

In addition to participating in the UN, Jamaica has participated actively in international institutions such as the World Bank, IMF, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, EEC, IBA, INTELSAT, and the International Seabed Authority, which made Kingston its headquarters.

National Security

During its long history as a British colony, Jamaica looked to London for its defense and security needs. Unlike many Hispanic countries of Latin America, including nearby Cuba and the Dominican Republic, Jamaica remained immune from foreign military intervention while under British protection. Jamaica reciprocated by supporting Britain's war efforts. As a member of the British West Indies, Jamaica participated in World War I by sending over 10,000 men to the front.

After World War II broke out, the United States became the recognized protector of the British West Indies, acquiring a ninety-nine-year lease for base rights in Jamaica and other islands under the Lend-Lease Agreement (also called the Bases-for-Destroyers Agreement) of 1941 (see *The Strategic Setting*, ch. 7). Jamaica also became a part of North Atlantic defense preparations, hosting United States naval and air bases. Many volunteers from Jamaica joined the various services, particularly the Royal Air Force. The Jamaica Contingent of the First Battalion of the West India Regiment went overseas in May 1944. When the war ended, the United States deactivated its bases in Jamaica, and Britain reassumed responsibility for Jamaica's defense and foreign affairs until independence. On August 7, 1962, the day after independence, Bustamante announced that the United States was free to establish a military base in Jamaica without any obligation to provide aid in return, but the offer was declined. Nevertheless, as the Castro regime consolidated its power in Cuba during the 1960s and the Soviet military presence in the region expanded, Jamaica's importance to United States national security interests grew.

Jamaica experienced no direct military threat during its first twenty-five years as an independent state; in the early 1980s, however, it had to deal with indirect threats to its national security interests posed by Cuban activities in Jamaica and by the events in Grenada. The Seaga government handled the issue of the Cuban presence in Jamaica by expelling the Cubans and breaking diplomatic relations in 1981 (see *Relations with Communist Countries*, this ch.). Seaga's concerns about Grenada's undemocratic practices in the 1979-83 period and its close ties to Cuba and the Soviet Union also prompted his government to take a more active regional

security role. Jamaica did not, however, sign the 1982 memorandum that established the Regional Security System (RSS) in the Eastern Caribbean (see *A Regional Security System*, ch. 7). When Maurice Bishop was overthrown and assassinated by the short-lived Coard-Austin regime in October 1983, the Seaga government's concern turned to alarm. Jamaica joined several members of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States in an appeal for United States military intervention in Grenada to restore order and democracy and then participated in a joint United States-Caribbean military operation in Grenada (see *Current Strategic Considerations*, ch. 7). Jamaica, whose population favored the joint military action by a 56-percent majority, also provided the largest Caribbean contingent (250 troops) to the peacekeeping force in Grenada from late October 1983 to June 1985. The Seaga government continued actively to support security cooperation among the Commonwealth Caribbean islands by having Jamaican troops participate in regional military exercises, such as Operation "Exotic Palm" in September 1985. In addition, Jamaica cooperated with the United States and RSS member states on regional security matters by holding joint military and narcotics interdiction exercises and by offering some training and technical assistance to the Eastern Caribbean.

The Public Security Forces

Jamaica has endorsed measures to ensure security of the Western Hemisphere but has not participated in any formal defense agreements. Despite its proximity to Cuba, Jamaica has not felt a need to maintain a large defense force, perhaps because it has always had powerful protectors. Even with the support of the police, the armed forces would be totally inadequate to resist foreign military aggression, especially from Cuba. Like the other English-speaking island nations in the Caribbean, Jamaica would have to rely on the assistance of a powerful ally in the event of outside military aggression. The nation's combined forces also would be inadequate to control a significant internal disturbance. Jamaica has not been threatened by military or mercenary invasion or internal insurgencies, however, in part because of its powerful allies but also because of its traditional political stability and its relative isolation from mainland countries and the more vulnerable Eastern Caribbean microstates.

In 1987 the Ministry of National Security (which had included the justice portfolio during 1974-86) remained responsible for maintaining the internal and external security of the island, but it no longer administered justice. This ministry oversaw the Jamaica

Defence Force (JDF), Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF), and correctional programs and institutions. The Ministry of National Security's 1986 budget allocation was approximately US\$69 million for current expenses and US\$6.5 million for capital expenses, accounting for 5.9 percent of the central government's budget. In 1984 US\$38 million of the ministry's budget was allocated to the JCF. The JDF budget declined in the 1980s for budgetary reasons; it was approximately US\$20 million in 1986, as compared with US\$25.4 million in 1985 and US\$38.9 million in 1984.

Although traditionally apolitical, both the JDF and the JCF were subject to governmental policy directives. Their commanders—the JCF commissioner and the JDF chief of staff, respectively—were responsible for managing their respective forces on a day-to-day basis. JCF and JDF commanders explained in December 1986 that the minister of national security could make suggestions or recommendations to either force and that the JDF or JCF high commands could consider them as they saw fit.

The Armed Forces

In late 1987, Jamaica's combined armed forces, the JDF, consisted of a ground force supported by small air and coastal patrol contingents. Although not strictly an army, the JDF is referred to as such in common parlance. Its mission was to defend the country against aggression and to support the JCF, as required, in maintaining essential services and in protecting the civil population in the event of a disaster. The JDF also was responsible for coastal surveillance and air-sea rescue operations. In addition, the JDF has supported antidrug operations; since early 1982, JDF Eradication Units have helped to destroy marijuana crops and illegal air strips. Since the defense portfolio was dropped in the 1970s, the JDF has been under the minister of national security. As in the other Commonwealth Caribbean islands, the prime minister is the de facto head of the defense forces.

The predominant element in the JDF is the Jamaica Regiment, whose origins go back to the West India Regiment that was founded in 1798 and used by the British in the American Revolution and various colonial campaigns in West Africa, as well as during World War I. The regiment, reconstituted as the New West India Regiment, formed the core of the defense force of the short-lived West Indies Federation in 1958–62. After the federation disintegrated, the First Battalion and Third Battalion of the regiment became the First Battalion and Third Battalion of the Jamaica Regiment. The Second Battalion was incorporated by Trinidad and Tobago in its new national forces. In 1962 the Jamaica Local Forces (JLF) was

formed as one of the conditions under which Jamaica was granted independence. The JLF soon evolved into the JDF, but the First Battalion and Third Battalion of the JDF retained their historical designations.

In the mid-1980s, the JDF's predominant ground force element consisted of the First Battalion and a support and service battalion. The First Battalion included an air wing and coast guard, as well as a headquarters unit at Up Park Camp in Kingston, an engineering unit, and other support units. Detachments were stationed at the JDF camp in a facility first established by the British in the mid-nineteenth century at Newcastle, high in the Blue Mountains, and in outstations located in various parts of the island. The Third Battalion, consisting of part-time volunteers, constituted the ground force reserve, called the Jamaica National Reserve (JNR). Commanded by a lieutenant colonel, the JNR, which had 1,030 members in 1986, consisted of a ground force supported by air and coastal patrol elements organized into an infantry battalion.

Once the sole operational element of the former Ministry of Defence, the JDF, together with the police, was placed under the Ministry of National Security and Justice in 1974. The prime minister commanded the JDF through a major general. In 1986 the JDF had a complement of 1,780 officers and personnel. In addition, a civilian staff of about 360 included functional and administrative personnel.

By 1986 JDF ground force equipment was almost exclusively of British origin and included the SLR rifle, Sterling submachine gun, general-purpose machine gun, and twelve 81mm mortars. The army also had a small number of Ferret scout cars, supplemented by fifteen Cadillac-Gage V-150 Commando wheeled armored personnel carriers received from the United States.

The JDF's Air Wing, which was formed in July 1963, was headquartered at Up Park Camp and had a base at Montego Bay. Expanded and trained successively by British Army Air Corps and Canadian Air Force personnel, the Air Wing had a strength of 250 officers and personnel in 1986. It was equipped for ground force liaison, search and rescue, police cooperation, survey, and transport missions. In 1986 its inventory included predominantly United States-made aircraft but also some Canadian, British, and French models: five Bell 206A, three Bell 212, and two Aerospatiale Alouette II light helicopters; two of the Britten-Norman Islander light transports of the short-take-off-and-landing type; one each of DHC-6 Beech KingAir 90 and Beech Duke DHC-6 light transport models; and four Cessnas, including two 185s and two light transports: the 210 and 337. The aircraft were well adapted for

use in areas of the hilly interior of the country, where there were few landing fields.

The JDF's coastal patrol element, the Coast Guard, was established at independence. In 1986 it had a complement of about 150 active personnel, including 18 officers and 115 petty officers and personnel under the command of an officer with the rank of lieutenant commander. It had an additional sixteen personnel in its reserve and thirty in other ranks. Equipped with predominantly United States-made equipment, the Coast Guard modernized its three 60-ton patrol vessels in 1972-73 and augmented them in 1974 with the 103-ton multipurpose transport patrol vessel H.M.J.S *Fort Charles*. The Coast Guard operated from its base at Port Royal in cooperation with the harbormasters and the harbor patrol of the JCF. A Coast Guard unit was responsible for maritime antismuggling operations. The JDF's Coast Guard was too small, however, to patrol adequately the island's 1,022-kilometer-long coastline.

Following independence, Jamaica retained a British training mission for the three JDF components; all JDF officers were trained in Britain. Canada later took over Air Wing training functions. All Coast Guard officers received training at the Royal Naval College in Dartmouth, England. The United States Navy also has provided training assistance for Coast Guard officers and other ranks. After a four-year lapse (mid-1980 to 1984), the British Army and JDF resumed their program of reciprocal defense exercises in June 1984. In addition, a group of 140 JDF soldiers was flown to Dover, England, for a month of training. Jamaica signed a new military training agreement with Canada in 1985, replacing the one in effect since 1965. Over 250 JDF candidates were trained in Canada during the 1965-85 period.

The United States began providing some military assistance to Jamaica's small defense force after Jamaica requested training and equipment assistance in 1963. Jamaica's military aid allocation, however, was zero in the last year of the Manley government in 1980, partially because of the government's close ties to Cuba. The United States resumed military assistance to Jamaica after Seaga took office, and in 1986 assistance totaled US\$8.3 million, mostly for enhancing the JDF's narcotics interdiction and marijuana eradication capabilities. Jamaica was scheduled to receive a total of US\$6.3 million in United States military assistance in 1988, including US\$300,000 in International Military Education and Training funds. Under the Seaga government, the JDF had received heavy equipment, including jeeps, trucks, and patrol boats from the United States.

Jamaica's military recruitment was entirely voluntary. Young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four who had left school at the secondary and postsecondary levels were required to register for two years of public service work as members of the National Youth Service. This service could be performed in the JDF, an all-volunteer force, and prospective registrants were encouraged to consider service in the JDF with an eye toward making it a career. JDF personnel were eligible for retirement under the Government Pensions Scheme.

The Jamaica Combined Cadet Force (JCCF) was a uniformed training contingent founded in 1943. Funds provided by the prime minister's office covered expenses for training, uniforms, equipment, travel and subsistence, and pay of salaried personnel. JCCF operations were expanded substantially in 1972, and in 1973 the organization consisted of some 2,000 officers and cadets in 33 post-primary school units in all parts of the island, together with an independent unit and a small headquarters unit at Up Park Camp. Its mission was to provide youths with training, discipline, good citizenship, and leadership. Although not a part of the JDF, the JCCF provided a substantial reservoir of young men who had undergone some military training.

Apart from its training assignments, the JDF was active principally in support of the larger JCF. A mobile reserve unit, the JDF was called on when a local police detachment was too small to deal with an incident such as an unauthorized strike or a riot. It also furnished manpower for patrols during civil unrest, search-and-rescue missions, and searches for firearms or marijuana. The Air Wing gave mobility to ground detachments, and the Coast Guard acted in cooperation with harbormasters and the police harbor patrol.

The Police

The major police force is the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF), which was established in 1867 shortly after the institution of crown colony government. Generally viewed as poorly trained, underpaid, and overburdened, the JCF generated the country's most persistent human rights concerns in the 1980s. Police auxiliary reserve units included the 1,500-member Island Special Constabulary Force (ISCF), which assisted the JCF in large operations; the 1,700-member Special District Constables, who served as local police in smaller localities when called on to assist the JCF or ISCF; the Police Mobile Reserve Division (PMRD), whose duties included controlling or suppressing civil disturbances, providing security for parades and rallies, and conducting raids related to marijuana and the

Firearms Act; the Parish Special Constables, who served in the regular force on special occasions; and the Authorized Persons, who had limited police powers. Larger cities had municipal police forces, but their functions were restricted to enforcing municipal regulations and guarding municipal property. A senior superintendent of police headed the JCF's narcotics unit, which has been the lead agency for combating drug trafficking since 1974.

The JCF was reorganized in 1984. At that time, the Police Staff College was created to provide higher training and education. The school was located at Fort Charles near Port Royal at the end of the Palisades Peninsula. New recruits, called cadets, were required to take written, oral, and medical tests before being admitted to the school. They received an eighteen-week basic course in police law, self-defense, first aid, and drill. Usually, they were sent to a rural post for ten months of on-the-job training and returned to the school for a six-week senior recruit course before becoming constables. More advanced training was provided for constables, corporals, and sergeants in such areas as pathology, sociology, and political science. Completion of the advanced courses was required before being considered for promotion to a higher rank. Some officers and personnel received advanced training in other countries.

In 1986 the JCF had an authorized strength of 6,317 and an actual strength of 5,601, which was 3.9 percent below that of 1985. This figure represented a ratio of police to population of about 1 to 400. Despite an attrition rate in 1986 of 6.1 percent, the recruitment rate was 7.5 percent below that of 1985. The continuing decline in the number of recruits was attributed largely to attempts by the JCF high command to attract a higher level of recruits by raising educational and mental aptitude criteria. In 1985 only 181 of 5,418 applicants were accepted for training. Applicants had to meet height, age, and literacy requirements, as well as produce a certificate of character from a magistrate or person of similar standing and pass a medical examination. Constables were enrolled for five years and spent the first six months in a probationary capacity. Reasons for the JCF's failure to attract qualified individuals included relatively low salaries, the high levels of risk facing the police, and significant reductions in the size of the police cadet corps, a major supplier of recruits in previous years.

In late 1987, the JCF comprised four branches: administration, services, security, and special operations. Each was commanded by an assistant commissioner, with the exception of the Security Branch, which was headed by a deputy commissioner. In addition to providing physical security to visiting dignitaries, the Special Operations Branch was responsible for the Criminal

Investigation Department; the Police Marine Division (in charge of harbor patrol), located in Newport; and the PMRD, which was quartered at Harman Barracks and made up of the Mounted Troops, the Patrol Section, the Traffic Department (including the Radio Patrol Division), and the Women's Police. Under a December 1984 reorganization, the Special Operations Branch also was tasked to combat hard-core criminal groups and individuals who target the security forces.

The JCF's Security Branch handled immigration and passport services. The Police Marine Division's harbor police operated in Kingston Harbour and a few other seaports, enforcing harbor regulations and carrying out rescues, as well as fighting crime on the waterfront. Customs Protective Officers checked the documents of goods going in or out of the customs areas at Kingston Harbour, called Western Terminals, and at the two international airports.

Under the Suppression of Crime (Special Provisions) Act, in effect since 1974, the JDF was authorized to conduct joint operations with the JCF in order to maintain the peace. The act permitted the JDF to cordon off any area on the island while police conducted house-to-house searches within those areas without warrants. Police forces relied on the act extensively, and detention of suspects "reasonably" suspected of having committed a crime occurred regularly without a warrant, particularly in poor neighborhoods. Almost all detainees were released eventually without being charged.

Until the 1970s, the police generally had a good reputation and were supported by the mass media and the middle and upper classes. The rural peasant and urban lower classes, however, generally mistrusted the police. Public esteem for police morality was lowered in the 1970s by increased newspaper reportage of allegations of police improprieties and brutality. An Americas Watch report documented an average of 217 police killings a year from 1979 to 1986, representing one-half of the country's total killings. The Jamaica Council of Human Rights reported that police killed 289 persons in 1984. Adverse public opinion resulting from charges of human rights abuses by the police prompted Seaga to reshuffle his cabinet on October 17, 1986. In the process, Winston Spaulding was dropped as minister of national security and justice, and the ministry was reorganized to eliminate the justice portfolio. The public also increasingly questioned police competence as a result of the growing number of unsolved crimes in the country, particularly those involving members of political parties.

The Penal System

To combat an increase in crime, judges began imposing stiffer prison sentences and an average of twelve death sentences annually. Penal administration also was improved in the mid-1970s. The JCF, JDF, and other elements in the legal and penal systems were placed under the Ministry of National Security and Justice, which had been formed in 1974. Although the justice and national security portfolios had been separated in October 1986, the Ministry of National Security retained responsibility for Jamaica's prisons, Probation Department, and reform schools through its Department of Correctional Services. The latter department also operated a training school for prison guards, called wardens, in methods of supervision and correctional control of prison inmates and their rehabilitation.

Prison conditions also posed a problem in Jamaica. The parliamentary ombudsman reported in 1986 that prison conditions had deteriorated further since 1984, when he had released a study detailing the deplorable facilities and degrading conditions. Overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, inadequate food, and limited medical care for inmates were the principal problems in the nation's two maximum security prisons and in its many police stations, where conditions were generally the worst.

In 1986 Jamaica had eight correctional centers: the General Penitentiary, St. Catherine District Prison, South Camp Rehabilitation Centre (also known as the Gun Court prison), Fort Augusta Prison, Tamarind Farm Prison, New Broughton Prison, Richmond Farm Prison, and St. Jago Women's Centre. In 1986 these prisons had a total inmate population of 3,452 (rated capacity: 2,861). Female admissions increased by 129, a 10-percent increase over the 1985 figure. Approximately 32 percent (954) of the 1985 total were incarcerated for major offenses such as murder, robbery, and felonious wounding and the rest for minor offenses such as larceny. Over 70 percent of those imprisoned were under the age of 30 whereas 47 percent were 24 years or younger. The average age-group for females ranged from thirty to thirty-nine, whereas males averaged twenty to twenty-four.

The country's principal maximum security prison, the General Penitentiary, was located in downtown Kingston near the harbor. Designed for 800 inmates, it had long been overcrowded and was scheduled for eventual replacement by a newer building. In 1986 it held 1,601 prisoners, including habitual male adult offenders serving long sentences. The St. Catherine District Prison, another maximum security institution for habitual male offenders serving short

sentences, held 1,056 prisoners in 1986. The facility served as the site of death row, where condemned persons awaited execution. Projects for improving the General Penitentiary and other correctional centers were undertaken in 1985, and others were being planned.

The South Camp Rehabilitation Centre housed 320 prisoners in 1986. Open to public view, the steel-meshed, gun-turreted facility was located in central Kingston. Fort Augusta Prison, located in a fortress built in 1970 to guard Kingston Harbour, was used as a minimum security facility; it held 105 inmates in 1986. Selected persons who had responded favorably to liberal treatment were transferred there from the General Penitentiary to finish their sentences. Tamarind Farm Prison held 134 first offenders and some selected recidivists serving short sentences. Richmond Farm Prison was a maximum security prison housing first offenders serving long-term sentences; its inmate population in 1986 was 119. New Broughton Prison and St. Jago Women's Centre had 12 and 104 prisoners, respectively, in 1986. Adults held in remand were placed either in police lockups distributed nationwide or in the adult remand centers administered by the Department of Correctional Services. The number of persons admitted to the adult remand centers in 1985 declined by 3 to 1,274.

In order to reduce the rate of recidivism, the Legal Reform Division drafted the Criminal Records (Rehabilitation of Offenders) Bill and the Corrections Act, which was enacted on December 2, 1985. Under this act, the label "prisoner" was changed to "inmate," "prison officer" to "correctional officer," and "prison" to "adult correctional centre." The act also established gainful employment programs for inmates, prerelease and halfway houses for the rehabilitation and social integration of inmates, and provisions governing the standards and inspection of correctional institutions. In addition, it permitted temporary absences of inmates from correctional institutions for specified periods.

Young persons under the age of seventeen charged with committing offenses were generally, but not always, tried before a juvenile court. While awaiting trial, which could occur up to three months after the charge, they were detained in "places of safety" where they received classroom and vocational training. Places of safety may be operated by the government or charitable and religious institutions or hospitals. If found guilty by the court, juveniles could be placed on probation or sentenced either to reform schools, called juvenile correctional centers (approved schools), or to a children's home. Juveniles receiving custodial sentences were committed to four special rehabilitation institutions. Boys went to Hilltop

(maximum security) in St. Ann Parish or Rio Cobre Community School (open) in St. Catherine Parish, and girls went to Armadale (open) in St. Ann Parish or Lower Esher (open) in St. Mary Parish. In 1985 these facilities, with a combined capacity of 318 (218 boys and 100 girls), held 230. The only juvenile remand center, the St. Andrew Remand Center for Boys, was located in Stony Hill, St. Andrew Parish, where thirty-five were held in remand in 1985.

Most of the work of the Probation Department consisted of juvenile cases. Generally, in at least one-third of all juvenile court cases the offender was placed on probation. Probably less than 20 percent of the adults sentenced every year were placed on probation. Each parish had a Parish Probation Committee to oversee the work of individual probation officers, who were assigned to every court in the country.

Incidence of Crime

Jamaican national security concerns under the Seaga government have focused on countering three growing threats: crimes involving firearms, gunrunning, and narcotics production and trafficking. Although violent crime had become a major social problem, none of these phenomena appeared to pose a major threat to Jamaica's national security in 1987. The government was mainly concerned about the adverse impact that violent crime against tourists could have on the tourism industry, on which the island was dependent economically.

The number of reported crimes, especially crimes of violence involving firearms, began growing during the 1960s and escalated sharply in the early 1970s. According to the Planning Institute of Jamaica, however, in 1986 the number of reported crimes decreased for the first time in several years, going from 53,066 in 1985 to 49,511 in 1986. Although violent crimes against individuals declined from 21,123 in 1985 to 19,301 in 1986, reported murders increased slightly, going from 434 in 1985 to 449 in 1986. Shootings declined in 1986 by about 100; there were 1,050 reported cases during the year. The largest single cause of murders in 1986 (46 percent) was domestic disputes. Other murders in 1986 were perpetrated under circumstances that included the following: 18.7 percent in association with other crimes such as robberies; 10.9 percent in revenge or reprisals (as compared with 6.9 percent in 1985); and 3.8 percent in drug-related activities (as compared with 2.3 percent in 1985).

Violent confrontations between police and crime suspects were frequent, and criminals often possessed firearms. Breaches of the

Firearm Act continued to increase in the early 1980s, from 842 reported cases in 1982 to 1,312 in 1985; incidents declined to 1,258 in 1986. Security forces recovered more than 2,700 firearms, including 126 M-16 and 7 M-14 assault rifles, in 1977-84.

In the 1980s, violent crime continued to be most intense in the St. Andrew-Kingston District, which usually accounted for about half of all reported cases. In general, law enforcement agencies did not adequately control crime. Beginning in the late 1970s, mob killings or lynching of thieves increased, especially in rural areas. There were 226 cases reported in 1982; prosecution of vigilantes was rare.

Much of the increased crime, particularly petty theft and pilferage, was attributed to poverty and unemployment. Gasoline price rises in January 1985 led to riots that left ten dead and fifteen wounded. Although Seaga dismissed the protests as the work of extremists, 53 percent of Jamaicans and 66 percent of Kingston residents who were polled sympathized with the rioters. Violent crimes against tourists on the north coast increased dramatically during the 1986-87 tourist seasons; most of these incidents involved armed robberies.

An increasing number of crimes, including major offenses such as breaking and entering, larceny, and felonious wounding, were being committed by juveniles under the age of seventeen. The number of juveniles brought before the courts in 1985 increased by 9 percent to 2,599. Those in need of care or protection (1,004) comprised the largest group brought before the courts, whereas those charged with wounding and assault (571) and larceny (516) comprised the other categories. Some juveniles were tried in regular courts rather than in juvenile courts.

Political Violence

Although the political system has enjoyed a tradition of stability, a darker side of politics—endemic violence—intruded increasingly on the public consciousness after the mid-1970s. Violence has characterized Jamaican politics since the slavery era and has surfaced at times of protest or repression. Almost every general or municipal election since independence has been preceded and followed by gang warfare, street outbreaks, and occasional assassinations.

The first use of guns in Jamaican politics reportedly took place in Seaga's West Kingston constituency in the months before the 1967 election between Seaga and PNP politician Dudley Thompson. The political tension heightened after Walter Rodney, a Guyanese university professor and Black Power movement (see Glossary) advocate, was banned from Jamaica in October 1968. The

government of Prime Minister Shearer suppressed the riots that ensued.

The level of political violence escalated dramatically in the 1976 election campaign, in which 162 persons were killed. The political disorder and rising crime caused the Manley government to declare a state of emergency, which remained in effect until June 1977. Some observers blamed the JLP for the sharply increased political violence in the late 1970s, but others attributed it to PNP militants linked to Cuba. More likely, extremist elements of the three parties—PNP, JLP, and WPJ—bore some responsibility for the increase. These parties are all known to have employed and armed thugs and criminals at election time. In 1979–80 Armando Ulises Estrada, Cuba's ambassador to Jamaica, aided an extreme left PNP faction in smuggling an estimated 600 M-16 assault rifles into Jamaica from Cuba. Some of these automatic weapons originated from former United States stockpiles in Vietnam; others may have been obtained from black-market sources by JLP extremists. Their use during the nine-month 1980 election campaign escalated the level of violence in Jamaican politics. Rampant electoral violence during that period left 745 persons dead, including one member of Parliament.

In contrast with 1980, the 1983 and 1986 elections were generally peaceful. Whereas political and gang feuds had accounted for 19 percent of all murders in 1984, this percentage declined to 12.2 in 1986. At the inauguration of the new Parliament in January 1984, however, Manley led about 7,000 PNP supporters in demonstrations against Seaga's snap elections, resulting in 4 persons killed and 160 arrested. A municipal election code of conduct between the JLP and PNP minimized violence in the local elections of July 29, 1986. Nevertheless, there were some reports of beatings of electoral clerks, the seizure of polling stations by armed men, harassment of voters, and a mob killing.

By raising popular expectations and not fulfilling them, Jamaica's political parties and governmental leaders were partly responsible for the alienation and protest that surfaced in violence. Until Manley's tenure at Jamaica House in the 1970s, each party in power had followed cautious policies designed to maintain the status quo, so as not to lose domestic or foreign sources of funds. In addition, on several occasions governments formed by each party attempted to use repression to control violence, thereby setting up a chain reaction. The legal system was not effective in dealing with politically motivated violence because suspects, victims, and witnesses remained silent and because police were reluctant to get involved in political disputes. In the interests of security, governments

resorted to armed police, martial law, or emergency powers, practices that sometimes resulted in violent protests.

The nation's political violence derives from the socioeconomic structure of Jamaican politics, that is, social stratification along racial and economic class lines. Increasing political, social, and economic polarization in Jamaica has contributed to both political and criminal violence. According to Stone, it is rooted in what he has called "bullyism," or a propensity to resort to violence, that is deeply ingrained in Jamaican culture. For example, since the 1960s armed gangs have "ruled" some ghetto areas of Kingston, using violence and intimidation against anyone suspected of sympathizing with a rival party. These and other gangs, consisting of hardened criminals and numbering up to 3,000 members, have been blamed by observers for much of the street and electoral violence in Kingston since the late 1960s. Some groups believed or were led to believe that their sectional interests, such as race identity, would not be served by either of the two political parties and that violent expression of demands was an alternate form of participation in the national political process. Violence also erupted occasionally as a result of trade union rivalries, which were underscored by the affiliation of the major unions with political parties.

No known armed terrorist or guerrilla group was active in Jamaica in the late 1980s, but there had been occasional subversive incidents on the island in the 1980s, and several armed groups had been linked to such activities. The Seaga government tied several subversive and criminal activities in Jamaica to Cuban-trained extremists. In a speech to Parliament in 1984, for example, Spaulding, then minister of national security and justice, blamed the violence against policemen on the Hot Steppers Gang. The minister described gang members as "specially trained and highly motivated persons who constitute a special threat to Jamaica's security," and he linked the group to drug trafficking and Cuba, which, he alleged, provided guerrilla training for gang members. Spaulding also charged that the gang had political links with people in the top echelons of the WPJ, as well as with PNP activists. Security forces dispersed the gang from its camps in the Wareika Hills in 1984. Nevertheless, in 1985-87 there were several armed attacks by unidentified groups against police stations, from which weapons were stolen. The Seaga government blamed the WPJ for several bank robberies.

As of late 1987, Jamaica had not been subjected to any significant acts of international terrorism. Nevertheless, the country has expressed concern about the potential threat of terrorism and has subscribed to the principal international antiterrorism conventions.

In a UN speech in October 1986, Foreign Minister Shearer called for a strengthened international law against hostage taking, as well as consideration of a UN convention on the suppression of international terrorism. The Suppression of Crime (Special Provisions) Act empowers the government to combat terrorism. At the request of the Seaga government, the House of Representatives has extended this act at six-month intervals.

Narcotics Crime

According to the *New York Times*, reporting on information from a United States and British law enforcement conference held in Miami in July 1987, a widespread Jamaican criminal organization consisting of about twenty gangs of illegal aliens was operating in fifteen metropolitan areas in the United States and trafficking in firearms and drugs between Florida and Jamaica. A United States government official described the gangs as the fastest growing and most violent of the criminal groups operating in the United States. Between 400 and 500 homicides in the United States in the previous two years were attributed to these self-described "posses." Seaga government officials have stated publicly that many of the guns in Jamaica were flown in by narcotics traffickers from Florida and other Gulf Coast locations and landed on illegal airstrips or deserted roads.

Marijuana production in Jamaica, especially western Jamaica, has increased dramatically since the mid-1960s, even though production of the drug has been illegal since 1913. As the major illicit drug activity on the island, cannabis cultivation has been of particular concern to the Seaga government. By the mid-1980s, an estimated 20 percent or less of the marijuana produced in Jamaica was consumed locally; the rest was smuggled to other countries. Jamaica was supplying an estimated 10 to 15 percent of the total amount of marijuana smuggled into the United States each year. Marijuana traffickers included members of every ethnic group in Jamaica, as well as "United States citizens," according to the minister of public utilities and transport. Moreover, the minister reported in late 1984 that more than 50 percent of the people involved in marijuana also were involved in cocaine. Jamaica was rapidly becoming a major cocaine transshipment point for Latin American suppliers to the North American market.

The Jamaican government has been firmly committed to reducing marijuana cultivation. In 1972 a special JCF narcotics squad began combating the increasing use and illegal export of drugs. After three police members were killed and mutilated by marijuana growers in December 1983, the government began cracking down

harder on cultivators by stepping up eradication and confiscation efforts. Although limited by a lack of equipment and other resources, the thirty-three-member squad and JDF Eradication Units carried out many successful operations against marijuana traffickers in the mid-1980s. The security forces also have attempted to damage illegal air strips with explosives (twenty-three damaged in 1986), but in many cases the traffickers quickly rebuilt them.

In the mid-1980s, the United States urged Jamaica to undertake large-scale eradication using slash-and-burn methods and chemical weed killers, but these proposals met with growing resistance in a country where marijuana is referred to as "the poor man's friend." In May 1985, the Jamaican government asked for increased United States assistance in combating drug production and in assisting farmers to introduce alternative high-yield crops. Seaga also announced in December 1986 that the country would begin herbicidal backpack spraying in order to avoid jeopardizing United States economic aid to Jamaica. The 1986 eradication figure of 2,756 hectares was a record, but that year smugglers exported twice as much marijuana to the United States as normal. In the mid-1980s, the United States increased aid to Jamaica's narcotics interdiction and eradication programs, earmarking more than US\$2.6 million in 1986 for this purpose, as compared with US\$45,000 in 1985.

The narcotics squad has cooperated with United States law enforcement officers. Jamaican authorities have alerted United States authorities about vessels and small aircraft suspected of carrying narcotics directly from Jamaica or in transit from Latin American countries. The United States Coast Guard has stopped and searched those carriers whenever possible. Commercial airlines flying between the United States and Jamaica incurred millions of dollars in fines in the 1985-87 period as a result of substantial quantities of marijuana being discovered aboard their aircraft.

In 1986 a total of 4,123 persons, including 736 foreigners (608 Americans, 78 Canadians, and 50 Britons) were arrested for various breaches under Jamaica's Dangerous Drugs Act. Measures used by the security forces to reduce the extent of trafficking included roadblocks, surveillance of air and sea craft, and use of trained dogs at international airports and sea terminals.

The Criminal Justice System

Jamaica's legal system, including much of the substantive and procedural criminal law, derives from Britain's legal code. The relevant statutes are those in force at the time of independence, including a number enacted by the British Parliament in London

and those subsequently enacted by the Jamaican Parliament. As in all countries with roots in the English system, a body of case law governs the interpretation and application of statutes; some issues may be resolved by common law.

The Jamaican Penal Code and the Prevention of Crime Law of 1963 established minimum penalties for certain crimes. Minor crimes are prosecuted in the courts of petty session, headed by justices of the peace, who are also called lay magistrates. The resident magistrate's courts and the Supreme Court hear both civil and criminal cases (see *Government and Politics*, this ch.). The more serious criminal cases usually are tried in the circuit courts of the Supreme Court. All circuit court trials are jury trials; the jury is composed of seven persons except for homicide cases, which require twelve jurors. A majority of jurors may render verdicts, except in capital cases in which unanimity is required. The resident magistrate's courts, petty sessions courts, and the Gun Court hold trials without juries. Most trials, with the exception of the Gun Court, are open to the public.

The Gun Court was established on April 2, 1974, as a combination court and prison to combat the increase in violent crimes involving firearms. It operates as an extension of the Supreme Court and deals with crimes involving guns. The Gun Court Act allowed detention and prosecution of subjects and authorized a single resident magistrate's court to issue prison sentences to those convicted of illegal possession of firearms or ammunition. In July 1975, the Privy Council in London ruled that the Gun Court Act was constitutional. The Privy Council held, however, that mandatory sentences of indefinite detention with hard labor could not legally be imposed by the resident magistrate presiding over the Gun Court. The 1983 Gun Court Amendment Act enabled the resident magistrate's courts in all parishes except Kingston, St. Andrew, and St. Catherine to decide whether a particular charge would be dealt with in a resident magistrate's court or should be referred to the Gun Court.

If the conviction occurs in a resident magistrate's court, the accused party may often obtain bail while his case is being appealed. If the conviction is in either a circuit court or the Gun Court, there is no bail during appeal proceedings, except under certain special considerations. Appeals to the Privy Council in London can take up to a year. No bail is permitted in Gun Court cases even before conviction; all persons convicted receive an indeterminate jail sentence of up to life, and release is given only when these cases are reviewed by the Privy Council. The 1983 Gun Court Amendment Act eliminated the previously mandatory sentence of life

imprisonment. It also removed to juvenile courts the hundreds of cases involving youths under the age of fourteen, who had been given life prison sentences before its enactment; many were paroled. In addition, the Gun Court Amendment Act allowed resident magistrates greater leeway to set trial dates, grant bail, etc., and gave magistrates outside the Kingston area discretion in referring noncapital offense cases to the Gun Court. The number of new gun cases filed in 1986 rose by 30 percent to 536.

The Suppression of Crime (Special Provisions) Act limits the period a person can be detained before being charged formally with a crime to "a reasonable time." The detainee must be brought before a court "without delay," or within twenty-four hours. The Department of State's 1986 report on human rights noted, however, that Jamaicans detained under the act were often held for two weeks or longer without being brought before a judicial officer. Individuals charged with a criminal offense may have access to legal representation.

Before independence the attorney general was in charge of prosecutions, but his court functions were dropped when he was made chief legal adviser of the government. Since then the official responsible for criminal prosecutions has been the director of public prosecutions, whose office may bring all legal proceedings except a court-martial against anyone in any court, take over criminal proceedings initiated by another authority, or terminate legal proceedings at any stage.

The Jamaican Penal Code provides for capital punishment, which was made applicable again in 1982, after a period in which executions were suspended while a parliamentary committee considered whether or not the death penalty should be abolished. Jamaica resorted to executions more frequently than did other Commonwealth Caribbean countries. In the late 1960s, about twelve executions were carried out annually. Between August 1980 and February 1987, fifty-four convicted murderers were executed, including fourteen in 1986. An extensive appeals system exists, however, and condemned persons may appeal to the governor general, the Jamaican Privy Council, and the Privy Council in London.

Amnesty International has criticized Jamaican policy on capital punishment, claiming that it contravenes the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ratified by Jamaica in 1975. In early 1987, there were 170 prisoners in Jamaica who remained under sentence of death. Two Jamaicans who had been facing the death sentence for more than eight years won a further stay of execution in April 1987 after the UN Committee on Human Rights

in Geneva ruled that a final appeal was admissible. As a result, the Jamaican government was required to show that the delays in judicial process were not a denial of the prisoners' rights under the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Strict laws exist against the use of marijuana. As of 1987, possession led to a minimum jail sentence of eighteen months. Jamaica's Dangerous Drugs Act of April 15, 1948, provides penalties for various offenses related to producing, using, and trafficking in drugs. Minor marijuana cases are dealt with by resident magistrate's courts, whereas serious offenses are adjudicated in a circuit court following indictment by the lower court. Circuit court judges have considerable judicial discretion regarding sentences.

The Act to Amend the Dangerous Drugs Act was adopted in March 1987. It gave jurisdiction to the resident magistrate's courts over offenses pertaining to cocaine and other hard drugs. It also increased the maximum penalties that may be imposed under the act by a circuit court, or on summary conviction in a resident magistrate's court. In the case of marijuana, it provided for the imposition by the courts of minimum fines based on the weight of the marijuana in the convicted person's possession. Under the amendment, a person convicted on a marijuana import or export offense by a circuit court may be sentenced to a fine of not less than US\$500 for each 28 grams or to imprisonment not exceeding 25 years, or both. On conviction before a resident magistrate's court, a person is liable for a fine of not less than US\$300 per 28 grams and a maximum of 3 years' imprisonment, or both. Convictions in a circuit court of cultivating, selling, or transporting marijuana may result in a fine of no less than US\$200 per 28 grams and up to 25 years' imprisonment, or both. A fine of no less than US\$100 per 28 grams or imprisonment up to 5 years may be imposed for a conviction by a circuit court on a marijuana possession offense. There are slightly lower penalties for conviction in a resident magistrate's court.

The Civil Aviation (Control of Aerodromes and Airstrips) Regulations of November 1984 provided for increases in penalties for offenses related to illegal or unauthorized operation of aircraft, including confiscation of the aircraft. The act was amended in December 1984 to provide for additional restrictions against illegal air activity associated with narcotics trafficking. Under the act, penalties for landing and taking off in aircraft at locations other than licensed airfields included a fine of up to US\$100,000 or three times the value of the aircraft and its engine, accessories, and equipment, whichever is greater, or up to five years in prison. The same penalty applied to constructing an unlicensed airfield or preparing

land for use as an airstrip. In order to facilitate United States efforts to prosecute narcotics conspiracies, the Treaty on Extradition was signed at Kingston on June 14, 1983.

