroom to develop the consciousness, to raise the educational and qualificational standards of your people, and that it's sufficient if you have a committed people who are teaching them".<sup>74</sup> In the experiences of Cuba and Nicaragua they had learned "the unity of action, the determination to succeed, the revolutionary spirit of voluntary sacrifice".<sup>75</sup>

As in Cuba and Nicaragua, the campaign in Grenada was a revolution within the revolution. A real educational "maroon" that liberated the people's creativity, collective and human values, and set important precedents for future tasks based on popular organisation and participation. Also as in Cuba and Nicaragua, the campaign targeted internal and external enemies of the revolution. Some neighbouring Caribbean countries - countries that eventually called for the North American invasion - unleashed a campaign condemning the "political" nature, the "communist menace" and "Marxist indoctrination" of the literacy campaign. What the reactionary groups could never pardon,

in reality, was Grenada's open reference to Cuba. "I am from Grenada, Carriacou, and Petit Martinique. You are from Martinique. He is from Cuba. She is from Aruba. We are from the Caribbean. We are one people. We are one Caribbean", said one of the texts in the primer. The local and international reactionaries were not mistaken in seeing the campaign as a political act. It definitely was and was meant to be a political act. Learning to read and write, learning about their reality and their Revolution, entailed questioning traditional structures of power and strengthening popular power.

A series of factors combined to present obstacles and setbacks in planning and executing the campaign. The intense work of the young team that led the campaign was unable to make up for the additional support that would have been needed, or for their own inexperience. The linguistic particularity of this revolution made it impossible to adopt or even simply adapt methods tested out through other revolutionary experiences. The mass organisations, many of them started with the triumph of the revolution or just before, hadn't had enough time to consolidate and effectively assume the tasks and responsibilities demanded of them by the campaign. Lacking, too, were mechanisms for control and supervision.<sup>76</sup>

Timetables were planned based upon ideal conditions that turned out to be unrealistic - as continual postponements and setbacks demonstrated. The campaign began two months after the original date projected, closing almost three months after the victorious 18th of December which had been announced as the target in a slogan: "A new man and a new woman by the 18th of December"! The rainy season caused the campaign to be interrupted with resulting costs in mobilisation, motivation, and continuity of students' learning. Finally, the campaign had to be prolonged until March of 1981, and the goal of eradicating illiteracy would be maintained as a permanent task in the following years.

#### **b. Post-literacy training and basic adult education**

Illiteracy was just the most evident manifestation of a wider educational Phenomenon, that of under-education. The surveys conducted by the CPE in 1980 revealed that 30,000 Grenadians, almost a third of the population, had not reached a functional level of literacy. It was estimated that to be able to guarantee a basic education for all adults in the country would take ten years.

With the production of a brief text, "Let Us Continue Reading", post-literacy training was initiated in April 1981. Nevertheless, it wasn't until October of 1982 that the basic adult education programme was able to get started once the texts were designed and the minimum teaching and organisational conditions were secured. That meant a significant interruption in the educational process started by the campaign; it created a climate of uncertainty and dampened students' motivation, on top of their falling behind in their studies. To recover the dynamic spirit of the campaign after more than a year was not easy. That situation, from which the CPE programme was just beginning to emerge in 1983, is what a Central Committee communication referred to as the "disorganisation" of the CPE.

Certainly, part of the problem was poor planning for the integration of literacy with post-literacy training. Didacus Jules, ex-coordinator of the National Technical Commission of the CPE, argued that "in these processes, it's impossible to plan literacy and post-literacy training together. During the literacy training we learn and experiment, given that we start from zero in all areas requiring technical skills".<sup>77</sup> Although the premise of this argument is debatable, it is true that organisational deficiencies in the programme cannot be attributed solely to poor conduct of the government or the party. The decline in popular mobilisation that followed the campaign is a problem common to other revolutions that have launched national literacy campaigns, such as Cuba and Nicaragua.<sup>78</sup> It is difficult to determine whether or not Grenada could have avoided or overcome that setback. Many problems probably could have been avoided with more realistic planning and more systematic direct supervision of the programme. A deeper analysis of other adult education programmes carried out in revolutionary settings might have strengthened the planning

process. In any case, the 72 centres and the 5,000 students associated with the CPE during 1983 - farmers, urban workers, housewives, youth - were an achievement of the revolution and of the CPE programme, given the historical, economic, and social conditions within which the programme was breaking new ground.

In spite of many limitations, the literacy campaign tried to offer optimal teaching conditions, calling repeatedly for volunteer teachers; it fought an untiring war against inertia, superstition and apathy, as well as against the often harsh living conditions of students. Recognising this, Bishop noted: "The average agricultural worker goes to work early in the morning, goes home in the afternoon, does a little back gardening, then maybe heads to the rum shop to play some dominoes or sit down to talk with the partner. To ask such an agricultural worker now to come out twice a week to a night school and for three hours to sit down and go through a formal education course is really asking a lot".<sup>79</sup>

It certainly was asking a lot. Not only because of the time a worker had to devote to study, giving up his rest and his usual routine, but also because of the type of education that was offered. The CPE was effectively "a formal educational course" that, even if directed to linking the contents of education to the concrete life and experience of the adult student, was irretrievably trapped in the paradigm of a formal education: assignments, step-levels of learning, tests and examinations, certificates. All this was expected of the worker in a much shorter period than is normally devoted to school.

