

The Case for a Belizean Pan-Africanism

by

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Abstract

This essay is an analysis of Pan-Africanism in the Central American country of Belize. One of the many significant products of W.E.B. DuBois's now famous utterance that "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line" has been the unending commitment to document the reality of the color line throughout the various regions of the African Diaspora. Thus, nearly a century after his speech at the First Pan-African Congress, this effort has produced a corpus of works on Pan-Africanism that capture the global dimensions of the Pan-African Movement. However, the literature on Pan-Africanism since has been and remains fixed on the Caribbean Islands, North America and most certainly Africa. This tendency is justifiable given the famous contributions of the many Pan-African freedom fighters and the formations hailing from these regions. But this has been at a cost. There remains significant portions of the African Diaspora whose place in and contributions to the advancement of Pan-Africanism has been glossed over or fully neglected. The subject of this paper is to introduce Belize as one of the neglected yet prolific fronts in the Pan-African phenomenon. Thus this essay utilizes a Pan-African nationalist theoretical framework that captures the place of Belize in the African Diaspora, with an emphasis on 1) identifying elements of Pan-Africanism based on a redefinition of the concept and 2) applying them in a way that illustrates the Pan-African tradition in Belize.

I am pleased to be once more with you in the Academy of Music, I am pleased always to be in Philadelphia, but I do not want you to become too bigoted in your strength because there are dozens of branches of the U.N.I.A. that are twice as strong numerically as you are. I have also a cable in my hand which came to me last night while I was presiding over the meeting at Liberty Hall, from one of the Central American countries – British Honduras. Those of you who have been reading the Negro World will remember that about six months ago the government of British Honduras, through its legislature, voted to suppress the Negro World to prevent it from entering into British Honduras, where it had a circulation of 500 copies weekly. We had not yet organized a branch of the U.N.I.A., but the moment that the government closed down the Negro World the Negro people in British Honduras – in the city of Belize – organized a branch of the U.N.I.A.

Marcus Garvey
April 29, 1920

During the heydays of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the 1920s, Marcus Garvey, venerated by many as the sage of twentieth-century Pan-Africanism, was clear in his praise for the strides the UNIA chapter in Belize was making.¹ From Garvey's perspective, the chapter in Belize deserved special recognition for its relatively high levels of organization and effective leadership. Such special acclaim for Belize was not insignificant given the fact that at its peak in the 1920s the UNIA could count over 1000 branches worldwide. The work of the UNIA chapter in Belize was such that Garvey, with his sights ceaselessly set on strengthening the central base of the organization, wasted little time drafting the Belizean UNIA leadership to work in the main chapter in Harlem with the hopes of expanding the capacity and reach of the movement internationally. Ironically, this recognition given to Belize by the leader of the largest Pan-African organization in history has been absent in the broader literature on Pan-Africanism. Consequently, and given the scant reference to Belize in Pan-Africanist literature, a tempting conclusion might be that those efforts in Belize did not produce a great deal in terms of the Pan-African tradition and movement. To the contrary, the African-Belizean experience is ripe with Pan-African activity that has been celebrated in other regions of the African Diaspora. Moreover, Belize's contribution to the Pan-African vision of unity, self-determination and empowerment throughout the African Diaspora transcended the Garvey Movement as it was consistently reproduced in other eras, settings and contexts. The eminent Trinidadian historian, Tony Martin, in his major work on Marcus Garvey and the Pan-African movement, gives broad accounts of the encounters between the Garvey Movement and Belize in the early 20th century.² Martin, however, focuses mainly on illustrating Garvey's impact throughout the Caribbean, with particular emphasis on Trinidad. But his inclusion of Belize in the international scope of the UNIA is an exception. Otherwise, in most cases, Belize is at best a glancing reference included in other Pan-African accounts or at worse, altogether absent. This is particularly evident in works on the movement in Central and South America.

The omission of venues like Belize reveals a fault line in Pan-African discourse given, at the very least, the important place and role Africans throughout the Americas have occupied in the history of Pan-Africanism. Surely the contributions of African struggles in Diaspora locales like Brazil, Haiti and Trinidad, as Martin reminds us, have always commanded a special place in the Pan-African mosaic. From historical, geographical and political perspectives, I argue below that Belize belongs in the same mold. Admittedly, the intent here is neither a comprehensive recounting of African-Belizean history nor an in-depth analysis of Pan-Africanism historiography. Indeed, the points offered here will not be radically different from what has already been said in the chapters of Belizean history. Likewise, those accustomed to Pan-Africanist discourse will already be familiar with the expressions of African Diaspora politics we will explore in the Belizean setting. Instead, the objective of this essay is to recast the African-Belizean experience within the context of Pan-African historiography and, in the process, make the case for a Belizean Pan-Africanism.

Contextualizing Belizean Pan-Africanism

The argument for a Belizean Pan-Africanism is not limited to Belize, but involves reflection on Pan-Africanism itself. By and large, recent works on Pan-Africanism have been late in exploring Pan-Africanists elements in less obvious places like Belize and, therefore, the extent to which they lend significant meaning to our understanding of the phenomenon. Consequently, we might begin to address this by raising the obvious question: If the Garvey movement, one of the preeminent symbols of Pan-Africanism, took root and flourished in Belize, and if it did so by, as with other examples in Belize, structuring itself upon those fundamental elements of Pan-Africanism that were and still are intrinsically woven into the fabric of Belizean society, how do we resolve the absence of Belize from Pan-African historiography? At a closer glance, this contradiction is a by-product of the contemporary challenges facing Pan-Africanism itself.

Pan-Africanism emerged as one of the earliest political and cultural instruments devised by people of African descent to collectively resist systematic racial domination, confront economic exploitation, and to construct alternatives to those realities. Throughout its historical development, Pan-Africanists scholars have been eloquent in both exposing the injustices confronting the African world and in articulating the collective responses to eradicate them. W.E.B. DuBois was perhaps the embodiment of this. DuBois's declaration in his famous "To the Nations of the World" address at the Pan-African Conference in July of 1900 that "The problem of the twentieth century" would be "the problem of the color-line" proved prophetic, as the twentieth century became an incubator for, among other global injustices, the maturation of colonialism in Africa.³ Aside from accurately predicting the prevailing race climate of the twentieth century, DuBois was also articulating the critical task, or problem, confronting twentieth-century Pan-Africanism. His own leadership of the Pan-African Congresses from 1900 to 1945 signaled the arrival of what was then a new era of intellectual exploration into the various ways in which peoples of the African Diaspora collectively resisted global systems of repression and exploitation that were products of this color line.