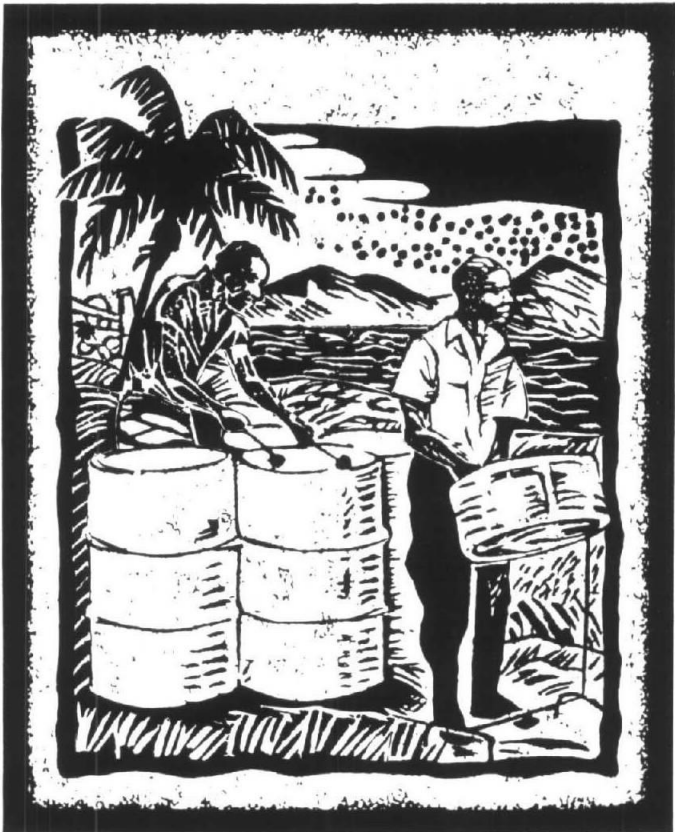
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Clinton V. Black's *The Story of Jamaica* and Samuel J. Hurwitz's *Jamaica: A Historical Portrait* offer helpful overviews of Jamaica's history. A valuable description of the education system can be found in Millicent Whyte's *A Short History of Education in Jamaica*.

The debate over the experience of the Jamaican economy in the postwar era has been quite prolific. Some of the better arguments include Owen Jefferson's *The Post-War Economic Development of Jamaica*, Norman Girvan's *Foreign Capital and Underdevelopment in Jamaica*, and various books and articles from the Caribbean's best-known economist, W. Arthur Lewis. Mahmood Ali Ayub's *Made in Jamaica* is rich in its analysis of not only the growth in manufacturing but also the use of industrial incentives and the dilemmas of import substitution policies. Michael Kaufman's analysis of the Manley experiment in *Jamaica under Manley* is well documented and insightful. Robert E. Looney's *The Jamaican Economy in the 1980s* offers an objective and quantitative analysis of the Jamaican economy. The most comprehensive statistical and analytical publication is the annual *Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica*, published by the government's National Planning Agency. The best data available in Jamaica are located at the Statistical Institute of Jamaica, and the best analytical works can be found at the Institute of Social and Economic Research on the campus of the University of the West Indies in Mona, and through the institute's journal, *Social and Economic Studies*.

Relatively few up-to-date books on Jamaica's governmental system, politics, foreign relations, and military and police forces are available. A useful and informative primer is John D. Forbes's *Jamaica: Managing Political and Economic Change*. For serious students of Jamaican politics, Carl Stone's *Democracy and Clientelism in Jamaica* is essential reading. His numerous articles in academic journals and in the *Daily Gleaner*, as well as his frequent polls, provide useful insights on Jamaican politics. Other useful articles include Anthony Payne's "Jamaica and Cuba, 1959-86: A Caribbean Pas de Deux" and "From Michael with Love: The Nature of Socialism in Jamaica;" Carlene J. Edie's "Domestic Politics and External Relations in Jamaica under Michael Manley, 1972-1980;" and Michael Massing's "The Jamaica Experiment." (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Chapter 3. Trinidad and Tobago



Steel drum musicians

Trinidad and Tobago

Official Name	Trinidad and Tobago
Term for Citizens	Trinidadians(s), Tobagonian(s)
Capital	Port-of-Spain
Political Status	Independent, 1962
Form of Government	Parliamentary democracy and republic

Geography

Size	5,128 sq. km.
Topography	Mountains and plains
Climate	Maritime tropical, high humidity

Population

Total estimated in 1986	1,199,000
Annual growth rate (in percentage) in 1986	2.0
Life expectancy at birth in 1986	68.9
Adult literacy rate (in percentage) in 1984	95
Language	English
Ethnic groups	Black (40 percent), East Indian (40 percent); remainder several other groups
Religion	Roman Catholic (33 percent), Hindu (25 percent), Anglican (15 percent), Muslim (6 percent); remainder other Protestant denominations and African sects

Economy

Currency; exchange rate	Trinidad and Tobago dollar (TT\$); TT\$3.60 = US\$1.00
Gross domestic product (GDP) in 1985	US\$7.7 billion
Per capita GDP in 1985	US\$6,000
Distribution of GDP (in percentage) in 1985	
Petroleum	24
Public administration	15
Construction	11
Transportation and communications	10
Financial services and real estate	10
Distributive trade	9

Islands of the Commonwealth Caribbean

Manufacturing	7
Agriculture	3
Electricity and water	2
Other	9

National Security

Armed forces personnel	2,130
Paramilitary personnel	0
Police	3,000

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, an oil-rich nation, is nearer to mainland South America than any of the other Commonwealth Caribbean island countries. It has had one of the highest per capita incomes in the Caribbean and is a producer of oil, steel, and petrochemicals. Most of its population is descended from African slaves and East Indian indentured laborers, and the two-island nation has a rich and varied culture within which different races have lived together in relative harmony.

Trinidad and Tobago became independent in 1962, one of the first states of the Commonwealth Caribbean to do so. Transition to independence was quite smooth. The People's National Movement (PNM), a mainly black, middle-class party with Eric Williams as its leader, came to power in 1956, led the country into independence, and remained in office for thirty years. Trinidad and Tobago's independent history has been a relatively peaceful continuum, broken only in 1970 by Black Power movement (see Glossary) riots that threatened the government. There have been regular, free, contested elections every five years, and there have been no coups—or attempted coups—since independence. After Williams's death in 1981, the PNM continued to rule until 1986. That year the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR), a recently formed coalition party led by A.N.R. Robinson, won the election by a large majority. The NAR differed from the PNM in that it included many East Indians among both leaders and members. In 1987 the NAR's greatest challenge was the revitalization of an economy depressed by the fall in world oil prices.

Historical Setting

Colonial Heritage

Spain received the island of Trinidad as part of the fief of Christopher Columbus and controlled the island for nearly 300 years (see *The European Settlements*, ch. 1). The Spaniards subdued and enslaved the native Caribs and Arawaks but until the late 1700s paid little attention to Trinidad as other ventures were more profitable. As a result, Trinidad's population was only 2,763 in 1783. Amerindians composed 74 percent of that total (2,032). Although African slaves were first imported in 1517, they constituted only 11 percent of the population (310) in 1783. Indeed, the slave total was barely larger than the 295 free nonwhites who had emigrated from other islands. The remaining 126 Trinidadians were white.

In an effort to make Trinidad more profitable, the Spanish opened the island to immigration in 1776 and allowed Roman Catholic planters from other Eastern Caribbean islands to establish sugar plantations. Because French Catholic planters on the islands that had been granted to Britain after the Seven Years' War (1756–63) were subject to religious and political discrimination, they were attracted by Spanish promises of land grants and tax concessions in Trinidad. In seeking immigrants, Trinidad linked landownership to the ownership of slaves; the more slaves, the more land. Land grants were also given to free nonwhite immigrants, and all landed immigrants were offered citizenship rights after five years. As a result of this new policy, thousands of French planters and their slaves emigrated to the island in the 1780s and 1790s. By 1797 the demographic structure of the island had changed completely. The population had expanded dramatically to 17,718, about 56 percent of whom were slaves. There were also 4,476 free nonwhites and 2,151 whites. The Amerindian community declined by 50 percent from the level achieved 14 years earlier and represented only 6 percent of the total population. As of 1797, there were hundreds of sugar, coffee, and cotton plantations producing for export (see *Growth and Structure of the Economy*, this ch.).

The British, who were at war with Spain and France, conquered Trinidad in 1797 during the Caribbean unrest that followed the French Revolution. Trinidad was formally ceded to Britain in 1802. After debating how to govern the new island, the British finally decided on crown colony (see *Glossary*) rule under a governor (see *Political Traditions*, ch. 1). As this was occurring, investors and colonists expanded the sugar plantations to take advantage of high sugar prices. During the first five years of British rule, the number of sugar estates increased markedly. The British census of 1803 counted 28,000 people, a tenfold increase in 20 years; of these, there were 20,464 slaves, 5,275 free nonwhites, and 2,261 whites. About half of the free people and most of the slaves spoke French, and the rest of the population was divided between Spanish and English speakers. The Amerindian population continued to decline, with several hundred members scattered in rural settlements.

A decade after slavery was abolished in 1834, the British government gave permission for the colonies to import indentured labor from India to work on the plantations. Throughout the remainder of the century, Trinidad's population growth came primarily from East Indian laborers. By 1871 there were 27,425 East Indians, approximately 22 percent of the population of Trinidad and Tobago; by 1911 that figure had grown to 110,911, or about 33 percent of all residents of the islands. Small numbers of Chinese, Portuguese,

and other groups also immigrated, contributing to the multiracial character of the islands.

Tobago, Robinson Crusoe's island, changed hands twenty-two times between 1626 and 1814, as various European countries tried to secure possession of its safe anchorages. Its population in 1791 was 15,102, about 94 percent of whom were slaves. The British finally acquired Tobago permanently in 1814, after several previous attempts to conquer the island. The British continued to govern through a local assembly that they had installed during an earlier conquest of Tobago in 1763. Under this arrangement, political control rested with a number of British civil servants and the assembly, elected by a tiny electorate and supported by the sugar plantations.

By the late nineteenth century, Trinidad and Tobago were no longer profitable colonies because sugar was being produced more cheaply elsewhere. In 1889 the British government united Trinidad and Tobago in an effort to economize on government expenses and to solve the economic problems of the islands. In 1898 Tobago became a ward of Trinidad, thereby losing its local assembly, which was not reinstated until 1980. Subsequently, Britain ruled Trinidad and Tobago as a crown colony until 1956. Between 1889 and 1924, the government of Trinidad and Tobago included, in addition to its governor, a wholly appointed Legislative Council. The first step toward self-government was taken in 1925 when there were limited elections to the Legislative Council and to the governor's Executive Council.

As noted, the populations of both Trinidad and Tobago owe their main origins to massive eighteenth- and nineteenth-century importations of African slaves and East Indian indentured servants who were needed to work on the sugar plantations. When the sugar industry declined, unemployment became widespread. In the early twentieth century, oil replaced sugar as the major export; oil is a capital-intensive industry, however, and it did not solve the problem of unemployment in Trinidad and Tobago.

The labor movement began to assume importance after World War I, spurred by the return of Trinidadians who had fought with the British armed forces. The most important of these was Captain Andrew Arthur Cipriani, a white man of Corsican descent, who had served as commander of the West India Regiment. Cipriani resented the fact that the West India Regiment was not allowed to fight for the British Empire but instead was sent to Egypt, where its forces served as labor battalions. Upon his return to Trinidad, Cipriani organized the masses, giving them national pride and teaching them to oppose colonialism. He revitalized the Trinidad

Workingman's Association, which was renamed the Trinidad Labour Party (TLP) in 1934; by 1936 the TLP had 125,000 members. Because Cipriani was white, he was able to transcend the black-East Indian racial dichotomy and became known as "the champion of the barefoot man." In the first elections held for the Legislative Council, Cipriani was elected in 1925 and remained a member until his death in 1945. He was also elected mayor of Port-of-Spain eight times. In these two offices, Cipriani struggled against racial discrimination and fought for constitutional reform, universal suffrage, and better rights for workers.

During the 1930s, Trinidad and Tobago suffered severely from the effects of the worldwide depression. Living standards deteriorated as workers were laid off from the plantations. The situation was aggravated by unjust labor practices. Wages on the sugar estates and in the oil fields were kept low while shareholder dividends in London rose. Workers moved away from Cipriani's moderate policies, and the labor movement became radicalized. Between 1934 and 1937, there were strikes and riots on the sugar plantations and in the oil fields throughout the Caribbean. Tubal Uriah Butler, a black Grenadian who had been expelled from the TLP for extremism, emerged as the leader of the black oil workers, who were the best paid and most politicized laborers on the island. Butler called for racial unity among black workers and organized strikes, heading a highly personalized party that was known as the "Butler Party." Although the British labeled Butler as a "fanatical Negro" during the 1930s, Trinidad and Tobago has since recognized him as a man who sensitized the common man to the evils of colonialism. The strikes in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1930s included many incidents of racial violence, culminating in twelve deaths and over fifty injuries in 1937.

The British responded by deploying marines from Barbados and appointing two successive commissions from London to investigate the causes of the riots in Trinidad and Tobago and elsewhere in the Caribbean. Both commissions noted the low wages and poor working conditions throughout the region. The second commission, chaired by Lord Moyne, which completed its report in 1940, was very critical of the British colonial system in the Caribbean and recommended housing construction, agricultural diversification, more representative government for the islands, and promotion of a middle class in preparation for eventual self-government (see *Labor Organizations*, ch. 1). Although the Moyne Commission's findings were not made public until after World War II, some of its recommendations were put into effect under the Colonial Development Welfare Act of 1940.



*View of Maracas Bay, Trinidad
Courtesy Trinidad and Tobago Tourist Board*

The British government had encouraged the formation of trade unions in the belief that labor organization would prevent labor unrest. After the islandwide strikes of 1937, Butler succeeded Cipriani as the leader of the Trinidadian labor movement. Butler's associate, Adrian Cola Rienzi, an East Indian, organized both oil workers under the Oilfield Workers Trade Union (OWTU) and the sugar workers under the All Trinidad Sugar Estates and Factory Workers Trade Union (ATSE/FWTU). Railroad and construction workers were organized under the Federated Workers Trade Union (FWTU), and a number of smaller unions were also formed.

Following a recommendation of the Moyne Commission, government was made more representative. Constitutional reform in 1925 had provided for six elected members on the twenty-five-member Legislative Council, but franchise restrictions limited voters in the 1925 election to 6 percent of the population. In April 1941, the number of unofficial elected members on the Legislative Council and the governor's Executive Council was increased, giving the elected members a majority. Some of these elected members were included on official committees and the governor's Executive Council, although the governor retained ultimate authority and veto power.

Trinidad and Tobago had been profoundly changed by World War II. For the first time since British annexation, the islands were

widely exposed to another foreign influence. The 1941 Lend-Lease Agreement (also called the Bases-for-Destroyers Agreement) between the United States and Britain included ninety-nine-year leases of the deepwater harbor at Chaguaramas to the United States Navy and of Waller Field in central Trinidad to the United States Army (see Historical Background, ch. 7). Many United States and Canadian personnel were brought in to work at these bases, and thousands of Trinidadian workers were employed at the bases for higher wages under better conditions than ever before (see Patterns of Development, this ch.). As a result, by the end of World War II many Trinidadians had become used to a higher standard of living and wanted to keep it.

Although the election in 1946 was the first under universal adult suffrage, less than half of the registered voters cast ballots. The trade unions did not consolidate into a cohesive political entity. The labor vote fragmented, as blacks and East Indians divided and as racial slurs became a common part of campaign rhetoric. Butler, who had been detained throughout the war, was released from jail and campaigned for the Legislative Council, but he was defeated by Albert Gomes, a trade unionist of Portuguese descent. The labor movement was unable to gain a majority because no leader could command the widespread support of both the blacks and the East Indians, a pattern that continued throughout the ensuing forty years. The middle class—comprising primarily blacks and a smaller number of East Indians—came to dominate the political scene in the crucial elections that led to independence and has dominated it into the late 1980s.

The Road to Independence

Self-government was gradually increased between 1946 and 1961. The elections of those years served as dress rehearsals for independence. From 1946 to 1955, East Indians were the best organized group in Trinidad and Tobago. Comprising only 35 percent of the population in 1946, East Indians united under the leadership of Bhadese S. Maraj and won almost half of the elected seats in the Legislative Council that year. They used their votes to finally secure the legal right to marry and bury their dead according to Hindu and Muslim rites. Since their arrival in Trinidad more than a century earlier, many East Indians had been classified as illegitimate because no unregistered marriage was considered legal for inheritance purposes (see Population, this ch.).

Political parties remained fragmented in the 1950 elections, often united, as one historian has put it, by nothing more than a “common passion for the spoils of office.” One hundred forty-one

candidates contested the eighteen elected seats; the single largest bloc of seats on the Legislative Council, eight out of twenty-six, was captured by an alliance between the "Butler party" and East Indian leaders. The British and the non-East Indians disliked the idea of having Butler and his supporters come to power. After the 1950 elections, none of Butler's party was chosen to sit on the Executive Council, the result being that Gomes practically ran the government. Within the restrictions of his semiautonomous government, Gomes tried to function as a mediator between capital and labor and to placate both Britain and Trinidad and Tobago. He had limited success, however, and constitutional reform was postponed until 1955, with elections scheduled for the following year.

The election of 1956 was a watershed in the political history of Trinidad and Tobago because it determined the course of the country for the next thirty years. Gomes was defeated, and a new party, the PNM, captured power and held it until 1986. PNM founder and leader Eric Williams dominated the political scene from 1956 until his death in 1981.

Williams was a native Trinidadian who had spent almost twenty years abroad in Britain and the United States. Although his family was poor, Williams had received a very good education by winning scholarships and had earned a First Class Oxford degree. Williams's academic prowess set the standard for all Trinidadian and Tobagonian political leaders through the late 1980s. While at Oxford, Williams was subjected to a number of racial slights, and he also suffered racial discrimination when he worked for the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission in Washington from 1948 to 1955, an organization created in 1942 to coordinate nonmilitary aspects of Caribbean policy. This discrimination profoundly and permanently affected Williams's outlook on life and his politics. He was a man who knew himself to be the intellectual equal of educated people in Oxford, London, and Washington, and he felt that he had not been accepted as such. Returning to Trinidad in 1948 as deputy chairman of the Caribbean Research Council of the Caribbean Commission, Williams involved himself in cultural, educational, and semipolitical activities and became well known. In 1956 he decided to enter politics and to forge a political party, the PNM. The PNM was created by middle-class professionals who were mainly but not exclusively black. Its main support came from the black community, although Williams was also able to attract some whites and East Indians. Williams gained a public constituency and a loyal party following by giving lectures in Woodford Square, the main square in Port-of-Spain. His lectures on Caribbean history were attended by thousands, and Williams dubbed

his interaction with the crowd the "University of Woodford Square." There, Williams forged a bond with the people that remained even after his death twenty-five years later. Trinidadians and Tobagonians were proud to have an international scholar in their midst. Williams gave them a sense of national pride and confidence that no other leader was able to match. His charisma and leadership made it possible for the new party to be independent from existing political organizations and from trade unions. PNM leaders envisioned a broad national party that would include both capitalists and laborers; as such, the PNM rejected socialism and welcomed foreign capital investment.

In 1956 the PNM captured a slim majority of the elected seats on the Legislative Council, receiving 39.8 percent of the vote. Butler's party and the TLP split the other elected seats. The British governor, who controlled five appointed seats and two ex officio seats, filled all of these with men acceptable to the PNM, thus giving the party a majority of two-thirds of the seats on the Legislative Council. Because the British were hoping to form a Caribbean federation or, as a second choice, to launch viable independent countries, it was in their interest to support Williams, a charismatic black leader who had founded a strong political party, who had international education and experience, and who believed in private domestic and foreign investment. Between 1956 and 1962, Williams consolidated his political base and resolved two very important issues: federation and the presence of United States bases on Trinidad.

The British created the West Indies Federation in 1958 (see *The West Indies Federation, 1958-62*, ch. 1). During the next four years, ten island nations, including Trinidad and Tobago, struggled without success to make the federation into a government. The two largest nations, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, had opposing viewpoints; the former advocated a strong federal government, whereas the latter preferred a weak one. Trinidad and Tobago, with its higher revenues, preferred representation according to financial contribution, but Jamaica, with its larger population, wanted representation on the basis of population. After Jamaica decided in September 1961 not to remain in the federation, Trinidad and Tobago also decided to withdraw, not wishing to be tied to eight small, poor islands for which it would be financially responsible.

Despite British assistance and Williams's compelling personality, the PNM did not come to rule Trinidad and Tobago without a struggle. A number of groups united to oppose the PNM in the federal elections of 1958 under the banner of the Democratic Labour

Party (DLP). Once again the campaign became racially polarized as the DLP attracted the East Indians and others who were left out of the PNM. East Indians felt that their cultural identity might be lost if they did not stick together. They deplored marriages between East Indians and blacks because they considered blacks to have an inferior culture; East Indians were less hostile to marriage with whites. Blacks also looked with disfavor on intermarriage with East Indians. In addition, the East Indian middle class, which had developed since the 1930s, seemed a threat to the black professionals who were just coming to power. The PNM increased its share of the vote in the 1958 election from 39.8 percent in 1956 to 48 percent; under the winner-take-all rule, however, the DLP won 6 out of the 10 contested seats, as most of its victories came in regions where the East Indians had an absolute majority.

The PNM profited from the British policy of granting increasing self-government to Trinidad and Tobago. Cabinet government was introduced in 1959; the governor no longer presided over the Executive Council, the Executive Council and chief minister were renamed cabinet and premier (the preindependence title for prime minister), and the premier had the right to appoint and dismiss ministers. Mindful of their slim majority in the 1958 election, leaders of the PNM determined to take whatever steps were necessary to win the 1961 elections and be the party to lead Trinidad and Tobago into independence. The PNM decided to use the issue of the withdrawal of the United States from the Chaguaramas naval base to unify the country and solidify its political base. In party rallies in 1959 and 1960, Williams pledged that the flag of Trinidad and Tobago would soon fly over Chaguaramas and also declared independence from Britain and from the 1941 Lend-Lease Agreement. Declaring that Trinidad and Tobago would not exchange British colonialism for the United States variety, Williams rallied the country to oust the United States from Chaguaramas and to support the PNM.

When British prime minister Harold Macmillan came to Port-of-Spain in June 1960, he told the government that he would open negotiations between the United States and Trinidad and Tobago over Chaguaramas and that Trinidad and Tobago would be an independent participant. Once Williams had won the right for Trinidad and Tobago to sit as an equal with the United States and Britain, he cooled his anti-imperialist rhetoric. The December 1960 settlement gave the United States base rights until 1977 and granted Trinidad and Tobago US\$30 million in United States Agency for International Development assistance money for road construction

and education. The United States closed the naval base at Chaguaramas in 1967 (see Historical Background, ch. 7).

The December 1961 election, which took place after Trinidad and Tobago had received full internal self-government within the West Indies Federation, was characterized by the use of racial appeals by both parties. The main constitutional issue was the drawing of electoral boundaries. Pro-PNM supporters broke up DLP meetings with stone throwing; the government declared a state of emergency in areas where East Indians were a majority and called out 3,000 police. The PNM used its government leadership to good advantage. Responding to labor unrest, Williams gave all government workers a raise during the summer of 1961. He also moved politically to the right, purging some left-wing supporters who had been prominent in the Chaguaramas fight. The PNM profited from the fact that the DLP was not a unified party. Its leader, Maraj, had been ill, and younger East Indians felt that his lack of education was a liability when contrasted with Williams. During the DLP political infighting, the new generation of East Indian professionals chose R.N. Capildeo, a high-caste Hindu, to head the DLP. Although Capildeo was highly educated, a Ph.D. and a fully qualified barrister, he lacked Williams's ability to appeal to the masses. Eighty-eight percent of the voters turned out for the December 1961 election; in a vote that largely followed ethnic lines, Williams and the PNM won with 57 percent. Reflecting the ethnic split, Williams filled the twelve cabinet slots with eight blacks, two whites, and two East Indians—one Christian and one Muslim. Appointees for the newly created Senate followed similar lines. As Trinidad and Tobago faced independence, the black middle class was firmly in power.

Geography

Trinidad and Tobago are the southernmost islands of the Lesser Antilles, located close to the South American continental shelf (see fig. 1). Trinidad lies 11 kilometers off the northeast coast of Venezuela and 130 kilometers south of the Grenadines. It is 60 kilometers long and 80 kilometers at its maximum breadth and comprises an area of 4,828 square kilometers. Trinidad appears rectangular in shape with three projecting peninsular corners. Tobago is located thirty kilometers northeast of Trinidad, from which it is separated by a channel thirty-seven kilometers wide. The island is 42 kilometers long and 13 kilometers wide, with a total area of 300 square kilometers. Tobago is cigar-shaped in appearance and has a northeast-southwest alignment.

Geologically, the islands are not part of the Antillean arc. Rather, Trinidad was once part of the South American mainland, and Tobago is part of a sunken mountain chain related to the continent. The islands are now separated from the continent of South America by the Gulf of Paria; a nineteen-kilometer-wide northern passage—Dragon's Mouths; and a fourteen-kilometer-wide southern passage—Serpent's Mouth (see fig. 6).

Trinidad is traversed by three distinct mountain ranges that are a continuation of the Venezuelan coastal cordillera. The Northern Range, an outlier of the Andes Mountains of Venezuela, consists of rugged hills that parallel the coast. This range rises into two peaks. The highest, El Cerro del Aripo, is 940 meters high; the other, El Tucuche, reaches 936 meters. The Central Range extends diagonally across the island and is a low-lying range with swampy areas rising to rolling hills; its maximum elevation is 325 meters. The Caroni Plain, composed of alluvial sediment, extends southward, separating the Northern Range and Central Range. The Southern Range consists of a broken line of hills with a maximum elevation of 305 meters.

There are numerous rivers and streams on the island of Trinidad; the most significant are the Ortoire River, fifty kilometers long, which extends eastward into the Atlantic, and the forty-kilometer-long Caroni River, reaching westward into the Gulf of Paria. Most of the soils of Trinidad are fertile, with the exception of the sandy and unstable terrain found in the southern part of the island.

Tobago is mountainous and dominated by the Main Ridge, which is 29 kilometers long with elevations up to 640 meters. There are deep, fertile valleys running north and south of the Main Ridge. The southwestern tip of the island has a coral platform. Although Tobago is volcanic in origin, there are no active volcanoes. Forestation covers 43 percent of the island. There are numerous rivers and streams, but flooding and erosion are less severe than in Trinidad. The coastline is indented with numerous bays, beaches, and narrow coastal plains.

Tobago has several small satellite islands. The largest of these, Little Tobago, is starfish shaped, hilly, and consists of 120 hectares of impenetrable vegetation.

Trinidad and Tobago, well within the tropics, both enjoy a generally pleasant maritime tropical climate influenced by the northeast trade winds. In Trinidad the annual mean temperature is 26°C, and the average maximum temperature is 33°C. The humidity is high, particularly during the rainy season, when it averages 85 to 87 percent. The island receives an average of 211 centimeters of rainfall per year, usually concentrated in the months of June through

Islands of the Commonwealth Caribbean



Figure 6. Trinidad and Tobago, 1987

December, when brief, intense showers frequently occur. Precipitation is highest in the Northern Range, which may receive as much as 381 centimeters. During the dry season, drought plagues the island's central interior. Tobago's climate is similar to Trinidad's but slightly cooler. Its rainy season extends from June to December; the annual rainfall is 250 centimeters. The islands lie outside the hurricane belt; despite this, Hurricane Flora damaged Tobago in 1963, and Tropical Storm Alma hit Trinidad in 1974, causing damage before obtaining full strength.

Because it was once part of South America, Trinidad has an assortment of tropical vegetation and wildlife considerably more varied

than that of most West Indian islands. Tobago has a generally similar but less varied assortment.

Population

In the 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago was ethnically diverse and was experiencing a renewed period of relatively rapid population growth. According to the 1980 national census, Trinidad and Tobago's population was 1,079,791; of that total, 96 percent lived on the island of Trinidad, predominantly on the west coast. Interim estimates by the national government in 1985 and 1986 placed the population at 1,176,000 and 1,199,000, respectively. Average annual population growth in the 1980s, adjusted for migration, was 1.5 percent; it was 1.6 percent in 1985 and 2 percent in 1986. Population density in 1986 was estimated at 234 people per square kilometer.

Trinidad and Tobago's population in the 1980s illustrated the society's diverse cultural influences acquired during the colonial period and included descendants of emigrants from Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Population growth in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the result of colonial powers importing unskilled labor to work the plantations. This was initially accomplished with African slaves, who were later replaced by indentured servants from India (and to a lesser extent China) following emancipation.

Trinidad and Tobago was also a leading destination of intraregional migration. From 1870 until 1910, an estimated 65,000 workers migrated to Trinidad and Tobago from British possessions in the Windward Islands and in other regions, contributing to approximately one-third of total population growth. Immigration to Trinidad and Tobago decreased in the twentieth century because of the discontinuation of indentured servitude and the expansion of other regional economies; as a result, population growth slowed during the first third of the century.

After 1930 mortality rates were drastically reduced by improved health and sanitation facilities. This caused the annual population growth rate to surge to an average of nearly 3 percent until 1960, a level that was for the first time considered detrimental to social development. The first privately run health clinic was established in the late 1950s, and initial efforts to enact a comprehensive family planning program were enormously successful at reducing population growth. By 1967 a nationally funded family planning program had been organized under the Ministry of Health, and the National Population Council coordinated both private and public clinics. By the late 1970s, about 95 percent of the female population

was aware of contraceptive alternatives, and average annual population growth was reduced to slightly above 1 percent. As contraception became commonly accepted, family size shrank from an average of six children in the 1950s to fewer than three in the early 1980s.

The dominant ethnic groups in the 1980s were those of African (referred to as blacks) and Indian (known as East Indians) descent; the 1980 census revealed that nearly 80 percent of the population was almost evenly split between the two groups. Only 1 percent of the population was classified as white, and the pure Chinese element represented no more than 0.5 percent of the population; the remainder comprised mixed racial and ethnic elements, including small numbers of Portuguese, Syrians, and Lebanese.

Blacks by and large have adopted the European way of life. Although East Indians considered themselves culturally superior, blacks maintained a slightly privileged position in society because of their earlier arrival. Status within this group was determined by the shade of one's skin. The lightest-toned blacks traditionally were associated with the elite members of the social hierarchy.

Although East Indians represented the largest nonblack element in contemporary society, they were still accorded an inferior status and maintained their own social and religious customs. In the 1980s, East Indians made some strides at becoming more influential members of society, including accession to ministerial positions in government. Nevertheless, complete interaction with blacks still had not occurred.

Ethnic and cultural characteristics remained complicated components of society in the 1980s. Although a stratified social structure was passed on from the British, the society was not defined strictly along class lines. Numerous studies have demonstrated that Trinidadians have consistently differentiated themselves and their place in society based on their ethnic affiliation. To the extent that well-defined economic class distinctions may be made, there was a distinct lack of cohesion within each class. Although the major ethnic groups were represented in all classes of society, an informal ranking was also common within each class. Generally, blacks attained a preferred position at all levels within the stratified class framework, which led to a disunity in class structure. For example, it was observed that the protests of 1970, which were designed to force change throughout society, were unable to unify black and East Indian elements. In fact, the failure of the Black Power movement, as it became known, to effect more sweeping reforms was attributed in part to an inability to mobilize other segments of the population (see *Political Dynamics*, this ch.). Although there has



*Mosque, St. Joseph, Trinidad
Courtesy Trinidad and Tobago Tourist Board*

been little overt racial disharmony, social stratification remained as much a cultural phenomenon as a socioeconomic one.

Religious distinctions in society paralleled the diverse cultural influences. According to the 1980 census, 33 percent of the population considered themselves Roman Catholics, including a large portion of the black population. Early Spanish and French influences were the principal reasons for the preponderance of Catholic worship. The East Indian population contained both Hindus and Muslims, who represented 25 percent and 6 percent of the total population, respectively. The British influence was also noticeably present, with 15 percent of the population claiming membership in the Anglican Church. Other religious affiliations included the Baptist, Methodist, and Pentecostal churches and also non-Christian sects, such as Rada and Shango.

By the mid-1980s, the national government had identified three disturbing demographic trends: excessive population growth, regional migration imbalances, and a gradual shift in the population toward urban centers. High fertility rates, which were curtailed in the 1970s, appeared to be a problem again in the mid-1980s. The increased number of births indicated that an annual population growth rate of between 1.5 and 2 percent was again a long-term possibility. Some researchers have theorized that fears that one of the two principal ethnic groups would attain numerical

superiority over the other prodded both to procreate at higher levels. The detrimental effects of high birth rates motivated the government to redouble its birth control efforts through existing programs, primarily by increasing public awareness of the burden of excessively large families on both individuals and society.

Government concerns were also directed at mitigating the effects of regional migration imbalances. Immigration of unskilled workers had been a problem for decades. The 1980 census estimated that 17,000 foreign persons had entered Trinidad and Tobago since 1970, mostly from neighboring Caribbean countries. Furthermore, the United Nations suggested that this number might be as much as 50 percent short of the real total because of misleading reporting. Emigration of skilled workers has also been a problem. Although the government actively supported emigration of unskilled workers, it had not developed a policy to entice educated and trained personnel to remain on the island. The so-called "brain drain" was addressed through pleas to nationalism, particularly to those who completed training and education with government subsidies. This migration imbalance was considered a significant factor contributing to welfare and unemployment problems.

By the mid-1980s, Trinidad and Tobago had become an urbanized society with approximately one-half of the population living in or near cities; this number was expected to grow to 65 percent by the year 2000. Urban areas had expanded beyond the ability of local governments to provide essential services to all; in addition, overcrowding was already taxing the limits of existing physical infrastructure. The development of new, smaller urban groups centered on untapped oil fields was a popular policy alternative. The construction of so-called "petro-poles" was seen as a means of alleviating urban stress as well as a necessary condition for further development of the economy.

Education

Until the twentieth century, education in Trinidad and Tobago was designed primarily to prepare the elite for study abroad and the eventual assumption of political and economic leadership roles in the society. With the exception of a few missionary schools, slaves were discouraged from attaining even minimal literacy skills. Educational opportunities did not expand greatly following emancipation; the first teacher-training program was not begun until 1852, and the first public secondary institution did not open its doors until 1925.

The public school program, which was modeled after the British system, took form in the twentieth century and eventually opened up avenues for upward mobility to all elements of society. The East Indian population, because of its lower socioeconomic status, was the last segment of society to benefit from education, but it eventually became known as one of the most academically motivated groups on the islands.

In addition to government-sponsored schools, private denominational institutions were created to pass on cultural and religious instruction, as well as traditional academic knowledge and skills. Public financial assistance to Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Muslim, and Hindu institutions eventually evolved into the modern education system of the 1980s, which incorporated schools that were both publicly and privately administered.

Under the authority of the Ministry of Education, the school system in the late 1980s consisted primarily of government and publicly assisted denominational schools. The former were administered and financed under public supervision, whereas the latter were privately controlled by religious groups, yet financed with public funds. Both maintained a similar curriculum and were free to all students who could pass the admission tests. Approximately 27 percent of all primary students attended government schools; the rest were enrolled in denominational programs, most of which were Roman Catholic.

Formal primary education commenced at age six, although many parents elected to send younger children to readily available kindergarten programs for one or two years prior to entering the school system; education was compulsory through age eleven. In the 1982-83 school year, virtually all school-age children were enrolled in one of the 467 primary institutions. At that time, there were approximately 7,500 teachers, who instructed nearly 167,000 primary students, providing a student to teacher ratio of 23 to 1.

Successful completion of primary school, as determined by a national examination, permitted students to pursue instruction at the secondary level; those who did not pass were allowed to continue primary education for an additional two years, enter a private secondary institution, or leave the school system. Junior secondary education was also available at government and assisted schools, of which there were a total of twenty-three in 1983. Total enrollment was approximately 39,000 pupils with a teaching staff of 1,400. The program consisted of three years of study in general academic subjects. Virtually all those who finished were advanced to the senior comprehensive program, which afforded an additional four years of more specialized academic or vocational instruction. There were

18 such schools in 1983, employing roughly 1,600 teachers and instructing approximately 22,000 students.

Numerous options were available during the secondary-school years in the late 1980s. In addition to academic programs, students could enter five-year technical education or teacher-training programs at the Point Fortin Vocational Center, John S. Donaldson Technical Institute, San Fernando Technical Institute, or one of the five teacher-training colleges. Instruction was offered in mechanical repair, clerical skills, construction, and education. The Eastern Caribbean Institute of Agriculture operated a two-year program that graduated approximately fifty students each year. Students who completed the full seven years of secondary academic training were eligible for further instruction at the university level.

The St. Augustine Campus of the University of the West Indies was the only local institution of higher education in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1980s. It offered both graduate and undergraduate programs in liberal arts, agriculture, science, engineering, and law. Total enrollment, including foreigners, was between 2,000 and 3,000 in the mid-1980s.

Although education was looked upon as a way of achieving upward mobility and was generally admired in Trinidadian society in the 1980s, the education system achieved only partial success in meeting the needs of society. Despite increases in the national literacy level from 74 percent in 1946 to 95 percent in 1984 and expanded efforts to develop both academic and vocational programs, employment statistics suggested that significant gaps still existed in the 1980s between formal education and the needs of a developing society.

In the mid-1980s, some observers contended that vacillating employment figures were the result of simultaneous surpluses and shortages in the work force. Although additional statistical evidence was needed to determine detailed manpower trends, it was clear that the unemployment rate of unskilled workers had gone above 25 percent, while many skilled and professional positions could not be properly filled. This situation was attributed to a deficient education system (particularly the lack of vocational training), the emigration of trained personnel, and unrealistic expectations of unskilled job seekers. These observers also noted that the highest unemployment rate was among those who had attained between one and six years of education. Members of this group refused to take menial jobs held by less educated segments of the population, yet they were unqualified to fill positions requiring specific knowledge or skills.

Increased training of teachers, greater skills instruction for those students considered unlikely to complete the junior secondary programs, and realignment of expectations of both students and workers were thought to be critical improvements. Without these changes the education system would be unable to affect employment patterns and assist with national development.

Health and Welfare

Based on standard health care indicators, Trinidad and Tobago's medical system continued to improve in the 1980s. The mortality rate had been reduced from 18.9 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1930 to 7 in 1980. The infant mortality rate for the same year was 19.7 per 1,000 live births, reduced from 34.4 in 1970. Life expectancy at birth in 1986 averaged 68.9 years.

Morbidity indicators also improved but were nevertheless below expectations. In 1983 only 60 percent of children one year of age and younger had been immunized against measles, poliomyelitis, diphtheria, pertussis, and tetanus. The implication of the deficient inoculation programs was evident in the 4.7 percent of total deaths resulting from infectious and parasitic diseases; this was significantly higher than on other English-speaking Caribbean islands.

Despite the fact that 95 percent of the population had access to potable water in 1984 and 100 percent was serviced by sanitary waste disposal, communicable diseases were still a problem. In 1983 dengue fever was endemic, venereal diseases were rampant, and tuberculosis was still a minor threat. As of 1986, there were 134 confirmed cases of acquired immune deficiency syndrome in Trinidad and Tobago, 93 resulting in death.

Drug addiction and noncommunicable diseases were becoming increasingly prevalent in the late 1980s. A 1987 government report named alcoholism as the most serious drug abuse problem and also pointed to a noticeable rise in the use of marijuana and cocaine. Abuse of other drugs, however, had not yet become a serious problem. Drug abuse in general, and alcoholism in particular, was considered a significant contributor to the relatively high incidence of motor vehicle fatalities and the increasing suicide rate. Cancer, hypertension, and heart disease were the most common noncommunicable health problems.

The government redirected its national health strategy in the 1980s to reflect the Pan American Health Organization's emphasis on primary health care. The principal goal was to provide basic health care to all communities, utilizing a decentralized, public education format, and giving maternal and child health care priority status.

In the 1980s, the overall public health program was the responsibility of the Ministry of Health, Welfare, and Status of Women. It was divided into four divisions responsible for community services, environmental health, institutional health care, and epidemiology. Community services oversaw the primary (curative and preventative), secondary (hospitalization), and tertiary (specialized and long-term) community health service program. At the local level, each county had a medical officer responsible for the health care system, particularly primary health care.

Primary health care revolved around the 102 health centers located throughout the country. They provided outpatient services on a daily basis, which included the rotation of medical specialists. Public health nurses were also available to make house calls and visit schools. The health centers were the primary vehicles for extending the immunization programs. Secondary health care was available at eight district hospitals, as well as two large government hospitals in Port-of-Spain and San Fernando.

Tertiary health care was available only in Port-of-Spain. The main facility was the Mount Hope Medical Complex, which housed a 340-bed general-purpose hospital, 200-bed pediatric facility, and 110-bed maternity hospital. Other specialized facilities included the St. Ann's Hospital for psychiatric care, Caura Hospital for cardiology and pathology services, and St. James Infirmary for geriatric, oncological, and physical therapeutic care.