Each Tuesday and Thursday, classes were conducted by teachers or volunteers. Based on the programme's development, it was clear by 1983 that the four levels would take at least three years rather than two, as originally planned. Yolande Noel, a member of the CPE team, commented: "Experience has shown us the need to plan additional weeks at the beginning of each semester, until people decide to sign up. In the beginning we expected that people would respond immediately to the call and that they would come right away to the classes. Now we know that the adult takes a lot of time to make that decision".<sup>80</sup>

Errors and successes had taught a lot during those years. By September 1983, when the second semester of the programme was to begin, the young coordinating team had accumulated experience and self-confidence. The CPE had recovered energy as one of the academic watersheds of the "Year of Political and Academic Education", and the target goal had been set for 1984 of 10,000 students. The collapse of the revolution short-circuited that projection. Today the CPE programme and all its centres have been closed. It is known, nevertheless, that the Grenadian people have begun to demand that the new governors continue the CPE programme.

## *2. The National Teachers' Seminar*

The first significant step in the process of democratisation of education in Grenada was the National Teachers' Seminar held in St. George's in January 1980. Convened by the Ministry of Education, it offered teachers from all over the country the opportunity to give and receive information about the educational situation and to propose alternatives. What initially had been designed as an exercise to set criteria for a new school curriculum became an event of national significance. The Seminar established substantial support of the formulation of a new revolutionary educational policy.

The acts of meeting, getting acquainted, sharing and discussing issues that so directly concerned them represented a rupture in Grenadian tradition and in the lives of these teachers. Poorly paid, undervalued, and with scarce opportunities for promotion, the job of the teacher had become in some ways a means of subsistence while one obtained a better job, a means of leaving the country, or in the case of women, a place as a housewife. Of the approximately 1,000 teachers in Grenada in 1979, two-thirds had either no training or a minimum of training. The majority of the 25 teachers who annually graduated from the Teachers' College stopped working as teachers within a



short time. Suffering from both weak (or nonexistent) training and ideological handicaps, being frozen into the role of a “bank of information”, the Grenadian teacher had taught “divorcing his classroom work from physical work, seeing the school as a place solely for the head and not for the hand. And although, very ironically, at home he might work his own garden on a daily basis, at school he would not lift a single chair or turn over one sod of earth, for the school was entirely separate from physical productive work on the land”.<sup>81</sup>

While they regarded themselves as intellectual workers in front of the classroom p teachers had never been validated as such by Grenadian society. Teachers had never been consulted about educational issues on a national level, nor even on the level of their own schools. Thus, to have opinions and to speak out meant a new experience for most of them.

The teachers’ suggestions, ideas, and criticisms made a great deal of sense. Far from the conventionalism that usually characterises educational and curriculum discussions, the Seminar came up with profoundly innovative conclusions for the definition of a new educational policy. Enthusiasm, creativity and common sense grown from daily experience in the classroom replaced the conventional technocratic idiom. The ideas and discussions that took place in the Seminar are compiled in a small book, “Teachers Speak”. As the introduction notes, it constitutes an “historic document” whose contents “must be carefully studied by all who are involved in the process, to ensure that the revolutionary ideas of the teachers of this nation are put into practice in the new curriculum”.<sup>82</sup>

To what extent these ideas were later taken into account by the Curriculum Development Unit that emerged from the Seminar, is difficult to determine. Some of the ideas drew upon their enthusiasm but lacked a global perspective upon the real parameters of the Grenadian process, and would have been objectively impossible to implement, at least in the short term. Others definitely were feasible. The diversity of opinions presented in the Seminar made up a body of proposals that if taken together would in some cases contradict one another in practice. Nevertheless, many of the teachers’ ideas and suggestions shaped some of the policies and programmes adopted later by the revolution.

### Teachers Speak

Some of the more notable reflections and suggestions given in the Seminar were later concretised in the Community School Day Programme:

- “Invite outstanding farmers to come in to the school and talk, with their farming clothes on”
- “Training in woodwork, arts and craft to be provided in school Perhaps some skilled vendors employed to teach”
- “Organise field trips to see road construction”
- “Expose children to seaport activity, field trips”
- “Children taught use of indigenous plant material, e.g. seeds, bamboo, for making toys, ornaments”
- “Give the children a day for selling what they produce and the money to go towards buying seeds, school supplies, for school repairs, or channel produce into own agro-industry project”.