By the end of the twentieth century, continental Africans as well as African people in the Diaspora were immersed in struggles to dismantle colonial structures in Africa and the analogous systems of racial domination afflicting African communities globally. In a similar way, a new era of Pan-Africanism must now raise its own question: What will be “the problem” of the twenty-first century? Answering this question alone is a massive effort that new research must explore. For now, however, I contend that among these new challenges, two of the most significant includes, first, a critical reflection on the assumptions about Pan-Africanism that belong to previous generations in a way that; and second, allows us to expand the geographical scope of the movement. Using Belize as a model, what follows pursues both as I make the case for a Belizean Pan-Africanism by utilizing an alternative theoretical approach for identifying the politics of Pan-Africanism in Belize, and by conceptualizing Belize as an under-explored location in the African Diaspora.

Belize in the Pan-African Nationalist Framework

As often the case in efforts like this, there are subsequent assumptions that require additional clarity: First, properly illustrating Belizean Pan-Africanism involves the task of reconceptualizing Pan-Africanism itself. Theoretical limitations that have long dominated the literature on Pan-Africanism bear some responsibility for the exclusion of erstwhile contributions throughout the African world. Specifically, I am concern here with the degree to which traditional conceptions about Pan-Africanism shape the aspects of the Pan-African movement we typically recognize, as well as those that we have failed to observe. As we shall see in the case of Belize, the absence of Belize demonstrates both the shortcomings of these traditional approaches and the need for a paradigm shift in the way we must now re-conceptualize its manifestations. This begs a third question: how will employing an alternative approach to Pan-Africanism allow us to uncover long-neglected elements of the Pan-African experience? It is in this regard that I offer *Pan-African nationalism* as an alternative theoretical framework for properly locating Belize in the Pan-African movement.⁴

As a set of statements, Pan-African nationalism first takes for granted the idea that grasping the nature of Pan-Africanism hinges on the politicized expressions of African historical and cultural identity in collective efforts toward group empowerment. Second, it places emphasis on those efforts that seeks to empower African people both in local communities and globally. From there, it assumes that, in concrete terms, contemporary Pan-Africanism resides with and among in the transnational, linkages between principally *nationalist* formations (communities, groups, organizations, movements) based on those notions of shared group identity across the Diaspora. Defined this way, Pan-Africanism is a fusing of affirmations of African identity with liberatory efforts at the level of the masses. It functions simultaneously in the various centers of the African world in ways that are not limited to states or only formal unity politics among Black people in those states. When viewed from the perspectives of the relevant periods of Belizean Pan-Africanism outlined in the following section, it will be possible to identify increasing expressions of Pan-African nationalism in Belize.

Belizean Pan-Africanism & the African Diaspora

In terms of the political geography of Pan-Africanism, I would suggest that the case for a Belizean Pan-Africanism must begin by seating Belize squarely in the framework of the politics of the African Diaspora. In other words, communities of African descent in Belize appear as what Pan-Africanist scholar and activist Walter Rodney called “points of struggle” that exist throughout the African Diaspora. As such, evidence of Belizean contributions to Pan-Africanism are viewed through the framework of concepts that define, give life to and ultimately sustain the political realities that span the African Diaspora. I will say more about these key concepts momentarily. But what is the basis for linking this case for Pan-Africanism in Belize to the African Diaspora concept in the first place? At the macro level, Pan-Africanism must remain linked to the notion of an African Diaspora so long as the lived expressions of African historical and cultural identity among those of African descent lend themselves to concrete efforts at political and economic empowerment throughout the African Diaspora. This is because a reciprocal relationship has evolved where the existence of an African Diaspora provides the geographical map and the global arena for those collective political efforts of African people that are, in turn, the fundamental elements of Pan-Africanism. Therefore, Belize’s emergence in the Pan-African movement occurs at that point where the concepts of an African Diaspora and Pan-Africanism intersect.

In terms of conceptualizing Belize’s relevance to a broader African Diaspora, Ronald Walters posits two key questions: “What forces drive African-origin peoples to continue identifying with the source of their cultural origin? And how do these forces affect the quality of relationship both among Africans in the Diaspora and between them and Africans on the continent?”⁵ Relying on Ruth Simms Hamilton’s celebrated essay, I contend that the most prominent forces to be those of *dispersal*, *oppression* and *resistance*.⁶ Such forces are useful indicators of just where one might look to trace the evidence of Pan-Africanism in Belize. Accordingly, the concepts are applied as a means of mapping the significant period that define the Pan-African experience in Belize:

- *Enslavement & Nascent Pan-Africanism in Belize*
- *Marcus Garvey & the Maturation of Belizean Pan-Africanism*
- *UBAD & Belizean Pan-African Nationalism*

Using Hamilton’s concepts as a framework, our examination into three important chapters of Belizean history becomes more than a mere listing of Pan-African-like activities. More importantly, they provide insights for uniquely defining Belizean Pan-Africanism. All three are represented throughout the country’s history and, by way of definition, illustrate what I (re)introduce below as the critical components of a Pan-African movement in Belize.

Enslavement & Nascent Pan-Africanism in Belize: The 18th & 19th Centuries

What can the dynamics of enslavement in Belize tell us about the emergence of Pan-Africanism therein? Enslavement was one of the most significant factors in the forging of the African Diaspora and the Pan-Africanist activities that would emerge therein. Accordingly, the nexus between enslavement and commerce is an appropriate starting point for this broad sketch of Belizean Pan-Africanism. George Beckford has already made the case that the nature of the plantation economy influenced emerging social structures and relationships in the Caribbean.⁷ By extension, this would have implications for the emergence of African communities and the types of relationships that evolved within and among them.

Enslavement & Collective Resistance

The nature of the colonial “scramble” for Belize in the late eighteenth century, particularly between the Spanish and the British is significant; hence the allure of Belize to the British largely centered on timber extraction. Specifically, logwood and mahogany soon became the cornerstone of an absentee-type system of Belizean enslavement. The importation of enslaved Africans from Africa and from other points in the Caribbean into the Bay of Honduras was already well established by the time of the Treaty of Paris in 1763 which awarded the British logging rights in the territory. As a relatively small outpost, a steady rate of importation and the absentee system produced in the colony of British Honduras; one of the region’s highest percentages of Africans in the population which not only meant a higher ratio of Africans to Europeans, but it also created conditions conducive to revolt and flight by relatively large numbers of Africans.