The total number of public hospital beds in 1986 was approximately 4,900; there were 15 private health institutions that provided an additional 300 beds. Private sector health services concentrated primarily on ambulatory care; some publicly employed physicians maintained separate private practices, however. In 1984 Trinidad and Tobago had 1,213 doctors, or a ratio of 10.6 per 10,000 inhabitants. At the same time, there were 104 dentists and 3,346 nurses, or ratios of 0.9 and 29.6 per 10,000 inhabitants, respectively.

In spite of noted improvements in health care delivery, serious deficiencies were still evident in the late 1980s. The ratio of population to health centers was twice as large as desired, requiring a long-term commitment to the construction of additional facilities. There was also a lack of critical medicines and trained medical personnel, particularly technicians. Physical facilities and equipment also required attention, as did the lack of dental care nationwide.

The National Insurance Scheme acted as the equivalent of a social security system in the late 1980s. Welfare disbursements went to public assistance programs, food stamps, and retirement pensions and played a small role in health care by providing compensation for injuries and diseases acquired on the job.

Economy

In the 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago was an upper-middle-income, oil-exporting country that was highly dependent on the world price of oil for its economic growth. The nation displayed the largest gross domestic product (GDP—see Glossary) of the Commonwealth Caribbean, one of the highest per capita GDPs among the nations of the Western Hemisphere, and one of the highest standards of living in the developing world. The country's GDP in 1985 stood at roughly US\$7.7 billion at current prices, or about US\$6,000 per capita.

The major sectors of the economy were petroleum and petrochemicals, construction, services, and agriculture. Petroleum had fueled the economy since the early twentieth century and in 1985 still represented roughly 24 percent of GDP and 80 percent of exports. Oil reserves at the current rate of extraction were expected to last approximately ten years, but the islands enjoyed large reserves of natural gas. New petrochemical plants, utilizing the country's natural gas resources, came on-stream in the early 1980s and included ammonia, urea, and methanol. These large industrial projects were located at the newly built Point Lisas industrial park, which, along with the park's new iron and steel plant, provided Trinidad and Tobago with an industrial base that was unmatched throughout the Caribbean. Construction, the major employer in the economy and often considered the bellwether of general economic activity, expanded rapidly during the oil boom of the 1970s but contracted greatly in the 1980s. Services, such as financial services and utilities, also had expanded rapidly since the 1970s and played a major role in the economy; by contrast, tourism was rather undeveloped when compared with other Caribbean islands. The agricultural sector was suffering from a long-run decline, but growth in domestic agriculture in the 1980s helped to revive that shrinking sector, albeit only partially.

In the postwar era, the economy experienced two great boom decades, both of which were followed by decades of slow or negative growth. Real GDP growth averaged 8 percent in the 1950s as the economy diversified into manufacturing and construction through the use of import substitution industrialization (see Glossary) strategies. Growth in import substitution manufacturing and the economy as a whole waned in the late 1960s, exacerbating the social unrest at the end of the decade. The quadrupling of oil prices in 1973 revived the economy and created a 9.6-percent real annual growth rate from 1974 to 1979. Trinidadians and Tobagonians, nicknamed the "Arabs of the Caribbean," were known

throughout the region in the 1970s for the carnival of consumption that they participated in with their instant oil wealth. The downturn in oil prices in 1982, however, plummeted the economy into a deep depression in 1983 from which the country had not emerged by 1987. Negative growth peaked in 1984, when the economy contracted by nearly 11 percent.

Even with cyclical growth, the citizens benefited from a quality of life that surpassed that of not only most other Caribbean islands but of other Western Hemisphere oil exporters such as Mexico and Venezuela as well. The country also enjoyed a literacy rate higher than Italy's, a per capita energy consumption rate that exceeded Britain's, a per capita newspaper circulation above that in several Western European countries, an income distribution comparable to that of the United States, and an access to electricity and potable water that was better than most developing countries. Nevertheless, the country also suffered problems associated with more developed societies, including pollution, obsessive consumption, entrenched labor disputes, and growing drug abuse. As in other Caribbean countries, chronic unemployment, which had climbed to 17 percent by 1987, was the major social problem. In addition, East Indians and women lacked the same economic opportunities as white or black males; these disparities were narrowing, however.

Unlike other Caribbean nations, Trinidad and Tobago benefited immensely from the energy crisis of the 1970s. The oil boom of the 1970s flooded the national treasury, cut the unemployment rate in half, created large balance of payments surpluses, and stimulated the economy at large. Nonetheless, it also devastated the agriculture sector, which declined 25 percent because of the resulting shortages of laborers, who migrated to west coast cities for higher wages. Although the boom was reversed in the early 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago's accumulated wealth permitted it to weather the impact of the international recession better than most developing countries and avoid the debt crisis that confronted its neighbors. Although some charges of government waste and corruption were voiced during the 1970s and 1980s, sufficient discipline in public finance prevailed to allow the country to elude the fiscal crisis that confronted other oil-exporting, developing nations such as Mexico, Venezuela, and Nigeria.

In the late 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago displayed a mixed economy that allowed for a level of government involvement second only to that in Cuba among the countries of the Western Hemisphere. The large role in the economy of subsidies, transfers, and joint ventures between the government and the private sector created an intertwining of the public and private sectors that often

blurred distinctions between them. During the 1970s, the government purchased a share in over fifty major companies in banking, insurance, agriculture, utilities, and manufacturing. As a consequence, the government also became the largest single employer in the country. Although Trinidad and Tobago was a country where capitalism generally flourished, free enterprise, especially the foreign sector, was highly regulated by the government.

Trinidad and Tobago was a very open economy, dependent on the export of oil to purchase large amounts of imported food, consumer goods, and capital goods. Oil represented approximately 80 percent of exports, whereas food accounted for as much as 20 percent of imports in the late 1980s. Trinidad and Tobago was the most important exporter of oil to the United States from the Caribbean Basin. The country supplied nearly 50 percent of that region's oil exports to the United States, as well as 18 percent of the region's total exports to that same market. Unlike virtually every other Caribbean country, Trinidad and Tobago generally enjoyed yearly trade and balance of payments surpluses. The country depended on the United States for roughly 50 percent of its trade, but the islands also maintained important trade relations with the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Caribbean Community and Common Market (Caricom—see Appendix C). Once a donor nation that aided its poorer Caribbean neighbors, Trinidad and Tobago in the late 1980s was increasingly in need of external financing to weather its economic adjustment period.

Growth and Structure of the Economy

Trinidad was neglected by Spanish mercantilists until the late 1700s because it was perceived to be poorly endowed. In 1776 Spanish authorities finally allowed French planters from other Eastern Caribbean islands to enter Trinidad, stimulating the subsequent expansion of a sugar plantation economy based on slave labor (see *Colonial Heritage*, this ch.). After the creation of the first sugar plantation in 1787, agriculture expanded so rapidly that a decade later there were 159 sugar plantations, 130 coffee estates, 60 cacao (the bean from which cocoa is derived) estates, and 103 cotton estates. The rapid success of the French planters attracted the interest of the British, who captured the island in 1797.

In the early 1800s, Trinidad's agricultural economy was based on highly productive cane fields and on coffee, cacao, and other export crops. Trinidad's average sugar plantation (over 240 hectares) was larger than that in other Commonwealth Caribbean islands. Unlike smaller islands, such as St. Christopher and Antigua, Trinidad was less dependent on sugar for its labor and exports,

as other export crops held relatively important economic roles. Agricultural estates were worked by slaves imported from West Africa until 1807, when the British abolished the slave trade. After complete emancipation in 1838, freed blacks played a decreasing role in agriculture because of the annual importation of about 2,000 indentured East Indians, more than in any other Caribbean island. At a time when other English-speaking islands were suffering declines in sugar production, Trinidad's quadrupled from 1828 to 1895, mostly as a result of the imported East Indian labor force. Although sugar wages were low, wages of Trinidadian sugar workers in the 1800s already surpassed those of their Caribbean counterparts.

Tobago, officially linked to Trinidad in 1889, was traditionally neglected by both the Spanish and the British in economic terms. Nevertheless, Tobago was one of the top sugar producers in the West Indies in the early 1800s. Tobago's agricultural production was characterized by the French *métayer* system, a form of sharecropping, imported with French planters from St. Lucia. As late as 1839, the island registered an annual trade surplus as large as 20,000 British pounds sterling. As its sugar industry declined in the late 1800s, however, it received less and less attention from the British, preventing significant infrastructural development. Economic neglect continued for decades, so that by 1946 Tobago was the most underpopulated island in the British Caribbean.

Trinidad and Tobago entered the twentieth century with the fortuitous discovery of oil in 1907. The discovery changed Trinidad's patterns of economic development and further differentiated it from other English-speaking islands in the Caribbean. Exports of oil left the island for the first time in 1909, but production did not drastically increase until the British Royal Navy converted to oil during the following decade. During World War I, Trinidad and Tobago became the major source of oil for the navy. As oil output skyrocketed from 125,000 barrels a year in 1910 to over 2 million barrels by 1920, so did the number of foreign oil companies competing for control of the precious resource. The oil boom during the second decade of the 1900s was not experienced in the rest of the economy, however, which was depressed.

As the decade came to a close, two events changed Trinidad's economic future. The termination of East Indian indentureship in 1917 created greater economic demands from the agricultural labor force, whose wages had hardly increased over a century. The other major event was the return of Trinidadian soldiers from World War I who served in the West India Regiment. Exposed to greater personal freedoms and workers' rights, as well as prejudice, these

veterans were at the forefront in organizing for greater economic benefits for labor from foreign sugar and oil companies.

The first visible signs of Trinidad's growing labor movement appeared in the aftermath of the riots of 1919 when Cipriani assumed the clear leadership of the movement. The Cipriani-led labor movement in the 1920s fought for a minimum wage, eight-hour day, child labor laws, compulsory education, heavier taxation of foreign oil companies, and general social reform. A moderate, Cipriani tempered the burgeoning labor movement under British colonial rule until the early 1930s, when the labor movement was radicalized by the advent of the Great Depression.

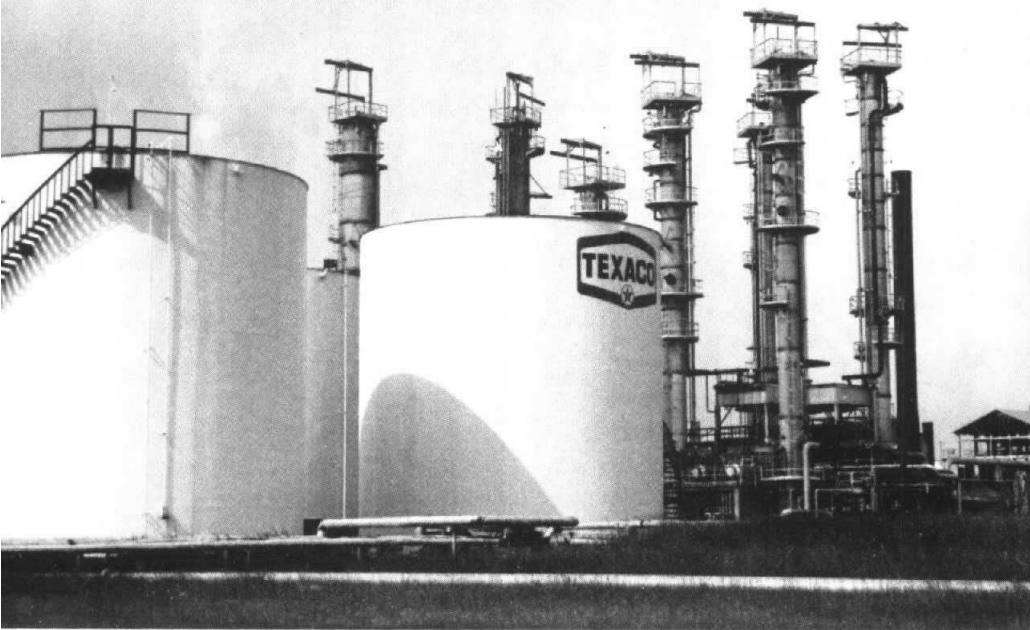
The economic hardship of the depression resulted in fewer jobs, poor health conditions, low wages, and growing resentment of foreign ownership in the oil and sugar industries. The decline in sugar that accompanied the depression, severe droughts, and disease of the cacao crops drastically increased rural unemployment in the early 1930s. The downturn in sugar, in particular, led to the consolidation of the landholdings of the dominant British firm, Tate and Lyle, which continued to pay its London stockholders handsome dividends. Decreased economic opportunities in the countryside sparked widespread demonstrations in the sugar belt by 1934. Meanwhile, health conditions remained poor, as many Trinidadians suffered from malaria, ancylostomiasis, tuberculosis, and yellow fever. As unemployment remained high, wages were kept low—only US\$0.72 a day for an unskilled oil worker and US\$0.35 a day for an unskilled sugar worker in 1937. Large profit remittance continued in the oil industry as well as in the sugar industry, causing growing worker resentment of foreign ownership; this resentment culminated in the riots of 1937.

Butler emerged from the islandwide strikes of 1937 as the undisputed successor to Cipriani as the leader of the Trinidadian labor movement. Butler, more radical and uncompromising than Cipriani, continued to forge a strong trade union movement in Trinidad and Tobago. Rienzi, Butler's associate, was another rising labor leader who came to lead the powerful OWTU and later presided over the FWTU, an umbrella labor organization. The labor movement in the 1930s was also marked by the growing participation of East Indians, most notably through the ATSE/FWTU. Although by 1940 Trinidad and Tobago had extensive and relatively responsible trade unions, it was not until 1943 that they possessed the procedural framework to negotiate industrial disputes effectively with the British. Nonetheless, Trinidad and Tobago generally enjoyed strong negotiating power with the British because of the colony's vital oil resources.

Patterns of Development

World War II profoundly transformed the economy and society of Trinidad and Tobago. As in World War I, World War II produced an oil boom as the nation fueled the Allied forces' war efforts, causing oil to replace sugar as the most important sector in the economy. A more profound social and economic transformation, however, resulted from the new military presence of the United States in Chaguaramas, Trinidad, as an outcome of the 1941 Lend-Lease Agreement between the United States and Britain (see *The Road to Independence*, this ch.; *Historical Background*, ch. 7). The building of a United States base in Trinidad created a strong upswing in construction activity, directly employing approximately 30,000 workers, or between 15 and 20 percent of the labor force. The United States presence had many spin-offs, both economic and social. The Americans, having no colonial relationship with the Trinidadians, generally saw them as their equal and were willing to pay them relatively high wages. Real wages rose, employment improved, ports were upgraded, and the economy was stimulated by greater consumption from high wages. Higher urban wages, however, accelerated rural-urban migration, causing a shortage of agricultural labor as sugar employment dropped from 30,000 in 1939 to 18,000 in 1943. The Americans' fewer class prejudices also helped dispel myths of white supremacy as they, too, performed manual labor and consumed their earnings alongside Trinidadians. The United States presence also caused a greater penetration of American culture and consumption habits, which unrealistically increased the economic expectations of many Trinidadians.

The diminished world trade resulting from the war changed the production patterns in Trinidad and Tobago. Decreased markets for traditional agricultural exports and declining food imports caused total land under food production to more than double during the war. Although high urban wages resulting from the United States presence were a drain on the rural labor supply, food production actually increased as output shifted from export agriculture to domestic agriculture. Domestic agriculture was also bolstered by guaranteed prices for farmers, price controls, and government "back to the land" slogans. The fall in imports had a similar effect on Trinidad's small manufacturing sector, which previously was limited to the processing of export crops. Shortages in consumer goods during the war stimulated the import substitution of those products most easily produced domestically, such as edible oils, fats, matches, some textiles, and other consumer necessities.



*Oil refinery, Trinidad
Courtesy Inter-American Development Bank*

In the 1950s, the economy of Trinidad and Tobago experienced a postwar boom unprecedented on both islands. Real GDP increased an average of 8.5 percent annually from 1951 to 1961; in the second half of the period, from 1956 to 1961, growth averaged 10 percent annually. In spite of rapid population growth during this period, real per capita income increased 15 percent. The evolving structure of the economy was characterized by the rise of industry and services and the decline of agriculture. Oil, construction, and manufacturing emerged as dominant industrial sectors. In 1956 a United States oil company, Texaco, entered Trinidad and Tobago and consolidated several holdings of other companies. Oil production jumped from under 60,000 barrels per day (bpd) prior to 1950 to 80,000 bpd toward the end of the decade. In addition, the price of oil continued to rise, allowing for increased oil earnings and growing government revenues. Early self-government in the 1950s launched extensive infrastructure projects, causing construction to more than double in over ten years. Manufacturing's output, encouraged by generous fiscal incentives since 1950, also increased rapidly, although its share of GDP rose only slightly from 11 to 13 percent. In terms of services, the banking industry enjoyed the fastest growth in the whole economy, and tourism was stimulated by new fiscal incentives as well. Agriculture, by contrast, decreased as public finance favored industry. During the 1950s, agriculture's

share of total output dropped from 17 to 12 percent. Domestic agriculture, emphasized during World War II, shrank after the war and was the main reason for the sector's decline. Export agriculture, although faced with serious challenges, such as continued cacao diseases and changes in British agreements on sugar, was generally able to maintain production levels.

In the early 1960s, Trinidad and Tobago's tremendous growth spurt slowed, and the economy entered a ten-year period of sluggish growth. By the 1960s, the islands' labor force was highly unionized and urbanized, many belonging to the middle class, a situation unknown in most developing countries. As economic growth slowed, increased demands were voiced for adequate housing, better labor rights, more jobs, improved living and working conditions, more equitable distribution of wealth, and national ownership of resources. Despite these demands, the socioeconomic problems present in Trinidad and Tobago were hardly as acute as in other Caribbean countries; nonetheless, such issues as negative attitudes toward foreign ownership tended to dominate. The key sectors of the economy—oil, sugar, and banking—were dominated by multinational corporations. Growing resentment over foreign control of national resources intensified as the economy deteriorated in the late 1960s. The high unemployment rate of 15 percent tended to increase the number of industrial disputes and fortify union militancy. These events, culminating in the Black Power movement of 1970, set the stage for increased nationalization of resources during the 1970s.

In late 1973 world oil prices quadrupled and rescued Trinidad and Tobago from the decaying economic and political trend of the late 1960s and early 1970s. During the rest of the decade, the economy experienced rapid growth and was drastically transformed. In the 1970s, the country enjoyed its second major economic boom in only thirty years. At a time when many of the world's economies entered a deep recession, Trinidad and Tobago's economy experienced real annual growth of 9.6 percent from 1974 to 1979. Unemployment declined to a low of 8 percent by 1980. Government revenues from oil increased from a level equal to 20 percent of GDP in the early 1970s to 41 percent by 1980, fueling 65 percent of government revenues by the end of the decade. Escalating government revenues heartened Prime Minister Williams to remark that "money is no problem," epitomizing the nation's feel of instant wealth. Money was indeed no problem; the government spent more than US\$120 million to purchase shares of over fifty major companies in the country, including majority or minority ownership in oil, gas, aviation, agriculture, utilities, and banking.

Major new government investments, such as the multibillion-dollar industrial park at Point Lisas, low-cost housing projects, and expanded utility services, caused the construction industry to soar. Free-flowing petrodollars spawned strong consumption that, in turn, stimulated local manufacturing to grow at an annual pace of 9 percent. In contrast, agriculture was severely neglected and shrank by 25 percent during the oil boom. The decline in agriculture was symbolized by the 1984 sugar harvest, the country's worst in forty-five years. Increased consumption and declining agricultural production made the economy much more import intensive as higher oil prices temporarily footed the import bill.

The sharp fallout in oil prices in the early 1980s forced Prime Minister George Chambers in 1983 to state bluntly that "the fête is over." From 1983 to 1986, the economy experienced strong negative growth: negative 2.6 percent in 1983, negative 10.8 percent in 1984, negative 6.5 percent in 1985, and negative 5.1 percent in 1986; continued negative growth was estimated in 1987. The islands' international reserves, which soared from a low US\$34 million in 1973 to US\$3.3 billion in 1981, had declined to under US\$500 million by 1985. As a result of deteriorating economic conditions, the Trinidad and Tobago dollar was devalued by 50 percent in December 1985. Worth double the United States dollar in the 1970s, the Trinidad and Tobago dollar was valued at less than a third of the United States dollar by the mid-1980s. The unemployment rate crept as high as 17 percent by 1987. As the economy continued in a deep recession in the late 1980s, there was growing evidence of increased underground economic activity linked to cocaine trafficking (see National Security, this ch.).

Role of Government

Government involvement in the economy increased rapidly with early self-government in 1950. Spurred by the economic decision making of Gomes, the young government embarked on an "industrialization by invitation" strategy in an attempt to emphasize manufacturing (see *The Road to Independence*, this ch.). The strategy was a natural outgrowth of the success of import substitution manufacturing that had occurred during World War II. The most significant pieces of legislation that changed the government's stance on the economy were the Aid to Pioneer Industries Ordinance and the Income Tax Reform Ordinance to Benefit Industry, both enacted in 1950. These measures provided wide-ranging fiscal concessions for infant industries. Similar measures were also developed for tourism. Fiscal incentives permitted new investment to benefit from accelerated depreciation allowances,

duty-free importation of machinery and raw materials, and provisions for the repatriation of profits. These fiscal measures marked the first time Trinidad and Tobago sought foreign capital outside of Britain. In 1962 drastically increased tariffs complemented the fiscal incentives designed to encourage manufacturing and to protect it from outside competition. Although tourism did not receive the attention accorded to manufacturing, there was renewed interest in Tobago, the island traditionally neglected by Port-of-Spain officials.

These policies, bolstered by an expanding world economy, proved a general success as the unprecedented growth of the 1950s included the establishment of over 100 pioneer industries by the mid-1960s. These comprised basic manufacturing, such as bricks, beer, textiles, glass, cement, paints, and chemicals. Although incentive legislation helped expand output in manufacturing, many expectations for the sector were not met. Manufacturing's share of GDP did rise, but the sector never obtained the dominance it held in Jamaica. Employment expectations were also not met as foreign investment brought industries that were more capital intensive than anticipated. In general, there were few economic linkages forged between the oil and manufacturing sectors in the 1960s. The employment absorption of new manufacturing generally went unseen as Trinidadian society experienced its fastest population growth rate ever, increasing over 50 percent from 1940 to 1960.

The government's industrial push in the postwar era also included heavy investments in the islands' physical, social, and organizational infrastructure. To meet growing commercial and residential demands, the country's water, electricity, communication, and transportation systems were expanded. Likewise, self-government emphasized the need for improved social services such as medical and educational facilities. Beginning in 1958, the government issued the first in a series of five-year plans. The last five-year plan (1974-78) was never completed, as expectations of continued oil wealth apparently precluded the need for further plans.

The role of the government in the economy increased drastically during the 1970s. The move toward increased government involvement in the economy was the direct result of the Black Power movement of 1970 and the long-term consequence of decades of trade union criticism of foreign ownership. Some foreign firms were nationalized with compensation; the government typically acquired only a 51-percent equity share of these companies. Other firms were simply localized in ownership via the purchase of a majority of shares by private Trinidadian citizens. In 1971 the government bought a 51-percent share of the Caroni Sugar Company, which controlled over 90 percent of sugar activity in the country. The

banking industry underwent a nationalization and localization process in 1972. In that year the government purchased a 51-percent share of the Royal Bank of Canada, subsequently renamed the Royal Bank of Trinidad and Tobago. Meanwhile, Barclays Bank (renamed the Republic Bank), the Bank of Nova Scotia, and numerous insurance companies were localized in ownership. Although the government's prominent entrance into the economy predated the oil boom, increased government revenues from oil accelerated the process. Between 1968 and 1974, the government entered the oil industry in force, purchasing the oil holdings of the British Petroleum Company and Shell Corporation and integrating them into the newly established Trinidad and Tobago Oil Company (Trintoc). In the same year, Texaco's gas stations were localized islandwide. By the late 1970s, the government had become the largest employer in the country.

Petrodollar revenues expanded the state's range of activities in the economy from nationalization and localization to the introduction of widespread subsidies and large-scale public works programs, the creation of numerous state-owned enterprises, and the implementation of huge industrial projects. Like other oil economies, Trinidad and Tobago suffered from the "Dutch disease," the process by which oil-wealthy nations tend to subsidize non-oil sectors of the economy. During the 1970s, subsidies and transfers represented the greatest share of current government costs, moving from 25 percent of government expenditure in 1977 to 36 percent by 1980. Subsidies alone more than tripled during this period. For example, subsidies on gasoline allowed prices to remain the same throughout the decade, when market prices more than quadrupled. Although subsidies were primarily redistributive in their intent, they also handsomely benefited the private sector, whose inputs such as water and electricity were also supported. Ambitious public works programs, developed to alleviate unemployment, employed some 50,000 citizens but were largely inefficient and unclear in their objectives.

The multibillion-dollar industrial park at Point Lisas, more than any other single activity, symbolized the thorough role of government involvement. The park was constructed, in part, with revenues from the so-called Special Funds for Long-Term Development, consisting of over forty different funds. Cost overruns were so prevalent during the construction of the park that no final cost was ever obtained. The park sought to use the country's oil and natural gas reserves for a well-integrated petrochemical industry, alongside heavy industries like steel. Most of the site's plants came on-stream in the early to mid-1980s, including steel, urea, ammonia, cement,

and methanol plants and an oil refinery. Although these plants were still young in the 1980s, concerns existed that some of these projects could turn into white elephants. Also considered, but not constructed as of the late 1980s, were an alumina (see Glossary) smelter (Trinidad is a bauxite [see Glossary] transshipment site) and a plant to process liquefied natural gas.

The government's attitudes toward its role in the economy remained unchanged in the 1980s. Despite minor policy differences, both Prime Minister Chambers (1981-86) and subsequently Prime Minister Robinson (1986-) continued to perceive an extensive role for the state in the country's mixed economy. One significant change enacted by the Chambers government was to reduce the number of bids offered to foreign contractors for large industrial projects. After a Ministry of External Affairs report concluded that these foreign firms had financially exploited the arrangements and hurt local competitors, the process was changed to favor locals.

Chambers, however, confronted much more devastating economic difficulties as a result of the deep recession brought on by the sharp fall in oil prices in 1982. Decreased oil production lowered government revenues, a sizable portion of which were derived from the petroleum industry. Growing fiscal deficits prompted the Chambers government to pursue unpopular domestic policies, such as decreased subsidies, increased utility rates, an increased tax base, and, most important, deep reductions in capital expenditures, thereby eliminating most funds for economic development. To stabilize the country's deteriorating balance of payments position, the government opted for equally unpopular trade policies. These measures included a new import licensing system and a dual exchange rate, both of which drew the ire of other Caricom nations. To help smooth the adjustment period, the Chambers government invited William Demas, a well-known Trinidadian economist and president of the Caribbean Development Bank, to write a broad "Imperatives of Adjustment Plan" to help stabilize the country's accounts and work toward a recovery.

A recovery, however, never materialized under Chambers, and the Robinson government was faced with the same task of reversing the recession, reducing budget deficits, and stabilizing the balance of payments, but with fewer resources. In 1987 the Robinson government proposed few policies that diverged widely from those of Chambers. A major goal of the Robinson government, however, was to improve relations with Caricom trading partners, which had soured because of Trinidad and Tobago's protectionist policies in the early to mid-1980s. The unification of the country's exchange rate in January 1987, followed by the removal of a

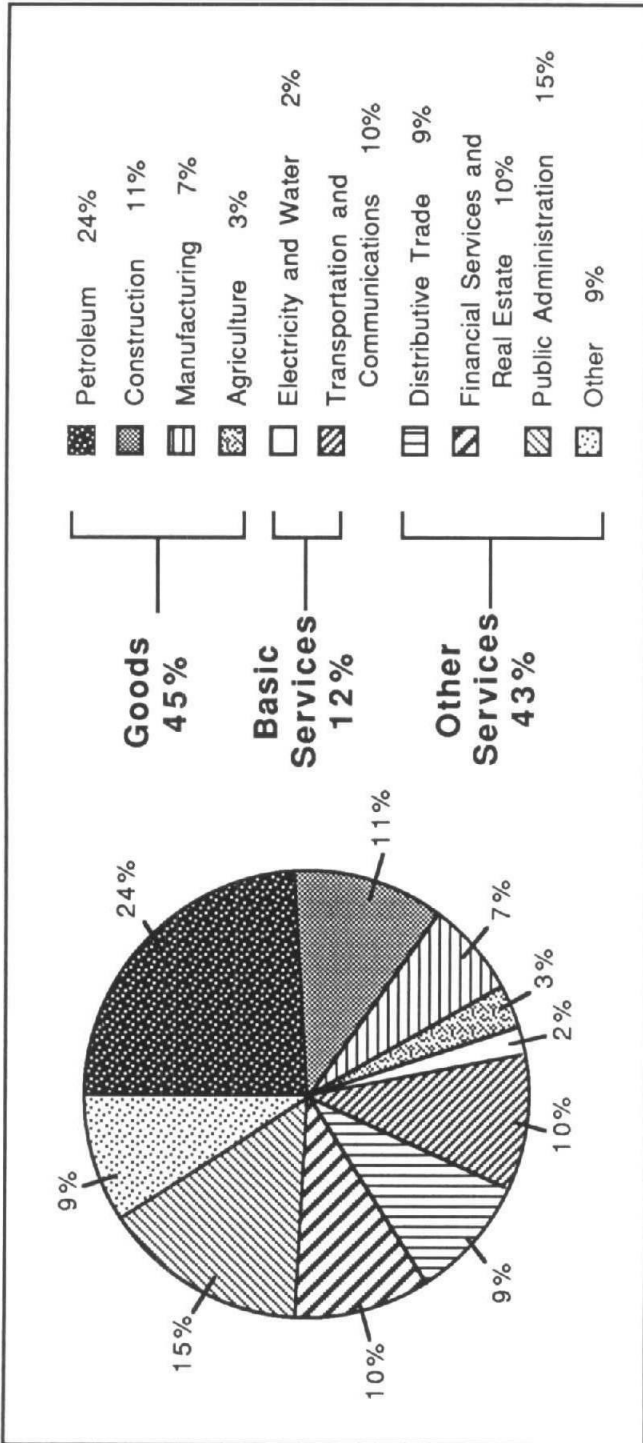
12-percent import duty for most Caricom countries in July, did help to revive regional integration. On the budgetary side, Robinson continued to reduce capital expenditures; unlike Chambers, however, he attempted deep cuts in current expenditures, most notably the cost of living allowances of civil servants. That proposal was withdrawn, however, after a storm of protest. Nonetheless, the issue was important in that it symbolized the difficulty the Robinson government might face in seeking economic concessions after a decade of great wealth. In his 1987 budget speech, Robinson warned of the possible divestment of some state-run enterprises, thus earning his government an early reputation as pro-business. In the late 1980s, the NAR government's main economic objectives remained economic recovery and diversification; nonetheless, the new government cautioned that its economic program would require ten years to be completely effective.

National Income and Public Finance

Trinidad and Tobago's GDP in 1985 totaled US\$7.7 billion at current prices, a figure that had declined in real terms every year since the country's peak performance of 1982. In 1985 the petroleum industry continued to dominate the country's production, contributing 24 percent of national output. This was followed by public administration (15 percent), construction (11 percent), financial services and real estate (10 percent), transportation and communications (10 percent), distributive trade (9 percent), other services (9 percent), manufacturing (7 percent), agriculture (3 percent), and electricity and water (2 percent) (see fig. 7). The most prominent changes in the structure of the economy occurred in the petroleum and construction sectors, which had contributed as much as 36 and 14 percent, respectively, to national output during the first five years of the decade. The largest sectoral increases occurred in government, up 7 percentage points, and other services, up over 3 percent.

The fiscal year in Trinidad and Tobago in the late 1980s was the same as the calendar year. The budget was listed by ministries and various government agencies, often broken down by subunits. There were both current and capital accounts, but capital expenditures were not listed in detail.

The national accounts of Trinidad and Tobago were affected greatly by the oil boom of the 1970s and then by the subsequent decline in the 1980s. Because of the increase in oil prices, government revenues tripled in 1974 and expanded rapidly thereafter until they peaked in 1982. Expenditures also expanded rapidly, but less rapidly than revenues, creating budget surpluses every year except for a slight deficit in 1979. Over half of government oil revenues



Source: Based on information from Central Bank of Trinidad and Tobago, *Annual Report, 1985*. Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, 1986, 68.

Figure 7. Trinidad and Tobago. Gross Domestic Product by Sector, 1985

went into the Special Funds for Long-Term Development. In contrast to the 1970s, budget deficits occurred every year in the 1980s, beginning in 1982. A record budget deficit of approximately US\$766 million was recorded in 1986. Budget deficits in the 1980s were financed primarily by borrowing from the Central Bank with minimal external lending. In addition, revenue shortfalls were financed by transfers from the Special Funds for Long-Term Development, which generated roughly US\$3 billion during the 1970s. These funds, however, were depleted by the mid-1980s from project and deficit spending. Reductions in expenditures in the mid-1980s were attained almost exclusively by deep cuts in capital expenditures. In the late 1980s, the Robinson government planned to curtail current account spending, make state enterprises more accountable, and possibly divest certain government entities. Robinson chose to avoid what he termed the “debt trap and dependence on the IMF” (International Monetary Fund—see Glossary) in favor of belt tightening, reducing expenditures, and increasing revenues through higher taxation.

The public sector investment program that had evolved in the 1970s involved a budgetary process that caused concern in the following decade. As the state took on a greater role in the economy with its oil windfalls, there was less discipline in the establishment of cost restraints for large investment projects, making many capital outlays open ended in terms of expected final costs. In 1987, however, the Robinson government called for the review of the organization and structure of each state enterprise and announced that there would be an in-depth study of the viability of state enterprises. Likewise, Robinson announced that state-owned corporations would need to improve their internal financing and auditing procedures. As part of a plan of capital restructuring, Robinson noted in his 1987 budget speech that most current expenditures that continued to go to these enterprises would be transferred to the capital account.

Expenditures

Total government expenditures in 1985 reached approximately US\$3.2 billion, US\$380 million more than revenues. Government expenditures peaked in 1982 after a decade of rapid growth that was paid for by increased revenues from oil. As oil revenues increased, so did the government’s role in the economy, causing government spending as a percentage of GDP to increase from 20 percent in the early 1970s, to 35 percent by 1980, to approximately 40 percent by 1985.

Current expenditures in 1985 totaled US\$2.5 billion, or 78 percent of total expenditures. Current expenditures experienced an average annual increase of 40 percent from 1973 to 1976, decreased slightly in 1977, and then expanded 32 percent annually from 1978 to 1981. Expenditures grew more slowly than revenues, however, generating annual surpluses on the current account from 1974 to 1979 that averaged 18 percent of GDP. The fastest growing portion of current expenditures in the 1970s was subsidies and transfers, which tripled from 1977 to 1980, increasing from 5.4 percent of total expenditures to 12 percent in that same period. Ninety percent of subsidies went to agricultural production, food, and cement. Although total expenditures decreased after 1982, current expenditures decreased only slightly, peaking once again in 1986.

The current account in 1985 was broken down into five functional categories: general services, community services, social services, economic services, and unallocated expenditures. The largest share of current expenditures, 44 percent, went to social services, comprising health, education, welfare, and housing. General services trailed social services with 21 percent, including fiscal services, economic regulation, defense, justice, and police. Unallocated expenditures followed with 17 percent, generally for public debt servicing and payments to local government. Economic services accounted for 11 percent, primarily toward agriculture, energy, and transportation. Community services accounted for the balance of 7 percent, the majority going to roads.

The distribution of current account expenditures in 1985 was typical of the trends in the decade. In terms of economic classification, 1985 current expenditures were divided as follows: 45 percent to subsidies and transfers, 42 percent to wages and salaries, 8 percent to goods and services, and 5 percent to interest payments. Salary increases for civil servants often accounted for a large percentage of increases on the account in a given year. Interest payments' share of current expenditures was lower than in other Commonwealth Caribbean countries because of the economy's manageable debt. The minor cutbacks made to current account expenditures in the 1980s went primarily to reduce transfers and subsidies.

Capital expenditures totaled US\$683 million, or roughly 21 percent of total expenditures in 1985. Public sector capital investment during the 1970s grew rapidly, accounting for nearly 70 percent of total investment. From 1972 to 1980, capital expenditures grew 46 percent annually, faster than even current expenditures. The growth in capital investment by the government increased the account's share of GDP from 6 percent in the early 1970s to 18

percent by 1980. During the 1970s, a large percentage of capital expenditures went to purchase numerous state-run enterprises, large industrial and infrastructure projects, and lending to public sector entities. Capital expenditures peaked in 1982 and then declined by 55 percent from 1982 to 1985. These cutbacks drastically changed capital expenditures' share of total government expenditures from the peak in 1982 of 47.7 percent to a low of 21.5 percent by 1985. In 1985 over one-third of capital expenditures were destined for state enterprises. Most of the remaining capital outlays went to housing, schools, agriculture, public utilities, and transportation.

Revenues

Government revenues in 1985 stood at US\$2.8 billion, causing a budget deficit of some US\$380 million. Revenues tripled in 1974 as the price of oil soared, causing total revenues to rise from roughly US\$245 million in 1973 to over US\$700 million in 1974. Between 1970 and 1986, total government revenues as a share of GDP doubled to 40 percent of GDP. Oil tax receipts dominated, contributing 65 percent of total government revenues by 1980. Taxes on the oil sector included corporate taxes, royalties, unemployment levies, excise duties, and others. Government revenues declined substantially after 1982, however, as a result of the fall in oil prices. By 1985 oil-sector tax revenues accounted for only 39 percent of total current revenue; nonetheless, Trinidad and Tobago continued to have one of the highest corporate taxes in the region.

Although the oil sector was the most visibly taxed part of the economy, approximately 60 percent of revenues in 1985 came from taxes from the non-oil sector, primarily individual income taxes, sales taxes, and import duties. Non-tax revenues accounted for less than 1 percent of total revenues. Plans to increase government revenues in the late 1980s included increases in taxation of individuals and corporations, taxes on oil and airplane tickets, and a 5-percent increase in the purchase tax. The new government in 1987 was also studying the possibility of tax reform or major simplifications of the tax system.

Labor Force and Industrial Relations

The labor force in 1985 consisted of 463,900 persons, or about 39 percent of the total population. Men outnumbered women almost two to one in the registered work force, although women dominated the informal service sector, where they were not recorded. Nearly half of the work force, 49 percent, were classified under "other services," which included many self-employed or own-account workers. Construction was the largest employer of

productive labor (18 percent), followed by manufacturing (15 percent), agriculture (11 percent), and transportation and communications (7 percent).

Unemployment remained Trinidad and Tobago's principal economic and social problem in the late 1980s. Unemployment worsened steadily throughout the decade from a low of 8 to 9 percent in the early 1980s to a high of 17 percent in 1987. Trinidad and Tobago used a different method to calculate its unemployment rate from that used by the United States, however, in an attempt to compensate for the high levels of underemployment and disguised unemployment (see *Labor Force and Industrial Relations*, ch. 2). Women and urban youth faced higher levels of unemployment. In 1985 youths 15 to 19 years of age suffered a 39-percent unemployment rate, whereas those 20 to 24 years of age experienced a 28-percent unemployment rate. The capital-intensive structure of the economy meant that efforts to alleviate high unemployment would require a structural or long-term approach.

Organized labor has played a central role in the country's political economy since the 1920s. Strikes were curtailed somewhat after Prime Minister Williams enacted the controversial Industrial Stabilization Act of 1965, which granted the government the authority to resolve disputes with the Industrial Court. In contrast to most other Commonwealth Caribbean nations, trade unions in Trinidad and Tobago did not directly affiliate with political parties. Nonetheless, unions strongly influenced major issues, such as the policy of nationalization of the major sectors of the economy in the 1970s. Approximately 40 percent of the labor force was unionized and was represented by more than 100 official trade unions. The OWTU, comprising some 16,000 members, was the most prominent union and was frequently at the forefront of labor's demands for national control over production. Three-quarters of all organized labor were members of ten other major trade unions, including the important ATSE/FWTU. Most of the country's labor organizations were affiliated with the main labor umbrella organization, the Trinidad and Tobago Labour Congress, or the more radical offshoot, the Council of Progressive Trade Unions.