While the teachers met in the Seminar, the students, parents and the whole community got together to repair the schools. Encouraged by that experience, the teachers considered that the schools might help with the repair not only of schools but also of houses and roads. Solutions presented themselves through the active participation of students, teachers and the community as manual labourers; but more interesting were the solutions drawn directly from the school curriculum itself.

Thus, while some suggested that “in the handicraft department of a school children should be taught house-building” and that “the woodwork instructor take a team of boys and go out on weekends or even during their woodwork period doing some repairs to some homes in their

village”, others proposed that “a work-study programme could find scope for the application of skills such as carpentry, woodwork, masonry, joinery, painting. The teaching of these skills in schools will give citizens a certain self-sufficiency in home maintenance”. With regard to the roads, it was suggested that “information on roads could be incorporated into several areas of the curriculum: Social Studies, Mathematics (i.e. costs, measurement, etc.)”. “Children can/should help in road repairs, especially on roads leading to their school. Schools should get into community work. Children can for example collect and sell stones for road repair”. Likewise, it was proposed to “educate children fully about the new international airport: cost, funding, advantages, disadvantages”. “Involve children in the building of the airport via schools’ saving unions, sale of produce from school gardens, sale of school handicraft - money contributed to airport bonds”.

A distinctive trait of the teachers’ diverse proposals was the need to link education with reality, with practice, with the concrete demands of life. In fact there were innumerable suggestions among the teachers’ reflections that were applied later in the work-study projects, e.g.:

- “In the Infant Department: simple experiments, i.e. looking at seeds germinate in a bottle, or giving infants the responsibility of a small kitchen garden”
- “Teach children ways of preparing their own produce, let them eat it”
- “Involve all children in the preparation of food - boys and girls”
- “Children can themselves prepare fruit juices for school breaks”.

In a simple and clear expression, the teachers synthesized one of the fundamental principles of the new education in Grenada: “Different sections of the working people should be used to teach each other, e.g. farmer lecturing to teacher”.

The theory and pedagogical practice of Freire were recreated in the teachers’ proposal for school presses: “Schools should be allowed either to print and circulate a school newspaper, or be allowed to contribute articles for a national unbiased newspaper”.

Communication, participation, and organisation within the school were seen as fundamental supports to school democracy. This would be an embryo from which would be born the democratic values and behaviour of the new society:

- “Education should prepare people for decision-making, should produce a situation where all of us can help shape the policy of our country. For this we also need to be informed”
- “Children should be exposed to democracy in schools. Encourage democratic discussions”
- “Self-expression should be encouraged in children. At the same time educate parents who tend to hush their children up”
- “Children and the community should be aware of all the types of systems, so that they can draw their own conclusions”
- “Develop a school policy. Show pupils how the policy of the school can be related to the communities and then the world”
- “Give children information on and contacts with children of other Third World countries”
- “Children (should) be permitted and encouraged to set their own standards. Children should make class rules”.

Agriculture, agroindustry, fishing and tourism, principal supports of the Grenadian economy, were to be at the centre of the school curriculum. Children were to be introduced to them from infancy up to the University, boys and girls alike:

- “More space on time-table for agriculture, not just a Friday afternoon subject”
- “Tourism to be included under Social Studies”
- “Develop positive attitudes to tourists: see tourist as a person just like oneself, not a ‘whiteman’, a millionaire, a money machine”
- “Tourists should be invited to visit schools whenever practicable”
- “Teach children a little about the tourist’s country, give them an idea of their language and geography”.

In regard to fishing, it was agreed that teachers as well as students should learn more. “Children in the fishing areas should be engaged in actual fishing and marketing fish”. Some went even further, suggesting the need to “teach children boat-building theory”. Of the practical and productive activities to be developed in the schools, raising animals was, with agriculture and crafts, among the most important. “Make students aware of the vast amounts spent on imported meats and the dire need for development or our own livestock industry in order to boost the economy”. “Involve children in livestock rearing: infants could rear chickens; juniors sheep, goats; seniors, cows”.

The teachers expressed a need, both for their students and themselves, to be informed about Grenada’s foreign and economic policies, in order to participate actively in national life. The teachers’ proposals summed up a wide variety of themes: “foreign trade, Grenada’s imports and exports; foreign aid and all its implications; non-alignment, imperialism, sovereignty, IMF, New International Economic Order, reasons for our alliances and associations, criteria for choice. Effects on our economy, how it affects our lives ... The diversity of the issues to be explained to the children could appear earnest to the point of absurdity: however, if one considers the quality of truly irrelevant issues that children are normally forced to learn in school, a proposal like this is anything but absurd.

Democratic education required government responsibility to the schools, the teachers, and the students:

- “Different ministers or their staff could visit schools and address students on their policies”
- “The Ministries should provide schools with all their plans and statistics”
- “Ministry of Education should get newspapers and other literature from progressive countries to supply to teachers”
- “Teachers should have free access to the Government Gazette”
- “Finance officials should hold workshops with teachers”
- “Newsletter on foreign Policy for distribution to schools”
- “A booklet consisting of definitions, terms and abbreviations relevant to foreign policy should be made available to teachers for the benefit of teachers and pupils”
- “A weekly half-hour radio programme on Grenada’s foreign policy”.