In addition to the timber-based system and absenteeism, revolts against slavery in Belize displayed tendencies that stemmed from other factors including the rebellious nature of enslaved Africans arriving in British Honduras. O. Nigel Bolland, in *Resistance in Colonial Belize*, one of his unmatched works on the historical, political and economic formation of Belizean society, indicates that Africans comprised at least 71 percent of the population in Belize from 1745 to 1816, with a peak of 86 percent in 1779.⁸ Beyond the presence of a critical mass within the population, enslavement in Belize also produced the traditions of resistance that served as the initial sparks that ignited forms of resistance that would become the essence of Pan-Africanism. And contrary to self-serving historical narratives of the docile enslaved African who were satisfied with the relatively descent treatment by slave owners during colonial Belize, acts of unified resistance among enslaved Africans were central features of the plantation system in the colony. Rebellion by enslaved Africans were certainly evident in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Belize, and particularly in the flow of Belizean revolts in 1745, 1765, 1768, 1773 and finally in 1820.

This is not unique in itself as we see it recurring all over the Americas. What was pronounced in Belize, however, was the overlap between revolt, escape and the occurrence of self-autonomous settlements among the significant populations of Africans who had access to more concealed zones in the colony. Indeed, the 1773 revolt, the largest in Belizean history, is important not only for the scale of the rebellion itself but also for the attempt by escaped Africans to secure freedom by trekking over 100 miles north in the direction of the Rio Hondo River.⁹ It was the coexistence of this capacity to revolt and to escape that primed Belize for the emergence of the first manifestation of Pan-Africanism: Maroon societies. But how might we reconsider these Maroon societies as the first indications of Pan-Africanism in Belize?

Maroons as “Nascent” Pan-Africanism

As suggested above, the answer begins with rethinking Pan-Africanism conceptually and the implications of actual collective responses to Belizean enslavement among African people therein. There are three important points here: First, Pan-Africanist analyses have been late in incorporating Maroon societies into the historiography of the phenomenon. Abdias do Nascimento, who has written eloquently about the low light placed on Pan-Africanism in Brazil, begins his examination of the movement there by detailing the Pan-Africanist nature of perhaps the most successful of all Maroon traditions: the Brazilian *Quilombo*.¹⁰ Since then, Akoto has filled this void by demonstrating that the earliest expressions of African unity in the Americas were embodied in what he calls “nascent” Pan-Africanism.¹¹ In his formula, and as we see throughout the region, the creation of these societies represented efforts among escaped Africans to defy slavery and construct a means of achieving self-determination through unification and collective resistance throughout the African world. Belize was no different, notwithstanding variations in degree and the cultural/political stage upon which such efforts played out. From this perspective, nascent Pan-Africanism in Belize was evident in these early Maroon societies. Natural and environmental features such as dense forests, swamps and other isolated recesses that spawned *Maroonage* in places such as Jamaica, Haiti and Brazil provided similar benefits in Belize; and by extension, Maroon societies that have come to symbolize African resistance to enslavement in those settings also played similar roles in resistance to slavery in Belize.

Second, and in more practical terms, Belizean Maroons were immediate collective responses by Africans confronted by the dehumanizing effects an enslaved society. These societies unified in spite of ethnic differences that accompanied Africans across the Middle Passage. One should note here that this position belongs to the Melville Herskovits school on the survival of African cultural retentions throughout the Americas.¹² More recently, Mervyn Alleyne, squarely in that paradigm and with his extensive examination of the preservation of African cultural elements with this observation of Maroon societies in Jamaica, stated that:

*Jamaican history is replete with the struggles of the black population to assert its ethnicity in the context of resistance to slavery. Whereas slave revolts and uprisings were typical of all slave regimes throughout the Caribbean and the New World, Jamaica had more than a full share; and it was not simply a matter of uprisings or acts of rebellion and resistance, but rather of organized revolts. These had as their goals, not merely an escape by individuals from the harshness of slavery, but the desire to create a way of life based on a cultural and spiritual allegiance to Africa.*¹³

In the same way, and contrary to the hypothesis claiming African cultural destruction resulting from the pressures of enslavement, one identifies a level of unity between Africans imported from neighboring Caribbean islands – most prominently Jamaica – and those transported directly from Africa.

There is always a risk in oversimplifying the levels of ethnic composition in Maroon societies in Belize. For example, much has been written about the Yoruba presence pervading in Haiti and the Akan tradition in Jamaica. In Belize, however, a basis for assuming the presence of a Pan-African tradition appears to be the result of a wider range of ethnic mixture. Hence, Bolland identified the following ethnic composition that survived among enslaved Africans in Belize:

*Additional to the distinction between African-born and Creole slaves was the difference in the tribal origins of the African-born slaves. Because these slaves were brought to island slave markets there are no shipping records to indicate their tribal identity but the names of many of the slaves recorded in a 1790 census indicate a variety of national origins, for example, such names as Congo Will, Angola Will, Guinea Sam, Eboe Jack, Munding Pope, and Corromontee Tom.*¹⁴

Then, utilizing knowledge of the British *modus operandi*, Bolland moved a bit closer to a profile: “Most of the slavers were brought to the Bay settlement in the second half of the 18th century, at which time the principal sources of British slavers were the Niger and Cross deltas in the Bight of Benin (from 1730 to 1790) and southwestern Africa, particularly the Congo and Angola (from 1790 to 1807).”¹⁵ Thus, with some caution, we have a basis for declaring in Belize one of the assumptions vital to Pan-Africanism anywhere: unity in diversity.

Third, the Pan-Africanist nature of Maroon societies also stemmed from the surviving cultural elements that made them “African.” Belizean Maroons can be seen as the earliest embodiment of a sense of multi-ethnic unity among Africans in the colony. As we see throughout the region, the creation of these societies represented efforts among Africans to resist enslavement and achieve self-determination through unification. Thus, they were forced to construct a Pan-African unity out of somewhat divergent African groups based on commonalities in cultural identity and those concrete experiences that transcended ethnicity.

In this regard, I submit that, in Belize, one sees a strong Pan-African unity from the perspective of this multi-ethnic makeup of Belizean Maroons. Put another way, Maroon societies were also Pan-Africanist in the sense that they reproduced an African cultural identity within their communities based on the universals that existed throughout the continent of Africa and that survived into the Americas. While I will not directly take on the cultural resistance/syncretism debate head on in this essay, I argue that the effort to retain and organize around surviving African cultural elements throughout the Americas (Maroonage) is fundamentally an act in the spirit of nascent Pan-Africanism.