The power of trade unions declined in the 1980s as the recession provided labor with less for which to negotiate. Union demands had continued to grow in the 1970s, even after one of their long-time goals, the nationalization of the major industries, had been met. Trade unions were responsible for large gains in real wages during the 1970s, but as these advances eventually outstripped output, productivity declined. Labor disputes decreased in numbers by the 1980s after the relative labor turbulence of the 1970s. For

example, in 1981 industrial disputes involving 2,588 workers accounted for the loss of only 51,389 workdays, compared with 36,974 employees losing 777,389 workdays in 1975. As with real wages in general, minimum wage rates declined during the mid- to late 1980s.

Industry

Trinidad and Tobago possessed an industrial base that was unmatched in the Caribbean in the late 1980s and, for a country of about 1.2 million people, perhaps in the world. As new heavy industries came on-stream in the early 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago was a producer of oil, asphalt, natural gas, ammonia and urea fertilizers, methanol, iron, and steel. Petrochemicals based on natural gas became the center of the industrial strategy envisioned in the 1970s to diversify away from oil and export agriculture. In 1985 the petroleum sector accounted for 24 percent of GDP and nearly 70 percent of export earnings, and it affected most major sectors of the economy. The country also contained a large construction sector. Large industrial projects, asphalt roads, and government housing projects were responsible for the sector's prominence for decades, frequently making it a barometer of the economy's general health. The manufacturing sector was relatively small compared with the rest of the economy. Manufacturing, historically linked to agricultural processing, was very modern by the 1980s and comprised the assembly of automobiles, televisions, and refrigerators and the production of steel. Light manufacturing was less significant, as Trinidad and Tobago tended to import many smaller consumer items.

Petroleum and Asphalt

Petroleum and its derivatives have been the major sector of the economy since World War II, achieving its greatest importance during the boom of the 1970s, when it accounted for as much as 40 percent of GDP and more than 90 percent of export earnings. Oil output peaked in 1978 with the production of 84 million barrels. Output then declined from 1979 to 1983 but rebounded to 64 million barrels by 1985. Although the earliest oil fields were located on the southwestern peninsula of Trinidad, significant reserves were later tapped off the island's southeastern coast and off Point Fortin in the Gulf of Paria. Since 1974, however, there have been no major oil discoveries, causing a slow decline in the country's ratio of reserves to production. Although proven reserves were estimated to last fewer than ten years at the 1987 rate of extraction, decreased production and anticipated new oil finds were expected

Islands of the Commonwealth Caribbean

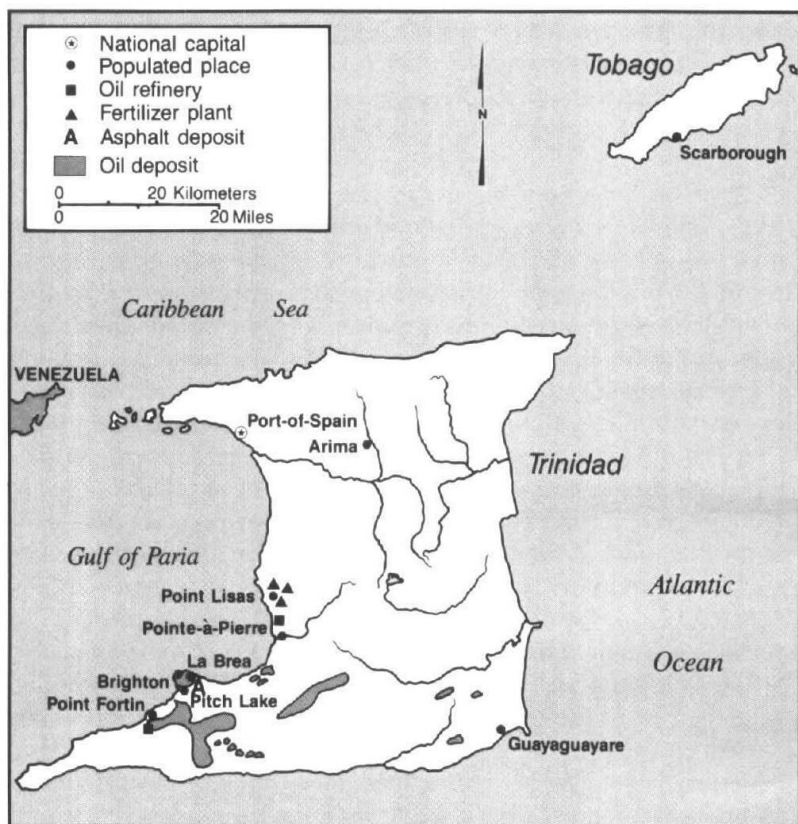


Figure 8. Trinidad and Tobago. Oil Production and Related Activities, 1987

to allow the country to produce into the twenty-first century. Proven oil reserves stood at 540 million barrels in 1987. It was estimated that over three-quarters of Trinidad and Tobago's crude oil reserves had already been found. Over 60 percent of reserves were located offshore. In 1985 approximately 77 percent of oil produced was drilled offshore. In the late 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago was not a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

The first exploratory wells were drilled in Trinidad near Pitch Lake at La Brea during the 1850s and 1860s, making them some of the earliest wells in the world (see fig. 8). Commercially viable production did not flow from the wells, however, until 1909 (see *Growth and Structure of the Economy*, this ch.). The young oil industry suffered from many industrial hazards, making injury rather common, which helped create strong oil worker unions.

Production expanded again during World War II and thereafter until it peaked toward the close of the oil boom in 1978. The output of oil was revived briefly in the mid-1980s because of a reduction in some production taxes, but dwindling reserves and low oil prices continued to restrict output (see table 5, Appendix A).

Oil production was historically controlled by large foreign companies, such as Shell, British Petroleum, Texaco, and Amoco, the latter also known as the Standard Oil Company of Indiana. By the late 1980s, however, the government had purchased all foreign operations except Amoco. In 1985 the government completed the purchase of the remaining operations of Texaco as well as the residual 49-percent share of a small Texan company, Tesoro, from a previous joint venture with the government. Nonetheless, even with the new government purchases, Amoco still produced over 50 percent of the country's oil, possessed most of the newer and more productive oil fields, and controlled over 70 percent of the natural gas reserves. As oil reserves and production continued to decline in the late 1980s, the government once again was considering inviting foreign oil companies to assist with the exploration and drilling of less accessible oil.

Amoco did not refine any of its oil locally, as both of the island's refineries, at Pointe-à-Pierre and at Point Fortin, were government owned. The Pointe-à-Pierre refinery, with a capacity of 220,000 bpd, was traditionally the main facility. Point Fortin's share of refining, however, climbed to 30 percent in 1985 because of the installation of a pipeline connecting the two refineries to improve efficiency. Total refinery capacity was 310,000 bpd. For decades crude oil was imported by Trinidad and Tobago from Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Iran, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Ecuador and then refined and reexported. Refinery activity, however, was reduced more than 50 percent in the first half of the 1980s; after 1983 refining of the imported oil ceased altogether as a result of the depressed world oil market. The percentage of domestically refined crude diminished as well. By the late 1980s, only 20 percent of refinery capacity was in regular use, making operations very inefficient and entailing large financial losses by the government.

In addition to its oil reserves, Pitch Lake at La Brea contained the world's largest source of natural asphalt. The lake, considered by some to be one of the wonders of the world, had been producing asphalt for decades. Asphalt production continued its slow decline in the 1980s, however. In 1985 only 21,400 tons of asphalt were produced, in contrast to the figure of 128,300 tons achieved in 1970. Although most asphalt was exported, it was also used domestically for paving roads and in the construction industry.

Roughly 80 percent of asphalt output took the form of dried asphalt, whereas the remainder was asphalt cement.

Natural Gas

In the late 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago had proven reserves totaling approximately 481 billion cubic meters of natural gas, as well as a further 566 billion cubic meters that were likely to be recovered. Trinidad and Tobago contained about 0.3 percent of world gas reserves and contributed about 0.2 percent of world gas production. A large percentage of Trinidad and Tobago's gas was not associated with oil production and was located in separate fields off both the southeastern and the northern coasts. Although gas deposits were discovered in the 1940s, significant production did not get underway until the 1950s, when natural gas was needed to supply the small Federations Chemical (Fedchem) fertilizer plant. From 1973 to 1986, proven reserves of natural gas more than doubled during oil explorations off the country's southeastern shores. These discoveries encouraged the natural gas-based development strategy that evolved in the 1970s. The production of natural gas nearly doubled in the 1970s and expanded rapidly in the 1980s to meet the growing demand of the petrochemical industries that were coming on-stream. Gas production reached a record 7.6 billion cubic meters in 1985. The efficiency of production also increased, reaching a utilization rate of 78 percent by 1985. Amoco possessed approximately 72 percent of natural gas reserves and produced over 80 percent of the gas in 1985. Whereas oil fueled the country's economy throughout the twentieth century, the nation was expecting the same from natural gas and related industries into the twenty-first century.

By the 1980s, natural gas was becoming increasingly integrated into the national economy. Natural gas feedstock was the most important input to the anhydrous ammonia, urea, and methanol plants that commenced operations at the Point Lisas industrial park in the early to mid-1980s (see *Role of Government*, this ch.). Natural gas also fueled over 70 percent of the country's generators of electricity, powered the new mill of the Iron and Steel Company of Trinidad and Tobago (Iscoff), and was piped into Port-of-Spain residences. New gas pipelines along Trinidad's southern and western coasts were a decisive factor in the country's greater utilization of its gas resources during the 1980s. The steady supply of natural gas to the Point Lisas industrial park became essential to efficient operations, as demonstrated by the production problems that resulted from supply shortages in 1982. The National Gas Company (NGC) was the prime purchaser and distributor of

natural gas. The NGC allocated over 60 percent of all gas to fertilizer production during the mid-1980s. The methanol plant, the steel mill, and oil companies in general consumed most of the balance of gas production. The NGC sold the gas at a wide range of prices, which included generous subsidies to the infant petrochemical industries.

Petrochemicals

In the late 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago became the world's second leading exporter of fertilizers behind only the Soviet Union. Three fertilizer plants constructed during the late 1970s and early 1980s nearly tripled fertilizer production between 1980 and 1985. Two of these plants, Trinidad Nitrogen Company (Tringen) and Fertilizers of Trinidad and Tobago (Fertrin), produced liquefied anhydrous ammonia, whereas the third plant processed granular urea. Fertilizer production reached 1.6 million tons by 1985, of which over 90 percent were exported. In 1985 about 82 percent of all fertilizers were anhydrous ammonia, and 18 percent were urea. Although fertilizer exports were on the rise, declining prices as a result of market oversupply actually reduced export revenues. In the late 1980s, the government was also considering projects to process and export liquefied natural gas and ethanol (an octane enhancer derived from sugarcane).

The Tringen and Fertrin ammonia plants were both government joint ventures that provided the government with a 51-percent equity share in each plant. The minority share of the Tringen plant was owned by the conglomerate W.R. Grace, whose subsidiary, Fedchem, operated the 800,000-square-meter fertilizer complex inside Point Lisas. The profitable Tringen plant expanded its capacity in the late 1980s. By 1988 its original capacity was expected to more than double to 900,000 tons of ammonia per year. Fertrin, a joint venture between Amoco and the government, did not come on-stream until the early 1980s, with a two-unit plant of 2,000-tons-per-day capacity. Although large cost overruns occurred in the construction phase, ammonia production was expected to be profitable during the 1980s and 1990s as long as fertilizer prices stabilized.

The first full year of urea production occurred in 1985 at the fully government-owned plant at Point Lisas. The plant had a 580,000-ton capacity per year and produced 339,800 tons in 1985, or about 60 percent of capacity in its first full year. Capacity utilization was expected to increase by the end of the 1980s as the plant's exports entered large foreign markets, such as India and China. In the late 1980s, however, the EEC accused Trinidad and Tobago of dumping urea on the West European market and was considering

taking action against the islands. Urea production accounted for roughly a fifth of total fertilizer production in the country. In 1987 Trintoc was also building a plant to produce urea and formaldehyde adhesives inside the Point Lisas complex. The future profitability of the recently opened plant was perceived to be dependent on world price changes and the government's ability to find markets.

Trinidad and Tobago's first methanol plant also experienced its first full year of operations in 1985. Approximately 358,200 tons of methanol were produced in 1985, and the plant averaged a 90-percent capacity utilization rate. Over 360,000 tons of methanol were exported in 1985, which included stocks from the previous year. The government-owned methanol plant turned a profit in its first full year of operation; continued profitability was dependent on the expansion of the world methanol market. Doubts over the rate of expansion of methanol appeared in Trinidad and Tobago during 1986 when the construction of a second methanol plant, involving a joint venture between a British firm and the government, was canceled because of continued uncertainty about energy prices. All methanol was produced for the export market in the late 1980s, and it was estimated that in 1985 Trinidad and Tobago supplied approximately 18 percent of United States imports of methanol. As in the case of urea, however, the EEC was studying allegations that Trinidad and Tobago was dumping low-priced methanol on its regional market.

Iron and Steel

Iron and steel production was the core industry in the new heavy industry strategy of the 1970s and 1980s. Unfortunately, the state-owned venture, Iscott, was the most unprofitable industry located at the Point Lisas complex. Although the modern plant was technically sound and well integrated into the energy resources and deep harbors of the complex, it faced serious marketing and management problems. Iscott's marketing problems were exacerbated in 1983 when five United States steel companies filed an anti-dumping suit against it. The government's deep involvement at Point Lisas in general, especially its provision of cheap inputs to iron and steel production, made for a difficult defense against claims that the government subsidized the steel industry. After paying countervailing and antidumping duties for several years, in 1987 Trinidad and Tobago signed a voluntary export restraint agreement with the United States to limit iron and steel exports to 73,000 tons per year for a three-year period. Management problems, particularly in the steel mill's melt shop, caused steel production to fall for the first time in 1984 and 1985. Declining production and

large financial losses persuaded the government to hire two West European firms to manage Iscott's operations under a two-year contract. Production did increase in 1986, signaling the early success of the outside management contract.

Iscott's modern facilities at Point Lisas included two direct reduction plants with a combined capacity of 900,000 tons a year. The US\$500 million plant used imported iron ore from Brazil in processing its steel. Iron and steel production reached 522,900 tons in 1985, marking the second year of declining production and the first year of a fall in exports. Exports reached 143,200 tons in 1985, only 27 percent of production, but exports were expected to expand again in the late 1980s. Output included direct reduced iron, steel billets, and wire rods. Direct reduced iron accounted for 42 percent of the subsector's output, the greatest share of iron and steel production, and 45 percent of exports. Production of steel billets represented 33 percent of the subsector's output, followed by wire rods with 20 percent. Over three-fourths of all wire rods were exported, whereas under 10 percent of steel billets were exported in the first half of the 1980s. A large portion of iron and steel was used domestically because of Iscott's marketing difficulty.

Manufacturing

Although the manufacturing sector remained relatively small in the 1980s, it spanned a wide range of activities from sugar processing to automobile assembly. In 1985 manufacturing output reached approximately US\$542 million, or 7 percent of GDP. Light manufacturing in particular experienced sharp declines of over 10 percent annually during the mid-1980s; nonetheless, the sector as a whole was growing by the late 1980s because of the inclusion of petrochemical and steel production in manufacturing data.

Historically, manufacturing was an insignificant sector in the economy, dwarfed by agriculture and oil. In the postwar era, however, import substitution industrialization development strategies provided generous fiscal incentives toward new investment in manufacturing. The Aid to Pioneer Industries Ordinance of 1950 provided accelerated depreciation allowances and duty-free importation of machinery and raw materials, which was instrumental in attracting foreign investment to Trinidad and Tobago. Likewise, the establishment of the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) in 1959 served to expand the sector's role in the economy. By the 1960s, producers of manufactured goods were protected through increased tariffs as well. These measures encouraged the establishment of over 100 new manufacturing operations by the mid-1960s. Increasingly, the sector moved beyond

agricultural processing and easily substituted goods toward the assembly of consumer durables, such as televisions, refrigerators, and automobiles. By the 1980s, most locally manufactured goods remained protected through quantitative import restrictions.

The structure of manufacturing in the 1980s was that of a highly protected, inward-looking industry that produced mostly for the domestic and Caricom markets. Exports of manufactured goods in the early 1980s, before petrochemicals and steel manufacturing were in full force, accounted for as little as 2 percent of domestic exports. Since the manufacturing industry tended to emphasize mixing, bottling, and assembly, the value added of the final product was generally low. As such, these activities often did little to link various sectors of the domestic economy. Price controls were also used by the government to reduce the power of a few local producers, who faced minimal competition as a consequence of import controls. The implementation of a heavy industry strategy changed manufacturing by the late 1980s. Although light manufacturing declined with the economy's general contraction in the mid-1980s, it was believed that Trinidad and Tobago was consuming more locally produced goods because it could not afford the import splurge of the 1970s.

The manufacturing sector was broken down into six principal subsectors: assembly, chemicals and nonmetallic products, food processing, beverages and tobacco, printing, and wood products. Discussion of manufacturing generally excluded oil and sugar, which if included would have accounted for 45 percent of manufacturing in 1985. Assembly was the most important subsector, contributing more than a quarter of manufacturing's output. Assembly included radios, televisions, refrigerators, gas stoves, vehicles, batteries, tires, and boat building. Less than 1 percent of assembly manufacturing was exported. The second most important subsector was chemicals and nonmetallic products, contributing 19 percent of the sector's output and consisting of petrochemicals, paints, pharmaceuticals, bricks, cement, and glass. This subsector grew rapidly in the 1980s with the development of petrochemicals and new cement factory capacity. Food processing, such as edible oils, feeds, meat, baked goods, and dairy products, was the third most important subsector, accounting for 16 percent of manufacturing. Trinidad and Tobago continued to produce its world-famous flavoring, Angostura Bitters. Beverages and tobacco, textiles, printing, wood products, and miscellaneous manufacturing followed in importance, all contributing between 5 and 10 percent of total manufacturing.

Construction

During the mid-1980s, construction activity declined sharply as the major public sector investment programs of the 1970s and early 1980s were completed and as tight monetary conditions reduced the availability of credit. From 1983 to 1985, the construction industry's output fell some 21 percent annually, reducing its share of GDP from 15 percent in 1982 to 11 percent in 1985. Total output in 1985 equaled US\$792 million. Most construction activity in the late 1980s was limited to minor road building, housing and factories, and some hotel construction. Although the Robinson government in the late 1980s was proposing that the construction sector be the catalyst of new economic activity, it remained unlikely that the industry would regain the prominence it held in the 1970s. The sharp decline in construction, the major employer of the economy, was expected to exacerbate the worsening unemployment rate.

In the late 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago was becoming less dependent on imports in the construction industry as increased steel and cement capacity was attained. The low quality of locally produced cement also encouraged the introduction of higher grade cements in the 1980s. Housing projects were also becoming more sophisticated, including self-help schemes, after improper design and construction had made government housing projects unpopular in previous years.

Services

Banking, Financial Services, and Currency

Financial institutions expanded rapidly as a result of the oil-based liquidity that the financial system experienced in the 1970s. This was especially true of nonbanking intermediaries, such as finance houses, which underwent the fastest growth. In the late 1980s, the islands' financial network included the Central Bank, various government development organizations, commercial banks, finance companies, mortgage and trust companies, insurance companies, a stock exchange, and other business services. Although legislation granted the Central Bank generous control over the financial system, bank intervention was generally restrained. Increasing regulation over nonbanking financial institutions was instituted in the mid-1980s, however, as several poorly managed finance companies collapsed and were subsequently rescued by the Central Bank. The sector as a whole contracted after the country's assets peaked

in 1982. Government policies generally favored tight monetary policies to restrain inflation and help stabilize national and international accounts during the post-boom adjustment period.

The Central Bank was established in 1964 and was authorized to issue currency, regulate credit, buy and sell securities and discount notes, and underwrite government loans. Although the Central Bank contained about 30 percent of the nation's assets in 1985, its share was declining as international reserves were being depleted. The government also owned and managed numerous development finance institutions, most notably the IDC, the Agricultural Development Bank (ADB), and the Mortgage Finance Company (MFC). These organizations controlled about 4 percent of national finances. The IDC, established in 1959, was the most important development finance organization and was one of the top lenders to industry. The portfolio of IDC lending generally reflected government industrialization strategies and also contained purely government projects. The ADB was the most important lender to agriculture, especially to the livestock subsector. Although the MFC was the key lender to the construction industry, in 1985 the government created the Home Mortgage Bank to serve as a major institution in the construction industry.

The country had 8 commercial banks with 117 branches, almost all of which were controlled by Trinidadian and Tobagonian nationals as prescribed by law. The process of localization of the islands' banks began in the 1970s, which eventually placed a large share of Canadian and British banks in the hands of nationals. The islands' largest bank was the Republic Bank, formerly the British Barclays Bank. Commercial banks contained 56 percent of the nation's assets in 1985. Twenty-seven percent of commercial bank loans went to individuals, primarily for automobiles, followed by government, particularly public bodies, with 15 percent, manufacturing 13 percent, distributive trade 12 percent, construction 8 percent, and the balance to various other services and productive activities. Interest rates for deposits and loans averaged 8 and 12 percent, respectively, in the mid-1980s, roughly comparable with industrial nations and low compared with most developing countries. Reserve ratios were freely utilized to control the money supply and credit; in 1985 the cash reserve ratio was 17 percent, and the liquidity reserve ratio reached upwards of 22 percent. In 1986 the government introduced the Deposit Insurance Fund, which protected and insured savings up to about US\$14,000.

Nonbanking financial institutions, encompassing finance houses, trust and mortgage companies, insurance companies, and other business services, have proliferated since the 1970s. These

institutions contained over 10 percent of the country's assets in 1985, trailing the commercial banks and the Central Bank. In the mid-1980s, there were twenty-two finance companies with some seventy-six branches. After the 1984 collapse of International Trust and the faltering of other nonbanking institutions because of cash flow problems, the Central Bank increased regulation of these services. As of December 1985, there were fifty-nine insurance companies registered on the islands, although some of these were also faltering. There were eight trust and mortgage finance companies, devoted mostly to real estate. Unlike other Commonwealth Caribbean countries, financial services in Trinidad and Tobago were operated predominantly by citizens of that nation, and laws specified strict limitations on the extent of the participation of foreigners.

Trinidad and Tobago also operated a small stock exchange, which was established in 1981. In 1985 nearly 50 million shares of stocks were sold, involving over 11,000 transactions at a market value of US\$62 million. The exchange's composite index was declining in the 1980s because of the falling value of most stocks and discouraging economic indicators. The exchange was limited by extensive government involvement in the economy and the large number of family-run businesses, which limited the number of companies whose shares were publicly traded. In addition, few firms sought the sale of stocks as a viable way to raise capital, instead opting for commercial bank loans.

In 1964 the Trinidad and Tobago dollar replaced the British West Indian dollar as the national currency. Eastern Caribbean dollars—the common currency of members of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS—see Glossary) and pegged to the United States dollar at EC\$2.70 equals US\$1.00—and other currencies also circulated. From 1972 to 1976, the Trinidad and Tobago dollar was floated against the British pound sterling; after 1976, however, the Trinidad and Tobago dollar was pegged to the United States dollar. The first major depreciation of the Trinidad and Tobago dollar since June 1976 occurred in December 1985, when the country's currency was devalued 50 percent against the United States dollar. As a result of the devaluation, the exchange rate moved from US\$1.00 to TT\$2.40 to US\$1.00 to TT\$3.60. This reduced international reserves but was expected to increase export competitiveness. Government foreign exchange controls existed, particularly for foreign travel by nationals.

Tourism

The tourism sector played a rather minor role in the economy of Trinidad and Tobago compared with other Commonwealth

Caribbean islands. In the mid-1980s, tourism represented only 3 percent of GDP, slightly above the 1960 level of 2 percent but below the 1970 level of 4 percent. Annual foreign exchange earnings derived from tourism averaged about US\$200 million during the mid-1980s, making the sector the third largest earner behind oil and overseas investment. As the most southern and eastern of the Caribbean islands, Trinidad and Tobago did not enjoy the close proximity to the large North American tourist market of other Commonwealth Caribbean nations such as the Bahamas and Jamaica. Nonetheless, tourists were attracted to Trinidad and Tobago to enjoy its world-famous carnival, steelband and calypso music, Hindu and Muslim festivals, and the unspoiled natural beauty of Tobago. Government policies have historically sought to limit and control tourist activity through prohibiting private beaches, casino gambling, and land sales to foreigners (although the latter was available through long-term leases). Substantial tourist growth was realized in the 1960s as a result of fiscal incentives offered under the Hotel Development Act of 1963. The advent of the oil boom in the 1970s diverted attention away from tourism as a source of foreign exchange revenues; as a result, by the mid-1980s no major hotel construction projects had occurred in nearly a decade. By the late 1980s, however, the government looked to tourism as a way to diversify away from a dependence on oil-based export revenues and as a stimulus to domestic agriculture and employment.

Trinidad and Tobago recorded 187,090 tourist arrivals in 1985, a number that was rather typical for the first half of the decade. In addition, over 6,000 cruise ship visitors were registered, which was well below the 28,000 level of 1981. Over half or all tourists were classified as private holiday tourists; this category consisted primarily of expatriate Trinidadians who stayed at private residences while visiting the country. Roughly 20 percent of all arrivals were for business purposes, and only about 10 percent were vacationing hotel tourists. North Americans comprised about 45 percent of tourist arrivals, of which the United States share was over 30 percent. Tourists from the Commonwealth Caribbean represented 35 percent of total arrivals, followed by West Europeans and South Americans. Trinidadians also frequented Tobago in large numbers, creating a rather large domestic tourist subsector. Some 45,000 Trinidadians traveled to neighboring Tobago during 1985. Hotel occupancy rates in the mid-1980s averaged 55 percent, below the industry's estimated break-even point of 60 percent.

The lack of physical infrastructure for the tourist industry was the main obstacle to further development of the sector. The country



*Steel band preparing for music festival
Courtesy Trinidad and Tobago Tourist Board*

contained only about 2,000 hotel rooms and 300 guest rooms, or about one-fifth of the number of rooms in Jamaica. Tobago, much more dependent on tourism than Trinidad, possessed only 600 rooms and also suffered from water distribution problems. Although government plans called for 3,000 first-class hotel rooms to be operative by 1990, some observers doubted that this goal could be achieved. The lack of adequate airports also hindered tourism. Both of the country's major airports needed some upgrading and expansion to handle the growth of tourism envisioned by the government. The Piarco International Airport, located twenty-six kilometers east of Port-of-Spain, was the nation's principal facility. As of 1987, the government had not yet implemented longstanding plans for the complete expansion and renovation of Piarco. These plans included five-star hotels, longer and emergency runways, aircraft maintenance facilities, a bonded industrial park, and a cargo warehouse, all with the objective of making Piarco the air transportation hub of the Eastern Caribbean and northern South America. Crown Point Airport, located on Tobago, was the nation's other major airport. Although it received upgrading in the 1980s, these limited provisions were not expected to allow it to accommodate greatly increased international traffic. For example, in 1987 Tobago received only one direct flight a week from Miami.

Ports represented another tourist infrastructure problem. One of the reasons for the sharp decline in cruise ship arrivals in the early 1980s was the congested conditions at the Port-of-Spain docks. This problem was expected to be partially relieved in 1988 with the completion of the deepening of the inner harbor of Tobago's major port, Scarborough, allowing the smaller island to receive large cruise ships. Tobago's infrastructure for tourism was expected to expand in general after 1987 as a consequence of the 1986 election of a native Tobagonian as prime minister.

As with the rest of the economy, government involvement in the tourist industry was quite widespread. The most prominent example of government's role in tourism was its ownership of the British West Indian Airways (BWIA). BWIA, the oldest airline in the Caribbean, not only served Trinidad and Tobago but also was a principal carrier for other Eastern Caribbean islands. Despite its important role in the country's tourist industry, BWIA and the government's Tourist Board pursued only limited promotional activities overseas, especially in Western Europe; this was perceived to have hindered the performance of the sector. The government also owned or had an equity share in many of the islands' hotels. Since 1960 the government's Trinidad and Tobago Hotel and Catering School has trained workers for the tourist industry. In addition, the government operated the Hotel Management Company, offering various inn services to smaller lodging operations on a contract basis.

Transportation, Communications, and Electricity

As a result of Trinidad and Tobago's rapid economic growth, the islands' physical infrastructure generally lagged behind other sectors of the economy, causing various bottlenecks or failures in the country's transportation, communications, and electrical systems. For example, Trinidad and Tobago's road system tended to be concentrated along the industrial ports of Trinidad's west coast. The country's road system was constrained by three corridors of mountains (see Geography, this ch.). Most major roads in Trinidad were north-south. In the late 1980s, only two large east-west roads were in place, making travel through the center of the country more difficult. On Tobago, one major loop road existed from Scarborough to Roxborough to Plymouth, with one major offshoot to the Crown Point Airport on the southwestern tip of the island. The two islands contained more than 8,000 kilometers of roads, of which roughly half were paved with locally produced asphalt. Approximately 4,000 kilometers of roads were not paved, of which three-quarters were of unimproved earth

and one-quarter of improved earth. Poor road conditions in the country, especially during the rainy season, contributed to the islands' high accident rate. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the country averaged over 5,000 accidents annually, and 1984 marked the first time in more than 10 years that the rate had dropped. Similarly, narrow, winding streets and the extremely high number of automobiles made Port-of-Spain infamous for its traffic jams.

Unlike most developing countries where public transportation systems dominate, the private automobile was the most typical means of transportation in Trinidad and Tobago. There were some 180,000 registered automobiles on the islands in the late 1980s, and some 8,000 new automobiles were being sold annually. It was estimated that Trinidad and Tobago possessed one of the highest numbers of automobiles per capita in the Western Hemisphere, a result of the local assembly of over 15,000 automobiles annually, destined for the domestic market. In addition, cheap, subsidized gasoline made motoring relatively inexpensive for many Trinidadians. As noted, however, the country's infrastructure did not expand as fast as automobile sales, and inadequate parking facilities, poor road conditions, and old narrow bridges all contributed to general congestion and the high accident rate. There was a public bus service operated by the Public Transport Service Corporation, but mass transportation services were generally deficient. Nevertheless, bus services were expanding rapidly in the 1980s, and the number of passengers doubled in the first half of the decade. Route taxis or minibuses, visible throughout the Caribbean, were generally available. Since 1968 there has been no major railroad, but a small loop of railroad operated for agricultural purposes in San Fernando.

An essential part of the economy's oil- and gas-based development strategy was the transportation of those resources via pipelines. In the mid-1980s, Trinidad possessed over 1,000 kilometers of pipeline for crude oil and 19 kilometers of pipeline for refined petroleum products. There also existed more than 900 kilometers of gas pipelines, construction of which occurred in conjunction with the development of gas-based petrochemicals at the Point Lisas complex.

In the late 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago had a total of six airfields, five of which were usable and three of which had permanent surfaced runways. Piarco International Airport's 3,600-meter runway could accommodate the largest of commercial aircraft in the 1980s and was a busy airport because of the great number of North American and South American flights that connected via the airport. A new passenger terminal and a 2,700-meter runway were being built in the late 1980s at Crown Point Airport in an

effort to upgrade that airport to international status. Trinidad and Tobago in the late 1980s maintained some fourteen major transportation aircraft. Several major West European, North American, and South American airlines operated regular flights to Trinidad, and many other carriers transited the island. Tobago was expected to be the site of more regular routes as the island's airport gained international status. Caricargo, a joint venture between the governments of Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados, offered air freight services from Piarco International Airport.

There were seven major ports on Trinidad and one on Tobago. The central shipping location for the nation was Port-of-Spain. Port-of-Spain's modern facilities included advanced handling equipment, extensive warehousing, ancillary sheds, refrigeration areas, bunkering, and freshwater facilities. The port contained only eight berths in the late 1980s, however, and congestion was common because of the high number of ships bunkering in Port-of-Spain en route to North America or South America. Port development was an ongoing activity. Other major ports were specific-use facilities and included Point Lisas, Pointe-à-Pierre, Chaguaramas, Point Fortin, Brighton, Tembladora, and Scarborough. Point Lisas specialized in fertilizers, chemicals, petrochemicals, and sugar. Pointe-à-Pierre and Chaguaramas were ports of entry, and the latter also served as a timber and bauxite transshipment site. Point Fortin handled primarily oceangoing oil tankers, Brighton served the asphalt industry, and Tembladora was a privately owned port used as a transshipment point for Guyanese and Surinamese bauxite. Numerous shipping companies made port calls to the country, and Trinidad and Tobago was a member of the regional West Indies Shipping Corporation (WISCO—see Appendix C).

Trinidad and Tobago contained a rather sophisticated communications system. In the late 1980s, the 2 islands had 90,000 installed telephones, or about 7 phones per 100 people, a ratio higher than Jamaica's but much lower than the rate in the Bahamas or Barbados. Domestic telephone services were operated by the state-owned Telephone Company of Trinidad and Tobago. Periodic breaks in local telephone service were not uncommon. Trinidad and Tobago External Telecommunications Company (Textel), a joint venture between the government and the British firm Cable and Wireless, provided excellent international service, including direct dialing via tropospheric links and an Atlantic Ocean satellite station. Telegram and telex services were also offered through Textel.

The country's mass media included one television station servicing five channels, two major radio stations operating four

channels, and numerous daily newspapers and weeklies. The government-run Trinidad and Tobago Television Company offered over seventy hours of weekly viewing, including many locally produced programs. Television was popular, and television sets were common, numbering over 300,000 in the late 1980s. The government's National Broadcasting Service was the most important station, operating on both 610 AM and 100 FM and reaching an estimated 650,000 listeners. Other major stations included Radio Trinidad, operated by a subsidiary of the British firm Rediffusion, and Radio 95 FM, both of which were broadcast over parts of the Windward Islands and Leeward Islands as well. Two smaller radio stations also broadcast. There were an estimated 350,000 radios in Trinidad and Tobago in the late 1980s.

The country's high literacy rate allowed the printed media to hold an important role in the dissemination of information. Trinidad and Tobago had the highest per capita consumption of newsprint in the Caribbean. The country's 4 major newspapers enjoyed a daily circulation of 240,000. The *Trinidad Guardian* and the *Trinidad and Tobago Express* were responsible for two-thirds of that total. Established in 1917, the *Trinidad Guardian* was the oldest newspaper on the two islands and played an influential role throughout the twentieth century. Although officially independent, the newspaper was often branded as pro-colonial, "white," and status quo during the ascendancy of Eric Williams and the independence movement. The *Trinidad and Tobago Express*, established in 1967, came to usurp some of the readership of the *Trinidad Guardian*; in the late 1980s, each paper enjoyed a circulation of 80,000. The country's 2 afternoon newspapers were the *Evening News* and the *Sun*, each with a circulation of 40,000; they were owned by the *Trinidad Guardian* and the *Trinidad and Tobago Express*, respectively. Several weekly newspapers, such as the *Bomb*, circulated as well.

Trinidad and Tobago surpassed Britain in per capita consumption of total energy, and in 1985 its per capita installed capacity and consumption of electricity was the highest in Latin America and the Caribbean. As of 1986, installed capacity stood at 1.17 million kilowatts; 2.72 billion kilowatts were produced in that same year, or 2,260 kilowatts per capita. Virtually all electricity was powered via three stations on Trinidad. Over 70 percent of electricity was provided by natural gas turbines, and the remainder was powered by steam. Trinidad and Tobago was one of only three countries in the Western Hemisphere with no hydroelectricity or hydroelectric potential. The electric system was interconnected through power stations between Port-of-Spain and Penal by one 132-kilovolt and three 66-kilovolt transmission lines, as well as

through a small central substation. A standby diesel plant was located on Tobago. Tobago was linked electrically to Trinidad by two forty-one-kilometer submarine cables of thirty-three kilowatts. In 1977 the system was expanded by the installation of an eighty-eight-megawatt power plant at the Point Lisas industrial park.

Access to electricity was very good and was estimated to be over 90 percent. Electricity was produced and distributed primarily by the government's Trinidad and Tobago Electricity Commission (T&TEC). The T&TEC operated at a financial loss because of the high operating expenses that resulted from the country's excess installed capacity. For example, in 1985 the country utilized only 42 percent of its installed capacity. Private companies produced less than 5 percent of total electricity generated in the 1980s. According to government data, industry consumed nearly one-half of all electricity, followed by home use with nearly 30 percent, commercial use with 10 percent, and the balance for street lighting and other purposes.

Agriculture

Agricultural output in Trinidad and Tobago during the 1970s and 1980s was inversely related to the performance of the oil sector: depressed during the oil boom, stimulated during oil's decline. Increasing wage costs, shortages of labor, and oil wealth all directly affected agricultural output. The trend was most pronounced in the 1970s, when the sharp increase in the price of oil exports discouraged traditional agricultural exports and encouraged the importation of food crops previously produced locally. As the oil industry's boom attracted more Trinidadians to urban areas, the rural labor force declined nearly 50 percent, representing only 10 percent of the total work force by 1980. Meanwhile, agriculture's share of GDP dropped from slightly over 6 percent in 1970 to just above 2 percent in 1980. Sugar, the most important crop, typified the decline, as its output fell nearly 50 percent during the 1970s. Other major export crops also suffered drastic declines from 1970 to 1980, including cacao (61 percent), coffee (15 percent), citrus fruit (75 percent), and copra (56 percent). Although agriculture rebounded in the mid- to late 1980s, it was far from approaching its status prior to the oil boom. Output in 1985 stood at about US\$365 million, or 3 percent of GDP, well below the 1970s level in constant dollars. Nonetheless, the agricultural sector in the 1980s did experience the fastest growth among all sectors in the recessed economy. Growth in agricultural output in the 1980s was led by the strong performance of domestic agriculture, especially small-scale family gardening.

Land Tenure and Use

Trinidad and Tobago's total land area covers 513,000 hectares, of which less than one-third was arable. Approximately 11,000 hectares, or only 2 percent of total area, were devoted to pasture, the lowest percentage in Latin America or the Caribbean. By contrast, approximately 45 percent of total land was forest or woodland, making timber abundant. Although Trinidad's three corridors of mountains place the greatest restriction on agricultural activity, the plains between the ranges were generally fertile. Only about 13 percent of the arable land was irrigated, but there were numerous streams and small rivers. Flooding was common during the rainy season.

According to the most recent agricultural census from the early 1970s, there were over 35,000 farms on Trinidad and Tobago, occupying nearly 130,000 hectares. The average farm had 6 hectares, but the 40 largest farms were extremely large, all over 400 hectares. Landholdings were usually of two kinds. Small farms were numerous, used traditional methods, and produced mostly food crops for the domestic market. Larger farms were generally more capital and input intensive and produced cash crops for export. Land distribution on the islands was not believed to be as skewed as in other Commonwealth Caribbean islands; in 1987 current data were unavailable, however. The relative abundance of land and the large availability of state lands did not make land reform or landownership a prominent issue. In fact, the opposite was true; Trinidad and Tobago had difficulty retaining citizens in rural areas to work the land.

Agricultural inputs such as machinery, fertilizers, and technical assistance were generally available but were mostly utilized for export crops. Although agriculture was increasingly mechanized, it was still relatively labor intensive. According to the United Nations (UN) Food and Agriculture Organization, Trinidad and Tobago had only 2,500 tractors in use in 1983, or only 8 tractors per 1,000 hectares. This made Trinidad and Tobago less machinery intensive than Jamaica. In spite of being one of the leading producers and exporters of fertilizers in the world, Trinidad and Tobago's fertilizer use in the 1980s was still below 1970 levels. In 1983 approximately forty-nine kilograms per hectare of fertilizer were used compared with sixty-five kilograms in 1970 and forty-five kilograms in 1975. Although the Ministry of Agriculture, Lands, and Food Production provided some technical assistance in the rehabilitation of various aging and diseased tree crops, these programs were generally unsuccessful, and yields continued to decline. In 1982 a successful citrus rehabilitation program was

introduced, however, which helped expand citrus output in the mid-to late 1980s.