Faced with the depth of these reflections and suggestions, the teachers recognised that their own lack of training was a major obstacle to their practice. “Teachers need to prepare themselves before implementing this” was one of the clear conclusions of the Seminar. “Teachers should try to remove the shackles of colonialism from themselves before they try to help the children in that exercise”.

Some of the teachers’ proposals were directly attended to, in isolation or together. To their requests for better teacher training they found a response in NISTEP, initiated nine months later as a direct result of the urgent need for training and professionalisation identified by the teachers in the Seminar. By 1983, 350 teachers were attending NISTEP and three centres had been created: one in St. George’s, one in Carriacou and another in Petit Martinique. One day a week during the school year, in addition to the vacations, they enjoyed an integrated plan for studies including Language, Education, Mathematics, Agricultural Sciences, Social Sciences, and Health Education, under the supervision of tutors and other qualified teachers.<sup>83</sup>

After the US invasion NISTEP was closed and internationalists working there were expelled from Grenada.

### *3. The Discussion of the People’s Budget*

1982 was declared “Year of Economic Construction”. The term “construction” and not “re-construction” was expressly chosen, as the revolutionary leaders indicated, because “to re-construct, something would have had to be there in the first place”.<sup>84</sup> As part of the new drive to reduce

unemployment and to raise productivity, 1982 opened with an event integral to the development of popular participation and education within the Grenadian revolution: the Budget discussion.

Bernard Coard, as Minister of Finance, presented the budget on March 9th in St. George's National Convention Centre. The audience was composed of almost a thousand delegates from mass organisations, the Army and Militias, teachers, students, technicians, and workers from all over the country. This moment represented the synthesis of an intensive effort initiated almost three months earlier with the First Conference of Delegates of Mass Organisations on the Economy. That conference had been followed by a national discussion involving all organised and social sectors of the country: unions, Parish and Zonal Workers' Councils, mass organisations, state workers and representatives of the private sector.

So that none would feel left out of this process, a few days before the presentation of the Budget a second conference on the economy was held, "giving a special invitation to anyone who thought they had not yet aired their views or suggestions, all those Grenadians who are not yet members of our mass organisations, including senior citizens, the self-employed and those working for small enterprises".<sup>85</sup> Immediately afterwards, representatives and administrators of the state enterprises held an intensive workshop analysing and systematising the information gathered from the base groups and offering their own proposals.

At the end of 1981, when the government announced that it would hold public discussions on the Budget and the Economic Plan for 1982, few were sure about what that proposal involved, or even what "the budget" and "the economy" were. Grenadians were accustomed to identifying the Budget with an annual ritual imposed upon them but with important effects on their lives: "When the people used to hear 'Budget time coming', their attitude was only one of speculation, to guess whether it would bring any slight benefits to them or to dread the kind of new oppressive measures that might come. They never understood where funds came from; they thought it was the government that produced the money! They didn't understand about production and how production comes. They were also sunk in a concept of 'aid', that the country's economy came about through aid, not production".<sup>86</sup>

This situation - recognisable amongst many countries beyond Grenada's borders - began to change during the discussion of the national budget. In the eloquent testimony of a 56 year old member of the Agricultural and General Workers' Union, an active participant in the budget process: "Nowadays the agricultural worker doesn't bow he head, he proud! Then it was like agriculture wasn't there at all and we was seen as nobody. Now they saying that without agricultural worker you all can't live! That we is the builders of this country!"<sup>87</sup>

In the First Conference on the Economy, Coard had initiated what would be a fertile process for the people's economic education. In his opening speech, he carefully explained the document that contained the fundamental aspects of the Budget and Economic Plan for 1982. While he explained the tables of prices, salaries, investments, imports and exports, current government expenses and income, he gave, examples and illustrations of those concepts. "Social Wage" was a key term in the discussions, a concept fundamental to understanding in economic terms the benefits and achievements of the revolution in education, health, transportation, housing, etc.

25 popular assemblies and 78 workshops took place during that month in the Parish and Zonal Councils on the three islands of Grenada. One or more functionaries from the various Ministries were present at each meeting, orienting the study of the document, explaining concepts, clearing up doubts, responding to questions. In view of the massive response to these meetings, it was decided to divide each Council into smaller groups, in some cases conserving the heterogeneity of the distinct sectors represented there: a group of farmers, one of women, another of youth. etc. This division into groups offered conditions for people's more comfortable spontaneous participation, breaking though their fears of public speaking and breaking down the elitism that tends to characterize big 'assemblies'.