That said, in addition to those who escaped to the Rio Hondo, the most significant concentration of Belizean Maroons generally existed in communities located near the Sibun River and along its tributaries. As we saw in societies throughout the region, river systems such as the Sibun River and its network of smaller creeks and streams, and mountainous topography, most notably the Maya Mountains (which the Sibun drains) and its sharp valleys, waterfalls and remote tropical rain forests, combined to provide inaccessible havens for escapees and therefore ideal opportunities for Maroon societies to flourish. In this context, Bolland in his work relied on early accounts from the colonial era to reconstruct a picture of Belizean Maroons:

Geographical conditions in Belize certainly favoured the slaves and some of those who escaped created independent Maroon communities on the fringes of the settlement area. In 1816, reference was made to a Maroon settlement located “near Sheboon River, very difficult to discover, and guarded by poisonous snakes.” The following year, Superintendent Arthur reported that “a considerable body of runaway slaves are formed in the interior and, in 1820, he referred to “two Slave Towns, which it appears have long been formed in the Blue Mountains to the Northward of Sibun.”¹⁶

Bolland concludes with a more direct illustration of the significance of the Sibun: “Apart from the settlements of escaped slaves in the neighboring countries, then, there were Maroon communities in the Belize area, particularly near the Sibun River, a tributary of which is still called Runaway Creek.”¹⁷

Finally, any discussion about an African presence in Belize would be lacking without confronting the Garifuna question. Perhaps it could be argued that the Garifuna journey from Africa to St. Vincent and finally to Belize in 1823 perhaps represents the best embodiment of Akoto’s nascent Pan-Africanism. Clearly, our understanding of African cultural dynamics prevailing among Belize’s Garifuna population has benefited from a gradual shift evident in ethnographic research on the group. Previously, early anthropologists disregarded the African cultural and political contributions to Garifuna society in a manner consistent with the racist perceptions that accompanied them as the discipline focused on the study of colonized subjects. However, Nancie Gonzalez, author of the comprehensive Garifuna study, *Sojourners of the Caribbean*, represents a more balanced approach arriving in the past twenty-five years. As opposed to the mal-interpretations of African societies commonplace in the discipline, Gonzalez employs a “racial shift” in approaching Garifuna society that brings the surviving African cultural elements into focus. She explained it this way:

*Once I started working along these new lines, it seemed there was no end to the material on the Garifuna and their ancestors. And the more I learned, the more salient I considered the African background, even as it became clear that the story was complex and the influences subtle.*¹⁸

At the end of the day, however, explicitly connecting the Belizean Garifuna and their communities, currently situated in Dangriga in southern Belize, in a Pan-African context will depend on the contributions of those specializing in Pan-African and African Diaspora research. Perhaps Roy Guevara Arzu's research on the Garifuna in Honduras published in the *African Presence in the Americas* signals a similar effort in Belize.¹⁹ In the meantime, we can see that the Garifuna remains one of the truly unique instances of the resilience of African historical and cultural identity. They have consistently acknowledged their infusion of Amerindian culture and the complexities of cultural alliances forge with them. Nonetheless, they also proclaim their Africanness as loudly and proudly as any other African-origin people in Central America. This is evident in their declaration that the Garifuna are the only group of Africans in the Americas to have never been enslaved.

Belize, as a significant part of the African Diaspora, belongs to the Pan-African experience. We say this not only because of the presence of formative forces such as enslavement and resistance that took root in Belize, but mainly because emerging relationships among African-origin peoples in Belize produced by these forces contained within them the seeds of Pan-African unity. Consequently, in the period following the British emancipation of enslaved Africans on August 1, 1834, these forces and the intra-African relationships that were produced by them, continued to reverberate in what I suggest to be Pan-Africanism's second manifestation in Belize: the era of the Garvey movement.

Marcus Garvey & the Maturation of Belizean Pan-Africanism: The Early 20th Century

Almost a century after its inception, the Garvey Movement remains one of the definitive symbols of Pan-Africanism the world over. Furthermore, charting the locations of the UNIA branches worldwide is simultaneously one of the available methods of mapping the political geography of the Pan-African movement. Marcus Garvey is often criticized for not succeeding in establishing an organizational base on African soil. But this fact was the exception-to-the-rule that reflected the challenges inherent in building a movement for African redemption within the geographical and political confines of a thoroughly colonized African continent. From a Pan-African nationalist perspective (and notwithstanding Africa) the institutional success of the Garvey Movement makes it still one of the most significant models of organizational unity throughout the African world experience.

Garvey's engineering of the largest and most dispersed Black nationalist organization of its time can be attributed to his ability to politicize notions of African consciousness in ways that confronted the local material conditions shared by oppressed African people, while also seeking to unite with others throughout the African world. It is in this vein that the Garvey Movement's presence in Belize becomes a profound demonstration of Belizean Pan-Africanism.

The Arrival of Garveyism

The post-emancipation factors contributing to the arrival of the Garvey Movement to Belize is worth exploring. Peter Ashdown, in one of the few serious works on Garveyism in Belize, was of the opinion that the 1919 race rebellion led by Belizean conscripts was the main catalyst. This point is not without merit. The same contradictions of African service in Europe's wars that helped to radicalizing the Pan-African movement during the first half of the twentieth century elsewhere were brought to bear in colonies across the Americas. In Belize and throughout the Caribbean, the fullest embodiment of this contraction was the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR). Their conscription into service on behalf of the British during WWI had the unintended effect of crystallizing a mass-based movement fueled by the obvious paradox. Likewise, Belizean soldiers who served courageously and honorably on behalf of the British returned home to endure sharp racial indignities at the hands of British colonial authorities. As a result, they were resolved to strike out against this contradiction. Consequently, the soldiers were at the center of the 1919 rebellion against the colonial repression in Belize. As Ashdown saw it, "The major consequence of that riot was mass support for Garveyite institutions and philosophies [.]"²⁰

One can obviously overstate this point; however more recently, scholars of Pan-Africanism and Garveyism have since painted a more accurate picture of earlier and more direct causes. Prior to the uprising, the UNIA was increasingly occupying the center of a budding Black nationalist spirit already present in Belize. According to Theodore Vincent, in his major work, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement*, the UNIA's platform built around Garvey's exhortations of *Up Ye Mighty Race!* and *Africa for Africans at Home and Abroad!*, was a more causal factor, and according to Vincent,

*The UNIA's internationalism was probably its most appealing quality in British Honduras as well. Editorials written there and reprinted in the Negro World show that the UNIA in British Honduras built its following on cultural issues and the promotion on solidarity with black people in the Americas and Africa.*²¹

Columns in both the *Negro World* and Belize's weekly progressive paper, *The Independent*, were already heaping praise on the work of the Belize chapter of the UNIA prior to the rebellion. The latter played a significant role in tapping into the Pan-Africanist impulses that were already present in Belizean society and, as we have seen, had evolved from enslavement on to the early twentieth century.