Government agricultural policies did not focus on technical assistance per se but instead utilized pricing policies, such as subsidies, price controls, and guaranteed earnings for agriculture producers. Subsidies, the most rapidly expanding portion of government expenditure in the 1970s, were directed almost entirely at agriculture, especially sugar and livestock. Because of the small number of producers, however, price controls were also introduced to keep prices at fair levels and to help subsidize poorer consumers. As a result of the dwindling production of export crops, the government also instituted guaranteed prices for agricultural output that could be sold to the government via the Central Marketing Agency. Agricultural research took place at the regional Caribbean Agricultural Research and Development Institute. Although credit for farmers was available from numerous sources, the most influential lender was the government's ADB.

Crops

Sugar continued to be the most important cash crop despite the overwhelming structural problems that the sugar industry faced. As late as the 1880s, there existed over 300 independent sugar plantations on Trinidad; a century later, however, the industry was completely dominated by one state-run firm, Caroni Sugar Company. The government bought a 51-percent share of Caroni from the near monopoly of Tate and Lyle in 1971; within five years, the enterprise was fully government owned. By the mid-1980s, Caroni merged with the government's joint-venture Orange Grove, making Caroni almost a complete monopoly.

Although the sugar industry hit a forty-five-year low in 1984, output did recover somewhat in the late 1980s. Nonetheless, the industry continued to face several major obstacles to long-run success. As the standard of living for Trinidadians increased in the 1970s, real wages of sugar workers rose faster than output, causing productivity to decline. Falling yields per hectare in the cane fields also exacerbated dwindling productivity. Additional problems included seasonal labor shortages, factory equipment problems, and numerous unplanned cane fires. In spite of government efforts to revive the industry, production costs of Trinidadian sugar in the 1980s were estimated to be three times greater than market prices and well above the EEC's price offered through preferential agreements. Inefficiencies and low world sugar prices caused a large annual drain on government finances that paid for the shortfall. The option of reducing or eliminating sugar production was a very

difficult one because of its long history on the islands and its role as a major source of employment for a country with chronically high unemployment rates.

In the 1980s, sugarcane continued to occupy under a third of land in use (fewer than 20,000 hectares). The sugar subsector employed approximately 20,000 workers, or slightly less than half of all the agricultural labor force. Most cane was grown on the central plains, primarily by East Indians. In 1985 about 65 percent of all sugar was harvested on large estates; the number of small farmers was declining because fewer young people were entering the cane fields. The sugar harvest in 1984, one of the worst ever, yielded 70,000 tons, or only about one-third of the harvest of 1970. Sugar production rose to over 80,000 tons in 1985, and in the late 1980s the government was aiming for 100,000-ton sugar harvests. Nonetheless, major increases beyond the 100,000-ton mark were unlikely without even larger government losses. Eighty percent of the country's sugar was exported in 1985 compared with 60 percent five years earlier. Beginning in 1984, the government also began a program to process imported raw sugar.

Reduced market access to its major preferential export markets, Britain and the United States, was another major problem facing the sugar industry in the 1980s. Trinidad and Tobago's sugar quota with the EEC was reduced at the 1985 Lomé Convention (see Glossary) from 69,000 tons to 47,300 tons as a result of its inability to fill the previous quota. As production rebounded after mid-decade, however, Trinidad and Tobago was allocated a portion of the quota commitments of some African countries to export to the EEC. Trinidad and Tobago gained even less access to the United States market because of cutbacks in the United States International Sugar Agreement (ISA). Trinidad and Tobago's ISA quota dropped to only 6,504 tons by 1987, a 60-percent reduction from 1984. This reduction was expected to cause the loss of millions of dollars to the sugar industry in Trinidad and Tobago. Because of these unfavorable market conditions, Caroni was diversifying away from sugar in the late 1980s into rice production and livestock.

Cocoa, derived from the cacao plant, was the other major crop in Trinidad and Tobago. From the late 1880s until the 1930s, cocoa was the most important crop on both islands, and in the late 1980s it remained the leading crop on Tobago. In fact, Trinidad and Tobago was once the second leading producer of cocoa in the world. Brought by the Spanish in the 1700s, cocoa still occupied more agricultural land than sugar in the 1980s, although it was frequently cultivated with bananas and coffee. Over half the cacao farms were

small, but large estates accounted for over 80 percent of output. Trinidad and Tobago's cocoa crop was ravaged for decades by successive diseases. The government formulated numerous rehabilitation schemes for the industry, the most recent one in 1980, but they were generally unable to meet their goals, and production continued to fall. The 1980 program was no exception, as production declined beginning in 1982. For example, in 1985 cocoa output was 1.3 million kilograms, or under 50 percent of the 1981 output. Falling yields were another major problem the industry faced as average yields declined from 275 kilograms per hectare in the 1930s to under 100 kilograms per hectare in the 1980s. Virtually all cocoa was exported. The Cocoa and Coffee Industry Board, a central regulatory agency, handled all export functions. Despite the state of depressed international cocoa prices in the 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago continued to receive premium prices for its high-quality cocoa.

The other major export crops were all tree crops: coffee, citrus fruits, and coconuts. Coffee production expanded after 1930 in response to the decline in cocoa output. Production of Trinidad and Tobago's major variety, robusta, however, declined by more than 50 percent from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s. Exports also dropped sharply, demonstrating the lack of success of a 1970-71 rehabilitation plan undertaken by the government. Output was so low in 1984 that no coffee was exported. Nevertheless, coffee production did rebound strongly in 1985, reaching 2.1 million kilograms, 35 percent of which was exported. The expansion of citrus crops, especially oranges, grapefruits, and limes, also coincided with the decline of cocoa in the 1930s. Output of citrus products peaked in the mid-1950s and later decreased drastically to a low of 4.7 million kilograms in 1982, or about 20 times below peak output. During the early 1980s, citrus exports fell to an insignificant 2 percent of total production. A rehabilitation program was successfully introduced in 1982 that greatly expanded production in the mid-1980s to over 6 million kilograms. Although the citrus industry was affected by viruses, old trees, and high wages, new plantings, renewed supplies of labor, and favorable weather in the late 1980s all spurred renewed growth in citrus crops.

Coconut, and its main derivative, copra, was another major export crop and was the second most important crop in Tobago. Like other export crops, output of coconuts declined in the 1970s, making the island no longer self-sufficient in oils. All coconuts went to the local processing industry for soaps and oils. Copra output in 1985 exceeded 4,000 tons.

The fastest growing subsector in agriculture in the 1980s was domestic agriculture, consisting mainly of vegetables, rice, tubers, and livestock. The revival of domestic agriculture was the consequence of falling oil prices, balance of payments constraints, the return of labor to the land, and growing experimentation with larger scale farming for domestic agriculture. In the late 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago was approaching self-sufficiency in green vegetables, which were typically grown on small garden plots. Rice, a staple food, was an expanding domestic crop but was still imported in large quantities. Such vegetables as yams, sweet potatoes, dasheens, and eddoes (a tuber) were also produced, mostly for direct consumption, and were also expected to increase as long as the oil sector was recessed.

Livestock, Fishing, and Forestry

Livestock activity was not as developed as other areas of agriculture. Although livestock was targeted for generous subsidies and government programs, only the poultry and pork industries were very developed. The country's beef and dairy industries in particular were lacking. Pork was consumed in large quantities, and except for a few specialty items such as ham and bacon, the country was self-sufficient in pork. Beef production was very low; less than one-third of the estimated 30,000 head of cattle were dedicated to beef production. Most beef was imported from New Zealand and Australia. Water buffalo were also present, however, generally tended by rural East Indians. In the late 1980s, farmers were experimenting with a cattle-buffalo hybrid appropriately called a "buffalypso." Dairy production was inadequate, and the islands were about 90-percent dependent on imported milk, handled almost exclusively by Trinidad Food Products, a subsidiary of Nestlé. In fact, Trinidad and Tobago had the smallest percentage of its farmland used as pastures in all of Latin America and the Caribbean.

The fishing potential of Trinidad and Tobago continued to be underutilized in the 1980s despite numerous generous government subsidies instituted to promote the industry. Fish was an important part of the national diet, especially among Tobagonians. Catches of fish, including kingfish, grouper, redfish, snapper, shrimp, and tuna, totaled about 3 million kilograms per year in the first half of the 1980s. There were over sixty fishing beaches on Trinidad and Tobago, but only a few had adequate facilities to exploit the coast's potential. Most deep-sea trawling activity occurred in the Gulf of Paria, which continued to spark territorial water disputes with Venezuela. Although an important mutual fishing agreement was signed between Venezuela and Trinidad and





*Fishermen at work on a beach in Tobago
Courtesy Cortez Austin, Jr.*

Tobago in 1985, there remained signs that disagreements persisted (see Foreign Relations, this ch.). Although inland fisheries were expanding rapidly in the 1980s, they were still only small in scale and were a government-run activity. Despite strong institutional support for the industry in general, such as from the National Fisheries Company, the Fisheries Development Fund, and the Caribbean Fisheries Training Institute, inefficient methods still prevailed, preventing fishermen from meeting local demand.

The forestry industry was small considering that about 45 percent of the islands were forested. There existed sixty-two small sawmills that fed the local furniture industry and a match factory. Wood was also used for firewood and charcoal, and many exotic woods were exported in small quantities. Production in the 1980s exceeded 5 million board meters annually. Large tracts of forestland were owned by the government and have been held as preserves since the 1700s. Because Trinidad and Tobago was geologically tied to South America, there existed a rich variety of woods, sixty species of which were commercially lumbered. Nonetheless, the islands were not self-sufficient in wood products and relied on imports to meet local demand. Some reforestation programs were implemented in the 1980s to prevent creeping erosion.

External Sector

External Trade

Trinidad and Tobago was very dependent on trade; export revenues from oil represented the major source of dynamism in the economy. More than any other factor, fluctuations in the world price of oil determined the country's annual trade performance during the 1970s and 1980s. The quadrupling of oil prices in 1973 provided Trinidad and Tobago with extremely favorable terms of trade; this pattern was reversed in 1982, when oil prices declined. Export prices also affected the country's productive base, as increased oil revenues encouraged the greater importation of goods and services that were previously produced locally, especially in agriculture. Between 1960 and 1980, Trinidad and Tobago's food import bill at current prices increased ninefold. Unlike other Commonwealth Caribbean countries, Trinidad and Tobago frequently attained annual trade surpluses because of its oil resources, a position that was also achieved when oil prices were depressed, as was the case in 1984 and 1985. In 1982 and 1983, however, unprecedented trade deficits were recorded.

Total imports in 1985 were valued at US\$1.4 billion, well below the peak import level of US\$2.4 billion in 1982. Imports were reduced in the mid-1980s through revised exchange controls that sought to stabilize the country's balance of payments, a goal that

was generally achieved through large reductions in consumption items. In 1985 machinery and transport equipment comprised 30 percent of imports, followed by food at 20 percent, manufactured goods at 20 percent, chemicals at 10 percent, and the balance in various other categories. The country's level of food imports was high even for a Caribbean country. The absence of oil as a major import category further differentiated Trinidad and Tobago from its Caribbean neighbors. The structure of imports changed drastically in 1983, when the processing of imported crude oil was discontinued, which had accounted for as much as 30 percent of total imports. In 1985 the United States provided 39 percent of the country's imports, trailed by Britain (10 percent), Japan (10 percent), Canada (8 percent), Caricom (6 percent), and other West European and Latin American and Caribbean countries. Major changes in the origin of the country's imports also resulted from the termination of the oil-processing program. In 1981 about 26 percent of all imports had come from Saudi Arabia; after the discontinuation of the program, the Saudi share of total imports dropped to 0.1 percent. These events in turn directly affected the share of total imports from the United States, which increased from 26 to 42 percent over the same time period.

In the 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago sought to stabilize its balance of payments by reducing the flood of imports that had become customary during the previous decade. Unable to sustain that level of imports after 1982, the Chambers government introduced a new system of import licensing and a two-tier exchange rate that hindered the flow of Caricom goods. Jamaica was most affected by these maneuvers. In an effort to improve bilateral trade relations, the two governments signed the Port-of-Spain Accord in 1985. Trade did improve somewhat as a result and was expected to expand further with the unification of the two-tier exchange system in 1987. Nevertheless, in the late 1980s imports continued to be restrained by a restrictive import quota system—dubbed the “negative list”—that completely protected hundreds of locally manufactured goods.

Exports totaled US\$2.1 billion in 1985, or about 20 percent below the country's peak export performance of 1981. A marginal increase in exports and a significant reduction in imports produced a trade surplus in 1985 of US\$750 million. Petroleum products continued to dominate export revenues, accounting for 79 percent of exports in 1985. Other major export categories included chemicals (13 percent), machinery (3 percent), and manufacturing (2 percent). The price of oil was the most important determinant of the structure of Trinidad and Tobago's exports. As the price of oil

declined in the 1980s, so did oil's share of exports. Oil fell from 93 percent of exports in 1980, to 83 percent in 1983, and to 79 percent by mid-decade. The other major change in the structure of exports in the 1980s was the increased share for chemicals. As the new petrochemical plants opened in the early 1980s, chemicals rose from 3 percent of total exports in 1980 to 13 percent by 1985. The overwhelming share (63 percent in 1985) of the country's exports went to the United States market. Exports were also shipped to the EEC (13 percent), Caricom (11 percent), and various other countries, particularly developing countries. Inside Caricom, most exports went to Guyana, Barbados, and Jamaica.

Trinidad and Tobago benefited from wide access to foreign markets, often under numerous preferential agreements. As a former British colony, it enjoyed special access to Britain's markets through the Commonwealth of Nations (see Appendix B) and access to the EEC under the provisions of the Lomé Convention. Exports to the United States entered under three preferential programs: the Generalized System of Preferences, the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI—see Appendix D), and the 807 program (see Glossary), which was named after its corresponding Tariff Schedules of the United States number. Nonetheless, Trinidad and Tobago benefited little from the CBI's trade provisions. Despite providing 18 percent of the region's exports, the nation contributed only 3 percent of CBI exports and less than 1 percent of 807 program exports. Trinidad and Tobago gained preferential access to Canada's market through Caribcan, a 1986 Canadian trade initiative similar in scope to the CBI. Although total trade within Caricom was in decline in the 1980s as a result of the international recession, Trinidad and Tobago continued to enjoy a trade surplus with the region.

The drive for increased exports was bolstered in 1984 by the creation of the Export Development Fund, which was designed to improve marketing and finance for local exporters and to diversify into light manufacturing and nontraditional items destined for hard currency markets. Export competitiveness was also expected to increase as a result of the devaluation of the Trinidad and Tobago dollar in December 1985.

Balance of Payments and Debt

Unlike other Caribbean countries, Trinidad and Tobago's balance of payments was generally favorable because of its strong, oil-based export performance and its ability to attract foreign investment in the oil and petrochemical subsectors. Prior to the oil boom, net international reserves were generally adequate to avoid large external loans, although current account surpluses were rare.

When energy prices soared in the 1970s, international reserves did the same, climbing from US\$34 million in 1973 to US\$3.3 billion by 1981. Reserves fell, however, during the 1980s to under US\$500 million by mid-decade. The position of reserves was expected to worsen further as a result of the currency devaluation of December 1985 and continued current account deficits. In 1985 the overall balance of payments was in a deficit position of approximately US\$300 million and was financed primarily by the country's international reserves. Although the deep recession of the early 1980s depleted most of the country's oil windfalls of the previous decade, it appeared that those accumulated reserves were sufficient for Trinidad and Tobago to avoid the debt crisis confronting most of the Western Hemisphere.

The nation's current account expanded rapidly in the 1970s, moving from a deficit of US\$25 million in 1973 to a surplus of US\$282 million a year later. Large surpluses on the current account were registered until 1982, when a deficit once again appeared and remained into the late 1980s. Surpluses on the current account averaged 18 percent of GDP during the 1974-79 period and allowed for the liberal importation of goods and services. These surpluses also augmented international reserves, which covered more than twenty months of imports by the early 1980s. The downturn in oil prices in 1982 reversed this trend and generated an unprecedented current account deficit of US\$969 million in 1983. These deficits were increasingly reduced later in the decade, making the current account deficit only US\$205 million by 1985. The reduction in the account's deficit was achieved primarily through a sharp decrease in imports, thus substantially improving the merchandise trade portion of the current account. Nonetheless, the account remained in a deficit position because of large deficits in the service account, especially in terms of foreign travel, the repatriation of profits, and interest payments. The deficit on the service portion of the current account reached an unprecedented level of US\$732 million in 1984. Since 1981, receipts from the country's tourism industry were less than the expenses of the foreign travel of Trinidadians, thus weakening the service portion of the current account. More stringent foreign exchange controls in regard to foreign travel by Trinidadians were instituted in the mid-1980s to restrict that drain.

Net movements on the country's capital account were almost always positive, allowing for some shortfalls in the current account. Surpluses on the capital account peaked in 1982, largely as a result of greater direct foreign investment associated with the ambitious industrial projects of the late 1970s and early 1980s. As the economy

contracted in the mid-1980s, direct foreign investment declined; by 1985 a debit for investment arose, indicating a net disinvestment in that year. External borrowing was not a major factor on the capital account until the mid- to late 1980s, when more lending was sought to help stabilize the country's balance of payments.

Trinidad and Tobago's debt was significant but manageable in the late 1980s. In 1985 the country's total external debt reached US\$1.2 billion. Seventy-eight percent of the country's debt was with private commercial banks, followed by a 19-percent bilateral debt share. Only 3 percent of the country's debt was with multilateral lending agencies such as the IMF, the World Bank (see Glossary), and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). During the 1970s and 1980s, Trinidad and Tobago was not involved in any major transactions with the IMF, a rarity among developing countries in the Americas. Nearly 90 percent of the country's debt was classified as long term, with only US\$149 million of outstanding short-term debt registered in 1985. As of 1987, Trinidad and Tobago had never rescheduled its external debt. In 1985 principal payments were slightly over US\$100 million, and interest payments were US\$80 million. As a percentage of GDP, the nation's total debt reached an all-time high in 1985 of approximately 17 percent. Debt servicing payments as a percentage of exports reached more than 15 percent by 1985. Both percentages were well below the respective Latin American and Caribbean averages of 44 and 26 percent. Nonetheless, Trinidad and Tobago's excellent credit rating, industrial base, international reserve position, and oil resources gave it considerable advantages in debt servicing compared with other developing countries.

Foreign Assistance

As an upper-middle-income country, Trinidad and Tobago received only minimal foreign assistance from bilateral and multilateral agencies and obtained most of its external funds from commercial banks. The country received only small amounts of bilateral aid from the United States via regional economic assistance programs. Likewise, its high income precluded it from receiving funds from the World Bank's "soft loan" window, the International Development Association. In fact, no major multilateral institution undertook a major, sustained, mission to Trinidad and Tobago during the 1970s or the first half of the 1980s. As a consequence of Trinidad and Tobago's growing financial difficulties in the late 1980s, however, some multilateral agencies were considering funding for the nation.



*Older and newer housing areas, Port-of-Spain
Courtesy Inter-American Development Bank*

The country actually became an important donor nation during the energy crisis of the 1970s, when other Caribbean countries experienced difficult adjustments in their balance of payments. In 1987 Caricom nations, primarily Jamaica and Guyana, still owed Trinidad and Tobago in excess of US\$200 million from earlier lending. Beyond direct, concessional loans to other Caribbean nations, Trinidad and Tobago also played an important role in providing cheap oil sales, generous contributions to Caricom institutions, and a boost to regional trade in the 1970s because of its rising import demand.

Government and Politics

The Governmental System

Trinidad and Tobago in the late 1980s was a bicameral parliamentary democracy based on the Westminster model. The Constitution, which took effect at the time of independence in 1962, was revised in 1976 to provide for an elected president to serve as head of state and commander in chief, a function filled earlier by a governor general appointed by the British monarch. Under the Constitution, Trinidad and Tobago remains a member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

Since independence, Parliament has been the major ruling body in Trinidad and Tobago. The Constitution provides for a bicameral legislature consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The executive consists of the president and the cabinet, headed by the prime minister. The president is elected by the Senate and House of Representatives to serve a five-year term as head of state and commander in chief of the armed forces. He also has the authority to grant pardons under constitutional provisions. The president must be a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago, at least thirty-five years old, and a resident of the country for the preceding ten years. In case of incapacity, the president is succeeded by the president of the Senate, and then by the speaker of the House of Representatives.

The leader of the majority party or majority coalition in the House of Representatives is named prime minister. The prime minister is by far the most powerful figure in the government and is responsible for running the government. The prime minister chooses cabinet ministers from Parliament, who are then appointed by the president, and he can change ministers and ministries at will.

Bills may be introduced in either house, with the exception of money bills, which must be introduced in the House of Representatives. Bills passed by the House of Representatives and the Senate,

and signed by the president, become law. The president must call Parliament into session at least once a year and may dissolve Parliament at any time. No Parliament may sit for more than five years; in case of a vote of no confidence, Parliament must be dissolved in seven days. After dissolution, a general election of the House of Representatives must be held within three months. Elections are by secret ballot, and citizens over the age of eighteen are eligible to vote. From independence through 1986, Parliament was never dissolved in less than four years, nor had there been a vote of no confidence.

The Senate is an unelected body; all thirty-one members are appointed by the president. Sixteen senators are appointed after consultation with the prime minister, six on the advice of the leader of the opposition, and nine from among outstanding leaders who must be citizens of Trinidad and Tobago and at least twenty-five years old. A Senate quorum is ten, and all senators are required to leave office upon dissolution of Parliament.

The House of Representatives consists of thirty-six members and has a quorum of twelve. Its number equals the constituencies in the nation, plus the speaker of the House, if the speaker is not already a member of the House. Two of the thirty-six constituencies must be in Tobago. Representatives must be citizens over the age of eighteen who have been residents of Trinidad and Tobago for at least two years. As is the case with senators, representatives must vacate their seats upon dissolution of Parliament. Members of Parliament are protected from prosecution for "words spoken in Parliament."

The Constitution provides for an ombudsman to be appointed by the president after consultation with the prime minister and the leader of the opposition. The ombudsman serves for a five-year term and may be reappointed. He investigates government acts that do not come under the jurisdiction of the courts, after a complaint of injustice has been filed.

In the late 1980s, government continued to be the largest employer. Although government employment traditionally has been considered a privilege, that perception has changed somewhat as salaries in the public sector have failed to keep up with those in the private sector. Since political administrators are expected to be in positions to influence policy, the Constitution authorizes independent public service commissions that are empowered to appoint, promote, transfer, and discipline personnel in the public career. These commissions are intended to protect career officers from political pressure. The public service commissions oversee the appointment of permanent secretaries, as well as judicial,

teaching, and police service personnel. A public service commission review board was established in 1966 to receive appeals on disciplinary action taken by the public service commissions.

Public service workers have been categorized as administrative, professional, executive, technical, clerical, and manual. Each division has required an appropriate university, professional, or technical degree or general certificate of education (similar to a high school certificate), although personnel could also be hired in a temporary capacity pending completion of the required degree. The hiring process has included entry exams and an interview process. Although public servants have been allowed to join political parties, they have been barred from appearing on a political platform or campaigning openly for candidates.

The legal and judicial system is based on English common law and practice, and its powers derive from the Constitution. The Supreme Court consists of the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal. Other courts include courts of summary jurisdiction and petty civil courts. According to the Constitution, the High Court of Justice consists of the chief justice, who serves *ex officio*, and a prescribed number of other judges. The judges have equal power, authority, and jurisdiction. There is vested in the High Court the same original jurisdiction as is vested in, or exercised by, the High Court of Justice in Britain under the provisions of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Consolidation Act of 1925 [U.K.]).

The Court of Appeal consists of the chief justice, who serves as president, and a prescribed number of justices of appeal. The Court of Appeal is a superior court of record and, unless specified by Parliament, has all the powers of such a court. The Constitution provides that appeals from the Court of Appeal may be made to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London under certain circumstances. In 1987 Prime Minister Robinson proposed replacing the Privy Council in London with a Caribbean Court of Appeal. This idea was discussed at the 1987 Caricom summit and endorsed by a number of other Caribbean politicians and jurists and by the British, whose taxpayers support all the costs for the London Privy Council; as of late 1987, however, no action had been taken.

The chief justice is appointed by the president, after consultation with the prime minister and the leader of the opposition. The other judges of the Supreme Court are also appointed by the president, acting on the advice of the Judicial and Legal Service Commission.

Political Dynamics

Between independence in 1962 and 1986, politics in Trinidad and Tobago was inseparable from the story of Williams and the party he founded, the PNM. Even after his death in 1981, Williams's legacy helped win another five-year term for the PNM. As the first leader in a newly independent country, Williams set many precedents and came to be seen as the father of the country. Williams's legitimacy derived from his education, his charisma, his speaking ability, and his personal identification with the lower class blacks in Trinidad. He also was an astute politician who did not hesitate to be ruthless if maintaining his power and leadership depended on it. As time went on, power within the PNM became increasingly centralized and Williams less tolerant of dissent. In spite of his high-handed way of dealing with PNM members who disagreed with him during his twenty-five years as prime minister, Williams left Trinidad and Tobago with a functioning democratic political system, including a free press and a healthy opposition whose leaders had been trained in PNM ranks. Throughout Williams's tenure as prime minister, there were numerous strikes and labor disputes. Labor leaders formed various coalitions and parties, but none of these was sufficiently powerful to gain control of the government.

Postindependence PNM rule can be divided into four phases: 1962–69, a period of consolidation and economic hardship; 1970–73, a time of economic and political troubles that included the Black Power riots; 1974–81, a period of prosperity and increased government centralization; and 1981–86, the period after Williams's death when George Chambers was prime minister.

On December 15, 1986, the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR), under the leadership of A.N.R. Robinson, won the election by a landslide. The NAR captured thirty-three out of the thirty-six House seats, including that of Prime Minister Chambers and his two deputies.

Consolidation and Economic Hardship, 1962–69

At the time of independence, politics in Trinidad and Tobago was conducted by the middle class; both the PNM and the DLP were nationalistic, largely pro-capitalist parties that were controlled by the middle class and supported by the working class. Earlier, more radical labor movements had been defeated or sidelined. Race was an important component of party loyalty, and the dominant PNM drew its support largely from black voters. Blacks controlled most PNM leadership positions; Williams's cabinet in 1961 had

only two East Indians—Winston Mahabir, a Christian, and Kamaluddin Mohammed, a Muslim. East Indians generally supported the DLP.

After his election in 1961, Williams reached an understanding with R.N. Capildeo, the Hindu DLP leader, under which the DLP was consulted in some national decisions and DLP members were sent abroad on diplomatic missions. Capildeo was allowed a special leave of absence from Parliament to spend the greater part of the year in London. Although the understanding appeared, on the surface, to be a magnanimous gesture on Williams's part, it was a skillful political move because it left the opposition party without a leader in Trinidad and Tobago. Capildeo's high-handed absentee management alienated many within the DLP, especially blacks. In 1964 many non-East Indians defected from the DLP and founded the Liberal Party of Trinidad, reducing the DLP representation in the House from ten to seven.

Serious problems in the Trinidadian economy between 1962 and 1965 caused by the falling prices of its main exports generated strikes in the sugar and oil industries, and the black-dominated Oilfield Workers Trade Union (OWTU) became increasingly radicalized. The new leader of the OWTU, George Weekes, charged that the PNM had sold out to big business. Despite an increasing sense of dissatisfaction with the PNM, the DLP was unable to capitalize on this opportunity to assume the role of champion of the working class because of intraparty squabbles and black loyalty to the PNM. Instead, the DLP provided crucial support to a PNM bill in March 1965 curbing strikes and lockouts. As the 1966 elections approached, the DLP continued to fragment, whereas the PNM closed ranks and campaigned hard. The PNM won 24 of the 36 seats in the House of Representatives and received 52 percent of the vote. The other 12 seats were won by the DLP with 34 percent of the vote. Several new smaller parties, such as the Liberal Party of Trinidad, failed to win any seats. In response, Capildeo claimed that the election was rigged because of the use of voting machines, and he pledged that the DLP would not contest any elections if voting machines were used. This strategy only succeeded in further reducing DLP influence, because many PNM candidates ran unopposed in the 1968 municipal elections and Capildeo himself was defeated. The PNM was able to increase its seats significantly on a very low turnout, but observers believed that this represented disillusionment rather than endorsement on the part of the voters.

Since there was little political opposition, the PNM was able to concentrate on economic matters. The population was expanding, but the oil industry needed fewer workers because of retrenchment

and automation, so unemployment had increased, reaching about 15 to 17 percent by 1967. In response to the many strikes in 1967 and 1968, the government announced a development plan that attempted to increase employment. It also increased its participation in the economy by buying out the British Petroleum Company (see *Role of Government*, this ch.). Government companies were inefficient, and the PNM did not solve the economic problems but in the process of trying became more rigid and bureaucratic.

Political Unrest and Economic Troubles, 1970–73

Although the PNM dominated the national bureaucracy and the civil service, by 1970 its popularity among the electorate was considerably lower than it had been at the time of independence. Election turnouts were lower, and election procedures increasingly were questioned. The poorest segments of the population, which were also East Indian, were largely left out of the government and the growth process. The PNM became quite centralized as Williams made most decisions by himself. By April 1970, he had not held a press conference in five years and was poorly prepared to respond to the challenge of the Black Power movement that spread across the Caribbean.

The Black Power movement was introduced into Trinidad and Tobago in 1970 by the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC), a party that sought fundamental changes in Trinidadian and Tobagonian society. The NJAC charged that the root cause of the nation's 14-percent general unemployment was white dominance. According to the NJAC, foreign and local white capitalists owned the country and oppressed blacks, defined by the NJAC as Trinidadians and Tobagonians of African and East Indian descent. In fact, a 1970 survey had found that 86 percent of business leaders were white. The NJAC maintained that Williams had white Anglo-Saxon values and decried his leadership. A major political crisis began on February 26, 1970, when the NJAC joined the Students Guild at the UWI in a march of 250 students in Port-of-Spain. The march was organized to protest the trial in Canada of Trinidadian students accused of occupying a computer center there. The government's arrest of nine marchers generated solidarity marches that over the next few months attracted increasing numbers of people and nearly toppled the government. After 20,000 marched in San Juan, the NJAC attempted to gain the support of the East Indians by asking the largely black marchers to cut cane for a day to show solidarity for East Indian sugar workers. East Indian leaders opposed this, and a forty-five-kilometer march from Port-of-Spain to Couva was substituted. Significantly, fewer than 100 of the 5,000

to 10,000 people who took part in that march were East Indians.

Williams tried to defuse the Black Power movement by supporting it and by paying the fines of the Trinidadian students in Canada, but the marches continued and attracted additional supporters, reaching their peak during April 1970. Thirty percent of the population of Tobago took part in solidarity marches on April 4 and 5, and more than 30,000 marched in a funeral procession on April 9 for an NJAC supporter shot by police. After several strikes the following week, the deputy prime minister, A.N.R. Robinson, a Tobagonian who was also minister of external affairs, resigned from the cabinet. In an attempt to preempt a general strike and march on the capital, Williams declared a state of emergency on April 21. Some of the officers and men in the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force seized control of the barracks at Teteron, however, thus depriving the government of arms; Williams was then forced to make hasty purchases of arms from the United States and Venezuela. Once rearmed, the 2,500-member Defence Force remained loyal to the government and was supported by the citizens. The crisis passed after the trade unions called off several scheduled strikes.

As a consequence of the 1970 uprising, Williams became increasingly disillusioned. His government moved farther to the right, introducing several measures to curtail individual freedom. Although a bill proposing very stringent state control over public meetings and freedom of speech was defeated, several other bills passed regulating public freedom, broadening police search powers, and requiring licenses for firearms. Concern about these measures led to the drafting and adoption of a new constitution in 1976.

There was general discontent with the government by the time of the 1971 elections, but the PNM again benefited from disunity in the opposition camp. An opposition alliance collapsed following the withdrawal of Robinson and his new party, the Action Committee of Democratic Citizens. The opposition's subsequent decision to boycott the election enabled the PNM to capture all thirty-six seats in the House of Representatives.

Despite its electoral victory, Williams's government reached a low point in 1973. The PNM was in power because of a majority boycott rather than a majority election. Strikes were frequent, the government treasury was nearly bankrupt, and there was concern that the government would not be able to pay its employees. Williams became so disillusioned by strikes that at the PNM convention in 1973 he resigned as prime minister and left the convention. Karl Hudson-Phillips was elected to succeed him,

overwhelmingly defeating East Indian Kamaluddin Mohammed; Williams returned later in 1973, however, reassumed leadership, and forced Hudson-Phillips to leave the party.

Prosperity and Government Centralization, 1974–81

The Arab oil embargo was a boon to the Williams government. The oil price increases that followed it created a prosperity that made the government of Trinidad and Tobago not only solvent but financially comfortable. Concerns about the PNM were muted because of the healthy economy, and since the opposition did not come forward with a better alternative, voters continued to endorse Williams. As GDP rose, however, various segments of society fought for larger slices of the pie. Strikes, which had been frequent in the lean years of 1972 and 1973, continued. During the spring of 1975, an estimated 45,000 people were involved in strikes.

The 1976 election again illustrated the difficulty of developing a political movement in Trinidad and Tobago that appealed to working-class people of both African and East Indian origin. The black-dominated OWTU joined the East Indian-dominated All Trinidad Sugar Estates and Factory Workers Trade Union (ATSE/FWTU), the Trinidadian Islandwide Cane Farmers' Union, and left-of-center intellectuals to form a new political party, the United Labour Front (ULF). A Trinidadian political scientist has called the ULF "a political banyan tree" that provided shelter for many ideologically incompatible elements involved in the protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Envisioning itself as the representative of the working class, the ULF called for land reform, nationalization of multinational firms, and worker participation in management. Nonetheless, the ULF was unable to overcome ethnic suspicions. Working-class blacks feared that East Indians would control any ULF-led government. The ULF was also hurt by the perception that the party was communist. Williams exploited this view, promising to preserve individual landownership and capitalism; as a result, the PNM captured twenty-four of the thirty-six House seats in 1976. The ULF's ten seats came primarily from former DLP seats with constituencies in East Indian working-class areas.

Two remaining House seats, both in Tobago, were captured by the Democratic Action Congress (DAC). The DAC was founded by Robinson, the PNM minister of external affairs who had resigned during the 1970 Black Power riots. A Tobagonian-based party, the DAC promised to lobby for some regional autonomy for Tobago and specifically called for the reinstatement of its legislative body. Once in Parliament, the DAC members proposed the Tobago

House of Assembly Bill, which passed in 1980. This measure gave some self-government to Tobago in the form of a fifteen-member elected House of Assembly, although Port-of-Spain still retained a number of controls. In the first election for Tobago's House of Assembly in 1980, the DAC won two-thirds of the seats.

Subsequent to the 1976 election, Williams continued to gather more power into his own hands, so that even the smallest decisions came to be referred to him. He created the National Advisory Council (NAC), which was a think tank made up entirely of individuals selected by, and responsible to, Williams. The NAC did the planning for the national bureaucracy and also masterminded the increasing government participation in the economy. Because of the oil windfall, per capita income increased and unemployment declined. The state used the additional revenue to increase educational expenditures and to attempt to restructure the economy. State spending increased dramatically as over fifty government-owned companies were created. Subsequently, the Williams administration was accused of corruption; high officials were alleged to have taken bribes in connection with purchases of Lockheed airplanes for the national airline BWIA and Sikorsky helicopters for the Ministry of National Security and in awarding contracts for a racing complex. In the PNM convention of September 1980, Williams attributed the erosion of popular support to the trade unions and to "enemies within." A poll conducted in January and February 1981 indicated widespread suspicion that the PNM cabinet was engaged in a cover-up of corrupt practices. Fifty percent of those polled, including both blacks and East Indians, felt that Williams should resign.

In March 1981, as the nation prepared for as yet unannounced elections, Williams died. Although members of the cabinet knew that Williams had been sick, his death was an unexpected shock to the rest of the nation. Contrary to dire predictions, Williams's death did not cause political disarray in Trinidad. Despite Williams's own disillusionment with his role as leader and his increasing centralization of power, he and the nation's British heritage had forged a firm democratic tradition in Trinidad and Tobago. A few months after his death, democratic elections took place on schedule, reelecting the PNM once again.

The Post-Williams Era, 1981-86

After Williams's death, the PNM appointed Chambers to succeed him as prime minister and as party leader in the 1981 elections. Chambers had entered PNM politics in 1966 and had served the government as head of several ministries in succeeding years.

One of the main factors in Chambers's selection was that, as a black Trinidadian, he was more acceptable as prime minister than two more senior East Indian PNM ministers, Kamaluddin Mohammed and Errol Mahabir, both of whom remained in Chambers's cabinet.

The 1981 election marked the appearance of a new political party, the Organization for National Reconstruction (ONR). The ONR, led by former PNM prime minister Hudson-Phillips, attacked government inefficiency and called for a rollback of "massive state capitalism." The party attempted to appeal to a cross section of voters, including black and East Indian workers as well as all groups in the middle class. In addition, three opposition parties—the ULF, the DAC, and Tapia House (a reformist party of intellectuals and the middle class)—attempted to form an electoral coalition appropriately termed the Alliance. The coalition fragmented over ethnic divisions, however.

Chambers campaigned on the PNM party record, pointing with pride to twenty-five years of accomplishments in education, housing, and culture and to the prosperous economy. Although only 30 percent of the registered voters voted for the PNM, the party once again won, getting over half the vote and taking two seats from the ULF to win a total of twenty-six out of the thirty-six seats in the House of Representatives. The ULF lost ground, receiving only 15 percent of the vote and retaining only eight of its ten seats; the DAC kept its two Tobagonian seats. Because of the winner-take-all rule, neither the ONR nor the Alliance won any seats despite the fact that the ONR received nearly a quarter of the popular vote. Observers attributed the PNM victory in 1981 to healthy economic conditions, poor organization by the opposition, and a fear of unknown and untried parties.

Chambers's five-year rule as prime minister was plagued by economic and political problems (see *Role of Government*, this ch.). He had ridden in on a wave of prosperity but was defeated five years later by an economic downturn. Oil prices fell in 1982 and 1983, and the oil industry, faced with lower revenues, forced concessions from the OWTU. Oil layoffs increased unemployment, and the 1982 sugar crop was below target level, compounding the problem. The government ran a deficit in 1982 for the first time in many years. During the oil boom, the PNM government had subsidized many consumer items, especially food and transport. Chambers reduced these subsidies, resulting in significant increases in food and transport prices.

Chambers changed many controversial government-to-government arrangements under which Williams had invited foreign governments to engage in development projects using their

own companies. The foreign contractors had had frequent cost overruns and had angered local producers by sometimes refusing to work with local materials and local personnel. Chambers was also faced with the aircraft purchase and racetrack complex corruption scandals involving officials of Williams's government.

Hoping to reduce imports, the government instituted a system of import licensing in November 1983. This caused much criticism from other Caricom members because Trinidad and Tobago absorbed half of the intraregional trade (see External Sector, this ch.). Despite these efforts, foreign reserves continued to dwindle.

By the time of the 1983 municipal elections, PNM support had seriously eroded. With an eye on the elections, Chambers raised the salaries of 52,000 public workers, thereby increasing government expenditure by 76 percent. Despite this action, the ONR and the Alliance joined forces to win a total of 66 of the 120 municipal seats, the first opposition victory since 1958. The PNM also lost disastrously in the 1984 elections for the Tobago House of Assembly. That contest, which became a personal clash between Robinson and Chambers, resulted in the DAC's winning eleven out of fifteen seats.