The people's response was massive, enthusiastic, critical and creative. There was not only a lively interest in airing and discussing their own economic problems, but also a desire to comprehend and lend their support to the economic policy of the country. "The process clearly surprised many of the technicians, and made some of them realise that the people are not so daft as they thought they were!"<sup>88</sup> The Accountant General of the Ministry of Finance commented on the sharpness and rapidity with which people began to find errors and contradictions in the economic document itself. "We had to admit error and criticise ourselves, as well as correct some of the figures. So the people were clearly alert and that was also a message to us to take greater time and pains with producing the data next year".<sup>89</sup>

### **The people speak out about economic policy**

The homogeneity of goals, problems proposals and criticisms that resulted from these discussions throughout the country was noted by Coard when he presented the final budget. That, said Coard, testified to both the "central unity" of the Grenadian people, and to the existence of generalised problems viewed by all as fundamental. Among the problems/solutions that the people had pointed out were:

- to combat corruption and waste (above all of paper, electricity and gasoline) in the government, along with the abuse and mistreatment of state vehicles. Negligence and inefficiency of some authorities were also constantly mentioned in the sessions
- to reduce imports drastically and expand domestic production of food and drink. Concrete suggestions were to replace carbonated drinks with local fruit drinks; pastas and Irish potatoes with breadfruit and sweet potatoes; imported sardines with local fish, etc. They also proposed the development of an intense educational campaign through the mass organisations on the need for a "local mentality" in food production and consumption
- guarantee locally produced animal feed. It was suggested that a mixture of waste products from fish and banana could serve as nutritional compound for cattle
- start local manufacturing industries, in order to reduce imports - concrete suggestions were to create a soap industry and a shoe factory, along with a recycling plant for bottles, cans, and paper, in order to produce locally packaging materials for agroindustrial products
- take advantage of fallow lands, encouraging unemployed youth, soldiers and prisoners to cultivate them
- repair highways and roads in the interior, since their state of disrepair was a great obstacle to agricultural development. It was suggested that the Army could play an important role in this task
- enlarge cooperative organisation through NACDA (National Cooperative Development Agency, created in 1981), and train farmers in cooperative organisation and in scientific methods of production
- create production and emulation committees in each work centre and strengthen the workers' participation in the evaluation of production increases
- increase taxes on liquor, cigarettes, and luxury goods. (In this regard Coard commented: "I say it is remarkable, for in the old days and in the European countries too, many people amongst the masses were interested in a Budget presentation only to see whether the dreadest news of all had taken place namely a few cents put on a bottle of rum and a packet of cigarettes")<sup>90</sup>
- improve and firm up the tax collection system after reducing taxes even more for the lowest income workers. It was suggested that the churches also should pay taxes.
- reorganise the business hours of banks and businesses so that workers would not have to lose work-time to take care of transactions, make purchases, etc.
- create more daycare centres in which working mothers could leave small children during the workday and thus contribute to the nation's economy

- include regular agricultural and craft activities in the school curriculum s in order to contribute to greater self-sufficiency.
- strengthen mass organisations (whose members, it was suggested, should work without pay) and their role in the fight against waste and corruption in the work centres, as well as in the reduction of unemployment and in the political education of the people
- search for new markets and better terms of trade for traditional export products
- encourage national tourism as well as international, so that Grenadian workers would come to know their own country
- organise more conferences and meetings on the economy, unemployment, the Budget, etc., and regularly diffuse information about the national economy through the media, mass organisations, the Councils, etc.

These and the other ideas suggested by the people were incorporated into the final document of the Budget and the Economic Plan for 1982; but what is more important, many of them were put into practice. The Masses' demand for continuous information and education about the national economy was responded to by the media, while more conferences, meetings and similar discussions were held. Three months after the final discussion of the 1982 Budget, the Conference on Unemployment was held, with delegates participating again from mass organisations all over the country.<sup>91</sup> The following year, in February of 1983, the budget process was repeated for the Budget and the Plan for 1983. "This year", said Coard in the presentation, "We are going to be called upon to make a far deeper analysis of our economy than we did last year. And so, logically, you are being given more and better information and explanation on the economy. Note the size of your document this year!"<sup>92</sup>

### **Discussion of the Budget as a pedagogical process**

Discussion of the "People's Budget", as it would be known by the Grenadians, was one of the events that most forcefully and clearly synthesised popular organisation, participation, and education. Moreover, it was charged with the unity of revolution and democracy, government and people, economics and politics, officials and masses, intellectual work and manual work. The "People's Budget" was an eminently pedagogical process. At each point, what was at stake was not blind information and discussion as an empty exercise in "democracy". Instead the people comprehended and critically analysed the economy, the economic policy of their country, and even the discussion process itself.