Also, Martin points specifically to efforts of British officials to stem the circulation of UNIA material in their colonies. He attributes the rise of race rebellions throughout the colonies, including the Belizean revolt, to the banning of the *Negro World* across the African Diaspora, hence:

*The Negro World penetrated every area where black folk lived and had regular readers as far away as Australia. It was cited by colonial powers as a factor in uprisings and unrest in such diverse places as Dahomey, British Honduras, Kenya, Trinidad and Cuba. These powers therefore had no illusions concerning the appeal of its message of racial self-reliance and its anticolonialist tone to oppressed black people.*²²

Accordingly, in 1917 British authorities launched a full campaign against the *Negro World*. And in addition to banning the organ in Belize, British authorities also declared the paper seditious in Trinidad, they attempted to seize it in Guiana, and they gave orders to the Governor in Jamaica to confiscate all copies entering into the colony. Thus, it can be said that it was the colonized position occupied by Africa and her Diaspora in the global political economy and the related exploitation of Belizean people, labor, production and markets that were among the initial sparks for mass-based movement throughout the African-Belizean population.

The Organization of the Belize Chapter

Certainly, Vincent and Martin's stances are well supported by what we see in the Belizean chapter's organizational development after the 1917 banning of the *Negro World*. Once rooted in Belizean soil, the UNIA soon earned a designation that set it apart from chapters located in more recognizable venues. In fact, in terms of administrative proficiency, financial self-sufficiency and, perhaps most importantly, broad mass appeal, the impact of UNIA efforts in Belize rivaled many of the over 700 chapters more prominently located in the United States. As seen in the introductory quote above, Garvey did not hesitate to hold up the work of the Belizean chapter as a model for others to duplicate. And validating Martin's point regarding the connection between the banning of the *Negro World* and the growth of the UNIA, Garvey offered the following in comments made at Harlem's Liberty Hall in 1920:

*I have just received a cable from Belize, British Honduras. You will remember that British Honduras was the first British Colony that moved, through its legislative assembly, to place a ban on the Negro World, to suppress it and prevent its circulation in that country. At that time, we had a circulation of 200 copies weekly in the British Honduras, and a branch of the association was not yet organized there. It is six months now since they suppressed the Negro World in British Honduras, and I have just received a cable from the President of the Belize branch of the association, saying that his branch is now 8003 strong.*²³

As one might imagine, Garvey's comments were widely applauded by UNIA members in attendance. Because of its organizational discipline and popular support, Garvey considered the chapter in Belize, and the three additional chapters located throughout the colony, examples to be duplicated in other parts of the Diaspora. Surely, that the tiny chapter in Belize was able to move at this pace spoke volumes for possibilities in the broader movement. To further demonstrate the high levels of organizational leadership in Belize, we have already alluded to Garvey's enlistment of Belize UNIA leaders, most notably Samuel Haynes, into the ranks of the UNIA's central leadership in New York. And, there were not many chapters throughout the world who could boast of a sustained financial support from its leadership. An exception to the rule was Isaiah Morter, one of Belize's notable wealthy statesmen of African descent who supported the organization throughout his elder years and willed over \$100,000 and his estate to the branch at the time of his death. But ironically, internal divisions and legal battles within the UNIA over control of Morter's estate throughout the 1920s and well into the middle third of the century were indicative of the decline of the UNIA in Belize. Nonetheless, Garvey's acknowledgement of Morter's contribution to the UNIA in his *Philosophies and Opinions* is a testament to his high regard for Belize's role in the movement, wherein Garvey says:

*Sir Isaiah Morter has set a wonderful example, and Africa shall not forget him. Surely the Universal Negro Improvement Association shall carry his name down the ages. Shall we not build monuments in Africa to the memory of Isaiah Emanuel Morter? Shall we not pay honor and respect to him for lending help and assistance to the Cause when it needed such assistance?*²⁴

Thus, the Garvey Movement in Belize was an embodiment of Pan-Africanism on another level, because with the rise of the UNIA, it produced the same global contradictions that stimulated its growth in other parts of the African Diaspora. The rocket-like expansion of the Belize chapter also reflected mounting demands among African-Belizeans for an organized mechanism for confronting the concrete issues on the ground. While chapter members and sympathizers identified with Africa culturally, psychologically and politically, the organization served as a vehicle for resolving immediate contradictions unique to the local realities of Belizean society. Hence, Garveyite Lee Bennett, representing Belize at the 1920 UNIA Convention, provided the audience with the following description of the chapter's work at home:

*There are any number of things that we might complain about [...] but principally, we would like to complain about educational conditions that are keeping us down. Our children are not being educated, as they ought to be; and while we cannot say that there is color discrimination as existing in other places, yet there is educational discrimination.*²⁵

Connecting Garveyism in Belize to Pan-Africanism relies heavily on this point. Beyond the popular support for the *Negro World* and an affinity with Africa, the success of the UNIA chapters in Belize was a function of its ability to aid ordinary Belizeans in grappling with the problems that confronted them on a daily basis. It is in this context that one must place Bennett's emphasis on educational conditions, discrimination and their negative impacts on the African-Belizean children. The presence of this dual approach to both internal Belizean issues and to those matters confronting the broader African Diaspora reveals a maturation of Black nationalism and Pan-Africanism. During the latter part of twentieth century, we see a budding Belizean model of Pan-Africanism where historical and cultural identification with Africa existed with more radical expressions of nationalism in the form of Black Power and the politicizing of cross-diasporic linkages that define Pan-African nationalism. Just as we saw all over the African Diaspora, thus the 1960s served as a defining moment for the further maturation of both forms.