The PNM was under heavy criticism by the time parliamentary elections were called for December 15, 1986. The opposition coalesced in the NAR, formed earlier in the year. The four parties comprising the NAR included the three that had formed the Alliance in 1981—the ULF, the DAC, and Tapia House—and the ONR. These four included a wide spectrum of Trinidadian political views: the ULF, headed by Basdeo Panday, president of the ATSE/FWTU, represented the indigenous working class and was mainly East Indian and left of center; Robinson's DAC primarily represented Tobagonian interests; Tapia House was a small intellectual party under the leadership of Lloyd Best; and the ONR, led by Hudson-Phillips, was largely middle class and right of center. Robinson was chosen head of the NAR, and Hudson-Phillips and Panday became deputy leaders.

Campaigning under the slogan "one love," the NAR issued a broad appeal to all ethnic groups. Robinson cited details of government corruption that the PNM was not able to dispel. Surprisingly, in response to a question at a political rally about corruption, a PNM candidate replied, "we are all thieves." Robinson promised to name an Integrity Commission, as provided by the Constitution, and to create a Register of Gifts to keep track of gifts to cabinet ministers. He also outlined a massive campaign to improve employment and promised to publish a report on drugs that had been suppressed by the government (see National Security, this

ch.). Deputy leader Panday said that a NAR government would concentrate on divestment of some state enterprises.

The 1986 election was remarkable, for both voter participation and results. In the highest voter turnout (63 percent) in twenty years, the NAR captured 67 percent of the vote and won a stunning 33 out of the 36 seats in the House of Representatives. Most of the NAR seats were won by large margins, even in districts where the PNM candidates were cabinet ministers. Chambers was swept out of office with the tide. Despite losing almost all of its seats, the PNM, according to subsequent analysis of the election, retained almost half the votes of the black community. Although middle- and upper-middle-class blacks voted for the NAR, less affluent blacks stayed loyal to the PNM. Much of the NAR strength came from East Indian votes. Patrick Manning, one of the three representatives who had survived the 1986 elections, was chosen to head the PNM.

The Robinson Government

Robinson was sworn in as prime minister on December 17, 1986. He had been involved in Trinidadian politics since 1958, when he was first elected as a representative from Tobago. Robinson had served the PNM as finance minister from 1961 to 1967 and as minister of external affairs from 1967 to 1970, when he resigned from the party. He returned to Tobago to head a local party that later became the DAC; when the DAC joined the NAR in 1986, he was elected leader of the new party.

Robinson reorganized the cabinet, creating a number of new ministries. In April 1987 the ministries were those for education; energy; external affairs, international marketing, and tourism; finance and economy, which Robinson kept for himself, designating two additional ministers to serve with him; food production, marine exploitation, and forestry; health, welfare, and status of women; industry, commerce, and enterprise; labour, employment, and manpower resources; national security; planning and reconstruction; works, resettlement, and infrastructure; and youth, culture, and creative affairs. He named Selwyn Richardson as attorney general, a post Richardson had formerly held under the PNM. Deputy leader Panday resigned his post as head of the ATSE/FWTU to become minister of external affairs, international marketing, and tourism.

The Robinson government was immediately faced with serious economic problems. On taking office, Robinson found that financial affairs were much worse than had been apparent. In April 1987, in his report to the nation Robinson painted a grim picture of an

empty treasury with little relief in sight. The 1986 deficit was US\$2.8 billion rather than the US\$1 billion claimed by the previous government. Because the deficit had been covered by borrowing from the Central Bank, there were few financial reserves left. Reserves, which had been US\$3.3 billion in 1981, dropped to less than US\$400 million by the end of 1986. Oil prices fell, aggravating the situation, and the state-owned oil companies expected to lose money in 1987. Robinson promised to conduct a more open government than the PNM and proposed a number of construction projects to stimulate economic growth. He also attempted to cut costs by withdrawing the cost-of-living allowance in the public sector, causing a storm of union protests (see *Role of Government*, this ch.).

Since independence Trinidad and Tobago had never had a change in party administration, and it experienced transition problems when the NAR took over in December 1986. Questions arose as to whether the public service commissions could be fair and nonpartisan since they were a product of thirty years of PNM government. The commissions and the civil service were scrutinized to ensure that their members would serve an NAR government as loyally as the former PNM government, to which they owed their jobs. Provisions for retraining were made, and new guidelines on discipline were established. When President Ellis Clarke, the first president of Trinidad and Tobago, came to the end of his five-year term, Parliament elected Noor Mohammed Hassanali, a Muslim and a former judge. Immediately prior to the end of his term in March 1987, Clarke made two appointments to public service commissions that angered Robinson, the latter claiming he had not been "consulted" as provided in the Constitution. Robinson caused a storm of protest by proposing a constitutional amendment to clarify the legality of appointments made by an outgoing president. The proposed constitutional amendment was later withdrawn because of the intense criticism, and a commission was appointed to review the Constitution for possible changes.

In an effort to deal with government corruption, the Robinson administration published a formerly unpublished drug report that detailed an increase in cocaine activity made possible by corruption in the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (see *National Security*, this ch.).

By the time of its party convention in July 1987, the NAR was struggling with the responsibilities of trying to solve large national problems with few resources; as a result, there were strains within the four-party coalition as well as strikes by various unions. Local government elections called for September 14, 1987, were the first

referendum on the Robinson government. The NAR held together and scored some gains, winning two of the four municipalities previously controlled by the PNM and retaining six of seven county councils. It failed, however, to capture the important Port-of-Spain municipality from the PNM, giving both the NAR and the PNM reason to feel confident about the future.

Foreign Relations

Since achieving self-governing status in 1956, Trinidad and Tobago has followed a nationalistic and independent course in its foreign policy, and it has taken an active role in international and regional organizations, such as the UN and the Organization of American States (OAS). Trinidad and Tobago has made a point of insisting on its autonomy from United States foreign policy and its right to maintain relations with communist countries, especially Cuba. It has been an advocate of close Caribbean cooperation, as long as this did not adversely affect the domestic economy. Trinidad and Tobago was a founding member of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (Carifta) and is also an important member of its successor organization, Caricom, which was established in 1973.

Prior to independence in 1962, Williams took several positions that emphasized the islands' sovereignty and their right to make their own decisions. He fought for, and achieved, the right to sit as a sovereign member with the United States and Britain at the 1960 conference that decided the fate of the United States base at Chaguaramas (see *The Road to Independence*, this ch.). Prompted by economic considerations, Williams also made the decision to pull out of the West Indies Federation in 1962, thereby giving it the coup de grace. Both of these decisions illustrate fundamental policies of autonomy and zealous concern for a standard of living that is much higher than that of the other Commonwealth Caribbean islands. Implementation of both these policies was made much easier by substantial oil revenues and the stability of the government.

Since independence, Trinidad and Tobago has associated itself with, and participated in, many international organizations. Upon independence, it became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, and later that year it was admitted to the UN. In March 1967, Trinidad and Tobago became the first Commonwealth Caribbean member of the OAS, and the following June it signed the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty) of 1947, thus becoming a part of the inter-American regional security mechanism under the framework of the UN Charter. In these organizations it has traditionally followed a policy of nonalignment

and respect for sovereignty of states, a policy that in the late 1980s the Robinson government made a point of endorsing.

Trinidad and Tobago has taken an independent stance in the UN. In the fortieth UN General Assembly in 1985-86, only 17.8 percent of Trinidad and Tobago's votes supported United States positions. It opposed the trade embargo against Nicaragua and took opposing sides on other issues important to the United States.

Trinidad and Tobago has also demonstrated its independence from United States foreign policy initiatives in the OAS. In 1972 Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Jamaica, and Guyana defied the United States and the OAS and established diplomatic relations with Cuba. After the OAS lifted sanctions against Cuba in 1975, Williams visited Cuba and also visited the Soviet Union, Hungary, Romania, and China. He was not, however, impressed with Cuba and, in the 1976 campaign, used examples from Cuba to demonstrate the superiority of capitalism. Trinidad and Tobago has been ambivalent about closer ties with Cuba, maintaining correct diplomatic relations but not encouraging Cuban initiatives.

Although Trinidad and Tobago denounced the 1983 coup against Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop and imposed sanctions against the Revolutionary Military Council, it opposed the subsequent United States-Caribbean intervention in that country (see Grenada, Foreign Relations, ch. 4). Prime Minister Chambers condemned the use of force as a "first resort," arguing that a nonmilitary solution should have been pursued. Chambers was angered that he had not been consulted before the operation, as he was serving as Caricom chairman at the time. The government took the position that the Grenada crisis was a Caribbean affair and, as such, was the sole responsibility of the people and governments of the Caribbean. Chambers and his external affairs minister, Basil Ince, felt that the United States-Caribbean intervention set a dangerous precedent for invasions of other states in the Caribbean. Nevertheless, the government expressed willingness for Trinidad and Tobago to be part of a peacekeeping force.

Public opinion in Trinidad and Tobago did not necessarily endorse the government's position on Grenada. A poll taken by an independent research group in Trinidad and Tobago showed that 63 percent felt that force was the only alternative. A majority (56 percent) thought that Trinidad and Tobago should have "joined the invasion;" 61 percent maintained that the decision by a majority of Caricom states to "invite" United States intervention was "justified."

Trinidad and Tobago's Grenada policy affected its relations with some of its Commonwealth Caribbean neighbors. Following the

coup against Bishop, Trinidad and Tobago deployed soldiers along its northern and southern coasts to prevent illegal landings by refugees from Grenada and put extra restrictions on Grenadian immigration. Relations with Barbados were also strained, as the two countries argued about whether or not the Trinidadian ambassador in Barbados had been fully informed of the plans to send a task force to the Caribbean.

Although nationalistic and independent, Trinidad and Tobago has maintained a strong attachment to Britain. In April 1982, Trinidad and Tobago joined Chile, Colombia, and the United States in abstaining from voting on an OAS resolution recognizing Argentine sovereignty over the Falkland/Malvinas Islands. The following month it joined the same three countries in abstaining from a resolution that condemned the British military operation and called on the United States to halt its aid to Britain.

Trinidad and Tobago also demonstrated its respect for the British in its Constitution by retaining the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London as the highest court of appeal. Polls taken just before the Constitution went into effect showed that many citizens felt that resort to the Privy Council in London would achieve a more just solution than that found in courts in Trinidad and Tobago. The poll also revealed that 52 percent of those answering agreed with the statement that "Trinidad and Tobago would have been better off if it had not become independent." Only 18 percent disagreed.

Policy in Trinidad and Tobago has favored Caribbean economic cooperation as long as that cooperation did not threaten the nation's standard of living. After Jamaica's withdrawal from the West Indies Federation in 1961, Trinidad and Tobago followed suit the following year because it did not want to be responsible for eight small, much poorer islands. Half of all Trinidadians interviewed in a 1976 poll agreed with the statement that "Trinidad and Tobago should go its own way and not worry about the Caribbean." Nonetheless, Trinidad and Tobago was generous to its Caribbean neighbors during the oil-rich years. Assistance from Trinidad and Tobago totaled nearly US\$300 million and included issuance of grants to the CDB, establishment of an aid council to provide loans to other countries, and creation of an oil, asphalt, and fertilizer facility to help its Caricom partners pay for the increased cost of imports. In the 1980s, however, oil prices fell, and the Chambers government instituted a system of import licensing and dual exchange rates that severely restricted Trinidad and Tobago's importation of goods from Caricom. By 1986 intraregional trade accounted for only a little over 5 percent of total imports.

Shortly after his December 1986 electoral victory, Robinson promised that the NAR government would increase intraregional trade. Robinson signaled his desire for closer relationships with the Caribbean by inviting all the Caricom leaders to a ceremonial opening of Parliament in January 1987. Six Caribbean leaders accepted the invitation, among them Prime Minister Errol Barrow of Barbados, who met with Robinson in April to discuss fishing rights and to sign an agreement on Caribbean air service. Robinson also offered to host the Caricom conference in May 1988. By mid-1987 the Trinidad and Tobago government had removed the 12-percent import duty for 8 of the other 11 Caricom countries.

Trinidad and Tobago's relations with Venezuela in the late 1980s were cordial but surprisingly distant, considering the physical proximity of the two countries. President Jaime Lusinchi of Venezuela visited Trinidad and Tobago in September 1986 at Prime Minister Chambers's invitation, the first Venezuelan president ever to visit the islands while in office. Disputes over fishing rights were addressed in a 1985 fishing agreement, signed at the time of Lusinchi's visit, along with a number of other agreements on industrial and technical collaboration. At the same time, Spanish-language courses were arranged for members of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force coast guard. By 1987, however, the NAR government was criticizing the fishing agreement as detrimental to Trinidad and Tobago's interests. On a number of occasions, Venezuelan guards detained fishing boats from Trinidad and Tobago and seized the cargo. Both countries hoped to remedy this problem by organizing joint patrols of disputed areas.

Trinidad and Tobago has strongly opposed apartheid in South Africa. This has been a tenet of foreign policy with grass-roots appeal, expressed in 1986 in a popular calypso chorus that chanted "Botha, you need a kick in the bottom."

National Security

The national security forces of Trinidad and Tobago in late 1987 included the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force and the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service, both of which were under the Ministry of National Security. The Defence Force consisted of approximately 2,130 personnel distributed among the army, the coast guard, and the air force; the Police Service included about 3,000 members, divided among the police and the fire and ambulance services.

Recruitment was voluntary, and many of the officers had been trained in Britain. In 1986 the army, the ground forces arm of the Defence Force, had 1,500 personnel organized into one infantry

battalion, one reserve battalion, and one support battalion. The army had no heavy equipment or armored vehicles, and its rifles and machine guns were all of British origin. The coast guard, which was the naval arm of the Defence Force, had about 580 personnel and 13 patrol craft in 1986. The larger naval vessels included two 200-ton Swedish patrol vessels and four 100-ton Swedish Vosper patrol craft. The air force became a separate branch of the Defence Force in 1977; by 1986 it had about fifty personnel, one Cessna 402, and six helicopters, operating from bases at Piarco International Airport and Crown Point Airport.

Newspaper articles in 1986 and 1987 indicated that equipment in the armed forces was deteriorating and poorly maintained. Very few of the 150 vehicles in the Defence Force were believed to be operational in early 1987. In late 1986, four coast guard vessels were said to be inoperable, and three of the five customs and excise launches were reported to be down, with repairs delayed indefinitely because of lack of funds. At the same time, there were reports of large-scale arms smuggling into Trinidad and Tobago from Grenada, Barbados, Venezuela, Colombia, and the United States. A group of highly sophisticated "special operations" weapons—including the Israeli Uzi, the Soviet AK-47, the 9mm semiautomatic and automatic Beretta—and even sniper rifles with an infrared lens were being sold in Trinidad and Tobago. Most households had a gun, and there was a ready market for small arms, but the final destination of the sophisticated weapons was not known.

Although the Police Service has existed since colonial times, it was not until 1943 that a local man was appointed a commissioned police officer from the ranks. In the mid-1980s, the Police Service was divided between the police and the fire and ambulance services. In 1986 the police had eight divisions—seven on Trinidad and one on Tobago. Branches included a riot control unit (called the Police Mobile Force), units for highway control and crime investigation, and a court and process unit, which was responsible for preparing court cases up to committal proceedings. Although most police personnel were trained at the Police Training School, trainee constables were occasionally sent to Britain for additional training.

Approximately 14,000 serious crimes were reported to the police in 1985, a rise of 43 percent since 1976; nonetheless, prosecutions for these crimes only rose by 700 to 2,856, and convictions fell to 550, a drop of 531. There were ninety-nine reports of murder and twelve of manslaughter in 1985, compared with sixty-eight and fourteen for the same crimes in 1976. The only convictions obtained

for any of the crimes just mentioned were four murder convictions in 1976. Despite a nearly fivefold increase in prison expenditures from 1976 to 1985, the daily average number of prisoners only grew from 1,048 in 1976 to 1,110 in 1985. The number of individuals committed to prison did expand to 4,231 in 1985, an increase of 81 percent over 1976.

Drug trafficking presented serious national security problems in 1987. In April 1984, the Chambers government appointed a commission to examine the drug problem. Two years later, the commission produced the Scott Drug Report, which was suppressed by Chambers and not released until the NAR took over the government in 1987. The Scott Drug Report described an explosive increase in the use of cocaine, attributing it to Trinidad and Tobago's location on the trade route between the producers in Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia and the main market in the United States. It implicated five cabinet officials in the PNM government, as well as customs officials, bank executives, and many policemen, some of whom held senior posts. Police Commissioner Randolph Burroughs, who had been tried and acquitted in 1986 on murder and drug-related charges, resigned a few days after the Scott Drug Report was published.

Promising a national crusade against drugs, Robinson suspended fifty-three police officers, four magistrates, and a customs official and asked for stronger legislation permitting confiscation of property acquired with drug profits. He named Louis Rodriguez, a former member of the commission that prepared the Scott Drug Report, as police commissioner. Rodriguez had been working with authorities at the airport to strengthen security at Piarco International Airport, cited by the Scott Drug Report as one of the main ports of entry for cocaine. A special police task force, set up by Robinson to deal with drug trafficking, was reported to have destroyed millions of marijuana plants throughout Trinidad and Tobago and conducted dozens of raids against cocaine dealers.

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Bridget Brereton's *A History of Modern Trinidad, 1783-1962* gives a comprehensive discussion of events in Trinidad and Tobago until independence and is particularly useful on the rise of the PNM. Eric Williams's many books and speeches, especially his autobiography *Inward Hunger*, are invaluable in showing the thinking of the man who was the most important influence on independent Trinidad and Tobago. Jack Harewood's *The Population of Trinidad and Tobago* and *Female Fertility and Family Planning in Trinidad and*

Tobago provide a good understanding of population trends. Information on health care is available in the Pan American Health Organization's *Health Conditions in the Americas, 1981-1984*. Supporting statistical evidence for health, education, and welfare may be found in Trinidad and Tobago's *Annual Statistical Digest* and *Report on Education Statistics*. Book-length studies on the economy of Trinidad and Tobago are few. Most research on the country appears in various academic journals. Likewise, there are few well-centralized sources of data on the economy, causing statistical variations. The best statistical and analytical annual publications on the economy are the government's Central Statistical Office's *Review of the Economy* and the Central Bank's *Annual Report*. Selwyn Ryan's many studies of politics and the electorate in Trinidad and Tobago give insight into events as seen contemporaneously. Paul Sutton's "Black Power in Trinidad and Tobago: The Crisis of 1970" describes the crisis from start to finish, and Scott B. MacDonald's *Trinidad and Tobago* is one of the few sources that covers the whole postindependence period. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Chapter 4. The Windward Islands and Barbados



Preparing bananas for export

THE WINDWARD ISLANDS consist of Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Grenada. The name *Windward* dates back to the 1700s, to the time when English ships bound for Jamaica followed the trade-wind passage, stopping at islands along the way. The islands constitute a north-south chain in the southern section of the Lesser Antilles and share a volcanic rock formation. The Windward Islands nations also have highly similar political and economic systems. Despite these parallels, the Windwards are much more heterogeneous than other Commonwealth Caribbean island groupings. These differences prevented the establishment in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of a federation along the lines found in the Leeward Islands.

A French legacy distinguishes the Windward Islands from their Commonwealth Caribbean neighbors. The French established permanent settlements on Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada in the 1600s and controlled them until the islands were seized by the British in the 1760s. Even after the British takeover, France continued to compete with Britain for authority over the Windwards, regaining control over St. Lucia, for example, on several occasions. France did not relinquish its claim to St. Lucia until 1815.

The islands varied widely in the degree to which they subsequently assimilated British culture and mores. The most extensive acculturation occurred in St. Vincent, where the population easily adopted the English language and Protestantism. In Grenada, on the other hand, the majority of the residents remained Roman Catholics even though English became the sole language of the island. Dominica and St. Lucia offered the greatest resistance to British influence. In the late 1980s, a French creole language or patois was still in use by much of the rural population of both islands. Dominicans and St. Lucians were also overwhelmingly Roman Catholic.

The British made numerous, largely unsuccessful, efforts to administer the Windward Islands as a single entity. In 1764 the British established the Southern Caribbee Islands and grouped together the colonies of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago. Within two decades, however, the government collapsed as each colony except the Grenadines won the right to have its own governor and assembly. In 1833 Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent, and Tobago were incorporated into the Windward Island

Government with headquarters in Barbados. St. Lucia was absorbed into this government in 1838. In actuality, however, lieutenant governors and assemblies on each of the islands exercised considerable autonomy.

Yet another British effort aimed at unifying the Windward Islands occurred in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1875 the governor of Barbados attempted to implement a British directive calling for a Windward Islands confederation. Fearing a loss of political and financial autonomy, Barbadian planters successfully defeated the measure. Although the Barbadian action dealt a severe blow to the confederation effort, the British established in 1885 the office of governor and commander in chief of the Windward Islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago. Four years later, Tobago withdrew from this government to form a union with Trinidad. Dominica, a reluctant member of the Leeward Islands Federation since 1871, rejoined the Windwards in 1940. Although the Windwards structure lasted until 1956, it had only limited authority. Its members were absorbed in 1958 in the ill-fated West Indies Federation and became independent nations between 1974 and 1979 (see *The West Indies Federation, 1958-62*, ch. 1).

The nations of the Windward Islands generally share common political and economic patterns. St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Grenada are formally constitutional monarchies with a parliamentary system of government based on the Westminster model. Each has a bicameral legislature consisting of an elected House and non-elective Senate. The prime minister is the leader of the party that secures a majority of House seats. Dominica's political system differs from those of its neighbors in two important ways. First of all, Dominica is a republic with a president as head of state and prime minister as head of government. In addition, House and Senate members form part of a unicameral body, called the House of Assembly. Agriculture is the leading component of the gross domestic product for each of the islands. In the case of Grenada, however, tourism replaced agriculture as the primary earner of foreign exchange by the mid-1980s. All of the Windwards have high levels of unemployment and emigration.

In the late 1980s, following a tumultuous decade, national security remained an important consideration for the leaders of the Windward Islands. The overthrow in 1979 of the Grenadian government and its replacement by the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), the temporary seizure the same year of Union Island in the Grenadines, the attempted coup in 1981 in Dominica, and the assassination in 1983 of PRG leader Maurice Bishop

shocked the Windwards population. These events led to the creation of paramilitary Special Service Units within each of the national police organizations. At the same time, however, leaders generally continued to oppose the establishment of a regional army, fearing that such an institution could endanger democracy.

Despite its nineteenth-century ties to the Windward Islands, Barbados differs from its neighbors in several ways. Barbados lies east of the Windwards and is characterized by lowlands, plains, and rolling hills rather than the mountainous terrain of the Windwards. The island also followed a distinct historical path. Barbados is regarded as the most British nation in the Commonwealth Caribbean, a reflection undoubtedly of the uncontested control exercised by the British from 1625 until the granting of independence in 1966. Barbados also managed to maintain a representative assembly throughout the colonial period. In contrast, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Grenada adopted crown colony government (see Glossary) at varying periods during the nineteenth century (see *Political Traditions*, ch. 1). Barbados' economic base also differs from that of most of the Windwards nations; tourism replaced agriculture as the primary foreign exchange earner by the 1970s. Barbados is also distinguished from its neighbors by the maintenance of a standing army. Barbados' political structure, however, is identical to that found in St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Grenada.

Dominica

Official Name Commonwealth of Dominica

Term for Citizens Dominican(s)

Capital Roseau

Political Status Independent, 1978

Form of Government Parliamentary democracy
and republic

Geography

Size 750 sq. km.

Topography Mountainous, covered by multilayered
rain forest and swift-flowing highland streams

Climate Tropical, wet

Population

Total estimated in 1985 77,900

Annual growth rate (in percentage) in 1982-85 1.4

Life expectancy at birth in 1984 76.7

Adult literacy rate (in percentage) in 1981 94

Language English; some patois

Ethnic groups Primarily black; some Carib

Religion Roman Catholic (83 percent);
remainder other Christian denominations or no religion

Economy

Currency; exchange rate Eastern Caribbean dollar
(EC\$); EC\$2.70 = US\$1.00

Gross domestic product (GDP) in 1986 ... US\$90.2 million

Per capita GDP in 1986 US\$1,047

Distribution of GDP (in percentage) in 1986

Government and other services 61.8

Agriculture 29.4

Manufacturing 8.8

National Security

Armed forces personnel 0

Paramilitary personnel 80

Police 310

Dominica

Dominica is the most mountainous island in the Caribbean. The land rises in places straight from the sea, towering to high peaks. This rugged landscape is softened somewhat by the luxuriant forests that coat the hills and give the island its distinctive verdant beauty.

After nearly 3,000 years of human habitation, Dominica, known to many as “the Nature Island of the Caribbean,” is one of the few places where untouched primary tropical forests can still be found. More than in most islands, this rugged terrain has guided the course of Dominica’s history. The steep mountains and deep valleys provided the early Carib Indians with a natural fortress against European colonizers, making Dominica one of the last islands to be fully colonized. These same features later provided a safe haven for escaped slaves. Since then, the struggle between man and mountain has significantly affected the direction and pace of Dominica’s development by determining the location and cost of roads, farms, and buildings.

The island’s first settlers were the Arawaks, an Indian people from the Orinoco region of South America, who arrived in Dominica and the neighboring islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe about 1000 B.C. (see *The Pre-European Population*, ch. 1). These first known settlers lived peacefully until they were almost completely decimated by the more aggressive Carib Indians, who arrived in Dominica in A.D. 900. In the late 1980s, there were no known living descendants of the Arawaks in Dominica, but the Carib population numbered about 1,500 and lived in a 1,500-hectare reserve near the island’s northeast coast. Actually, only a few dozen Caribs were pure blooded. Tribal rules allowed Carib men to marry women of other races, a right not extended, however, to Carib women.

Some 593 years after the Caribs settled in Dominica, Christopher Columbus first sighted the island on his second voyage to the New World. Unaware that the Caribs had already named the island Waitukubuli (“Tall is her body”), Columbus renamed it Dominica, after the Spanish word for Sunday, the day of his arrival, November 3, 1493.

For the next 200 years, no European power was able to conquer Dominica. The determined and often violent resistance of the island’s Carib inhabitants was a major deterrent to colonization. As the Spanish Empire grew in the 1500s, Dominica became increasingly important, but only as a point for collecting wood and

water. The island's resources were abundant, but attacking Caribs put the mariners at great risk. Only in the year 1627, when the French standard was raised, did a European power claim the island as an occupied possession. Fifty years later, following repeated hostilities between the French and English over the island's ownership, a treaty was signed between the two countries declaring Dominica a neutral territory to "be inhabited by the savages to who [sic] it has been left."

Long years of battle against French and English settlers and diseases contracted from these adversaries took their toll on a once defiant people until the Carib population was reduced drastically from a high of 5,000 in the year 1647 to just 400 in 1730. At this point, permanent settlers from Europe and other island colonies began to move into Dominica in increasing numbers.

French settlers were the first to establish themselves on Dominica, extracting timber and commencing small-scale farming. As more land was cleared, the French met labor needs by bringing in African slaves, who were already in the other West Indian colonies. In addition to working the plantation fields, these slaves were permitted to establish provision gardens and to raise small stock. Much of this produce was sold at Sunday markets, where slaves from neighboring plantations gathered to socialize and trade. Many slaves saved the income from these sales and used it to buy their freedom from the estate owners. This practice led to the early establishment of a group of free black inhabitants known as *affranchis*, many of whom later owned small estates and slaves. This unique mix of slave plantations owned by Europeans and Africans, existing alongside small garden plots and farms cultivated by escaped slaves, freed slaves, and Carib Indians, charted a markedly different colonial course for Dominica compared with that of the sugar colonies of Barbados and Jamaica. In these other islands, classic slave plantation structures became entrenched around large-scale sugar cultivation, which delayed the emergence of the system of small-scale, peasant farming that still characterizes Dominica's agriculture.

The evolution of this mixed agricultural sector was interrupted between 1756 and 1763 by the Seven Years' War between Britain and France. After several battles, the British finally occupied Dominica in 1761, and two years later, in the Treaty of Paris, the French ceded the island to Britain.

Under this new European power, several changes occurred that greatly affected Dominica's future. Although the British initially attempted to unite Dominica in a common colonial government along with several other Windward islands, by 1771 Dominica had



View of Roseau, 1837
Courtesy Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress

its own two-chamber legislature: a popularly elected House of Assembly and a Council, the members of which were appointed by the governor. Nonetheless, the British placed two significant limitations on popular participation. First, free blacks were completely excluded from the electoral process. In addition, government officials had to take an oath in which they repudiated basic tenets of the Roman Catholic faith. This helped create a system of government that effectively excluded large numbers of French planters from political participation.

Another significant development of this period that still affects landownership patterns in Dominica was the distribution and sale of large tracts of land to British citizens resident in Britain. A land tenure system of absentee ownership rapidly became entrenched, and speculation by the owners kept good agricultural land out of production.

Beginning with the 1770s and continuing for the next sixty years, events throughout the world caused rapid and major changes in the island's colonial status. The 1776 declaration of war by the North American colonies against Britain disrupted a thriving trade that had developed between the colonies and Dominica in wood, rum, horses, cattle, and other items. In 1778 France took advantage of British difficulties in North America to reclaim several British colonies in the West Indies, including Dominica; however, only

a few years later, control of Dominica returned to the British through terms of the Treaty of Versailles of 1783. Finally, the Abolition of Slavery Act was passed in the British Parliament in 1833 and became law in Dominica on August 1, 1834.

In 1831 the House of Assembly enacted the Brown Privilege Bill, which allowed propertied free blacks to vote and to seek political office. The following year, three blacks were elected to the House of Assembly. By 1838 the House of Assembly had a black majority. Dominica thus became the only British Caribbean colony in the nineteenth century to have a black-controlled legislature.

Over the next thirty years, black legislators led by Charles Gordon Falconer promoted social welfare measures and were bitterly opposed by those allied with the British absentee owners. In an effort to weaken black control of the legislature, whites formed the Dominican Association for the Reform of Abuses in the Administration of Public Affairs and promoted the merger of the House of Assembly and the Council. In 1863, a year after regaining control of the House of Assembly, a white majority dissolved that body and the Council and established the Legislative Assembly, consisting of nineteen elected members and nine appointees. Further limitations on representative government came in 1865, when membership in the Legislative Assembly was divided evenly between elected and appointed officials. In 1898 the last blow to the representative system occurred when the British established crown colony government (see Glossary).

Determined to demonstrate that crown colony rule was more efficient than the previous approach, the British attempted to address Dominica's social and infrastructure needs. Roads were built through the mountainous interior; agriculture was supported with research, extension services, and training; and agro-industry was begun with the processing of lime juice for export to Britain. By the start of World War I, sufficient goodwill toward Britain had been re-established to encourage locals to volunteer for service in the British Army.

The event that singlehandedly thrust Dominica into the modern era was the publication of the Moyne Commission report in 1940. The commission itself had been formed in response to riots that erupted throughout the British West Indies in the late 1930s. The report exposed the primitive conditions of the colonies and called for a comprehensive economic development program (see Labor Organizations, ch. 1). During the next twenty years, Dominica experienced what many of that generation refer to as "the good old days," when British aid, trade, and investment boosted local

living standards, created jobs, trained public servants, and provided education and health facilities.

The expectations of workers and farmers rose with the advent of roads, radios, and newspapers. In the 1950s, demands for better work conditions, higher farm prices, and more land for farming began a period of popular social and political activism that led to the formation of trade unions and political parties representing the interests of workers and small farmers on the one hand and business interests on the other hand. The 1961 election of a government led by Edward Oliver Leblanc, a small farmer and agricultural extension worker, marked an important turning point in Dominica's history. Leblanc was the first person without links to the city-based ruling elite to ascend to government leadership in Dominica.

The political platform of his Dominica Labour Party (DLP) was very simple: "it was time for the little man to begin enjoying the fruits of his labour." Leblanc had first come to prominence as a member of the Federal Party, which represented Dominica in the short-lived West Indies Federation, and subsequently led the DLP to electoral victories in 1965 and 1970 (see *The West Indies Federation, 1958-62*, ch. 1). In 1967 he negotiated associated statehood (see Glossary) with Britain, a constitutional status essentially one step removed from political independence, which made the Dominica government responsible for all aspects of state except external affairs and defense. Although Leblanc resigned as premier (the pre-independence title for head of government) in 1974, the DLP, under Patrick John, won the next general election in 1975 and led Dominica to political independence in 1978.

Geography

Geographically, Dominica is distinctive in many ways. The country has one of the most rugged landscapes in the Caribbean, covered by a largely unexploited, multilayered rain forest. It is also among the earth's most rain-drenched lands, and the water runoff forms cascading rivers and natural pools. The island, home to rare species of wildlife, is considered by many as a beautiful, unspoiled tropical preserve. According to a popular West Indian belief, Dominica is the only New World territory that Columbus would still recognize.

Dominica is the largest and most northerly of the British Windward Islands (see fig. 1). The island faces the Atlantic Ocean to the east and the Caribbean Sea to the west. Its nearest neighbors are the French islands of Guadeloupe, some forty-eight kilometers north, and Martinique, about forty kilometers south.

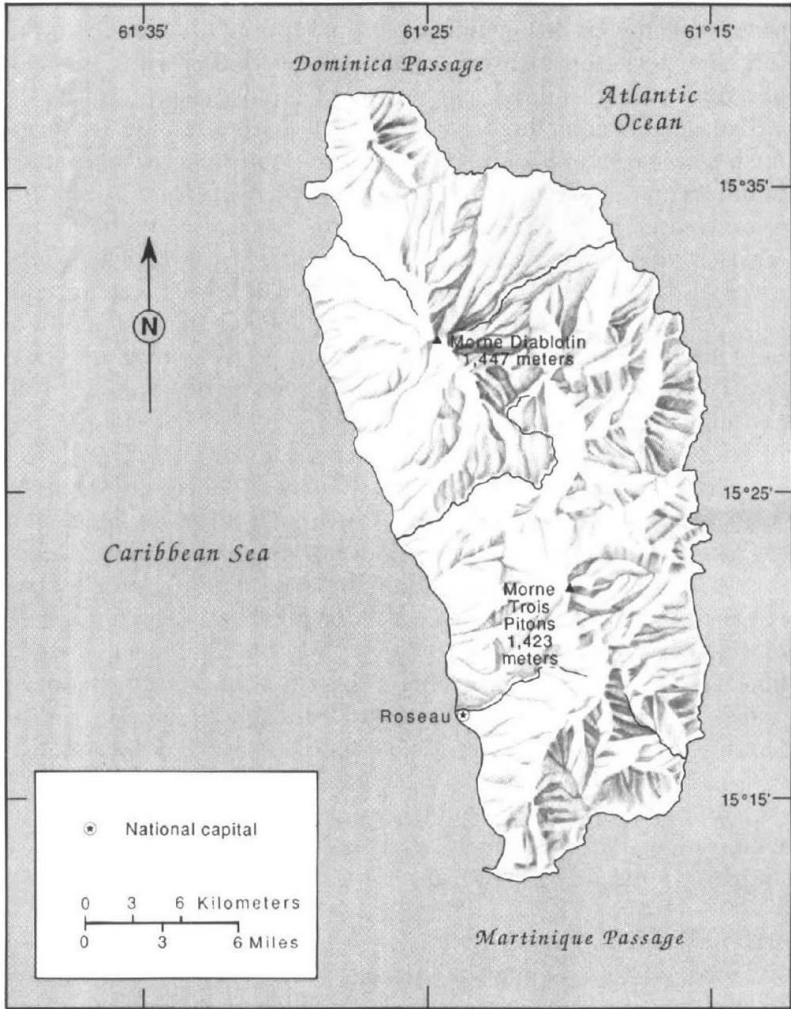


Figure 9. Dominica, 1987

Oblong-shaped and slightly smaller than New York City, Dominica is 750 square kilometers in area, 47 kilometers in length, and 29 kilometers in width. Roseau, the nation's capital and major port, is favorably situated on the sheltered, southwestern coast (see fig. 9).

Geologically, Dominica is part of the rugged Lesser Antilles volcanic arc. The country's central spine, a northwest-southeast axis of steep volcanic slopes and deep gorges, generally varies in elevation from 300 meters to 1,400 meters above sea level. Several east-west trending mountain spurs extend to the narrow coastal plain,

which is studded with sea cliffs and has level stretches no wider than 2,000 meters. The highest peak is Morne Diablotin, at 1,447 meters; Morne Trois Pitons, with an elevation of 1,423 meters, lies farther south and is the site of the national park.

Dominica's rugged surface is marked by its volcanic past. Rock formations are mainly volcanic andesite and rhyolite, with fallen boulders and sharp-edged protrusions peppering slope bases. The light- to dark-hued clayey and sandy soils, derived from the rocks and decomposed vegetation, are generally fertile and porous. Only a few interior valleys and coastal strips are flat enough for soil accumulations of consequence, however. Although scores of mostly mild seismic shocks were recorded in 1986, volcanic eruptions ceased thousands of years ago. Sulfuric springs and steam vents, largely concentrated in the central and southern parts of the island, remain active, however. One of the largest springs, Boiling Lake, is located in the national park.

Dominica is water rich with swift-flowing highland streams, which cascade into deep gorges and form natural pools and crater lakes. The streams are not navigable, but many are sources of hydroelectric power. Trafalgar Falls, located near the national park, is one of the most spectacular sites on the island. The principal rivers flowing westward into the Caribbean are the Layou and the Roseau, and the major one emptying eastward into the Atlantic is the Toulaman. The largest crater lake, called Boeri, is located in the national park.

Dominica has a tropical, wet climate with characteristically warm temperatures and heavy rainfall. Excessive heat and humidity are tempered somewhat by a steady flow of the northeast trade winds, which periodically develop into hurricanes. The steep interior slopes also alter temperatures and winds. Temperature ranges are slight. Average daytime temperatures generally vary from 26°C in January to 32°C in June. Diurnal ranges are usually no greater than 3°C in most places, but temperatures dipping to 13°C on the highest peaks are not uncommon.

Most of the island's ample supply of water is brought by the trade winds. Although amounts vary with the location, rain is possible throughout the year; the greatest monthly totals are recorded from June through October. Average yearly rainfall along the windward east coast frequently exceeds 500 centimeters, and exposed mountainsides receive up to 900 centimeters, among the highest accumulations in the world. Totals on the leeward west coast, however, are only about 180 centimeters per year. Humidity is closely tied to rainfall patterns, the highest values occurring on windward slopes and the lowest in sheltered areas. Relative humidity

readings between 70 percent and 90 percent have been recorded in Roseau.

Hurricanes and severe winds, most likely to occur during the wettest months, occasionally are devastating. The most recent hurricanes of note were David and Frederick in August 1979 and Allen in August 1980. The 1979 hurricanes caused over 40 deaths, 2,500 injuries, and extensive destruction of housing and crops. Many agricultural commodities were destroyed during the 1980 storm, and about 25 percent of the banana crop was demolished by strong winds in 1984.

Population

The 1981 census recorded a population of 73,795, a 6-percent increase over the figure registered in 1970. Mid-1987 estimates placed the total at 77,900, and the annual growth rate at 1.4 percent in the 1982-85 period. Crude birth rates per 1,000 population increased from 22 in 1980 to 24.3 in 1983 but decreased to 21.3 in 1984. Crude death rates per 1,000 population increased slightly from 4.7 in 1980 to 5.5 in 1983 and 1984. The rate of natural increase, which was a low 1.3 percent in 1980 following a large out-migration after Hurricane David, showed a slight increase to 1.8 percent in 1981 and 1982 and 1.9 percent in 1983 but dropped back to 1.6 percent in 1984. The migration rate per 1,000 population fluctuated from net increases of 5.5 in 1980 and 25.7 in 1982, to a negative 13.3 in 1983, and a net increase of 5.9 in 1984. Life expectancy at birth was 76.7 years in 1984.

Comparisons between the 1970 and 1981 censuses suggested an increasingly older Dominican population. The number of islanders under age 15 declined from 49 to 40 percent; by contrast, the 15- to 64-year age-group increased from 45 to 53 percent. Those 65 years of age and over increased from 6 to 7 percent. The Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) projected that these trends would continue through at least the early 1990s.

Settlement patterns in Dominica have been affected by the island's physical features. In the 1980s, the population was dispersed into fifty or more villages, towns, and hamlets, most of them along the coast. Despite this general pattern, almost 36 percent of the population in 1981 resided in the parish of St. George, where the capital city of Roseau is located.