In 1983, just as in 1982, the Grenadian government assumed that to educate the people with economic information was a requirement for their conscious and critical participation in the Budget discussion. Concepts fundamental to the economy, normally monopolised by economists, were explained with the help of tables, graphs, and statistics. but above all with examples drawn from people's daily experiences. "We tried to explain Gross Domestic Product, for example, by saying that when a farmer adds up the value of everything that he produces, that would be his personal Gross Domestic Product ... We used examples from the people's daily lives to express economic ideas, like the planting and reaping of corn. If we were meeting in a banana area like Birchgrove we would refer specifically to bananas, but if we're in the southern sugar belt, we'd refer to sugar production".<sup>93</sup> The decision to call 1982 the "Year of Economic Construction" (and not reconstruction) provided a context for an in depth exercise in reflection and analysis within the Councils.

Beyond its educational functions, there were other objective reasons for analysing the Budget in relation to the people's experience. If the terminology seemed strange, the reality of the Budget itself definitely was not. "Really", one farmer offered, "budget is how you live. You has a responsibility to work and save what you could and care for your wife and family with the money you earning".<sup>94</sup> In other words, the State Budget was no more than a larger version of the family budget with which the worker battles daily for survival. Undoubtedly, people who participated emerged stronger. A

farmer commented with pride: "Plenty people used to say that the smaller agricultural people didn't know anything. But according to how we speaking after the session at the Dome, they were saying they got plenty knowledge from it and no other government give them that. They who have intelligence to know, now they know!"<sup>96</sup>

The bureaucracy also learned from this experience. Leaving their desks after their daily work, officials were obliged to go around the country to learn from "up close" the concerns of the workers participating in the Parish and Zonal Councils. In that sense, the discussion of the Budget represented an important moment in the re-education of the bureaucracy, breaking down barriers between elite planners and the masses. "Certainly, the technicians learned from the people", one of them said, "because the people are facing the realities of everyday life and living the budget even more than the technicians. The people are involved in constructing the economy and they spill the sweat that builds the country".<sup>97</sup>

This process had, then, multiple effects upon the people and the government of Grenada. It created an open forum in which people could directly express their daily problems t their accusations, criticisms, and concrete proposals. It resulted in a collective process of producing knowledge and demystifying "the economy" and its jargon. It contributed to dialogue between bureaucrats and people, thus attacking state bureaucracy at its roots. Finally, it notably strengthened the masses' economic awareness by inviting their judicious participation in the economic construction of the country. As never before, people garnered the strength to raise productivity, combat corruption and waste, and join local voluntary work teams.

Like all of the programmes in revolutionary Grenada, the "People's Budget" had important repercussions in the rest of the Caribbean. The process awakened interest, expectations, and of course, criticism among neighbouring governments and peoples. They interpreted the "People's Budget" as either a threat or an example. Ministers from other English-speaking Caribbean countries privately expressed their interest in the organisation, mechanisms and results of the process, and several delegations visited Grenada to see and participate more closely in it.

Evidently, the US administration had good reason to see in the Grenadian revolution a 'virus' and an obstacle to its plan for the Caribbean. The Caribbean Basin Initiative based its philosophy of development on private North American investment and free commerce, a philosophy which depends upon a necessary counterpart of isolated and alienated people governed by the local bourgeoisie. Grenada represented another strategy: a people conscious of their own economy p increasingly capable of managing their own process of development, internalising decisions and protecting their own material base.

## Notes

1. The present work is part of a comparative study of popular adult educational experiences that have occurred in the context of revolutionary transitions in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada. This research project is carried out by the Regional Coordinator of Economic and Social Research (CRIES) in Managua. Field work was carried out in Grenada in May 1983.

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2. Regarding internal divisions in the Party, see: Sunshine, Cathy and Wheaton, Philip, *Death of a Revolution: an analysis of the Grenada tragedy and the US invasion* EPICA Task Force, Washington D.C., November 1983; Clark, Steve, 'Grenada's Workers' and Farmers' Government: its achievements and its overthrow' in *Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution 1979-1983* Pathfinder Press, New York, 1983; *Grenada: el mundo contra el crimen*. Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, La Habana, 1983; *Covert Action*, Information Bulletin No. 20, Washington, 1984.
3. *Forward Ever! Three ears of the Grenadian Revolution: Speeches of Maurice Bishop* Pathfinder Press, Sydney, 1982, p. 146.