United Black Association for Development & Pan-African Nationalism in Belizean – 1968 to 2004

Recall that the traditional modes of Pan-Africanism based on international congresses and continental unity did not take root in Belize. However as previously said, this did not mean Pan-Africanism did not exist in Belize, but rather that it evolved differently compared to places in the African Diaspora that were more connected to those prevailing modes. Instead, as the Garvey Movement epitomized, Pan-Africanism in Belize matured in the context of a Black nationalist response to the local and global domination of African people. And in that context, generally speaking, I define Black nationalism as an ideological commitment to the perpetuation, advancement and defense of people and communities of African descent everywhere they are located throughout the world. In the Belizean experience, we find forms of nationalism embraced by the African-Belizean population informing those Pan-Africanist expressions that would continue to evolve during the latter third of the twentieth century. Furthermore, recent forms of Belizean Pan-Africanism are best understood as the internationalization of at least two newer, more complex forms of Black nationalism that include Black Power nationalism and an evolving Pan-African nationalism. Hence, in this post-Garvey period, both were embodied in the evolution of the Black nationalist organization, the United Black Association for Development (UBAD). A detailed account of the UBAD movement cannot be accomplished here, as consumers of Belizean political and social history will be familiar with the UBAD profile and Evan Hyde's *X-Communication*, which provides a full account of the organizational history of UBAD. Accordingly, our next focus herein is on recasting the UBAD story in a Pan-African context, and exploring the degree to which the emergence of the UBAD in February of 1969 contributed to Belizean Pan-Africanism.

Black Power Adaptations

Though the UNIA ultimately lost its hold on the nationalist impulse in Belize during the 1940s, this certainly did not mean Belize lost its capacity to sustain radicalized forms of Black nationalism. By the end of the 1950s, the upsurge of anti-colonial sentiments and popular demands for self-rule were captured by the Peoples United Party (PUP) under the leadership of George Price. Largely because of its strong independence platform and anti-British rhetoric, the PUP was seen as the most viable popular vehicle for the realization of Belizean independence. However, as the 1960s drew to a close, the PUP along with the oppositional National Independence Party (NIP) began to lose favor among the younger, poorer and “Blacker” segment of the society. By the end of that decade, according to C. H. Grant, the rise of UBAD was a product of “the sad state into which the machinery of both the PUP and the NIP had fallen [.]”²⁶ In addition to the leadership vacuum, socio-economic pressures were exacerbated by a range of factors, not least of which was the lingering effects of hurricane Hattie’s devastation in 1961. Such conditions confronting African-Belizeans (and others) on the ground provided the perfect conditions for radical alternatives to the *status quo* now in the form of the UBAD and its Black Power appeal.

Hence, UBAD was founded in 1969 as a Black Power response to 1) the contradictions of Black powerlessness in Belizean society and 2) an ostensibly neo-colonial leadership apparatus that, at the very least, helped to sustain those contradictions. The original intent of its creators was to join the UNIA in Belize and radicalize it. Hyde, who was one of the founding members, president and the long recognized symbol of the UBAD movement, explained it this way:

Between the four of us, we planned a strategy of infiltrating the Universal Negro Improvement Association as members. Then we would try to become officers of the organization and radicalize it into a black power unit. [Lionel] Clark said that the U.N.I.A. was a long established organization and therefore it would be difficult for the government to attack us as U.N.I.A. executive and members.²⁷

Though this approach was abandoned in 1968, the UNIA charter served as a template for formulating the UBAD constitution the following year. Almost immediately after its establishment, UBAD was embraced at the mass-based level as a viable alternative to what many saw as a political process aloof from Belize’s common folk. Naturally, this was due in large part to the appeal of its Garvey-like program. What was different this time, however, was that UBAD’s emphasis on African consciousness, race pride, knowledge of self, and a concomitant struggle for political rights was now the basis for the mobilization of the masses and a stinging critique of Belizean leadership.

And in addition, what was also different was that UBAD and the movement it stirred was simultaneously informed by struggles taking place across the African world. Belizeans watched as comparable dynamics in other parts of the Diaspora produce similar but unique forms of Black Power responses during the 1960s and 1970s. It was Malcolm X's contribution to the rise of the Black Power phenomenon and the international context within which he furthered it that was particularly remarkable. William Sales, one of the leading authorities on Malcolm X, has written eloquently about the extent to which Malcolm's ideas were already resonating throughout Black America at the same time his formula for Black nationalism grew beyond the limitations of the Nation of Islam.²⁸ This became evident in the impact Malcolm would have on the generation of young Black nationalist in the States who responded with organizations such as the Revolutionary Action Movement, the Black Panther Party, the African Liberation Support Committee and the Pan-African Skills Project shortly after his assassination. Sales, in recounting similar impacts in Africa that were inspired by Malcolm's leadership, makes the following point:

While in Ghana, Malcolm had long discussion with the representatives of the liberation organizations receiving Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah's support. Both the African National Congress of South Africa and the South African Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania representatives in Ghana were much impressed with Malcolm X. He deepened that link with the forces of liberation in Africa on his second trip to Africa, especially at the OAU Summit Conference of Heads of State in Cairo.²⁹

Likewise, the story, ideas and teachings of Malcolm X in the United States was pivotal in the emergence of a Black Power consciousness in Belize. Hyde was unequivocal on the impact his exposure to Black nationalism and Black Power while studying at Dartmouth College had on the UBAD vision. Hyde, personally inspired by Malcolm X's leadership, adopted the "X" in his name, which he later recalled in a 2007 editorial, stating that:

At the time UBAD was formed in February of 1969, I personally was a disciple of Malcolm X's, but the most important UBAD officers in 1969 and 1970 were members of the Nation of Islam – Ismail Omar Shabazz, UBAD's secretary/treasurer, and Charles X Eagan, UBAD's Minister of Lands and War.³⁰

Later, the various revolutionary Black nationalist formations that emerged after Malcolm's assassination in 1965 would also resonate among young would-be activists and mass-based organizers in Belize. While Black Power advocates in the United States were inspired by Malcolm's formula for Black nationalism, again, it was his global application of Black nationalism that broadened the theoretical and geographical scope of the Black Power concept in many of the emerging organizations, most notably the African Liberations Support Committee. Clearly, Black Power in these terms could not be limited to the United States.