Although black descendants of African slaves comprised the overwhelming majority of the population in the 1980s, Dominica's ethnic, racial, and cultural composition also reflected Carib, French, and British influences. This diverse historical legacy was expressed in many ways. It could be seen in Carib art; Roman Catholicism

and the French language; British law, politics, education, language, and trade links; and a predominantly black population, work force, electorate, and leadership.

In the 1981 census, approximately 92 percent of the population identified itself as Christian. Of this group, Roman Catholics comprised 83 percent; Methodists, 5.3 percent; Seventh-Day Adventists, 3.5 percent; Pentecostals, 3.2 percent; Baptists, 2.6 percent; Anglicans, 0.9 percent; members of the Church of God, 0.8 percent; and Jehovah's Witnesses, 0.7 percent. The remaining 8 percent of the population was divided between those who adhered to a variety of minor denominations and those who claimed no religion. The Christian makeup of the island was not surprising, given the history of colonization first by France and later by Britain. Both countries were as intent on converting the Caribs and African slaves to Christianity as they were on conquering the island for their respective monarchs.

Education

Churches have played a significant role in Dominica through the establishment of institutions for formal and informal education. The influence of the church began with the arrival of the colonizers, and the institution played an important role in subduing the Caribs and Westernizing the African slaves. Direct involvement in formal education by the churches began in the 1800s, when the Roman Catholic and Methodist churches, which had already established congregations in various parts of the islands, became involved in providing primary education. Secondary education began in the 1850s, when nuns of the Roseau Convent started classes for a limited number of girls in the city. The Dominica Grammar School for boys was established by the government in 1893, and in 1932 the Roman Catholic St. Mary's Academy opened its doors to Roman Catholic boys. Soon after, the Methodists started a secondary school for girls.

Until the 1960s, the difficulty of access by road and the continuing concentration of most services in the capital prevented all but a select few students living in the city from attending secondary school. It was only when roads and schools were constructed throughout the island that formal education became available to the resident rural population. This period of the 1960s also saw the emergence of a public education system, especially on the primary level. In the mid-1980s, all but two of the nation's sixty-six primary schools were operated by the government. Dominica's six secondary schools were equally divided between government and religious institutions. Enrollment figures for 1984 indicated that 17,456 students

attended primary schools and that 3,443 went to secondary schools. Beyond the secondary level, Dominica had a two-year technical college that in 1984 enrolled 120 students.

An islandwide network of day care centers and preschools—operated by a Roman Catholic women's organization called the Social League—served children up to the age of five. Since the mid-1970s, the preschool program has benefited from training and financial support provided by the government and international agencies.

Children attended the primary-school system between the ages of five and fifteen. By age fifteen, they were usually in third form (equivalent to eighth grade in the United States) and prepared to enter secondary school. Four of the secondary schools accepted students at the age of twelve on the basis of their performance on the Common Entrance Examination administered by the Ministry of Education and Sports. In the period from 1979 to 1984, only 28 percent of the 11,346 students who took this examination passed. A great deal of controversy surrounded the Common Entrance Examination, which was viewed by many educators as an inadequate assessment of a student's potential to perform at the secondary-school level. Critics also suggested that the test was too limited in scope to assess capacity for training other than that provided by the traditional secondary-school curriculum.

Secondary school continued up to fifth form (the equivalent of tenth grade). Most students ended their formal education at this point; few continued private studies in preparation for the Advanced Level Examination to qualify them for university entry at the sophomore level. Technical training was available at the Government Technical College, which conducted courses in such areas as electrical engineering, mechanics, woodwork and carpentry, and agriculture, as well as a parallel program in the academic subjects taught at the secondary schools.

Campuses of the University of the West Indies (UWI) are located on the islands of Trinidad, Barbados, and Jamaica. Nevertheless, the prohibitive cost of study at the UWI (approximately US\$6,000 per year) meant that in the absence of a scholarship, loan, or independent family income, many capable students from Dominica were unable to continue their education. In 1980 the UWI Extra-Mural Department introduced a local program that enabled high school students and working adults to study for and take the Advanced Level Examination. Those attaining passing grades were able to take courses in Dominica equivalent to the first year of university education. This program has allowed students to cut one full year out of their overseas university costs. Since 1970,



*Roman Catholic church in rural Dominica
Courtesy Jonathan French*

loans also have been available at competitive interest rates (9 to 10 percent) from the local Development Bank for overseas study; repayment does not commence until after the course of studies is completed.

In the late 1980s, there were no laws requiring children to attend school, and it was not uncommon for school-age children to work full- or part-time. Education has, however, been the channel through which many have advanced themselves materially and socially. Dominica has a better than 94-percent literacy rate, and peers, family, and community have pressured young people to attend school and to do well. The pressure for formal education, however, has unfortunately depreciated the value of farming as a career.

Health and Welfare

Dominican health statistics in the 1980s suggested a number of challenges confronting medical personnel on the island. Typhoid was a concern, with 207 cases reported during the period 1979 to 1984. Deaths from cancer increased from 55 in 1980 to 70 in 1984, and deaths from cardiovascular diseases increased from 58 to 117 over the same period. At least 70 percent of all deaths occurring in women over age 45 during the early 1980s were attributed to cardiovascular disease. A survey of school-age children in the early

1980s indicated that 38 percent suffered from gastroenteritis. Infant mortality rates were on the rise in the early 1980s. After steadily declining in the 1970s, the rate increased from 10.2 per 1,000 live births in 1981 to 23.9 in 1984. PAHO researchers cautioned, however, that the increase could actually be the result of an improvement in Dominica's health information system as well as a statistical aberration resulting from the small number of infant deaths. Child mortality as a whole had declined from the levels recorded in the late 1970s and was stable at 0.4 per 1,000 live births in 1984. As of 1986, there were no reported cases in Dominica of acquired immune deficiency syndrome. Many of the medical problems on the island could be attributed to deficiencies in environmental health. Twenty-one percent of the estimated 16,000 houses in Dominica had access to drinking water; another 43 percent had access to piped water at a distance of less than 100 meters; the remainder (approximately 36 percent, or 5,760 houses) had no acceptable and convenient access to water supplies. Nineteen percent of the population had access to regular solid waste collection services. Only the two major urban centers, Roseau and Portsmouth, had central sewage systems; they lacked treatment facilities, however, and instead disposed of raw sewage in the nearby sea.

Water pollution was a serious problem in Dominica in the 1980s. Large amounts of liquid and solid wastes from an oil and soap factory, a paint factory, rum distilleries, citrus processing, bay oil distilleries, and banana packaging were being dumped untreated into rivers, streams, and the sea. Health hazards also accompanied banana cultivation, particularly through the use of agrochemicals. In the 1980s, the herbicide paraquat, banned by the United States Environmental Protection Agency as a carcinogenic substance, was widely used throughout Dominica's banana industry without the benefit of protective clothing. It was quite common to see village children carrying fresh water to their homes in bright yellow plastic bottles labeled PARAQUAT.

In an effort to address these clinical and environmental concerns, in 1982 Dominica unveiled a five-year national health plan with an emphasis on decentralization of administration and delivery of health care. At the base of the plan was the primary health care unit, designed to serve a minimum population of 600 within an 8-kilometer radius. The primary health care approach included home visitation by multidisciplinary teams of nurses, extension agents, and public health workers; education sessions at the village and family levels; radio programs; use of posters; and



Woman and child on Carib reserve, northeastern Dominica
Courtesy Jonathan French

mobilization of community groups around public sanitation, the environment, nutrition, and health. Four or five health care units were supported by a health center, where more comprehensive services were available. The Princess Margaret Hospital in Roseau served as the nation's secondary referral facility and offered inpatient services in medicine, general surgery, pediatrics, obstetrics, gynecology, and psychiatry. One hundred and forty beds were available for general care and another forty for psychiatry. Limited inpatient care was available in the sixteen-bed Marigot Hospital and the thirty-six-bed Portsmouth Hospital. Limited medical care and long-term nursing care were offered at the ninety-bed Central Geriatric Institution.

Although a comprehensive assessment of the national health plan had not been conducted by the mid-1980s, there were some encouraging signs. In 1984 about 88 percent of pregnant women received prenatal care, and approximately 42 percent were attended to by the sixteenth week of pregnancy. Child health care services covered 100 percent of children and included immunization, nutrition, education and counseling, and growth monitoring. In 1984 immunization levels for diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, poliomyelitis, measles, and tuberculosis were above 90 percent.

Economy

Macroeconomic Overview

Dominica's gross domestic product (GDP—see Glossary) totaled US\$90.2 million in 1986. This figure represented a 4-percent increase over the previous year and was a substantial improvement over the 1.9-percent growth recorded in 1985. The GDP advance in 1986 was led by a 10.8-percent gain in agricultural production. Per capita GDP averaged US\$1,047 in 1986.

The government made substantial progress in the 1980s in controlling inflation. In 1980 the consumer price index increased by 30.5 percent over the previous year. This increase resulted from shortages following the hurricanes, high wage settlements, and the effects of the second round of oil price increases on the international economy. The index dropped sharply to 13.3 percent in 1981 and then to 4.4 percent in 1982; by 1985 the rate of inflation was barely 2.1 percent. Favorable international trends, especially the easing of the rate of increase in import prices, and increases in domestic foodstuffs were primarily responsible for the improvement. The consumer price index increased slightly by 3 percent in 1986. Substantial increases in prices for clothing, footwear, meat, fish, and dairy products were largely mitigated by lower fuel prices.

According to the 1981 census, Dominica had an economically active population of 25,000; 18.5 percent of this population was unemployed. Unemployment was particularly high among the 15- to 19- and 20- to 24-year age-groups, with rates of 55.7 and 23.8 percent, respectively. The two sectors contributing most to employment remained agriculture and government. Between 1978 and 1981, the number of workers employed by government decreased marginally from 5,751 to 5,433, or from 32.4 percent of the work force to 31.9 percent. The decrease was more significant in agriculture, which employed 4,517 workers in 1978 and 3,294 in 1981, a shift from 25.5 percent of the work force to 19.3 percent. During that same period, however, the number of farmers increased from 11,000 to 14,000. This possibly indicated that more agricultural workers became full-time farmers in response to land distribution programs, improved farm credit, and stable banana prices in the late 1970s. Dominican wage rates compared unfavorably with the general levels found elsewhere in the Commonwealth Caribbean. In 1984 the minimum wage for a 40-hour week was raised to US\$27.55.

Banking and Finance

Dominica was a member of the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) and the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank (ECCB). The CDB provided financial facilities for infrastructure and development

program activities either bilaterally or as a cofinancing partner with the World Bank (see Glossary), the United States Agency for International Development, and other international agencies. The ECCB acted as a common central bank for the members of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS—see Glossary). Dominica and the six other members of the OECS also have shared a common currency, the Eastern Caribbean dollar, since July 1976. The exchange rate has remained fixed at EC\$2.70 per US\$1.00.

The institutional arrangements of a shared common currency mean that decisions about exchange rates cannot be made by any one member nation. Given the differing production profiles of the OECS countries, the various national economic policy imperatives do not necessarily coincide either in objective, direction, or timing. When coupled with the difficulty of decision making within a regional institution, the arrangements concerning the CDB and the ECCB are major constraints on the effective use of the exchange rate as a tool of national economic policy. In Dominica's case, the constraints have led to the use of wage policy as an alternate tool of macroeconomic policy, a situation that can be domestically unpopular and can limit the ability of the government to direct economic growth. Throughout 1986 Dominica was able to mitigate the effect of a fixed exchange rate because of the strength of the British pound sterling, the currency in which most foreign exchange earnings were earned.

Role of Government

In the 1980s, the Dominican government attempted to strengthen public finances, develop productive capital infrastructure, and diversify agricultural production. On two occasions, the government entered into an extended arrangement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF—see Glossary) to accomplish these goals. Although the nation's stated development policy called upon the private sector to be the engine of economic growth, the government's involvement in key sectors of the economy remained strong.

Dominica entered into an Extended Fund Facility program with the IMF for the period 1982 to 1984. Under the program, the government reorganized public finances, eliminating subsidies to unproductive state enterprises, and expanded government revenues through increased consumption taxes. Expenditure controls were also introduced; the hallmark of this effort was the decision to restrict salary increases of public employees to a level below the anticipated rate of inflation. This decision appeared to influence the rate of increase of private sector wage settlements.

In 1987 the Dominican government signed a three-year structural adjustment program (see Glossary) with the World Bank. The adjustment program was expected to encourage policies and programs that would increase GDP through investment by the private sector. In preparing this favorable investment environment, the government developed a package of incentives for private investment that included the removal of export taxes as well as the foreign exchange levy, the termination of price controls on 40 percent of controlled items, and a substantial reduction in corporate taxes for eligible manufacturing firms. To stimulate diversified agricultural production, the government removed price controls on imported livestock products and took steps to revitalize export market development for fruit and vegetable crops. At the public sector level, procedures for investment promotion were streamlined and located in one agency, the Industrial Development Corporation. Each ministry received technical assistance in project design, planning, and management of public sector projects. The Economic Development Unit, the government's central planning body, was staffed with a multidisciplinary pool of technical experts. In addition, wages in the public sector were no longer to be raised automatically each year; wage negotiation guidelines were drawn up that were expected to help keep increases in the public wage bill to 3 percent per year.

In support of these policy reforms, the International Development Association of the World Bank made available US\$3.1 million in credit as a structural adjustment loan. In addition, the CDB was to provide US\$2 million in parallel financing.

The IMF program of structural adjustment was entered into largely because of the failure of the private sector to lead the way in economic development. As a result, the government was playing a greater role in direct investment and commerce than originally had been intended. In the late 1980s, the government owned and operated a citrus-processing plant, lime-producing estates, and an export-import company and remained directly involved in communications, transportation, electricity, and commercial banking.

Communications on Dominica were fair. A subsidiary of an international company operated a fully automatic telephone system with about 4,600 sets. New radio-relay links to Martinique and Guadeloupe provided high-quality international service. The government-owned Dominica Broadcasting Corporation operated a radio station on 595 kilohertz. Radio Caribbean, with studios on St. Lucia, had a small relay on 1210 kilohertz, and the Gospel Broadcasting Corporation had facilities on 1060 kilohertz.

The transportation network on Dominica was not well developed. The island had about 370 kilometers of paved roads and 380 kilometers of gravel roads. Road conditions were often poor, however, and many areas of the interior and northwest could not be reached by vehicle. A new small airport outside Roseau was completed in the mid-1980s, and an older, larger international airport was located near Melville Hall on the northeast coast. The island had no railroads. Several streams were navigable by canoe, but none had economic significance. Roseau and Portsmouth were the only ports.

Sectoral Performance

In 1986 the leading sectors of the economy, as measured by percentage of GDP, included agriculture (29.4 percent), government services (21 percent), and manufacturing (8.8 percent). Agriculture remained the primary productive sector of the economy in the 1980s, accounting for more than half of all export revenue. Dominica's agriculture was characterized by the estate-peasant dichotomy in evidence at the time of the abolition of slavery in 1834. The large estates continued to be located near the coast on the deep river valley soils, whereas most small farms were located in the interior on steep, highly erodible soils. This simultaneous existence of small and large farms led to an imbalance in the distribution of land resources, which remained a major constraint on the island's economic development. In spite of land settlement programs (notably at the Geneva, Melville Hall, and Castle Bruce estates), in the mid-1980s just over 30 percent of the farmland was owned and occupied by 3 percent of the farming population.

The banana industry was the most important component of the agricultural sector. The industry was devastated by the hurricanes of 1979 and 1980, when production dropped from 48,244 tons in 1978 to 13,716 tons in 1980. In the early and mid-1980s, production was also hurt by the depreciation of the British pound, the currency of payment for bananas, against the United States dollar. The situation of the industry improved markedly, however, in the late 1980s. Production totaled 56,274 tons in 1986, a 43-percent increase over the previous year. Quality also increased in 1986 as the industry achieved its goal of packing all bananas in the fields, thus reducing spoilage. Finally, the strengthening of the British pound resulted in farmers receiving the highest prices in the history of the industry. The fragility of these high prices was quite evident, but because there were no firm markets for other island crops, increasing the dependency of the economy on bananas appeared to be the only alternative.

Islands of the Commonwealth Caribbean

Coconuts and citrus fruits (grapefruits, limes, and oranges) were also important agricultural products. Copra was an increasingly significant element of agriculture-based manufacturing. Grapefruit production expanded from 6,803 tons in 1985 to an estimated 9,683 tons in 1986, a 42.3-percent increase.

In the 1980s, Dominica's manufacturing sector increasingly focused on enclave industry (see Glossary) and the processing of agricultural products. Enclave industries were designed to increase export earnings and provide employment. In the early 1980s, the government established two industrial estates and expanded factory facilities by over 16,500 square meters. Agricultural processing industries included the production of laundry and toilet soaps from local copra and of imported chemicals and tallow.

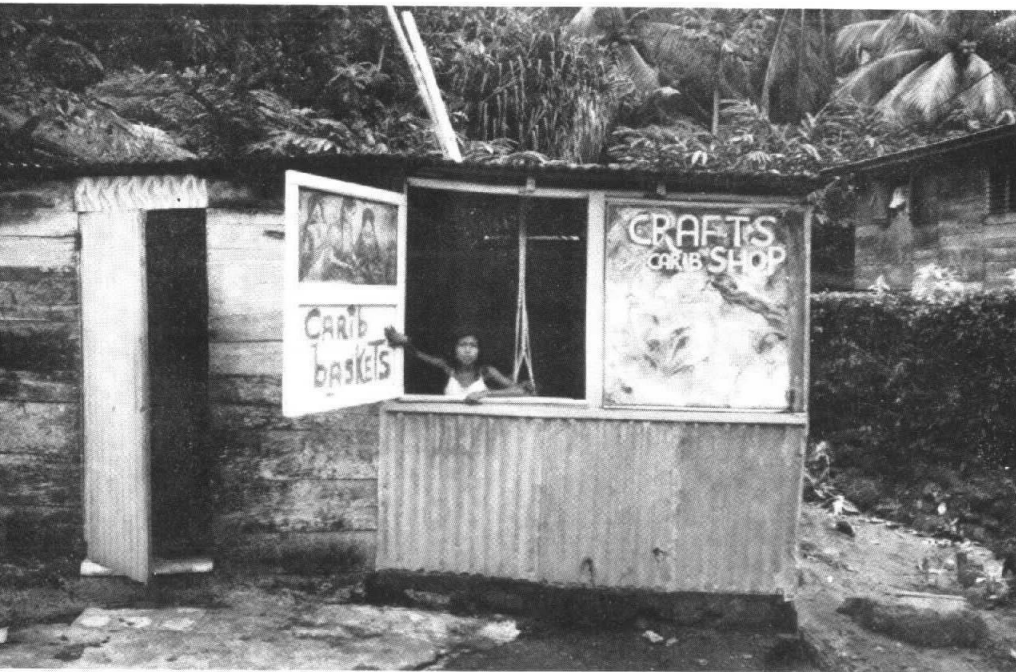
Unlike what was true typically in the Commonwealth Caribbean, tourism was a relatively insignificant component of the Dominican economy. The comparative absence of white sand beaches and tourist infrastructure greatly hindered the industry's development. Nonetheless, the island's rugged beauty provided considerable opportunities for expansion of tourism through the development of a marketing strategy emphasizing mountain climbing, camping, and the like.

Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments

Dominican exports totaled US\$42.3 million in 1986, a 48.9-percent increase over the previous year. This improvement resulted primarily from substantially higher production of and prices for bananas; indeed, bananas accounted for 57.3 percent of exports in 1986. In contrast, laundry and toilet soaps declined from 25.2 percent of exports in 1985 to 17 percent in 1986. Britain and the United States absorbed most of Dominica's exports in 1986.

Imports—primarily machinery and equipment, foodstuffs, manufactured goods, and cement—amounted to US\$55.7 million in 1986, a mere US\$400,000 increase over the previous year. This minuscule growth in imports, coupled with the increase in exports, resulted in a reduction of Dominica's trade deficit from US\$26.9 million in 1985 to US\$13.4 million in 1986. The United States and Britain supplied most of Dominica's imports in 1986.

In 1986 Dominica recorded increases in both foreign debt and debt service payments as compared with the previous year. The external debt grew from US\$40.4 million in 1985 to US\$45.5 million in 1986; debt service payments expanded over the same period from US\$4.2 million to US\$4.7 million. On the positive side, the debt service ratio as a percentage of merchandise exports declined from 14.8 percent in 1985 to 11.1 percent in 1986.



*Scenes on Carib reserve, northeastern Dominica
Courtesy Jonathan French*

Government and Politics

The Governmental System

Under the republican Constitution adopted at independence on November 3, 1978, the president is head of state and is elected by the House of Assembly, the nation's unicameral parliament, to a five-year term following nomination by the prime minister in consultation with the leader of the opposition. In the exercise of most of his executive functions, the president must follow the recommendations of the Cabinet of Ministers. The prime minister is the head of government and in that capacity is the chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers. Ministers are chosen by the prime minister from a group composed of the elected members of the House of Assembly and senators appointed by the prime minister.

The House of Assembly is composed of twenty-one elected representatives and nine senators, five appointed by the prime minister and four appointed by the opposition leader. Whatever member commands the support of the majority of the elected members in the House of Assembly is named prime minister. The person commanding the majority of the rest of the House becomes opposition leader. (The pre-independence legislature was also known as the House of Assembly.) The movement of the ceremonial mace to the lower position on its stand in the House chamber indicates that the House is sitting in committee, usually to discuss details of a bill before returning to a plenary session for a vote. Decisions are by simple majority vote, except on selected matters, such as constitutional amendments and the declaration of a state of emergency, when a two-thirds majority is required.

The Constitution allows for any citizen of the country, eighteen years of age and over, who is literate and not bankrupt, to organize and take part in political activity. The Constitution does not recognize political parties, nor is their formation required for participating in elections. Candidates may, therefore, run for election either associated with a party or as independents.

Supporting this government structure is a civil service of about 2,500 persons. In the past, jobs in the civil service were much sought after because of the employment security and status that they offered. Because of the expansion of the commercial private sector and nongovernmental organizations since the early 1970s, more attractive conditions of work in the private sector, including salaries, training, and travel, have encouraged a shift of top- and middle-level professionals away from the public sector. In the late 1980s, major adjustments in the size and structure of the civil service were anticipated as part of the government's program of

structural adjustment. These changes were expected to result in a streamlined, performance-oriented civil service in which productivity and merit, not longevity of service, would be rewarded.

Dominica has a multilevel judicial system commencing with the Magistrate's Court, which is the first level of recourse for violators of the country's laws. The government-employed magistrate makes decisions at this level without the benefit of a jury. At the next level, a judge, assisted by a jury, presides over civil and criminal cases. Jurors are selected from the list of registered voters and, unless excused by the court, are obliged to serve when called. Appeals may be made to the Eastern Caribbean States Supreme Court, which consists of the Court of Appeal and the High Court. A panel of judges is appointed to hear appeals, and these sittings take place on the island. The court of last resort for Dominicans is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, where decisions of the Eastern Caribbean States Supreme Court may be reviewed for final ruling.

The Office of the Director of Public Prosecution is a government department located in the Ministry of Legal Affairs; it is headed by the attorney general. The lawyers in this office conduct the prosecution of cases on behalf of the state. There are no legal aid organizations, and citizens are expected to utilize lawyers in private practice as defense attorneys.

Political Dynamics

The 1961 election victory of the DLP under the leadership of Leblanc ushered in a period in Dominica's history when workers and farmers united in one political movement. This alliance of town and country challenged the descendants of landowners and businessmen residing in the capital and began the vigorous involvement in politics of large numbers of poor, uneducated persons.

At the community level, those who had exercised authority through control of land, shops, credit, and transportation and were associated with the defeated Dominica United People's Party were challenged by small farmers and laborers. At the national level, it was made abundantly clear that the "little people" had acquired political power guaranteed by universal adult suffrage and the presence of a political institution (the DLP) through which to act.

In 1968 the Leblanc government responded to incipient signs of social unrest by pushing a bill through the House of Assembly to curb press criticism of government officials. This act shook the moral imperative of the new social order and resulted in the formation of the Dominican Freedom Party (DFP) under the leadership of Mary Eugenia Charles. Yet despite this act, the DLP's

popularity among rural Dominicans enabled it to score an easy victory over the Roseau-based DFP in the 1970 general elections.

In 1974, however, the combined pressures of high unemployment among the island's youth and increasingly aggressive activity by trade unions and opposition political parties led to the resignation of Leblanc as premier and DLP leader and his replacement by deputy premier Patrick John. The new premier capitalized on public concerns over criminal activity by Rastafarians (see Glossary)—called Dreads in Dominica—to gain legislative support for the Prohibited and Unlawful Societies and Associations Act. The so-called Dread Act forbade criminal or civil proceedings against any person who killed or injured a member of an unlawful society or association. John's image as a strong supporter of law and order served the DLP well in the 1975 elections and enabled it to capture sixteen of the twenty-one elective House seats.

Fresh from his election victory, John resorted to a high-handed use of the security forces, and he also proposed punitive legislation aimed again at curbing press freedoms. Following a successful strike by the civil service union in 1977 for increased wages, John attempted to solve the increasing economic problems by signing investment deals with persons later discovered to have very questionable business records. One such deal with a United States businessman involved the creation of a free-trade zone comprising about one-quarter of the island's most productive agricultural land. The deal was scuttled after street demonstrations throughout the island in 1979.

In 1978 the backbone of the economy, the banana industry, was hit by a severe disease that wiped out 30 percent of the cultivated acreage. An inquiry laid the blame on poor management by industry officials known to have very strong ties with the government and the DLP. This led to vigorous demonstrations against the government, inspired this time by the farmers who traditionally had constituted the bulk of the party's supporters. This threat to the power base of the party apparently pushed the John administration to take drastic measures. Bills designed to muzzle trade unions and the press were introduced in the House early in 1979.

Following weeks of public meetings all over the island by opposition forces, some 10,000 demonstrators, including rural and urban dwellers, gathered outside the House on May 29, 1979, the day on which the bills were due to be debated and passed. What began as a peaceful demonstration was soon thrown into tragic confusion by the arrival of Defence Force personnel, who in the ensuing shooting killed one youth and injured several other persons.

This set the stage for Dominica's first recorded removal of an elected government from office by other than electoral means.

The country was shut down by an alliance of farmers, workers, private businessmen, and members of opposition political parties and churches, grouped under the banner of the Committee for National Salvation. This situation prevailed for twenty-eight days until the resignation of members of government one by one eroded the constitutional majority required for the prime minister to stay in office. On June 21, John's former agriculture minister, James Oliver Seraphine, became prime minister, and an interim government was constituted from among the representatives of the organizations that had led the uprising.

The interim government, although constitutional, was seen by the major opposition party, the DFP, as transitional. Within weeks of the inauguration of the government, the DFP was calling for general elections. Many contenders emerged in the long and bitter electoral campaign that ensued. They included a faction of the DLP, the DFP, the Dominican Liberation Movement Alliance (DLMA—a left-wing party led by young activists and academics), and Seraphine's recently formed Dominica Democratic Labour Party. Accusations that the government had misappropriated relief funds received in the wake of Hurricane David and that it had sold Dominican passports to exiled Iranians seriously damaged the Seraphine campaign. In July 1980, the DFP, polling 52 percent of the votes, won 17 of the 21 elective parliamentary seats, and Mary Eugenia Charles became the Caribbean's first woman prime minister. The party soon began to make inroads into the traditional rural and working-class base of the DLP. This was accomplished in part by the active mobilization of youth into the party in the late 1970s and the formation of the Young Freedom Movement, which by the late 1980s was an aggressive, well-organized, and evidently well-funded organ of the party.

The DFP also benefited from its control over all electronic media and favorable support from the only newspaper published in the country, the weekly *New Chronicle*. Control over the radio station was particularly crucial because the station reached practically the entire population. Although it had criticized the John government for exercising control over a publicly owned medium such as the radio, the DFP exercised much the same kind of control. The party, for example, strictly controlled the news and granted the political opposition only limited access to the radio.

The July 1985 parliamentary election was the first to take place in Dominica since the United States-Caribbean military intervention in Grenada (see Current Strategic Considerations, ch. 7).

OECS chairwoman, Charles, who had emerged as one of the most visible defenders of the intervention, portrayed the election as a choice between democracy and communism (see Foreign Relations, this section). The prime minister charged that the DLP had become communist, and she accused opposition leaders of receiving funds from Cuba, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), and Libya. In an effort to create a new image, the DLP combined with the Dominica Democratic Labour Party and the DLMA to form the Labour Party of Dominica (LPD). Nonetheless, the DFP captured 59 percent of the vote and 15 of the 21 elective House seats.

Despite a slightly reduced majority, DFP support remained strong. Two years after the election, the LPD still suffered from the effects of bitter leadership squabbles and a loss of credibility of its leaders, particularly John. In 1981 John was arrested and accused of conspiring to overthrow the Charles government. A Dominican court acquitted the former prime minister the following year; the government, however, successfully appealed the decision to the Eastern Caribbean States Supreme Court, which ordered John to stand trial again. After the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London rejected John's appeal in October 1985, a Dominican court convicted John of treason and sentenced him to twelve years in prison.

Foreign Relations

In the 1980s, the Dominican government became one of the strongest supporters of United States policies in the Caribbean. Charles endorsed economic measures such as the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI—see Appendix D) and favored support for the private sector (see Economy, this section). The DFP government also promoted United States efforts to prevent the spread of communism in the Caribbean.

Ties between Dominica and the United States were solidified during the October 1983 crisis in Grenada. After the assassination of Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop, Charles convoked a meeting of the OECS to discuss the crisis. On October 21, the OECS decided to intervene in Grenada and invited friendly governments to provide military assistance. Charles then joined the prime ministers of Barbados and Jamaica in extending a formal invitation to the United States through special emissary Ambassador Frank McNeil. Charles joined President Ronald Reagan at the White House in the official announcement of the intervention and vigorously defended the action. Charles also addressed the Organization of American States and the United Nations, insisting on

both occasions that the intervention was necessary to stop communism.

Dominica's special relationship with the United States consisted of material as well as philosophical elements. Charles successfully pleaded with United States officials for funds to expand Dominica's infrastructure. In the 1980s, the United States provided approximately US\$10 million in grants to expand the East Dominica Electrification Program and rehabilitate the highway linking the capital to Dominica's international airport near Melville Hall.

Dominica had deep historical and cultural ties to Britain and was a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. Britain also provided economic assistance to the country and was the single largest recipient of Dominican exports. Despite these links, the intervention in Grenada strained relations between Dominica and the Commonwealth. Leaders of African nations attending the Meeting of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth in New Delhi in November 1983 charged that the intervention had violated the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of sovereign countries. Charles categorically rejected the African position and stated that the intervention was vital to the interests of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Charles also criticized British prime minister Margaret Thatcher for her initially hostile reaction to the Grenada intervention, accusing Thatcher of having turned her back on her friends.

The government also attempted to extend Dominica's international relations farther afield and strengthened diplomatic ties with both Taiwan and the Republic of Korea (South Korea). Taiwanese technicians have conducted an agricultural research program in Dominica, and although no trade has developed between the two nations, Taiwan has supplied regular infusions of aid for small projects in schools, sporting facilities, and health services.

Relations within the Caribbean Community and Common Market (Caricom—see Appendix C) have been difficult as evidenced by the virtual collapse of Caricom's Multilateral Clearing Facility, the creation of nontariff barriers between member states, the violation of rules of origin regulations (utilizing extraregional garments, for example), and major difficulties over foreign policy. Partly in response to these Caricom difficulties, Charles worked vigorously with the six other members of the OECS to strengthen that subregional grouping.

National Security

When crown colony rule ended in the mid-1950s, the police were the sole security and peacekeeping force in the country. Training was conducted in Barbados and Britain, and until the mid-1960s

the chief of police was British. During the early years of the Leblanc government, the police functioned primarily as apolitical protectors of the peace. Nonetheless, with the intensification of social unrest in the early 1970s, the government perceived a serious threat to the security of the state. As a result, the Volunteer Defence Force was established in 1974. This group worked closely with the police and a unit of special constables to comb areas of the island suspected to be hideouts for the Dreads; several violent and fatal clashes ensued between the security forces and the youths. In November 1975, the full-time Defence Force was established by an act of the House of Assembly to replace the Volunteer Defence Force. As prime minister and minister of security, John assumed direct control over the activities of the Defence Force.

As the months went by, it became clear that John had personalized his relationship with, and control over, the Defence Force (he named himself colonel). He also chose to ignore the deteriorating economic situation of the country, instead surrounding himself with cronies from Roseau and resorting to a strategy of confrontation rather than consultation.

After independence on November 3, 1978, the growing arrogance of the prime minister was surpassed only by the sense of elitism that was increasingly associated with the style and actions of the members of the Defence Force. By that time, the main center of training had shifted away from Britain to Guyana, and a growing rift appeared between the Defence Force and the police, who continued to be well trained in Barbados and Britain. For the first time, Dominica was faced with the prospect of a highly politicized military force. It was well armed and well trained, and although it was paid for by the country's taxpayers, it was accountable to persons who were fast being discredited.

Following the removal of the John government in June 1979, the domestic situation remained tense because the Defence Force, widely assumed to favor the ousted regime, had not been disbanded. Further complicating the situation, the country's infrastructure and economy had been destroyed by hurricanes David and Frederick in 1979. Regionally, the New Jewel Movement had overthrown the government of Eric Matthew Gairy in Grenada by military coup on March 13, 1979, and the Anastasio Somoza regime had been defeated by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. Into this situation came the DFP government on July 20, 1980, soon to be followed by the swearing in of Reagan as president of the United States and Edward Seaga as prime minister of Jamaica in January 1981.

A series of actions in 1981 shook the stability of the Dominican political system. In February, Dreads kidnapped and killed Edward

“Ted” Honychurch, a prominent Dominican and father of government press secretary Lennox Honychurch. In response, Charles declared a state of emergency, and the House of Assembly enacted the Prevention of Terrorism Act, which authorized searches without a warrant and temporary detention. In March, Charles announced the discovery of a plot to overthrow her government. The plot involved Patrick John, the Defence Force, elements of the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazi groups, United States and Canadian mercenaries, and underworld figures from the United States. The disclosure led to the arrest of John and several senior officers of the Defence Force and resulted in the enactment in April of a parliamentary measure disbanding the Defence Force. In December former Major Frederick Newton of the Defence Force led an assault against Dominica’s police headquarters and prison in an unsuccessful attempt to free John from imprisonment. Newton was convicted of murdering one of the policemen defending the headquarters and was executed in August 1986.

The need for internal security was forcefully established by these dramatic events. Nonetheless, having disbanded the Defence Force, Charles tried to avoid going back on her position that small countries like Dominica did not need more than a police force. Instead, the government created an 80-member Special Service Unit (SSU) within the Commonwealth of Dominica Police Force to supplement the capabilities of the 310 regular police personnel. The members of the unit were specially selected by the government and trained and equipped by the United States. The SSU constituted Dominica’s contingent of the Regional Security System (RSS). Although criticized by the DLMA, these moves were welcomed by the population.

Government concerns over internal security continued into the mid-1980s. In 1984 the House of Assembly enacted the Treason Act and the State Security Act. The Treason Act mandated the death penalty “for any person who owes allegiance to the State to form an intention to levy war against the State, or to overthrow the Government by force of arms, if such intention is supported by some overt act.” In addition, the Treason Act denied bail to anyone arrested under its provisions. The State Security Act stipulated prison sentences for those passing information to an enemy or foreign power or harboring spies. Its most controversial clause granted Dominicans the right to arrest—without a warrant—anyone believed to be violating the State Security Act. The LPD strongly criticized both measures as unconstitutional.

* * *

Lennox Honychurch's *The Dominica Story* offers an excellent historical overview of the island. Thomas Atwood's *History of the Island of Dominica* provides an account of the earliest recorded conditions in the colony, including graphic descriptions of the Caribs and the Arawaks, the flora and fauna, and the early colonial government. Extensive economic information can be found in the World Bank's *Dominica: Priorities and Prospects for Development*. Data on current political and social conditions in Dominica are available in several publications of the Institute of Social and Economic Research of the UWI and the CDB. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

St. Lucia

Official Name St. Lucia

Term For Citizens St. Lucian(s)

Capital Castries

Political Status Independent, 1979

Form of Government Parliamentary democracy
and constitutional monarchy

Geography

Size 616 sq. km.

Topography Mountainous, rain forest in interior

Climate Tropical, wet

Population

Total estimated in 1986 140,000

Annual growth rate (in percentage) in 1986 1.8

Life expectancy at birth in 1986 72.5

Adult literacy rate (in percentage) in 1984 80

Language English; patois

Ethnic groups Black (90.5 percent), mulatto
(5.5 percent), East Indian (3.2 percent),
white (0.8 percent)

Religion Roman Catholic (85-90 percent);
remainder other religions

Economy

Currency; exchange rate Eastern Caribbean dollar
(EC\$); EC\$2.70 = US\$1.00

Gross domestic product (GDP) in 1985 ... US\$146 million

Per capita GDP in 1985 US\$1,071

Distribution of GDP (in percentage) in 1985

Government and other services 64

Agriculture 18

Manufacturing 10

Tourism 8

Islands of the Commonwealth Caribbean

National Security

Armed forces personnel	0
Paramilitary personnel	80
Police	270

St. Lucia

St. Lucia is the second largest island of the British Lesser Antilles after Dominica. Located roughly in the center of the Windward Islands chain, it is nestled between Martinique to the north and St. Vincent and the Grenadines to the south. Castries, the capital city, is situated on the northwest coast and is known for its magnificent harbor. St. Lucia, said to be named for the patron saint of the day on which it was discovered, has an uncommon heritage of mixed cultural and historical influences, including Amerindian, European, and African.

St. Lucia was inhabited by the Carib Indians when sighted by the Spanish in the first decade of the sixteenth century (see *The Pre-European Population*, ch. 1). Many believe that Christopher Columbus viewed the island in 1502; however, the sighting is not accepted by all historians. St. Lucia remained uncolonized until the mid-seventeenth century. Earlier attempts by the English in 1605 and 1638 had met with disaster; would-be colonizers were either forced from the shores of the island or killed by its inhabitants. The first successful attempt at appeasing the Caribs followed the ceding of the island by the king of France to the French West Indian Company in 1642. Permanent French settlement occurred in 1660, after an armistice had been agreed to by the indigenous population.

St. Lucia, however, was not to enjoy a lengthy period of peace. Military conflicts among the Dutch, British, Spanish, and French, both on the European continent and in the colonies, resulted in St. Lucia's falling alternately under the control of France and Britain fourteen different times in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During this period of constantly changing European alliances, both the British and the French sought control of St. Lucia for strategic purposes. The island's natural deep-water harbors afforded ready protection for military vessels and also served as an ideal location from which to monitor enemy military movements in the Caribbean.

The years surrounding the French Revolution were particularly violent ones in St. Lucia. Britain declared war on France following the French declaration of support for the American revolutionary effort in the late 1770s. The battle for control of St. Lucia continued intermittently throughout the rise and fall of the French Republic because possession of the sugar-producing islands of the Caribbean was considered essential for raising revenue to support the ongoing war in Europe. From 1793 until Napoleon's fall in

1815, St. Lucia was captured alternately by France and Britain no fewer than seven times. Although the French permanently ceded St. Lucia to the British in 1815, it was many years before the population, whose sympathies rested with the French, accepted British rule without internal conflict.

In contrast to all other British possessions in the Caribbean in the nineteenth century except for Trinidad, St. Lucia did not have a popularly elected local assembly (see *Political Traditions*, ch. 1). Instead, the British imposed crown colony government (see *Glossary*) on St. Lucia. The governor ruled the island in conjunction with an appointed Legislative Council. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the British extended crown colony government to all British Caribbean territories with the exception of Barbados.