4. *ibid*, p.37.
5. *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, p.302.
6. Grenada is divided into seven parishes and each of these is divided in zones.
7. *Free West Indian*, Special New Year Supplement, '1983 Declared Year of Political and Academic Education', p.8.
8. See: The American Friends Service Committee *Grenada and the Eastern Caribbean: A Report of a delegation visit between December 27, 1983 and January 9, 1984 Latin American Programs, Philadelphia, 1984*; Clark, Steve, *op.cit.*
9. *Forward Ever!* p.115.
10. In 1978, the annual investment of capital was 8 million EC dollars; for 1982, investment approached 100 million EC dollars, the majority destined for - construction. See World Bank, *Economic Memorandum on Grenada*, August 1982.
11. *Free West Indian op.cit.*, p.7.
12. Recent interviews report that unemployment today lies between 33% and 45%.
13. When it was created in 1977, NWO had 120 members. A year after the revolution it had grown to 400 members, and by 1982, to 7,000. For more information about women in Grenada, see: Hodge, Merle and Searle, Chris *Is Freedom We Making: The new democracy in Grenada* Coles Printery Ltd., Widley, Barbados, 1982; Reddock, Rhoda, 'Women's Movements and Organisations in the process of Revolutionary Transformation: the case of Grenada', presented in the seminar *The State and the New Social Movements in Latin America* CEOLA, Amsterdam, October 1983.
14. Two hurricanes, two floods, and a strong wind current that destroyed half of the banana plantations, as well as the mysterious fire that reduced the largest and best hotel on the island to ashes.
15. 2.1% in 1979; 3.0% in 1980; 3.0% in 1981; 5.5% in 1982. See: People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada *Report on the National Economy for 1982 and the Budget-Plan for 1983 and Beyond*, presented to the National Conference of Delegates of Mass Organizations on the Economy, St. George's, February 24, 1983.
16. World Bank, *op.cit.* P.18.
17. *ibid.* p.iv.
18. *Is Freedom We Making* p.52.
19. *ibid.* pp.15-16.
20. *Forward Ever!* p.86.
21. *ibid.* p.37.
22. In September of 1979, the newspaper *Torchlight* was closed due to a series of publications urging the Rastafari movement to fight the revolution, charging it with terror, repression, and negation of their rights. This measure sparked a violent counter-revolutionary campaign in the United States as well as in other Caribbean nations, through the *Guardian* and the *Express of Trinidad*, the *Beacon of Barbados*, the *Gleaner of Jamaica*, and others.
23. For a historical approach to pre-revolutionary *Grenada*, see: Luna, Jurge *Grenada: la Nueva Joya del Caribe* Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, La Habana, 1982; EPICA Task Force *Grenada: The Peaceful Revolution* Washington DC, 1982; Hutchinson, Arnaldo 'The long road to freedom', in: *Forward Ever!* pp. 57-74.
24. The "Mongoose Gang" was the name given by the Grenadian people to a frightening para-police body that Gairy created in 1967 and which, in the final decade of the dictatorship, carried out assassinations, repression, torture, and 'disappearances'.
25. Ministry of Education *Teachers Speak on Education for National Development* Workshop Reports, National Teachers' Seminar, St. George's, 1980.
26. *Is Freedom We Making* p.49.



27. *Forward Ever!* P.32.
28. "Statement from the Central Committee ...," October 16, 1983.
29. Sunshine, Cathy and Wheaton, Philip op.cit. pp.6-7.
30. The important differences in Bishop's and Coard's public images were rooted in these 1973 events. Bishop, who had been beaten and tortured, was known as the committed leader that had sacrificed for the people; Coard, a University professor, was away from Grenada at that time. His image was that of a "cold" intellectual who hadn't been involved in the struggle from its beginnings. see: 'la destrucción de una Revolución,' interview with Don Rojas, ex-press secretary of Maurice Bishop, in *Perspectiva Mundial* Vol. 8, no.2, February 1984.
31. In 1976, together with the Grenada National Party (GNP) and the United People's Party (UPP), the New Jewel Movement participated in the elections, winning 48.5% of the votes in spite of Gairy's fraudulent manipulations. After that, Maurice Bishop came to be the Parliamentary opposition leader.
32. Percy, Lim, Introduction to *Forward Ever!* op.cit. p.19.
33. See: Hutchinson, Arnaldo op.cit.
34. *Forward Ever!* p.88. It has been calculated that 500,00 Grenadians - five times the population inhabiting Grenada - live outside of the country.
35. *Grenada is not alone*. Speeches by the People's Revolutionary Government at the First International Conference in Solidarity with Grenada, No. 1981, Fedon Publishers, Coles Printery, Barbados, 1982 g p. 11
36. *Forward Ever!* p.23.
37. Free West Indian op. cit., p.8.
38. *Grenada is not alone* p.49.
39. Bishop, Maurice and Searle, Chris *Grenada: Education is a Must*, Education Committee of the British-Grenadian Friendship Society, London, 1981, p.28.
40. *Is freedom We Making* p.22.
41. In Cuba the illiteracy level was 23.6% and in Nicaragua 50.3%. In Grenada it is estimated to be between 5% and 7%.
42. People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada *Report on the National Economy for 1982 and the Budget-Plan for 1983 and Beyond* p.73.
43. *Maurice Bishop Speaks* p.276.
44. *Grenada is not alone* p.54
45. See: Baudelot, Ch. and Establet, R. *La escuela capitalista Siglo XXI*. Mexico, 1978; Biasutto, Carlos *Educación y clase obrera* Editorial Nueva Imagen, Mexico, 1978; Broccoli, Angelo *Antonio Gramsci y la educación como hegemonía* Editorial Nueva Imagen, Mexico, 1977.
46. See: Santoni Rug1u, Antonio: Utopía educativa y división del trabajo, in Biasutto, Carlos op.cit. pp.79-100.
47. Samek Ludovici, Emilio, 'Derecho de los trabajadores al estudio, organización del trabajo e insititución escolar, in Biasutto, Carlos op.cit. pp.101-116.
48. *Forward Ever!* p.146.
49. *ibid.* p.119.
50. An example of that creativity that quickly became classic in Grenada, often cited by Bishop and included in a textbook in the schools and in CPE, was the invention by a poor agricultural worker of a beetle trap to catch one of the principal pests that strike the cocoa plantations, and traditionally fought with expensive insecticides. The inventor, Norris Edwards, was declared "worker of the year" in 1980 and his invention diffused widely among farmers.
51. Bishop, Maurice and Searle, Chris op.cit. p.28.