Hence, the Black Power movement that emerged simultaneously in the Caribbean and other parts of the Americas shared this expanded international dimension; and it was in this context that the rise of Black Power in Trinidad, Jamaica and elsewhere in the Caribbean appear as local responses to lived conditions on the ground. Thus, Walter Rodney would argue in *The Groundings with my Brothers* that, “Black Power is a call to black peoples to throw off white domination and resume the handling of their own destinies. It means that blacks would enjoy power commensurate with their numbers in the world and in particular localities.”³¹ Thus, these organizational expressions were simultaneously informed by and linked to similar expressions abroad. For us, the rise of UBAD was a product of this internationalization of Black Power and a response to the severe conditions African people experienced “in particular localities” throughout the Diaspora. Hyde has been consistently clear on this point:

*Even though the radio and television stations and the newspapers in the Caribbean were controlled by the white and high brown element, word had filtered into the Caribbean of the Civil Rights struggle in the United States and the militant stance of new and younger American black organizations like the Black Panther Party. [...] The main point I'm making is that there were reasons for a black conscious movement which swept the Caribbean (and Belize) in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The UBAD movement in British Honduras/Belize was not an isolated phenomenon.*³²

From this perspective, it was not coincidental that one of UBAD’s core activities that resonated among the masses was its 1969 breakfast program for poor Belizean children. The breakfast program mirrored that of the Black Panther Party launched in January of that same year. At the same time, it was a practical response that reflected the hard realities of poverty concentrated among the masses of Belizeans. It is this duality, specifically the emergence of linkages between UBAD and other movements across the African Diaspora and the concurrent commitment of UBAD’s version of Black nationalism to resolving the local contradictions of Belizean society, that defined Belizean Pan-Africanism and therefore provides the basic structure upon which contemporary Pan-African nationalism rests.

A Maturing Pan-African Nationalism

Over time, as UBAD and Hyde evolved, their Pan-African and Black Power orientations adjusted to changing forces in Belizean society. Throughout the 1970s the organization’s nationalist program expanded into the realm of Belizean national politics. The major step in this direction occurred in July of 1970 when the UBAD became the UBAD Party for Freedom, Justice and Equality. Accordingly, one of the stated aims of the party was securing the right to vote for 18-year olds. From 1971 through 1974, the party directly engaged the Belizean political system by aligning with the other established parties in elections and by running candidates, including Hyde himself, in local elections. Results were mixed at best.

UBAD's existence as a formal political party ended in 1974 shortly after Hyde's unsuccessful bid for a seat in the Belize City elections earlier that year. Grant argues that the decline of the organization can be attributed to this fact since its program had difficulty translating as the organization moved toward closer involvement in Belizean party politics.³³ By 1978, Hyde's evolution as a nationalist was confirmed when he characterized himself as moving "from a cataclysmic, confrontational type of blackness to a more sober, industrial concept within the basic framework of the Belizeanized society."³⁴

This evolution into formal Belizean party politics, and the consequences often involved therein, is not unlike other parts of the African Diaspora. Indeed, towards the end of his life, Malcolm X saw one of the major contributions of his new Pan-Africanist effort, the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), as a vehicle for attaining Black political rights within the American electoral process. Such a political role was rejected out of hand during his days as the National Spokesman for Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam. But Malcolm's incorporation of a Black electoral strategy in no way equated to a shift away from his Black nationalist and Pan-Africanist teachings. To the contrary, Sales was on point in his argument that increasing voter registration was a legitimate instrument for empowerment since "[...] attacking the basis of the powerlessness of African Americans was among the core "Basic Aims and Objectives of the OAAU."³⁵ Likewise, I submit that UBAD's drift toward electoral politics in Belize cannot be treated simply as the death of its Black nationalism. Rather, Black power nationalism in Belize under UBAD was actually morphing into newer expressions of Pan-African nationalism that, by definition, included a local political agenda.

From this vantage point, we can identify in Belize more mature and sustained efforts and activities in the spirit of Pan-African nationalism, particularly in the context of a sort of "post-UBAD" institution-building that now serves the purpose of targeting newer and perhaps more menacing crises, not the least of which are poor education, crime and the lingering poverty. UBAD disbanded on Friday, November 8th, 1974 and ceased to formally participate in the Belizean political process. Nevertheless, its nationalist thrust remained intact in the form of the UBAD newspaper, *Amandala*. Initially created in 1969, the paper currently claims the largest readership in Belize and is popularly embraced for reflecting mass-based perspectives and concerns. Hyde has used the paper as an instrument for sustaining a grassroots voice in Belizean politics and beyond. In addition, the success of *Amandala* has served as a springboard towards the creation of other conjoined institutions in the UBAD tradition. Later in 1989 and 2004, KREM Radio and KREM Television were established, respectively, based on the same ideological model of UBAD and *Amandala*. At this juncture, the KREM complex is indeed a rare consortium of media outlets that perhaps is unparalleled throughout the African Diaspora.

Then, in 1994, UBAD was reconstituted by Hyde as the UBAD Educational Foundation (UEF). The purpose of the UEF was to combat the negative conditions suffered by poor Black and Mayan Belizeans by infusing into the educational system a curricula based on African and Mayan history and culture, thus UEF figured squarely in the UBAD tradition.

The inequities of a previous generation defined by the concentration of power at political elite levels were now manifest in an educational system that celebrated British history and culture at the expense of Belize's citizens of African and Mayan descent. Moreover, as a result of worsening conditions, Hyde revisited the relationships between Black consciousness, education and progress. In a separate 2007 editorial raising concerns about the implications of leadership changes at the University of Belize for the prospects of the full infusion of African and Mayan history, Hyde argued that "black-conscious Belizeans" should look to an independent schooling option.³⁶ Historically, Belize's primary and secondary educational institutions were under the sway of what Hyde called "the hegemony of private, religious forces." The educational system that was produced as a result of this arrangement reinforced the unequal distribution of power along racial, ethnic and class lines in the society. In Hyde's view, the appointment to the presidency of the national university a representative of the old guard of Belizean education amounted to an extension of private religious domination, and the social dynamics it produced and sustained in Belizean society, into the ranks of its system of higher education. This, Hyde argued, did not bode well for the UEF's vision for Belize: empowerment through a system of education that was grounded in the historical and cultural identity of the people.

In sum, UBAD's Pan-African nationalist underpinnings was re-institutionalized in its UEF's program for Black empowerment that contained at its core a search of Africanness in the context of a Belizean educational program. The UEF, therefore, not only articulated an alternative to the structure of power in Belize, it also politicized, specifically in the case of African history, a Black identity by introducing Africa to a new generation of Belizean (and Mayan) youths. We were not able to dedicate in this discussion the space needed to fully appreciate the significance of the KREM phenomenon. However, there is indeed a valuable opportunity for future researchers to explore what may be a model of nationalist institution-building that just might be unmatched throughout the developing states of the African Diaspora.