The twentieth century saw St. Lucia's gradual transition to self-governance. Representative government was introduced in 1924, when a constitution was established; however, there was only incremental progress toward the development of a locally controlled political system for the next thirty-four years. In 1958 St. Lucia joined the short-lived West Indies Federation, which was dissolved by the British Parliament in 1962 (see *The West Indies Federation*, 1958-62, ch. 1).

Following the dissolution, St. Lucia immediately agreed to become an associated state (see *Glossary*) of Britain, which entailed a mutually sanctioned relationship that could be dissolved at any time by either party. St. Lucia was granted full control over its local government, and Britain retained responsibility for foreign affairs and national defense. This arrangement lasted until 1975, when members of the West Indies States Association chose to pursue independence at their discretion and convenience. Following three years of planning and deliberation, St. Lucia gained independence on February 22, 1979.

Geography

St. Lucia is one of many small land masses composing the insular group known as the Windward Islands (see fig. 1). Unlike large limestone areas such as Florida, Cuba, and the Yucatán Peninsula or the Bahamas, which is a small island group composed of coral and sand, St. Lucia is a typical Windward Islands formation of volcanic rock that came into existence long after much of the region had already been formed.

St. Lucia's physical features are strikingly beautiful. Dominated by high peaks and rain forests in the interior, the 616-square-kilometer island is known for the twin peaks of Gros Piton and Petit

Piton on the southwestern coast, its soft sandy beaches, and its magnificent natural harbors (see fig. 10). Mount Gimie, the highest peak, is located in the central mountain range and rises to 950 meters above sea level, a contrast that is also evident in the abrupt climatic transition from coastal to inland areas. The steep terrain also accentuates the many rivers that flow from central St. Lucia to the Caribbean. Fertile landholdings, which support banana farming, are scattered throughout the island.

St. Lucia has a tropical, humid climate moderated by northeast trade winds that allow for pleasant year-round conditions. Mean annual temperatures range from 26°C to 32°C at sea level and drop to an average of 13°C in the mountains. The abundant annual rainfall accumulates to approximately 200 centimeters. Most precipitation occurs during the June to December wet season. Hurricanes are the most severe climatic disturbance in this area and have been known to cause extensive damage. Although St. Lucia has historically been spared from serious hurricane destruction, Hurricane Allen decimated the agricultural sector and claimed nine lives in 1980.

Population

St. Lucia's population was estimated at 140,000 in 1986. It grew consistently at a relatively high annual rate of 1.8 percent in the 1980s. These figures would have been even higher had it not been for the steady emigration of adult workers in search of employment; nearly 2 percent of the population left the island each year.

St. Lucia had a population density of approximately 227 inhabitants per square kilometer in the late 1980s, almost evenly dispersed between urban and rural areas. This pattern was expected to change, however, because limited amounts of arable land caused residents to migrate to the cities and towns. The Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) estimated that there was a net annual internal migration to Castries of approximately 0.8 percent in 1984. This trend was expected to continue into the foreseeable future and to place the greatest burden on Castries and Vieux Fort.

St. Lucia's rapidly increasing population, caused by the country's young population and high fertility rate, placed an enormous stress on the society, which was already experiencing underemployment, a growing informal economic sector, and increased pressure on livable space in urban areas. Although emigration might ameliorate the population problem, observers in the 1980s believed that the government might have to develop a national birth control program similar to those in other Eastern Caribbean islands.

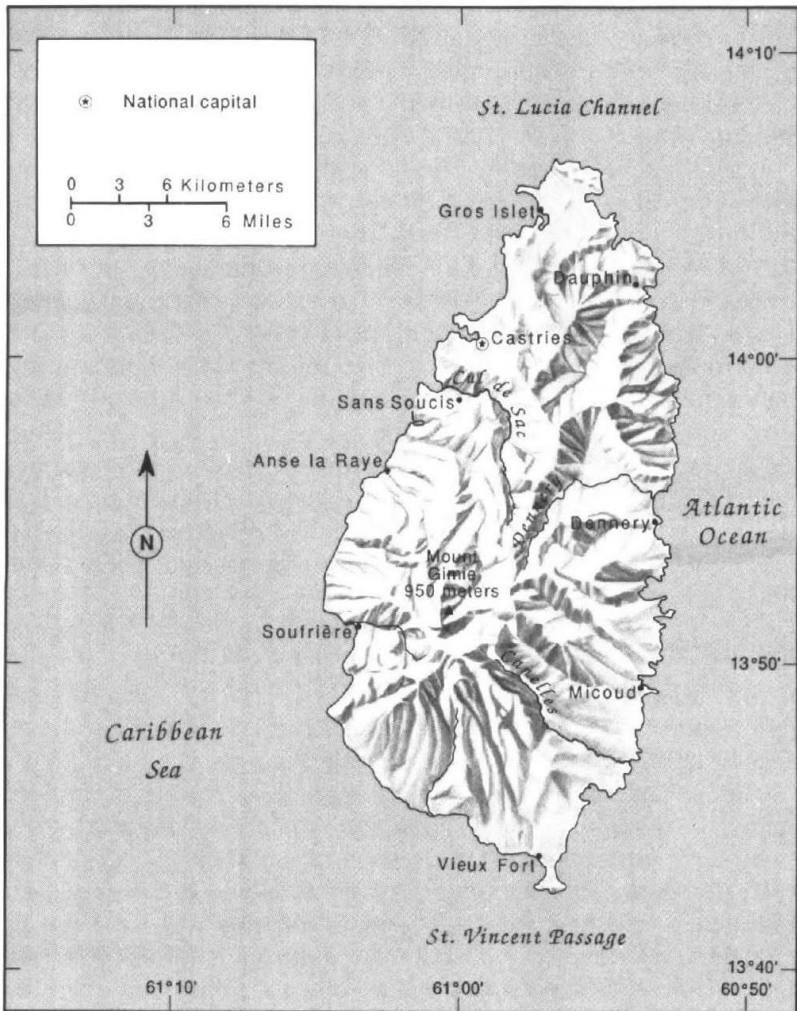


Figure 10. St. Lucia, 1987

Ethnically, St. Lucian society was homogeneous; 90.5 percent of the population was black. The balance of the population was mulatto (5.5 percent), East Indian (3.2 percent), or white (0.8 percent). The vast majority of St. Lucians were Roman Catholic; only 10 to 15 percent of the population practiced other religions. Nevertheless, St. Lucia was not as uniform a society as it appeared. Language remained a distinguishing characteristic and was the basis of social discrimination. The official language was English, and 80 percent of the population was considered literate in English.

However, a French creole language, or patois, was also commonly used, particularly in rural, interior portions of the country, and by lower socioeconomic groups throughout the country.

This linguistic dualism originated in the colonial period when St. Lucia was under the alternating stewardship of France and Britain. Linguistic influences at this time included those of the two European states, as well as the numerous African languages used by the slave population. The development of patois during the slavery period served two purposes. It facilitated communication between both the French and the slave population and among the various ethnolinguistic African groups, who often did not share a common language. Until St. Lucia became British, French and patois coexisted harmoniously and were used interchangeably by the middle and upper classes; the uneducated, however, particularly the slave population, communicated only in patois.

The British, as the dominant social, political, and economic group in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, replaced French with English as the official language. English, however, lacked the common roots that French shared with patois, causing a clash of languages and cultures that previously had not existed. Although patois was replaced by English over time, it was still employed in some ceremonial functions. However, because patois continued to be associated with a sense of vulgarity and lack of culture and education, many St. Lucians hid their ability to communicate in it.

The effect of language on social status was still very pronounced. Those elements that did not speak English, comprising approximately 20 percent of the population, were excluded from the education system and hence unable to participate fully in political, economic, and social power sharing. The St. Lucian government recognized the problem and was attempting to incorporate this minority into the mainstream of society through language outreach programs. An improved infrastructure, especially an islandwide road network, was also bridging the gap between these two groups.

Observers believed that with time, English would be spoken by virtually the entire population, and as a result patois probably would become less influential even among the French descendants on the island. Nevertheless, it appeared unlikely that patois would disappear completely, given the fact that it was a symbol of cultural identity for many St. Lucians.

Education

The government of St. Lucia has made universal education a national priority. Although in the late 1980s a basic education still was not available to all members of society, government programs

had succeeded in bringing primary education to 80 percent of the population. Fulfilling all the educational requirements of the society, however, particularly the development of a work force capable of meeting the needs of a growing economy, remained an elusive goal.

Education in St. Lucia was free and compulsory from age five through age fifteen. In the 1980s, enrollment levels ran as high as 85 percent in the primary schools. Planning and operation of the school system were the responsibilities of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The ministry, which oversaw all primary, secondary, and postsecondary institutions, was considered professional and effective. The illiteracy rate remained high, at about 20 percent, and was a problem often attributed to the number of patois-speaking inhabitants who did not participate in the education system.

In 1985 the primary-school system included 82 schools, 35,000 students, and nearly 1,000 teachers, 35 percent of whom were considered trained. Although enrollment at the primary level was very high, many graduated without achieving basic skills in mathematics and English. A renewed effort at teaching English as a second language was developed at this level to hasten the assimilation of the patois-speaking population at an early age.

In 1985 there were eleven secondary schools in St. Lucia; six offered full secondary education programs, whereas the remainder provided a curriculum only through the junior secondary level. The schools were located in urban areas and provided education for approximately 3,100 students. As this number suggests, only one student in ten was able to continue education beyond the primary level. This situation had a profound impact on society, forcing some 2,000 to 3,000 new job seekers into the work force each year following completion of their primary education.

Postsecondary education was offered by four colleges and a regional technical training college for teachers operated under the auspices of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Operations. St. Lucia's institutions of higher education included the Teacher's Training College, the Division of Technical Education and Management of the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College (formerly the Morne Fortune Technical College), the St. Lucia College of Agriculture, and the Sixth Form College. By late 1986, however, all postsecondary schools were being reorganized under the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College.

Although the number of teachers working in St. Lucia was growing and the upgrading of facilities continued at a steady pace, certain key problems still required attention. Space constraints

prohibited the expansion of enrollments; advanced instruction for teachers was lacking, particularly at the primary level; and vocational programs needed to be added to the curriculum. In spite of the government's emphasis on educational development, the school system was not providing enough graduates at all levels to meet the societal needs of a developing country.

Health and Welfare

General health trends in St. Lucia improved noticeably in the 1980s. Life expectancy increased 4.5 percent from 1981 to 1986, the average for men and women rising to 72.5 years. The improvement in infant mortality rates was even more dramatic for the same time period. Infant deaths under 1 year of age fell from 25 per 1,000 live births to 17 per 1,000, representing a decline of 32 percent. The mortality rate for those over the age of 65 was reduced by 23 percent, and the overall mortality rate fell by 20 percent.

Indicators of morbidity were less well defined, but they suggested that strides had been made in eradicating the most common diseases. By 1984 a countrywide immunization program existed for six basic preventable diseases—diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, poliomyelitis, tuberculosis, and measles—and other inoculation programs were being planned with the assistance of PAHO. The nutritional status of children under the age of five apparently also had improved, although definitive statistical evidence was lacking. Communicable diseases continued to be a major health problem, however, as evidenced by the increase in the incidence of venereal diseases. In 1986 PAHO reported three cases of acquired immune deficiency syndrome in St. Lucia.

Environmental health indicators were also encouraging. Approximately 75 percent of the population had basic sanitation facilities in 1985, and 85 percent of the population had access to piped water. Expansion of waste disposal facilities continued in 1985 and 1986, and government inspection of sewage treatment facilities, food-handling businesses, and schools brought corrective action in those areas.

The general improvement in the health situation was directly attributable to efforts by the government to enact a comprehensive health care system. A coordinated health care policy was developed with the assistance of the World Health Organization (WHO), PAHO, and numerous other organizations, including foundations and universities. Priority was given to primary health care delivery by a network of health clinics.

The health care system was directed by the Ministry of Health, which provided two basic kinds of health services free of charge:

preventive care and curative services. The former focused on prenatal, immunization, nutritional, and family planning programs, whereas the latter provided doctors and nurses to operate a network of health clinics. Government health services were offered throughout the country, which was divided into six health districts. The island had thirty-three health clinics, two district hospitals, two general hospitals, and one psychiatric hospital. The most complete facilities were located near Castries and Vieux Fort.

In an attempt to reach the entire population with some form of health care service, the Ministry of Health adopted a plan to train health care workers in various kinds of technical services to assist doctors and nurses with health care delivery. There were four kinds of health care representatives: community health aides, environmental health aides, family nurse practitioners, and community nutrition officers. As was evident in the structure of the health care system, the community health programs provided educational and preventive services, as well as actual hands-on health care. It was hoped that many health problems could be avoided by educating the population on nutrition, hygiene, and sanitation habits.

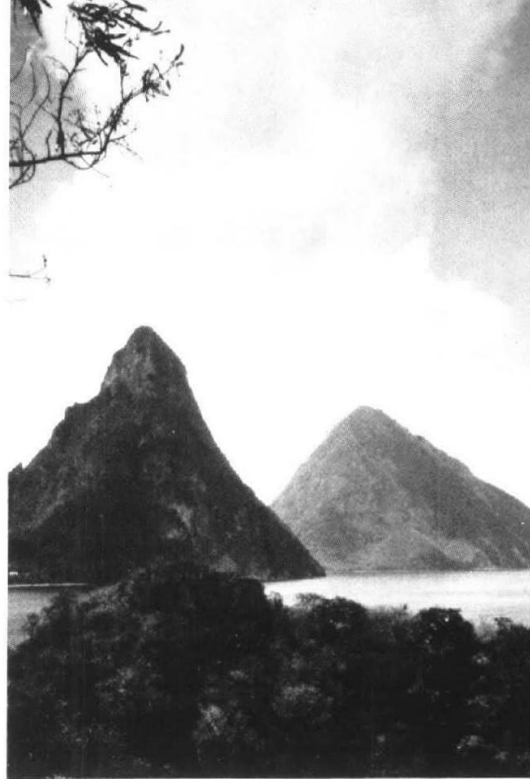
The success of St. Lucia's nutrition, immunization, health education, prenatal, and child health care programs was evident in the continued decline in morbidity and mortality rates, as well as the high population growth rate. Nevertheless, it was clear that a continued growth rate approaching 2 percent would place excessive constraints on the island's future health, employment opportunities, and quality of life. For these reasons, the Ministry of Health made reduction of fertility rates the health care priority of the late 1980s, targeting in particular the sexual behavior of adolescents.

In addition to health care programs, the government provided a social security system for workers who did not have a private pension plan. The National Insurance Scheme required workers to contribute a portion of their wages to be held for their retirement at age sixty-five, at which time they would receive regularly scheduled payments.

Economy

In the 1980s, St. Lucia's economy was similar to those of other small Eastern Caribbean islands. Its primary productive sectors were agriculture, tourism, and manufacturing, which provided 18 percent, 8 percent, and 10 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP—see Glossary), respectively, in 1985. Other significant contributors to aggregate economic output were government services (20 percent), wholesale and retail trade (14 percent), and transport and communications (10 percent). The national economy still

*View of the twin peaks of
Gros Piton and Petit Piton
on the southwestern coast
Courtesy Michael Waddle*



depended on the agricultural sector for most of its foreign exchange but had made gains in developing the manufacturing sector, as well as attracting a greater portion of the West Indies tourist trade. In sum, the economy performed well in the first half of the 1980s, a particularly impressive achievement considering that much of the island was devastated by Hurricane Allen in 1980.

The economy was open and highly dependent on foreign trade. It was, therefore, very susceptible to the international effects of the trade policies and economies of its two primary trading partners in the 1980s, the United States and Britain. Both countries were assisting the island with economic development.

In the 1980s, St. Lucia was implementing a long-term coordinated development program aimed at creating a diversified economic structure and gaining access to foreign markets. With extensive public sector investment, as well as private and public foreign assistance and investment, St. Lucia hoped to achieve sustained growth by expanding all of its primary economic sectors, particularly tourism and manufacturing.

Macroeconomic Overview

National economic production has experienced both structural change and growth since the 1960s. Traditionally dependent on agriculture, St. Lucia was dramatically transformed in the 1960s from a sugar-based economy to one dedicated to banana production.

This trend improved the economic situation of the small farmer because banana crops, unlike sugar, could be produced on small plots.

The economy experienced very little growth in 1980-81 because of hurricane damage and a disruptive political climate that temporarily hampered the country's ability to attract investment capital. Economic performance began to improve in 1982; within two years, real GDP had grown by 4.9 percent, a particularly impressive achievement because it was led by the agricultural sector with strong support from both tourism and construction. Manufacturing was the only sector not to share in economic growth, largely because of regional trade restrictions. This trend continued in 1985; manufacturing output as a percentage of GDP declined by 17 percent.

Employment was largely stimulated by the agricultural sector, which absorbed 40 percent of the work force in 1985. Manufacturing accounted for 8 percent, tourism 12 percent, construction 4 percent, and other services 36 percent. Government estimates of unemployment for 1986 ranged between 18 and 20 percent.

The structure of employment, however, was in the process of changing. Most arable land was already under production, restricting the agricultural sector from absorbing many of the 2,000 to 3,000 new job seekers who entered the employment market each year. Tourism and manufacturing were expected to absorb much of the future work force, but many of the unemployed would have to seek work elsewhere. The government planned to take an active role by promoting investment in manufacturing and tourism and adjusting the education system so that it would provide appropriately trained workers for these two sectors.

Employment patterns did not always exhibit a logical relationship to wages and prices in the mid-1980s. Although unemployment persisted in the 18- to 25-percent range, wages continued to climb, with no apparent relationship to productivity or inflation. The latter was below 2 percent in 1985. The World Bank (see Glossary) noted that wage increases would have to be curtailed if St. Lucia were to remain regionally competitive.

Price stability in St. Lucia has been affected primarily by inflationary trends in the United States and Britain. In the 1980s, St. Lucian trade was exceedingly dependent on the markets and prices of these two economies. The United States and Britain accounted for 50 percent of all St. Lucian imports and 73 percent of its exports in 1984. In addition, the purchasing power of the Eastern Caribbean dollar—the currency shared by members of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS—see Glossary) since July 1970 and pegged to the United States dollar at EC\$2.70 equals

US\$1.00—had been influenced by the performance of the United States dollar in world currency markets because they were tied so closely together. These influences, however, did not significantly raise the St. Lucian general price level in the mid-1980s.

Role of Government

The government of St. Lucia has been a leading force in the development of the national economy, in spite of its emphasis on private sector initiative. Government support of the private sector has materialized in two forms: direct government action by supporting public sector investment and indirect assistance through national economic policy tools.

In the late 1980s, public sector investment reflected the joint economic goals of the public and private sectors, emphasizing aggregate economic growth through diversification and export promotion. This was accomplished by soliciting external funds, primarily grants, and managing their investment with assistance from the World Bank, Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), United States Agency for International Development, and other government and multilateral development organizations.

Public investment funds reached all areas of the economy in 1984; 51 percent went to productive sectors (agriculture, tourism, and manufacturing), 33 percent to social sectors (housing, health, and education), and 16 percent to physical infrastructure (primarily secondary and feeder roads). Specific projects included providing factory space, developing a viable fisheries industry, diversifying small-farmer crop production, and upgrading road maintenance capabilities.

Improvements to communications and transportation were extensive in the 1980s. The fully automatic telephone system consisted of 9,500 instruments; international service was accomplished by radio relay to Martinique and St. Vincent and by tropospheric scatter to Barbados. The government-owned St. Lucia Broadcasting Corporation operated an AM transmitter in Castries on 660 kilohertz; a commercial station also broadcast on 840 kilohertz. The island had no television transmitters, although cable television was available in some localities. The *Crusader* and the *Voice of St. Lucia* were the two local newspapers.

Transportation infrastructure on the island was considered fair in the late 1980s. Although St. Lucia had approximately 500 kilometers of paved highways and another 260 kilometers of gravel roads, travel was usually slow because of the steep and winding terrain. The main road cut across the island south of Castries and circled the southern two-thirds of the island. A paved spur extended

from Castries to the northern tip. The northeast and interior portions of the island had almost no roads. The principal airport was Hewanorra International Airport (formerly Beane Field, built by the United States during World War II), located on the southern tip of the island near Vieux Fort; the airport's runway was extended in the 1980s to handle regularly scheduled international flights. Vigie Airport, an older airfield on the northern edge of the capital, was the site of a shuttle service to Hewanorra International Airport. Castries was the island's major port, although smaller vessels also put in at Vieux Fort. St. Lucia had no railroads or usable waterways.

Direct government support of economic development was coordinated by five organizations: the National Development Corporation, St. Lucian Development Bank, Agricultural Market Board, St. Lucian Tourist Board, and Banana Growers' Association. Working collectively, these associations provided the planning and administrative expertise to attract investment funds, ensure their appropriate use, and facilitate the marketing of final products both domestically and abroad.

By directing public funds to specific projects, the government also used fiscal policy to encourage economic growth. Government spending accounted for much of the infrastructural development, including improvements to roads and communications facilities, which had a beneficial impact on both tourism and agriculture. This strategy resulted in a national budget deficit, but it appeared that the deficit was accepted as necessary to accommodate national economic growth.

Although deficit spending is a common tool for encouraging economic development, the resultant fiscal problems have become a reality in St. Lucia, as in much of the developing world. Total deficit spending rose from 2.5 percent of GDP in 1982 to 6.5 percent in 1985, reflecting excessive investment in the public sector and poor performance in revenue collection. Increases in government salaries, financing of government projects, and interest payments on public debt were the largest expenditure items. Budget overruns were financed through short-term loans from commercial banks; foreign borrowing was restricted to loans from the CDB. St. Lucia's debt service ratio remained small at 4 percent of exports in 1985, but it was expected to increase in the future.

Continued deficit spending could pose major problems for St. Lucia. Observers in the mid-1980s suggested that the future burden of debt financing, even with a renewed high level of economic growth, could affect the economy adversely in the long run if an adjustment in government spending were not made. Given St.

Lucia's limited borrowing capacity and high domestic tax rates, the World Bank believed that restraint in future expenditures was the only logical fiscal option for achieving a balanced budget. A realignment of the budget was also being sought to provide more funds for capital expenditures as opposed to increases in public salaries. Capital budgets historically were overly dependent on foreign sources of revenue.

Fiscal constraints were also evident on the revenue side of the budget. Although the majority of current revenue came from domestic taxes, fully 31 percent was provided by foreign sources. Approximately 60 percent of this amount was grants from foreign countries and institutions, and the remaining 40 percent was borrowed from international and regional financial institutions, usually the CDB. This situation subjected St. Lucia's budget to the vicissitudes of foreign interests, a situation the government sought to minimize.

Sectoral Performance

Although St. Lucia's public and private services sectors contributed nearly one-half of GDP, the island's primary productive sectors were similar to other Windward Islands economies and included agriculture, manufacturing, and tourism. Agriculture, focused on export and food crops as well as on the production of raw materials for use in local manufacturing, continued to be a primary economic undertaking. In addition to providing needed consumable products, agriculture earned foreign exchange and provided employment opportunities for 40 percent of the population. Agriculture accounted for 67.5 percent of total exports in 1984.

The principal crops were bananas and coconuts. Bananas were grown on 6 percent of the total land area, or 70 percent of the arable land. They directly and indirectly supported approximately half of the island's population and constituted 83 percent of total agricultural exports in 1984. Most bananas were grown in small plots and supported a peasant farming system. Virtually all bananas were sold by the BGA to Britain's Geest Industries, which consistently procured most of the banana crop grown throughout the West Indies. Export volume varied greatly from year to year because of the crop's sensitivity to weather, pests, and disease.

Coconuts were the second most important crop and were sold mainly as copra. Because of the presence of the coconut mite, however, yields were minimal in the early 1980s. St. Lucia also grew various kinds of fruits and vegetables. These crops served the dual purpose of meeting some of the island's nutritional requirements and supporting the tourist trade.

In 1985 the government showed an interest in developing a fishing industry. St. Lucia had the potential to meet more of its domestic food needs, 20 percent of which was imported, by increasing the fish harvest. It lacked, however, the requisite boats and storage facilities outside the Castries area.

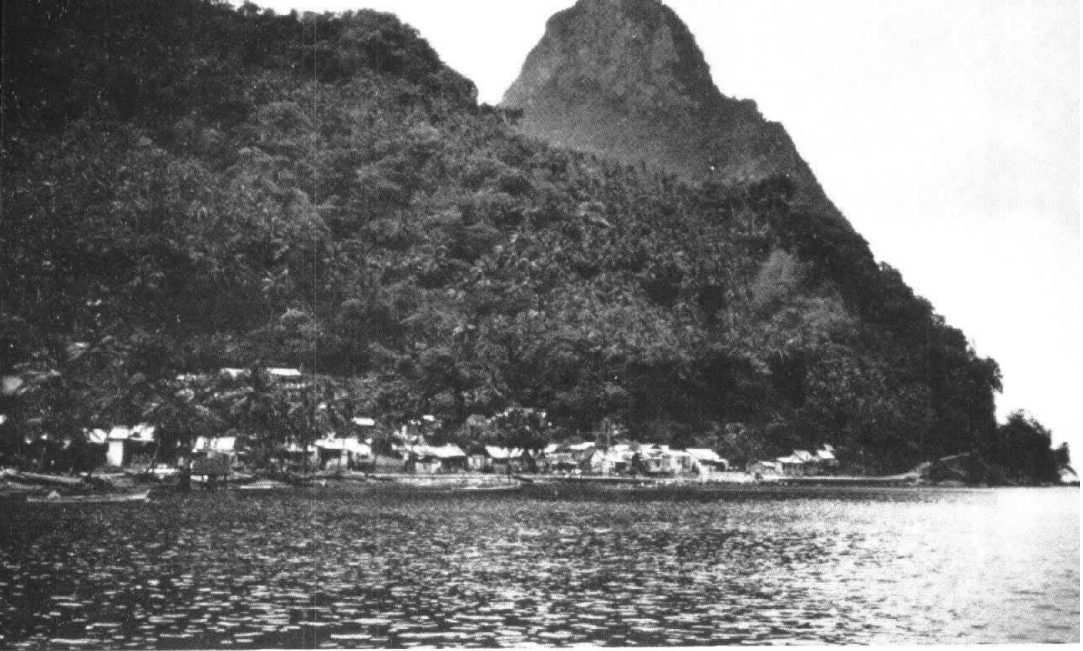
Although agricultural output had grown in the 1980s, certain areas still required improvement. Available agricultural credit could not match demand, and control of diseases and pests was still a problem. In spite of improvements in the physical infrastructure, continued feeder-road development was needed for quicker movement of produce to markets. Furthermore, a revamping of the land tenure code, based informally on French legal tradition, was essential to clarify ownership rights. Joint and multiple landownership based on family inheritance laws and the lack of authoritative titles obstructed the issuance of bank credit and often led to fragmented farm holdings.

Manufacturing was a growing sector of the economy in 1984, but it represented only 9.6 percent of GDP. Nevertheless, the diversity of manufacturing firms was large for a small economy and included paper and fabricated metal products, textiles, beer, furniture, industrial chemicals, and electronic components.

The government was attempting to develop manufacturing industries that supported other elements of the economy, stressing the use of local resources as much as possible. In addition, the government tried to ensure that the investment climate would be hospitable and protective of both domestic and foreign capital. Continued success of the manufacturing sector, however, would depend on St. Lucia's ability to obtain sufficient regional export markets for its goods.

St. Lucia has been successful in attracting manufacturing firms because of improvements made to the island's physical infrastructure in the 1980s. Roads, energy sources, and communications all progressed dramatically to the benefit of tourism and agriculture as well as of manufacturing. Investment incentives, such as tax holidays and generous profit repatriation laws, also encouraged the inflow of foreign capital. The largest single foreign investment project was a United States project, the Amerada Hess Company oil storage and transshipment terminal, where oil was held for shipping at a later date. In 1985 the project provided US\$2 million in tax revenue for the public sector and also created employment opportunities for the private sector.

Future manufacturing growth was planned for the southern portion of the island. This region offered empty, flat tracts of land, proximity to the Hewanorra International Airport, and expanded



*View of Soufrière
Courtesy Michael Waddle*

port facilities at Vieux Fort. The development of the area was in keeping with the government's goals of diminishing congestion in the Castries area and expanding the country's manufacturing base.

Tourism's role as a major foreign exchange earner began only in the late 1970s. By 1984 total annual receipts from tourism reached US\$42.4 million, more than double the amount generated seven years earlier. Continued growth was expected for the late 1980s. Although tourism's direct contribution to total GDP was only 7.3 percent in 1984, it also contributed indirectly to aggregate economic output by providing revenue to the wholesale and retail trade, banking, and transportation sectors.

Although there are many national tourist attractions in St. Lucia, growth in tourist receipts in the 1980s was the direct result of efforts by the national government to enact a national tourist development program. This included creating a tourist board, providing incentives to build and maintain hotels, and improving the physical infrastructure.

Regardless of the potential for a strong tourist trade, St. Lucia was still experiencing problems in the development of this industry. Coordinating government incentives and private sector investment was a complicated task, as was the containment of costs in a highly competitive regional market. St. Lucia was making strides in this area, but the World Bank noted that it still needed to improve

its tourist position by making better use of local resources and by developing additional recreational alternatives.

Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments

With only a small domestic market at its disposal, in the 1980s St. Lucia's economy relied heavily on external trade. Primary merchandise exports were bananas, copra, fruits, vegetables, beer, paper products, and clothing; they accounted for 48.9 percent of total foreign exchange earnings from goods and services in 1984. Tourism and services contributed an additional 27.5 percent of foreign exchange earnings. St. Lucia's principal imports consisted of food, fuels, chemicals, manufactured goods, machinery, and transportation equipment, which accounted for 92.7 percent of total imports for 1984.

St. Lucia's largest export market was Britain, which purchased 57.6 percent of total goods and services sold abroad in 1984. Britain was followed by the Caribbean Community and Common Market (Caricom—see Appendix C) and the United States, which absorbed 23.7 percent and 16 percent, respectively, of St. Lucian exports. The United States provided the largest share of imports, supplying 36.7 percent of the total in 1984. Caricom and Britain provided 16.9 percent and 13.1 percent, respectively, of total imports.

St. Lucia's balance of payments position was not unusual for a developing country in the 1980s. It continually showed deficits in the merchandise trade (goods) and current account (goods and services) balances, with almost offsetting surpluses in the capital (foreign investment, loans, and grants) account. The figures reflected St. Lucia's negative trade balance, primarily the result of the need for expensive capital goods required for economic growth and development. The situation also was a consequence of the extensive number of grants provided to the island to bolster the finances needed to purchase those goods.

The current account had traditionally shown a deficit in the merchandise trade account and a surplus in the services account (tourism). Since 1977 the value of imports had been more than double that of exports because of a domestic demand for imported food, fuels, machinery, and manufactured goods. Tourism helped offset the trade imbalance, reducing the overall current account deficit.

St. Lucia's trading position was further weakened by regional trade barriers. Although Trinidad and Tobago accounted for 9 percent of regional imports in the form of fuels in 1985, that country simultaneously erected barriers against many of St. Lucia's exports.

Furthermore, restrictions on certain exports to the United States, such as textiles, also contributed to the negative trade balance.

The capital account in the 1980s continued to show a surplus, principally because of project-related grants and direct private foreign investment. The 1984 balance, however, had declined by 40 percent since 1980 because of dwindling private direct investment, especially on the part of the Amerada Hess Company.

From 1982 to the late 1980s, the overall balance of payments deficit was relatively small, running near or less than US\$1 million. Financing of the deficit was usually accomplished with loans from the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank (ECCB), the common central bank for members of the OECS, but International Monetary Fund (IMF—see Glossary) lending was significant in 1981 and 1982. Although the balance of payments deficit and debt financing were still manageable for St. Lucia, observers noted that any abrupt changes in the national economy could push lending above easily controlled levels. St. Lucia's ability to manage its balance of payments, minimize its foreign debt, develop its national economy, and attract foreign assistance will have a strong impact on the country's chances for avoiding the major economic problems experienced by other developing countries.

Government and Politics

Although St. Lucia is a country of many cultural influences, the island's political origins are distinctly British. Following the turmoil of intermittent French and British rule in the early colonial period, St. Lucia eventually assumed a fundamentally British political orientation. By the time independence was achieved in 1979, St. Lucia had abandoned most other political influences, with the exception of certain family and property laws inherited from the French.

The Governmental System

St. Lucia inherited a democratic political tradition, rooted in the legitimacy of constitutional rule and parliamentary governance. At independence, it adopted a Westminster-style parliamentary system, which provided a framework for the orderly transition of governments and established a tradition of minimal political upheaval, in spite of the existence of strong, conflicting political interests.

St. Lucia is governed by the 1979 Constitution, which went into effect at the time of independence. It guarantees citizens certain rights, including the right to life and personal property; protection from slavery, deprivation of property, arbitrary search, and

discrimination; and freedom of expression, assembly, and movement.

Formally, St. Lucia is a constitutional monarchy; nominal executive authority rests with the British sovereign, who rules through his or her chief administrator, the governor general. The government operates as a parliamentary democracy, in which power is shared by the prime minister and a bicameral legislature.

The prime minister, although formally appointed by the governor general, rules as the leader of the majority party in Parliament. Other ministerial posts, as decreed by Parliament, are filled by the governor general on the advice of the prime minister. All ministers are members of Parliament.

Parliament comprises two chambers, the Senate and the House of Assembly. The Senate is composed of eleven members. All are appointed by the governor general, six on the advice of the prime minister, three on the advice of the leader of the opposition, and two at the sole discretion of the governor general. The House is elected by universal suffrage; each legally formed constituency is allowed one representative. In the late 1980s, there were seventeen representatives. A speaker and deputy speaker of the House are elected at the first meeting of Parliament. A leader of the opposition is appointed by the governor general to represent leadership for all parties other than the majority party.

Parliament is convened for a period of time not to exceed five years. It may be dissolved at the discretion of the governor general if the prime minister so advises under the laws of the Constitution or if a resolution of no confidence is passed by the House. Elections are to be held within three months of the dissolution of Parliament.

The primary duties of Parliament consist of making laws and amending the Constitution as necessary. The latter action requires a two-thirds vote of the House. Bills may be introduced into the House or Senate with the exception of money bills, which may originate only in the House of Assembly. A money bill includes any action regarding taxation or the spending or borrowing of public funds.

The Constitution also provides for two important commissions composed of parliamentary representatives, the Constituency Boundary Commission and the Electoral Commission. The former delineates boundaries in St. Lucia to be used to define electoral constituencies, of which there were seventeen in the late 1980s. Each constituency is represented by one member in the House. The Electoral Commission defines electoral procedures.

St. Lucia has sixteen parishes that form the basis of local government. Regional elections are held to select officials responsible for many of the local services, such as sanitation and maintenance of secondary roads.

St. Lucia's legal structure derives from English common law and is administered by an independent court system. There are district courts throughout the island. Appeals may be made to the Eastern Caribbean States Supreme Court, which is composed of the High Court and the Court of Appeal. The High Court traditionally hears cases concerning basic rights and freedoms, as well as constitutional interpretations. A final appeal may be made to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. The prison system is managed by the Superintendent of Prisons under the Ministry of Social Affairs.

Political Dynamics

Political control of Parliament in the 1980s remained firmly in the hands of John G. M. Compton and the United Workers' Party (UWP). There were, however, two other political parties contending for parliamentary representation, the St. Lucia Labour Party (SLP) and the Progressive Labour Party (PLP), a relatively new party formed from a disaffected group of the SLP in 1982. The SLP was the only other party to have won control of Parliament since independence.

The UWP, founded in 1964, held a majority in Parliament from 1964 until 1979 and again beginning in 1982. Compton has been the political leader since its inception and held the office of prime minister after 1982. The UWP was the most conservative of the three parties, but it had a long history of moderate economic and political policies that were widely supported by the island's voting constituency in the 1982 elections. These included support for social development, such as improved education and health standards, and sound economic development founded on a capitalist-based economy stressing tourism and the expansion of the manufacturing sector with both foreign and domestic capital. Although support for the UWP fell in the 1987 elections, it was not a clear refutation of the party's platform, but rather a general lack of response to the elections. Foreign policy goals of the UWP were directed primarily at continuing support for economic development by maintaining strong trade relationships and attracting grants for development projects. These foreign policy goals supported close ties with St. Lucia's traditional allies, the United States, Britain, and the Caricom countries.

The SLP, which dates back to 1950 and is the country's oldest existing political party, controlled Parliament from 1951 until 1964 and won the first postindependence election in July 1979. It has been the minority party, however, since 1982. The SLP's fundamental political and economic positions have been more liberal than those of the UWP. The SLP developed an electoral platform for 1987 that advocated closer relations with nonaligned countries and Cuba and suggested reevaluating St. Lucia's traditional support for the United States. Economically, the SLP promoted a stronger role for local entrepreneurs and capital in order to limit foreign investment as a controlling element of the economy. It proposed to accomplish its program by giving government a greater role in providing location and financing for the development of locally owned small businesses. Additionally, the SLP advocated diversifying the agricultural sector in order to meet local food needs through import substitution.

The radical PLP was created as a dissenting alternative during an SLP party leadership crisis in 1982. Headed by George Odlum, a former minister of foreign affairs and deputy political leader for the SLP, it has been the smallest parliamentary minority since its founding. The PLP took a very strong line against United States policies in the Caribbean, but it lacked a coordinated economic platform.

In the late 1980s, political interests also were upheld by trade unions. Unions represented about 20 percent of the work force and as a result were able to influence national politics and economics. Political parties had to consider the interests of union constituencies very carefully when developing a political agenda. In the past, general strikes had been employed to force changes in the prime minister's office, and they could be coordinated very quickly if an opposition consensus was found.

The largest unions, which had a combined membership of approximately 10,000 workers, were the Farmers' and Farm Workers' Union, National Workers' Union, St. Lucia Workers' Union, and Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Union. Other unions with some influence on St. Lucian politics were the St. Lucia Civil Servants' Association, St. Lucia Nurses' Association, St. Lucia Teachers' Union, and Vieux Fort General and Dock Workers' Union.

The dynamics of political interaction between trade unions and political parties was evident in the first two elections following independence. Labor played a key role in the election of SLP leader Allen Louisy in 1979; it also forced the party from office in 1982, however, largely because of its united stand against the divisive internal politics of the SLP leadership. A series of political moves

caused by feuding factions within the SLP actually led to the resignation of the party's prime minister in 1981 and brought to power the attorney general, Winston Cenac. Because Cenac refused to hold general elections as he promised, public outcry, led predominantly by labor groups, eventually turned into widespread protests and a general strike. Cenac finally resigned in January 1982; he was replaced by Michael Pilgrim, who essentially served as a caretaker prime minister until the May 1982 general election.

Compton and the UWP ran a strong election campaign, espousing the return of economic growth, private investment, expanded tourism, and diversification of the agricultural sector. Because of the previous Parliament's inability to govern effectively and the poor economic performance of the country in 1980-81 immediately following Hurricane Allen, the UWP captured a resounding majority of fourteen seats and took firm control of government for the next five years.

From 1982 until the next general election of April 6, 1987, St. Lucia enjoyed relative economic success and continued political stability. As the 1987 elections neared, preliminary reports by journalists and international observers speculated that the UWP would be returned to power with another strong parliamentary majority. The 1987 elections, however, surprised all parties.

Although Compton remained prime minister, he did so with only a single seat majority in Parliament. The UWP won only nine seats; all others were captured by the SLP. A lack of substantive political issues, poor voter turnout, and a generally complacent attitude among UWP supporters were considered the primary reasons for the ruling party's loss of five seats in Parliament.

In an unprecedented move, Prime Minister Compton called for new elections to be held on April 30, 1987. The prime minister hoped to increase his majority position in Parliament by engendering greater voter turnout for the second electoral contest. Although the subsequent election produced a hotly contested seat on the eastern side of the island, the voters returned the identical candidates to office.

After Compton declared that he would accept the results, the SLP's Cenac crossed over to the UWP in June 1987. The action gave Compton a parliamentary majority of ten to seven. Cenac was rewarded with the foreign minister's post, but he was formally dismissed from the SLP. The election marked Compton's third time as prime minister following the granting of independence in February 1979. The Compton government, however, expected increasing opposition in its attempt to legislate the UWP platform in the second half of the 1980s.