52. Minister of Education *Education is Production, Too!* St. George's, 1981, p.8.
53. *ibid.* p.8.
54. Interview with Sharon Fletcher, Community School Day Programme (CSDP), St. George's, May 1983.
55. Interview with the staff of CSDP, St. George's, May 1983.
56. See: Carnoy, Martin *La educación como imperialismo cultural*, Siglo XXI, México, 1980; Apple, Michael W. ed. *Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education: Essays on Class, Ideology and the State* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982.
57. See: Cabral, Amílcar, *PAIGO, Undade e luta*, Publicaciones Nov Aurora, Lisboa, 1974.
58. *Forward Ever!* p.222.
59. In Luna, Jorge *op.cit.* p.44.
60. See: Searle, Chris *Words Unchained: Language and Revolution in Grenada* Zed Press Ltd., London, 1984.
61. Interview with James Wilson, Grenadian volunteer participant in the National Literacy Crusade on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, p. 8 (mimeo).
62. Reddock, Rhoda *op.cit.* p.43.
63. *To Construct from Morning: Making the People's Budget in Grenada* Fedon Publishers, Coles Printery, Barbados, 1982, p.55.
64. *Maurice Bishop Speaks* p.88.
65. *ibid.* p.270.
66. *Forward Ever!* p.114.
67. Interview with James Wilson, pp.3-5.
68. 'Impressive feat for Young Reva', Grenada's first internationalist in Nicaragua, *Free West Indian 'CPE Special'*, February 28, 1981, p.13.
69. Interview with Jacqueline Creft, Minister of Education, St. George's, May 1983.
70. Interview with Adrian Lewis, CPE student, St. George's, May, 1983
71. Interview with Didacus Jules, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Education and ex-coordinator of the Technical Commission of the Centre for Popular Education, St. George's, May 1983.
72. Interview with Valerie Cornwall, ex-coordinator of the Centre for Popular Education and of the Literacy Campaign, Havana, April 1983a
73. Center for Popular Education *Let Us learn Together* 1980. This literacy training primer complemented a literacy teacher's Manual, *Forward Ever!*
74. *Maurice Bishop Speaks* p.45.
75. *CPE: Each One Teach One* First Congress of the Adult literacy Campaign, October 18-19, 1980, Congress Documents, p.7.
76. Interview with Didacus Jules, St. George's, May 1983.
77. *ibid.*
78. See for example: Ferrer Pérex, Raul *Educación de adultos en Cuba* Ministry of Education, Vice-Ministry of Adult Education, Havana, 1976; Torres, Rose María *De Alfabetizando a maestro popular: la post-alfabetización en Nicaragua* Cuadernos de Pensamiento Propio, INIES-CRIES, Managua, April 1983, and *Nueve tesis sobre la alfabetización alternativa* Cuadernos Pedagógicos 3-4 Fundación Fernando Velasco, Quito, May, 1983
79. *Maurice Bishop Speaks* p.296.
80. Interview with Yolande Noel, CEP, St. George's, May 1983.
81. *Education is Production, too!* p.130

82. Ministry of Education, *Teachers Speak on Education for National Development Workshop Reports, National Teachers' Seminar, St. George's, January 1980*. Succeeding texts appearing in quotes are extracted literally from the commentaries made by teachers in the Seminar.
83. Interview with Merle Hodge, NISTEP, St. George's May 1983.
84. *To construct from morning* p.16.
85. *ibid.* pp.9-10.
86. *ibido* pp.82-83.
87. *ibid.* pp.70-71.
88. *ibido* p.83.
89. *ibid.* p.57.
90. *ibid.* p.109.
91. See: Britain-Grenada Friendship Society-LIBERATION *Grenada: Fight Unemployment with Production!* Speech by Prime Minister of Grenada to Conference on Unemployment (June 28, 1982), Black Rose Press, London, 1983.
92. *Report on the National Economy for 1982 and the Budget-Plan for 1983 and Beyond*, presented to the National Conference of Delegates of Mass Organisation, St. George's February 24, 1983, p. 1.
93. *To construct from morning* p.57.
94. *ibid.* p.69.
95. *Ibid.* p.70.
96. *ibid.* p.68.
97. *ibid.* p.73.