Pan-Africanism in Belize: A Conclusion

I have argued here that among the critical challenges confronting this generation of Pan-Africanist thought, discourse and practice is that of continually expanding the horizons of the phenomenon by accounting for those still neglected, forgotten and untapped frontiers throughout the African Diaspora. In meeting this challenge in the preceding analysis provides us with a framework for defining Belizean Pan-Africanism in a way that broadens our understanding of the movement. First, the movement in Belize, rather than evolving directly from the Pan-African Congresses or the Organization of African Unity, germinated earlier from seeds planted during the enslavement period. The case made above for slavery in the making of a nascent Belizean Pan-Africanism supports the notion that rethinking the global scope and depth of Pan-Africanism inherently expands our understanding of it. Second, Garveyism was the defining ideological framework for Belize's formal entrance into the movement during the early twentieth century. Exploring the success of Garveyism in Belize compels us now to not just locate Belize on the global map of the UNIA, but rather to, as Garvey himself did, assert Belize's contribution to the Black nationalist/Pan-Africanist program of the UNIA.

Third, in the Belizean context, Pan-Africanism appears to flow towards more institutionalized expressions of Pan-African nationalism. KREM, in the UBAD tradition, is now at the forefront of public discourse on the local issues of youth crime in Belize. Indications are that, due in large part to *Amandala*'s broad circulation and the increasing popularity of KREM Radio and Television "call-in" shows, it has been able to mobilize Belizeans at the grassroots towards confronting youth violence and the forces on which it feeds. And at the same time, Hyde and other members of the KREM phenomenon have been at the forefront of what I have discussed elsewhere as a "Political Discourse on Globalization and Underdevelopment in Belize."³⁷ Hence, in Pan-African nationalist terms, it has taken a lead in challenging what appears to be an uncritical implementation of Western-led neo-liberal policies by the Belizean government and in providing a structured, mass-based dialog on the impacts of these policies on the ground. In both cases, KREM consistently casts its campaigns in terms of the meaning of these factors on Belize's citizens of African descent. In the final analysis, it is in this framework that we must come to terms with the implications of Pan-Africanism in Belize, and Belize in the Pan-African movement.

Notes

¹ Prior to self-rule, Belize was a colony of Great Britain and was referred to as British Honduras. It was officially renamed Belize after its independence in 1981. The use of the term Belize here refers to both the colony of British Honduras and the contemporary state.

² Chapters Four and Five, "Marcus Garvey and the West Indies" and "Marcus Garvey and Trinidad: 1912-1947," respectively, in Tony Martin, *The Pan-African Connection: From Slavery to Garvey and Beyond* (Dover, Massachusetts: The Majority Press, 1983). Here, Martin outlines the extent to which the entire region responded positively to Garvey's notions of self-reliance and the organizational benefits of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

³ W.E.B. DuBois, *An ABC of Color* (New York: International Publishers, 1989), pp. 19-23.

⁴ I have developed fuller analysis of this theoretical approach in "Pan-African Nationalism," in a forthcoming issue of the *International Journal of Africana Studies*.

⁵ Ronald Walters, *Pan-Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern Africentric Political Movements* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), p. 14.

⁶ Ruth Simms Hamilton, “Conceptualizing the African Diaspora”, in *African Presence in the Americas*, ed. Carlos More (Trenton, NJ: African World Press, 1995), p. 394.

⁷ George Beckford, *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

⁸ O. Nigel Bolland, *Colonialism and Resistance in Belize* (Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago: University of West Indies Press, 2003), p. 54.

⁹ See *A History of Belize, Nation in the Making*, <http://www.belizenet.com/history/toc.html>, Chapter Five. The text produced electronically is adapted from the book of the same title published by Cubola Productions, Benque Viejo, Belize.

¹⁰ Abdias Do Nascimento and Elisa Larkin Nascimento *Africans In Brazil: A Pan-African Perspective* (Trenton, New Jersey: African World Press, 1992), p. v.

¹¹ Kwame Agyei Akoto, *Nationbuilding: Theory and Practice in Afrikan Centered Education* (Washington, D.C.: Pan Afrikan World Institute, 1992), p. 51. The use of nascent Pan-Africanism and its relevance to what I call Pan-African nationalism here mirrors Akoto’s concept of “nascent nationalist Pan-Afrikanism.”

¹² See Melville Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990).

¹³ Mervyn Alleyne, *The Construction and Representation of Race and Ethnicity in the Caribbean* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2002), p. 218.

¹⁴ Bolland, p. 53.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ p. 72.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Nancie L. Gonzalez, *Sojourners of the Caribbean: Ethnogenesis and Ethnohistory of the Garifuna*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p. 4.

¹⁹ Roy Guevara Arzu, “The Garifuna in Honduras”, in *African Presence in the Americas*, ed. Carlos More (Trenton, NJ: African World Press, 1995), pp. 241-248.

²⁰ Peter Ashdown, “The UNIA and the Black Cause in British Honduras 1914-1949,” *Journal of Caribbean History* 15 (1981): p. 45.

²¹ Theodore Vincent, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement* (Berkeley, CA: Ramparts Press, 1970), p. 175.

²² Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Dover, Massachusetts: The Majority Press, 1976), p. 93.

²³ Marcus Garvey, "Report of Meeting at Liberty Hall" in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Robert Hill V. 2 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), p. 293.

²⁴ Amy Jacques Garvey, *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey or, African for the Africans* (Dover, Mass: The Majority Press, 1986), p. 92.

²⁵ Lee Bennett, "Reports of the Convention" in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Robert Hill V. 2 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), p. 510.

²⁶ C.H. Grant, *The Making of Modern Belize: Society and British Colonialism in Central America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 270.

²⁷ Evan X. Hyde, *X-Communication: Selected Writings* (Belize City, Belize: The Angelus Press Ltd., 1995), p. 25.

²⁸ William W. Sales, Jr., *From Civil Rights to Black Liberation: Malcolm X and the Organization of African-American Unity* (Boston: South End Press, 1994), pp. 67-70.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

³⁰ Evan X. Hyde, "From the Publisher" *Amandala* January 26 2007.

³¹ Walter Rodney, *The Groundings with my Brothers* (Chicago, Illinois: Research Associates, 1996), p. 24.

³² Evan X. Hyde, "From the Publisher" *Amandala* December 18 2004.

³³ Grant, p. 272.

³⁴ Hyde, *X-Communication*, p. 205.

³⁵ Sales, p. 109.

³⁶ Evan X. Hyde, "From the Publisher" *Amandala* May 10 2007.

³⁷ This was the title of an unpublished manuscript submitted for review. A version of the manuscript was presented at the International Studies Association-South's Annual Conference in Birmingham, Alabama in 2006.